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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MANAGER'S NOTICE.

Subscribers are requested to quote the Subscriber's Number in every communication to the Manager otherwise the office will not be responsible for any delay in replying to such communications.

The Week.

Albania.

Vienna, April 19.

It is announced that the reply of the Triple Alliance to the Note from the Powers, forming the Triple Entente, will shortly be presented. It entirely agrees with the wishes of the Entente but suggests alterations.

London April 13.

The Triple Alliance has accepted the suggestions of the Tripple Entente with regard to the reply of the powers to the Greek note, but has suggested minor amendments, which are not expected to raise difficulties.

Durazzo, April 21.

Government is calling on 20,000 men to join the colours.

Tripoli

Banghazi, April 17.

An Italian column of infantry, cavalry and artillery was attacked by two thousand rebels at Gendebia. The rebels lost heavily; Italian casualties were 6 killed and 28 wounded.

Muscat

Simla, April 16.

News from Muscat shows that the rebels continue to be active in the Muscat Hinterland. They recently attacked and captured the town and the fort at Barka on the coast, twenty miles east of Muscat itself. As this town contains a number of British subjects from India H. M. S. "Fox" in support of the Sultan, proceeded to the spot and shelled and demolished the fort and drove off the rebels who had several casualties.

Asia Minor.

Constantinople, April 17.

The Porte has selected a Dutchman, M. Nesterlang, and a Norwegian, Colonel Hoff, to fill the posts of Inspectors-General of the Eastern Provinces of Asia Minor.

Grand Donation.

Constantinople April 21.

The Nizam of Hyderabad has made a donation of £2,000 to British Red Crescent Society for the relief of Moslem distress following upon the war in the Balkans.

Persia.

Teheran, April 20.

It is reported that fifteen gendarmes under Count Loewenhaupt were attacked near Hamadan while searching for booty, concealed by the brigand Abbas. It is feared that Count Loewenhaupt was wounded and captured.

London, April 21.

Mr. Acland, replying to a question from Sir John Rees said that Government was giving every support to Persia in its efforts to restore order on the Southern roads.

Teheran, April 21

Count Loewenhaupt is dead. He was shot on returning after the completion of the work assigned to him.

Aziz Ali

Constantinople April 21.

Aziz Ali has been pardoned.
Aziz Ali has sailed for Alexandria.

The Army Crisis.

London, April 17.

The Committee of the Ulster Unionist Council, with the approval of Sir Edward Carson, has issued a statement, declaring that General Sir Arthur Paget, acting on the instruction of Colonel Seely, informed the Generals on March 20th that Government had decided to undertake active operations against Ulster and also gave datails of the plan of operations, whereby the 3rd Cavalry Brigade was to seize strategic points along the Boyne. A force of ten thousand was to come from Lichfield Aldershot, making a total of twenty-five thousand. The statement alleges that General Paget explained that the object was the blockade of Ulster by land and sea. It was not intended that the Army should begin fighting, but troops, aided by Naval forces, were to be held in readiness to support the Police searching depots.

Sir Edward Carson yesterday opened the Drill-hall at Limavady. He said that he firmly believed that Government meant a few weeks ago to provoke a quarrel in order to invoke

the forces of the Crown to shoot down Ulstermen. He stated with all his responsibility as Privy Councillor that if it was true a more wicked and more damnable plot against the liberties of the people had never been conceived. Sir Edward Carson proceeded to charge Government with cowardice and infamy and challenged it to arrest him. In conclusion he bade volunteers be ready for any eventuality.

London April 18.

The Liberal papers describe the statement issued by the Ulster Council as a ludicrous effort to pervert truth which will fail to impress the country. The Conservative press says it is a grave indictment of Government which calls for strict judicial investigation. The papers express the hope that meetings will be organised throughout the country to protest against the threatened outrage on civil liberties.

London April, 21.

One of the stormiest scenes between party leaders in the history of the House of Commons occurred to-day when Mr. Bonar Law renewed his request for a judicial enquiry into the allegations regarding the Ulster question. Mr. Asquith and Mr. Bonar Law were alternately at the table, challenging one another amid most angry cries. Mr. Asquith demanded that Mr. Bonar Law should make accusations in the House itself and refused the enquiry but would give an earliest date for a discussion if he would make a charge that Government devised an organised plot with the object of provoking and promoting a rising in Ulster. Mr. Bonar Law replied that the Premier and his colleagues had already made false statements. (Cheers and uproar). Mr. Asquith re-challenged the Opposition to discuss the matter in the House.

Mr. Bonar Law: "If there is nothing to be ashamed of, why no enquiry ?"

Mr. Asquith: "The allegation is against the honour of the Ministers." (Cheers and counter-cheers). "It should be made in the House of Commons" (Cries of "Marconi").

Mr. Aspuith retorted that Members wanted a roving enquiry to discover whether there was material for a charge. (Uproar).

Mr. Bonar Law said that he would await the publication of the revised White Paper before deciding on the course of action.

Sir Arthur Paget had a Conference with Mr. Asquith at Downing Street yesterday. Messrs. Birrell, Churchill, Colonel Seely, Lord Crewe and McKenna attended.

In the House of Commons to-day, Mr. Asquith stated that Sir Arthur Paget had denied that he had told officers that the police would seize Volunteers' arms and the Old Town Hall at Belfast.

The revised White Paper promised by Mr. Asquith was published to-day. It says that on March 17th Sir Arthur Paget was of opinion that the precautionary movement of troops would cause intense excitement in Ulster and would possibly precipitate a crisis. On March 23rd, the War Office informed General Paget that it had been decided to appoint a General Officer Commanding Belfast District who would be invested with control of the local Constabulary. Sir C. F. N. Macready was selected. On March 22nd, Sir Arthur Paget telegraphed on the War Office that he considered that it would be injudicious to announce the appointment until an outbreak occurred as it would be a source of irritation. Colonel Seeley agreed.

The White Paper includes Admiralty orders as to the movements of warships to Ireland. On March 19th, the Admiralty directed the Captain of H. M. Scout "Attentive" to proceed to Carrickfergus and land in plain clothes to confer with the Commander of Holy-rood barracks regarding the eventual cooperation of the Army and Navy. Stores at Carrickfergus should be defended by every means, even by Naval guns and searchlights. In a written statement dated April 2nd, Sir A. Paget gives an account of his meeting with subordinate Generals at which he explained the orders of Government and accepts responsibility for their misapprehension.

Six Liberal Members of the House of Commons have given notice of a motion demanding that Mr. Bonar Law shall substantiate or withdraw the charges of falsehood he made against Mr. Asquith.

Hindu Immigration.

Victoria (B. C.,) April 17.

It is reported that "Komagata Maru" has sailed from Shanghai for Victoria with 400 Hindus on board, seeking entry into British Columbia. All will be refused landing under Order in Council, excluding Asiatic artisans and labourers. The vessel is said to be under charter to a wealthy East Indian, Gurdit Singh.

London, April 18.

In the House of Commons yesterday Mr. Stevens, Member for Vancouver, interrogated Government on the subject of the press despatch, stating that 400 Hindus had left Shanghai for Vancouver. Mr. Roche, Minister of the Interior, replied that instructions had been sent to Immigration Officers to prevent the landing of Hindus.

Rev. Andrews' Arrival.

Bombay, April 17.

Rew C. F. Andrews who had been to South Africa in connection with the Indian question arrived in Bombay this morning by P. & O. Company's mail steamer "Caledonia" from England. He was incapacitated on the voyage owing to an accident. While in London he found Mr. Gokhale very weak indeed. But he was slightly better when he left him last. Mr. Andrews regards the situation in South Africa now as hopeful but is anxious about the redressing of minor grievances, some of which, specially the matter of licenceses are very important. Mr. Andrews expressed high admiration for Mr. Gandhi's conduct throughout. He had upheld the honour of India under the most difficult and trying circumstances and it was owing to Mr. Gandhi himself, Mr. Andrews remarked that the present favourable situation had been reached. The Indian community in South Africa had acted under his leadership with great courage and endurance. Hindus and Mahamedans alike had shared the sufferings together and worked under Mr. Gandhi for common cause. There was one united body of Indian opinion in South Africa and this followed Mr. Gandhi. Only very small number stood outside, but they were of no account in the counsels of South African Indians. Mr. Andrews left to-day for Calcutta by the Nagpur Mail. Thence he will proceed to Delhi.

The Amir.

Allahabad, April 17.

A Frontier correspondent reports that the Amir has sent an urgent *Farman* to the Governor of Khost, instructing him to send to Kabul Jirgahs from Jagi Mangal and Katawas tribes to sign an agreement that they will not engage in any rebellion against the Amir and intimating that in the event of their refusal they will be severely punished. The Amir has also issued orders to the *H kams* on the border to the effect that Jirgahs of independent tribes intending to enter Afghan *Illaka* are not to be allowed to take their rifles with them, but must deposit them with the *Hakams* of the *Illaka* receiving them back on their return.

Mir Said Jan, successor of Hada Mulla, called upon Jirgah of one hundred and twenty Mohamedans to return all ornaments, cash, etc., which they had looted during the past month in Kunar *Illaka* from the houses of Ram Singh and others. The Jirgah was granted Rs. 2 per man per day during their stay and they also undertook not to commit any dacoity in future.

In the Amir's *Illaka* Mohamands have complained to the Amir that Sardar Khan of Girdoa never paid them the allowance granted to them by the Amir through him whereupon the Jirgah issued orders, suspending Sardar Khan and instructing the Governor of Jellalabad to send him to Kabul under escort.

Allahabad, April 17.

The Amir has ordered a palace to be built at Darai Nur near Jellalabad for the next cold weather.

The Amir has written to Mir Said Jan intimating that Mohmand Maliks will be granted a yearly allowance on condition that thay send some of their men to remain at Kabul as security.

Our London Letter.

London, April 3.

THE CRISIS.

SINCE I wrote my last letter, as your readers are, of course, already informed by Reuter, Colonel Seely has definitely resigned the War Secretaryship and Sir John French together with Sir J. S. Ewart have also severed their connection with the Army Council. As a matter of fact, the late War Minister had no other course left open to him but to insist on Mr. Asquith accepting his resignation, when it was announced officially that the Chief of the Imperial General Staff and the Adjutant-General had tendered their resignation and that they had refused to reconsider their decision. The Tories tried their utmost to bring about the resignation of Lord Morley as well, which would, of course, have altogether wrecked the entire Cabinet and thus the downfall of the present Government—the sole aim and object of the Opposition—would have, of course, followed as a natural sequel. But the veteran Liberal statesman, on whom, owing to the regrettable absence of Lord Crewe due to indisposition the Leadership of the House of Lords had evolved, and but for whose splendid power as a debator the Treasury Bench in the Upper House would have put up a tame show against the solid body of Unionist peers, is made of a different stuff to that of which the average politician is composed, and not only he has not resigned, but he has actually improved the position of the Go-

vernment to an unparalleled degree. Lord Lansdowne, Lord Midleton, Lord Curzon and a host of other Tory peers, it is an open secret, fought hard to create an impossible position for Viscount Morley. As I have said before, even in spite of some help from the Lord Chancellor, the brunt of the work fell on Lord Morley's shoulders and, though his powers as a debator are rapidly diminishing owing to advancing age, still, on this occasion at any rate, he reminded one of "honest John" of the by-gone days, when his personality and his assistance used to be of such an extraordinary effect to the Liberal Party.

Lord Crewe, I am glad to notice, is back again, and his speech in the House of Lords the other day was delivered in his own characteristic style, full of dignity yet pregnant with sound argument and solid reasoning. The Secretary of State for India did not conceal the fact that he is of opinion that a Press Act, which could prevent the multitude of leading articles in the Tory Press, that have been written during the recent Army Crisis, from seeing the light of publication, would have been an excellent thing for the country. The noble Marquis would do a great service to his own party, the Empire at large, and the millions of India entrusted to his care for the time being, if he would prevent the publication of the scores of leading and special articles, that are being daily written in the Anglo-Indian Press with the basest of motives, by putting the Anglo-Indian Press Act into operation against the editors of such journals, who are to-day enjoying an unmistakable immunity from the existing Act.

The Prime Minister's acceptance of the War Secretaryship has saved the situation, at least as far as the Ministry is concerned. Nothing but his great sense of duty and patriotism could have induced Mr. Asquith to take upon himself the onerous duties of the War Minister, and his action is cordially appreciated by the Liberal as well as the Conservative Parties. He is seeking re-election in East Fife and it is unlikely that the Tories would contest the seat. That is at least their present plan, but one can never safely prophesise as to the Tory movements. Mr. Asquith's connection with his constituency extends over a period of 27 years, during which he has uninterruptedly sat in the House. The magnificent send-off given to him this morning at King's Cross station on his journey to the North is one of the most enthusiastic demonstrations I have ever seen, and whether the seat is contested or not by the Unionists, Mr. Asquith will deliver a series of important speeches to his constituents, which declarations will be heard and read, under the circumstances, by the whole country, as the issues involved are undoubtedly of vital consequences to the nation at large.

The Army Crisis is for the moment over, and it is admitted on all hands that the Tory plot to wreck the Government by using the Army as its medium has miserably failed. Mr. Asquith's parliamentary abilities have survived the most trying ordeal they could undergo, and it is no exaggeration to say that the Liberal Party would have been shattered altogether had its leadership been in any other hands. It is useless to deny that at the beginning of the Army Crisis the Liberals were fully expecting to meet with a catastrophe, the awful consequences of which they were unable to fathom. The issue—army versus the people—critical as it undoubtedly was, has forthwith rallied the entire coalition to a man under Mr. Asquith's banner. He has led them through the crisis and the victory is entirely due to his efforts. The unwavering loyalty of the coalition, no doubt, has proved itself of enormous value to the Prime Minister and he is personally fully aware of that fact. The House of Commons has made it perfectly plain that it could never allow the participation of the Army officers in party politics. The Army must and will obey orders issued through the legally constituted authorities. If military officers are allowed to choose for themselves the occassions on which they would or would not obey orders, that would at once put an end to anything like parliamentary government and military dictatorship would be the obvious outcome of it.

The recent Army Orders, issued on the unanimous authority of the Army Council, including Sir John French and Sir J. S. Ewart (just before their resignation was announced), set forth the duties of officers and men in no unmistakable language. These two distinguished officers' resignation, of course, is not due to any difference of policy, but, as your readers are aware, is due to an entirely personal matter, *viz.*, the fact of their having initialled the War Office memorandum, which included the so-called "Seely-clauses." This they did on the genuine understanding (as far as they were concerned) that the whole memorandum was approved of by the entire Cabinet. It is very necessary that this point should be made perfectly clear, as the Tories are trying their utmost to misrepresent the whole situation. The Government's attitude throughout the Army Crisis had met with the hearty co-operation and approval of the entire Army Council. There is no reason at all to suspect that there is a widespread dissatisfaction in the higher ranks of the Army with the methods adopted by the Government. Such dissentients are merely a handful and of the most irresponsible character. A few young hot-headed Brigadier-Generals may have fallen victims to the treachery of the Conservative leaders, who are at the bottom of all this mischief and scandal, but the overwhelming bulk of officers and men are determined to follow the traditions of their profession and to keep politics rigidly outside their sphere. The Crisis is for the moment over, but the issue involved is certain to be the foremost question before the electorate at the coming General Election.

The Home Rule Debate.

The debate on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill, in its third and final journey in the House of Commons, now going on in Parliament, has not been a very lively proceeding by any means. The Prime Minister's absence from the House, owing to his seeking re-election in East Fife, is no doubt mainly responsible for this, but the recent Army Crisis has also had a great deal to do with the dulness of the present debate. Mr. Balfour was speaking truthfully yesterday when he said that "you, Mr. Speaker, in all your long experience in the chair, must have seldom listened to a debate whose main essentials were more remote from the subject under discussion than the debate to which we listened yesterday and the day before." On the whole, thanks to Sir Edward Grey's moderate lead, a conciliatory change has become visible in the tone and temper of speakers on all sides of the House. Even the "noble lord, the member for the University of Oxford"—Lord Hugh Cecil—has curiously enough been infected with the new atmosphere, and his carefully prepared speech in the House on Wednesday, in which he earnestly and passionately appealed for some give-and-take on both sides, is one of the most hopeful signs of the times. The final words rest with Sir Edward Carson, who is speaking on Monday night, and the Chancellor's speech likewise on that occasion will no doubt give us a clue as to the Government's attitude. In the meantime, the rank and file of both the Parties are endeavouring to bring their united influence to bear on their respective leaders in favour of some peaceful solution of the thorny question.

M. P.'s Jeer at Peers in Gallery.

An extraordinary scene was witnessed in the House of Commons last week, when the Army Crisis was at its height. I cannot recall to my mind having seen anything approaching it before.

Lieutenant-General Sir Reginald Pole-Carew, the Unionist member for Bodumin, with quiet restraint, asked for information as to the reported resignation of Generals French and Ewart.

Hundreds of eyes were focussed on the bearded figure of Mr. Gulland, the Scottish Whip, who stepped to the table. "In answer to that I am to say that the Cabinet is still sitting, and that they will not be able to make a statement till five o'clock."

The Unionists, packed shoulder to shoulder in over-flowing rows, set up a long shout of irony.

Up sprang Mr. Bonar Law, his face white as paper. He strove to move the adjournment of the House there and then.

But the Speaker pointed out that this could only be done by a member of the Government on a Friday.

Then came an amazing demonstration. The peers, including Lord Lansdowne, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Midleton, Lord Curzon and Field-Marshal Lord Grenfell, were seen slowly filing out of the peer's gallery.

Somebody raised an ironical shout. The effect was electrical. In a flash dozens of Liberals, Nationalists and Labour members were on their feet hailing the departure of noble lords, spiritual and temporal, with a scalding torrent of mocking cheers.

The Hospitality Committee.

An unofficial committee has been recently formed of English people who desire to show hospitality to Indian students visiting this country. Lord Haldane has consented to act as president, and a number of ladies and gentlemen, representing educational interests in England, the Bar, the Medical Profession, and other aspects of English life, have expressed a wish to join.

It is felt that there are many English people in London who would like to have opportunities of meeting Indian visitors and of making them welcome in English homes, and many residents at holiday centres who would willingly co-operate in offering to Indian students opportunities of joining in English society there. There are also many Indians in this country who would gladly avail themselves of opportunities of coming into more intimate touch with the better sides of English life, and it is especially on behalf of these, who desire to reciprocate the friendliness that the English people wish to show, that the efforts of the Committee will be directed. It is hoped that entertainments given for larger or for smaller numbers may lead to personal acquaintanceships of a more enduring kind, and to the forming of friendships valuable to Indians and to Englishmen alike.

This scheme, if worked on absolutely unofficial lines, as we are told it would be, will certainly go far towards the creation and the

promotion of that harmony and mutual understanding which are so desirable from the point of view of both the English people and ourselves. If that excellent motive is conscientiously carried out, the Hospitality Committee would have rendered no little service to the Empire at large. British pospitality in any shape or form would be immensely appreciated by the Indian students in this country, but it is essential that such hospitality should be altogether divorced fom even the least spirit of "officialdom," which has done so much harm in the past. Generally, when a scheme of this sort is set on foot, under the innocent garb of pure "friendship and affection," the average Indian student does not fail to "scout a rat" in the plan, as past experience has unhappily only too vividly demonstrated to him the truth of the significant fact that, inspite of such movements originally starting with the best of intentions, they automatically become, in due course of time, transformed into nothing more nor less than what could be only described as semi-official concerns in every respect. The Northbrook Society would serve as an excellent example of what I mean. It was founded, as is well known, with objects and aims almost similar to those of the Hospitality Committee, and it is only fair to admit that until a few years ago it was most popular with the bulk of Indian students. The Society's old premises in Piccadilly, though perhaps not so spacious and comfortable as the present rooms in Cromwell Road are, used to be the happy rendezvous of scores of young Indians every day and the genial atmosphere of the then Club-House, absolutely devoid of any red-tapism or official patronage, exercised a most healthy and invigorating influence on the social aspect of the students' lives. Since the incorporation of the Northbrook Society into the other Indian or Anglo-Indian shows at 21, Cromwell Road in South Kensington, though even to-day I believe theoretically and practically all these Associations that are thus housed under a common roof, are independent and separate, the whole thing has lost its charms. A mysterious and suspicious air of "patronage" enshrouds the entire building, and one looks in vain for that bonhomie and fellowship which were the typical features of all those who were connected with the "Northbrook" of the good old days.

However, there is no reason why one should not cordially welcome the establishment of the Hospitality Committee. As I have already said, if conducted properly, it is certain to produce the happiest results. The Committee contains the names of some of the most distinguished men and women of this country, though I am bound to say that there are a few names on the Committee which might perhaps seriously handicap the organisers of the movement to render the scheme very popular amongst the Indian students and which might have been with advantage excluded.

The Lord Chancellor, as previously mentioned, is the President and Sir Frederick Robertson Chairman. The following, amongst others, are members of the General Committee:— Lord Reading (the Lord Chief Justice); Lord Inchcape; Lord Sandhurst; the Lord Justice Vaughan Williams; Lord Kinnaird, Sir Thomas Barlow; Bart. (President of the Royal College of Physicians); Mr. E. R. Bevan. Sir John Rose Beadford M. D. F. R. C. S., (Physician, University College Hospital): Mr. R. Montagu Burrows (Principal of King's College, London); Sir Henry Craik, K. C. B., M. P.; Sir James Dunlop-Smith K. C. S. I.; Mr. T. Gregory Foster (Provost of University College, London); Mr. J. C. M. Garnett (Principal of the Manchester School of Technology); Sir Archibald Geikie, K. C. B., O. M., (Lately President of the Royal Society); Sir Rickman Godler, Bart. (President of the Royal College of Surgeons); Sir Alfred Pearce-Gould, K. C. V. O., F. R. C. S., (Senior Surgeon, Middlesex Hospital); the Rev. Canon Scott Holland, D. D. (Ryins Professor of Divinity, Oxford); Mr. Montagu R. James (Vice Chancellor, Cambridge University); Sir Alfred Keogh, K. C. B. (Rector of the Imperial College of Science and Technology, London): Sir Henry Seymour King, K. C. I. E.; Mr. E. F. V. Knox, K. C. (Lately Treasurer of Gray's Inn); Sir Robert Laidlaw; Mr. C. E. Mallet; Sir Henry Miers, F. R. S. (Principal of the London University); Sir Theodore Morison, K. C. I. E.; Mr. W. Blake Odgers K. C.; Sir Fedrick Pollock, Bart.; Sir Herbert Roberts, Bart., M. P.; Sir, Henry Roscoe, F. R. S.; Mr. A. E. Shipley, F. R. S. (Master of Chirst's College, Cambridge): Sir Richard Stapley; Mr. J. L. Strachan-Davidson (Master of Balliol College Oxford); The very Rev. T. B. Strong (Vice-chancellor of Oxford University); Sir Adolphus Ward (Master of Peterhouse College, Cambridge): Sir William Wedderburn, Bart: Mr. H. G. Wells; Viscount Churchill; Lady Finney: Lady Hyes: Lady Proctor; Lady Robertson: Lady Scott: Lady Scott-Menerieff: the Lady Emily Lutyens; the Hon. Emily Kinnaird; Meriel; Countess De La Warr; Miss A. O. Allen; Miss Isabel Fey; Mrs. Henry Hart; Mrs. Sassoon; the Hon. Katharine Theing; Mrs Herbert Whyte.

The President and members of the Hospitality Committee are entertaining Indian students to an "At Home" to-morrow afternoon at 25, Park Lane, which has been kindly placed at their disposal by Sir Phillip Sassoon, M. P.

The Nawab Sahib Of Junagadh.

The young Nawab of Junagadh, accompanied by Mr. Abbas Ali Baig, who is an ex-Dewan of the State, attended the Jooma-Namaz this morning, held at Lindsey Hall under the auspices of the Islamic Society. His Highness is sailing for India to-day.

A Warning to the "Zamindar."

The following is the text of the letter sent to the Editor of the *Zamindar* by the District Magistrate of Lahore :—

Sir,

From certain articles which have recently appeared in the *Zamindar* it is quite clear that you are not, what you have represented yourself to me on more than one occasion as being, actuated by a desire to improve the administration by *bonafide* and honest criticism, but that you are doing your best to stir up agitation among the ignorant masses by misrepresentation and misquotation which might have mischievous results.

I would take first of all your leading article published under a heading which may be translated:— "The Form of Government—what do the people want ?" in the issues of the 25th, 26th and 27th February last. The obvious inference from this article is that the British Government belongs to the class which you describe as class 4 and you contrast it unfavourably with Russian rule over Mohamedans, and with the Balkan States, Bosinia, Herzigovina and the Philippine islands. Instances of repressive measures adopted by the British Government are then quoted to illustrate this point.

Further on, with reference to the conduct of officials in India you quote from a speech of Lord Morley's as follows:—"If the details of Indian administration were laid before this house for supervision and criticism, the Indian Government would be *exposed* (italics are mine) and there would be done more harm than good." The meaning of the word "exposed" as here used is "brought to light" or "given away" in a depreciatory sense. But the quotation is mischievously incorrect and what Lord Morley really said was—"In subjecting details of Indian administration to the supervision and criticism of this House, the Indian Government would be *exposed to the kind of criticism* (italics mine) which could do no good but harm." Here the word "exposed" is used in quite a different sense and the suppression of the word following it has lent the passage quite a different significance.

I now pass on to an article similarly headed in your issue of the 28th February 1914, and a second article dated the 3rd March 1914, the heading of which may be translated "The cry of the poor—Oh destroyer of the garden root and branch, throw something to this side also." In the former article I wish to call your attention to the following statement. "During the whole of the Mohamedan rule in India the law of levying land revenue (literally tribute) was the same. Government claimed 1/10 of the produce of the land leaving 9/10 for the cultivators." You contrast this with what is done under British rule unfavourably to the latter and in your article of the 3rd March you proceed to contrast the people of India heaven-stricken by famine or plague with the Englishmen enriched by the wealth of India who annually spend 50 millions of pounds on sport and amusement alone. The clear intention of these articles is to show that the Indians were better off under Mohamedan rule than they are at present. Your statement that under Mohamedan rule more than 1/10 of the produce was never taken is an untruth and I am now desired to forward an extract in original Persian from Abul-Fazal's Ain-i-Akbari which shows that the Moghal system at its best under Akbar following the system of Nowsherwan took one third of the produce, and to arrive at 1/3 assumed very high rates of out-turn, and commuted into cash at current rates. I am to call upon you to publish the quotation from the Ain-Akbari after translating it into Urdu in an early issue of your paper and at the same time to publish in your paper the fact that your previous statement was inaccurate.

A refusal by you to publish the correct facts, after having published what was intended to mislead people and arouse feeling against Government, will be taken as evidence of your attitude towards Government and Government will then proceed on that understanding.

Yours truly

Lahore, 7th April 1914. H. P. Tollitor, Dist. Magistrate.

TETE À TETE



"India and Indians"

"There never was a time," says Mr. Elwin, "when India stands (*sic*) more in need of some kindly person at her side to tell her what to do." Whereupon, the benevolent author, says the *Nation*, constitutes himself the "guide, philosopher, and friend" of a misguided people. Being a missionary in India, he naturally devotes much space to expounding and interpreting the tenets of Hinduism. On the perusal of his polemics, we fail to understand how any intelligent person, even though he were only a black man, could have adopted a religion so egregiously debased and shoddy. "But Mr. Elwin is careful to clear himself of the reproach of partisanship"; says the *Nation*, "he is quite amenable to discussing the 'deep philosophic thoughts,' which a few sympathizers presume to underlie 'the idolatry and folly and indecency which we know exists in the religion.' Alas! on dissection, 'practically nothing at all .....would be left.' He advances evidence. A certain Hindu poetess—Sarojini Naidu, though there is a 'distinct charm in the rhythm of her verses,' displays 'an utter emptiness' of insight and concept. Hey presto! My contention justified, says our zealous iconoclast." On the same analogy might an Indian critic, on examining the religious thought-structure of Mrs. Hemans, have pricked the bubble of Christianity. Mr. Elwin's area of observation, we are told, is by no means confined to theology. He is equally emphatic upon Indian customs, temperament, literature, and racial characteristics. After Mr. Elvin's verdict, the wonder is that these dusky millions "suckled on a creed out worn" contrive somehow to live lives that are not wholly miserable and forlorn. There is hope, faith and charity in the land; and the social contrivances that admit of kind, neighbourly offices, fellow-feeling, personal sacrifice, unselfishness, self-surrender, and even innocent little joys and free human laughter, are not mere blunders. Mr. Elwin's loyalty to his creed may be perfect, but even after his missionary experiences in India he has not apparently learnt the simple fact that men can live tolerably clean, pure and purposeful lives even without the help of Christianity. His delving into ancient Hindu lore has convinced him that Hinduism is a structure without solid foundations. And he is amazed that the structure does not fall to the ground. Let us hope this miracle would teach the self-complacent Christian missionary the meaning of true humility and the supreme lesson that God fulfils his purposes on this earth in many ways. We do not, of course, mean that Hinduism is a perfect system of beliefs and social doctrines any more than we can accept the absurd conclusion that without Christianity there is no salvation for mankind. Christian critics of Hinduism and Islam should, however, cultivate a sense of proportion and exercise some degree of tolerance in their hasty judgments on the great creeds that satisfy the spiritual needs of millions.

National Education.

Mrs. Annie Besant recently delivered a public lecture in Bombay on "national education." She emphasised the fact that education of a nation, when handled by the people themselves, produces the best results. She instanced America whose millionaires had built up her own educational fabric with remarkable results. She expressed her opinion that under Indian conditions it is all the more necessary that the country's education should be taken up by the people themselves. The Government should be looked upon only for expansion and elaboration. Coming down to different systems of education she criticised the present system of literary education and admired the great store of Indian literature which, she said, was very much neglected. She emphasised the importance of educating the people in their own history and ridiculed the present mode of teaching history where, to quote one instance, Southey's "Life of Nelson" was thrust upon Indian students. Laying stress on technical education she deplored the present condition when Indian chiefs and others were equipping their own technical departments with European heads even when well-qualified Indians could be had. This, she said, was one source of promoting discontent among England-returned youths. Finally, referring to women's education, she bitterly complained of the shameful neglect of the educated Indian males and exhorted them to wake up be-time. Referring to the great, educative influence of the old village 'panchayat' system, she advocated its revival in its fullness and said that it had the potentiality of raising the great edifice of self-government on Colonial lines which was rightly the aspiration and ideal of every educated Indian. Mrs. Besant's estimate of the educational requirements of India is based on insight and judgment. She has laid her finger with deep discernment on the heart of the problem. It is absurd to look forward with confidence to any real intellectual and moral advance as long as the education of the Indian people is not placed in their own hands. We have repeatedly discussed the broad aspects of the problem and have shown how every minor question relating to our educational progress takes its origin in the one fundamental need—the organisation of Indian education on truly national lines. India may need Western teachers for some time to come. She cannot shut herself from Western thought and sit down to evolve a new culture out of her inner consciousness. But the Indian people are the best judges of their own needs and they should be free to lay down the lines of their future development. The Government policy, however, seems to be to emphasise still further the State control over Indian education. The system of education now in vogue is the result of the British Rule, and it is plain that the educational policy of the Indian Government cannot entirely be divorced from what are called "reasons of State." Those who have no sympathy with the political aspirations of the people would like to "reform" Indian education root and branch. In other words, they would have no education that taught people to love freer institutions and claim an effective and responsible share in the government of the country. This is, however, an abject confession of failure. The Government of India has, we are happy to believe, no such qualms of conscience. Its aim is to organise an educational system that would be the surest instrument for the people of India to attain a new social synthesis. This end can be achieved only by allowing the people to build the system themselves according to their own requirements.

Religion and the Young Turks.

Many devout Mussalmans in India who are now fully satisfied that it was the Hamidian *regime* in Turkey that had brought the Ottoman Empire tottering to the ground still mistrusted its young saviours—and not unnaturally—when they heard so much of "Ottomanisation" and "Patriotism" and all about وطن بيزم جاني سز and so little about Islam, its Allah and His Prophet. The attitude of the Egyptian Nationalist too, who often talks as if he believed the Pharoahs to be his spiritual a well as ethnic ancestors, and as if he sought inspiration from the Pyramids instead of the Ka'ba and the long line of prophets of the Lord of the Ka'ba, including Moses whom one of the Pharoahs had pursued across the Nile with disastrous results, lent colour to the suspicion that the Young Turks had exchanged the faith of their ancestors for the culture of Parisian boulevards, and the religious fervour that had induced Ayyoub of the *Ansar* to bequeath his bones to those who live along the Bosphorus for the latitudinarianism of Turkish freemasonry. If this were really true of all the Turks, or even of a great majority of them, including the Anatolian soldier who has borne the brunt of Christian Europe's attacks on the Ottoman Empire for five or six centuries, then, indeed, one who knows Indian Mussalmans would not expect to see even a hundredth portion of the enthusiasm in response to Turkish appeals for relief of war sufferers that the world witnessed among them during the last two years. Indian Mussalmans, or, strictly speaking, such of them as are sufficiently interested in world-politics and keep themselves acquainted with current affairs, would have grieved over the fate of Turkey as they do over the fate of Poland, and would have contributed towards the relief of Turkey's sufferings something like the proportion of their wealth remitted, say, by the English or the French. It is clear that what moved Indian Mussalmans to assist the Turks was not merely their humanity or the feeling that actuates the Subject Races and Nationalities Conference, but the fact that they and the Turks share the common heritage of Islam. Non-Moslems often refer to the feeling as Pan-Islamism, but the Mussalmans are quite satisfied with the name that their Maker gave to it when He told them: "Verily all Moslems are brothers."

It is, therefore, obvious that Indian Mussalmans should have been much concerned about the intensity or otherwise of the religious beliefs of the Young Turks; and the the stories, unfortunately not unoften only too true, of the defiance of, or rather ignoring, the rites and observances of Islam on the part of the upper classes of the Turks, chiefly in the capital and in European Turkey, have done not a little to cool down their affection and esteem for their Turkish brethren. The non-Moslem Turcophobes, who dread the solidarity of Islam and always try to show the worst side of the Turk to Indian Mussalmans, when they fail in everything else, tell them that he is not even half as good a Moslem as they are. This is so telling an argument that it becomes difficult to justify one's regard for the Turk as a brother Moslem after it. Indian Mussalmans are therefore always on the look-out for any indication of the Turks' reversion to the religious fervour of earlier days and pounce upon it like one who loves his mistress dearly, yet doubts her, and clings to the remnants of his shattered faith in her constancy. We wonder whether many Young Turks know that few thoughtful Indian Mussalmans found half as much consolation in the triumphant re-entry of the Ottoman troops in Adrianople as in the silent prayer that lasted an hour after the news of this great event had reached the people. The *Iradé* for the establishment of the Medina University and the gift of four carpets to Indian Mosques has meant far more to Indian Mussalmans than the purchase of the *Rio de Janeiro* and the payment of the last instalment of the price of the *Reshadiyya*. These are things which the Young Turks must take to heart, and we hope our friends Kemal Omar Bey and Adnan Bey, who were lately among us, have not forgotten the demands of their shaggy friend "Hodja Effendi," nor has Khalil Khalid Bey failed to give the message of Indian Mussalmans to the Government of a sovereign whom millions of Mussalmans regard as the Caliph of their Prophet.

Enver Pasha and Religion.

In this connection it is a pleasure to note that there is one Young Turk at least who knows the value of religion, and he is perhaps the best product of the Young Turk Movement. Of course, we refer to Enver Pasha whom we heartily congratulate on his marriage with Princess Najié, the niece of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan. Soon after learning of his elevation to the office of War Minister, an enthusiastic young Aligarhian who had gone to Turkey as a member of the All-India Medical Mission under the Directorship of Dr. Ansari, wrote to Enver Pasha, congratulating him on his appointment and expressing the hope that the new War Minister would try to infuse into the Ottoman Army Islamic fervour and the belief that they are Moslems first and Ottomans afterwards. Curiously enough, just a day or two before this letter reached Enver Pasha, His Excellency had issued an Army Order addressed to the Ottoman forces on the same subject, and S. Feyzoullah Bey, Chief of the Bureau of Foriegn Correspondence in the Turkish Ministry of War, has now sent him on the instruction of Enver Pasha a cutting from the *Tanin* giving the full text of that Order. In the course of that Order Enver Pasha states his firm belief that an army without religion can never succeed. It is religion and full faith which are the strongest and most stimulating factors in encouraging soldiers to do their duty and in inducing them to make every kind of sacrifice. A religion, says Enver, which improves morals and purifies the heart, is, for military service, a great spiritual factor for the maintenance of the ideal of unity and discipline. The War Minister therefore earnestly requests every soldier, be he Moslem or Christian, to be strongly attached to the precepts and practices of his faith, and strongly advises all commanders to make every effort so that no one in the Army may remain indifferent to religion. Those who have realized this aspect of the great Ottoman hero's character during the war in Tripoli and who have taken a true measure of the faith which this splendid Moslem inspired in the Arabs of Libya, cannot be surprised at learning that it should have been one of the first Army Orders issued by him. Feyzoullah Bey enclosed a card of Enver Pasha as a token of His Excellency's regard for our correspondent, and assured him that the infusion of religious spirit into the Ottoman Army and into Ottoman life generally was the principal ideal of Enver Pasha. Long may he live and long may Islam remain his highest ideal and aspiration! We are thankful to our correspondent for sending us the correspondence in the original, and it would no doubt be a source of gratification to him that his own thoughts and those of the great Moslem hero ran in the same groove in this matter.

Racial Feeling in the Panjab.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, has often deplored the existence of bitter racial feelings in his province. He has sought on more than one occasion to bring home by wholesome advice to both the Hindu and the Moslem leaders their grave responsibility in the matter. There is, however, something malign in the atmosphere of the province which keeps the two communities in perpetual wrangle and discord. The spirit of the peace-maker has not yet been allowed to permeate this atmosphere. Petty points of tension continue to arise with astonishing suddenness, which feed the communal rivalry and set the communal *amour propre* on edge. Little incidents in the public life of the province succeed some time in generating an amount of heat that strikes one at some distance from the fray as little short of scandalous. We have no patience for the sanctimonious Pharisee who lurks behind every incident that gives rise to angry snarls on either side. He talks of unity and peace and is all the while promoting with silent persistence the actual conditions that tend to communal self-seeking, aggressiveness and hate. An apt illustration of this method is furnished by the noisy *tamasha* that recently attended the appointment of Assistant Secretary to the Lahore Municipality. When the post was to be filled, a Mussalman municipal commissioner pointed out that the number of the Hindus in the service of the Municipality was already excessive, and pleaded that the vacant post should in fairness be given to a competent Mussalman. He also referred to the standing order of a former president of the Municipal Committee to the effect that efforts should be made to restore the communal balance in the municipal service. He reminded his Hindu colleagues that it was a case where he expected them to deal fairly with the claims of the sister community, and he hoped that they would have the courage of their professions. When the vote was taken the Hindus voted solidly against the Moslem candidate and pressed the claims of a Hindu subordinate in the Municipality. No decision could be taken at the meeting, and the President suggested that the rival parties should, after informal consultation amongst themselves, come to some agreement before the matter was settled in a formal way. The informal consultation accordingly took place at the President's house, but it proved an abortive effort. The Mussalman members felt that they were pressing for bare justice and could not give way without trampling the legitimate claims of their community under foot. The Hindus maintained a solid front and would not budge. The ideals of communal potriotism and of national unity alike were satisfied when it was decided at last to end the growing scandal and mischief of the situation by giving the post to—a Christian! Truly a heroic decision, and one that would live as a monument of glory to the "Nationalism" as practised in the Panjab. Even this desperate decision—the child of a fearful travail of the spirit that animates the unity-mongers in Lahore—was not, it would seem, finally adhered to. Some secret manipulation and bungling have gone on behind the scenes, with the ultimate result that the Hindu Members' nominee has been installed in the office of Assistant Secretary.

The Unity-Mongers.

We have set forth these facts in bare outline without the least desire to offer any comment thereon. They represent the pronounced local version of a melodrama that periodically repeats itself in various places. Its tones and tints may be a shade less lurid and loud here and there, but there is hardly any change in the spirit of the tale as it changes local colours and takes on different local settings. The Hindu papers usually ignore such "deplorable incidents" about which, we are sagely assured, "the less said, the better." For our part, we, too, are not particularly enamoured of dragging such sorry transactions into the light of public print,— perhaps for wholly different reasons. We would not have said a word about this affair of the Lahore Municipality but for the speech of Rai Bahadur Ram Saran Das in the Panjab Legislative Council, who, according to the *Punjabee*, "pleaded earnestly "and eloquently for the adoption of measures for improving the "relations between the two principal communities in the province." He is stated to have said that "the relations between the two com-"munities are getting so strained and their feeling so bitter in some "places in this province that unless some prompt and speedy measures "are adopted things may grow from bad to worse." The Rai Bahadur would have conciliation boards constituted by officials, and he referred to the Hindu Moslem conference recently called by Sir James Meston as an example worthy of imitation. These amiable platitudes may be useful in themselves, and as an expression of individual good-will they have certainly been served out in reems of glittering phrases from a thousand and one platforms in the country. The Rai Bahadur is only one of the hundreds of the patriots of the platform and the council chamber who have caught the popular trick and are well

aware of its uses. When he says that the relations between the two communities in the Panjab are strained, he states what is known to every body, but when he assumes a tone of distress and "pleads eloquently" for the adoption of remedial measures, we are amazed at his audacity. After his performances in the Lahore municipal affair relating to the appointment of Assistant Secretary it required a particularly tough and hardened nerve indeed to stand up and preach unity and good-will in the Council. The Rai Bahadur was one of the prominent Hindu municipal commissioners who opposed the efforts of his Muslim colleagues for fair dealing. The Hindu candidate was his special protége, and he has after all got his way by methods which are still a mystery. Did he imagine that by his narrow sectarian pose he was promoting Hindu-Moslem *entente*? Was he not aware that by setting an example of partisan self-seeking he was increasing the existing "strain" which he now affects to deplore aloud in the Council? Was "the conciliation board," which met under the roof of the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore to arrive at some solution of the *impasse* that he himself had helped to create, such a thrilling success that he should have rushed to the Council primed with this hollow device? Did it not occur to him that in making the suggestion he was adding neither to his dignity as a councillor nor to his reputation as a public man? It is really sad to think that puerilities such as these can masquerade as patriotism. The *Panjabee* pronounces its *Amen* with usual solemnity on the "eloquent" plea of the Rai Bahadur for Hindu-Moslem unity and in another place delivers a particularly silly attack on the Hon. Khan Bahadur Mian Mohamed Shafi, whose useful work in the recent session of the Panjab Legislative Council would earn him the praise of all fair-minded men.

An "India House" in London.

Mr. O Donnell of O'Donnell, writing to us from London, makes the following valuable suggestion for creating greater and more intelligent interest about Indian affairs in England. Mr. Polak in his letter to us had referred to Mr. O'Donnell's idea about an "India House" in London and had written in enthusiastic support of it. Mr. O'Donnell now explains his view of the matter and shows how urgent the need has grown for an Indian centre of information. We are in entire sympathy with his view and will be glad to render all help that lies in our power if efforts are made to materialise it in some suitable form. He writes:—

"I must renew the expression of my pleasure and satisfaction at "the perusal of your most valuable paper, which I have shewn and "explained to friends in London and Paris. I must at the "same time renew my declaration that the peoples of "India without distinction, and the nations of Asia generally, "commit a tremendous error, full of disastrous consequences, in not "having in London a properly organised centre of information and "influence localised in a mansion worthy of India. Here in London "all the policy of Asia can be studied and influenced. Here in London "there are hundreds of friends of the East, both Englishmen and "Irishmen, including many members of Parliament, who are prevented "from bringing your just grievances before public opinion by the total "want of adequate means of information, and cultured and capable "representatives of India who could direct Englishmen upon the "leading subjects which India has at heart. *There are no suppressions "of opinion or closures of the Press possible here.* It is in the highest "degree deplorable that the Indian princes and leaders of opinion "neglect the absolutely indispensable object of providing a centre of "information on Indian affairs for the benefit of the British public. "At present, if a group of friendly members of Parliament desire to "study an Indian question, they must do it at great difficulty and with "no assistance from Indian culture and knowledge. There ought to "be three or four high-class and highly educated representatives of the "Indian nations and religions, living permanently in London, or care-"fully replaced, in case of retirement, by other representatives of India "equally cultivated and equally distinguished. India ought in fact to "have what the far less important Dominions of Canada, Australia and "New Zealand possess, namely, an Agent-General with a proper staff "of assistants and a proper centre of information. I feel "bound to lay these views before you, dear Sir, both because "I have always been a warm friend and comrade of Indian patriots and "their statesmanlike leaders, and because I feel that it is not fair to the "British friends of India, who are here in London, to have no centre "of Indian information within their reach, and who very rarely can "find Indian speakers and scholars to help them to place Indian "grievances before the British public. There ought to be a great deal "more co-operation than now exists between the great communities "of Mohamedans and Hindus in India, who could be so influential "and powerful if they only followed the broad road of civic courage "and educated commonsense."

The Comrade.

Charitable Endowments.

I

Considerable dissatisfaction has been continually expressed as regards the administration of charitable endowments, and, following the lines of the resolutions passed every year by the All-India Muslim League on the subject, the Hon. Nawab Shams-ul-Huda, now member of His Excellency the Governor of Bengal's Executive Council, asked in the Viceroy's Council on the 24th of January, 1911, the following question :—

(1) Are the Government aware that there exists a great deal of dissatisfaction in the country as regards the manner of administration of Hindu and Mohamedan endowments?

(2) Do the Government intend to direct an enquiry regarding endowments which contain provisions for public purposes of a religious or charitable nature, with special reference to the following particulars :—

(*a*) Annual profits of such endowments.

(*b*) Amount available out of such profits for public purposes.

(*c*) Institutions of a public nature actually maintained out of such profits.

(3) Do the Government intend to undertake legislation—

(*a*) for the maintenance in every district of a public record containing particulars of all endowments containing provisions for public purposes of a religious or charitable nature;

(*b*) to compel trustees of such endowments to exhibit periodical accounts either before the Collector or the Judge of each district.

To this interpellation, the late Hon. Sir John Jenkins, Home Member, replied on behalf of Government as follows :—

The subject of the administration of Hindu and Mohamedan endowments of a religious and charitable character, as the Hon. Member is doubtless aware, last came before Government in 1909 in connection with the Private Bill on the subject of Public Charities Accounts, which the Government of the day permitted Dr. Rashbehari Ghose to introduce, reserving to themselves freedom to accept or oppose it as soon as it had been circulated for opinion. The result of the general references made after the introduction of the Bill was to show that, while a considerable body of opinion existed which held that the administration of such endowments was not satisfactory, and which was therefore in favour of the measure, yet there was little or no evidence that these views were shared by the mass of the persons interested, from whose offerings many of the institutions in question had been largely maintained. Since that time the Government have had reason to believe that dissatisfaction exists in certain communities in respect of the management of particular endowments, but they have no reason to suppose that the general attitude of the mass of the persons intrested is different from what it was in 1909. So far as the Government are aware, practically no attempt has been made to utilize the remedies which the law already provides by invoking the powers which the Courts possess to enforce the proper administration of such endowments, and they are not prepared to agree to so material a departure from the policy of non-interference in religious matters, consistently followed since 1863, as that which is involved in the proposals made under head (2) of the question, nor are they prepared to undertake, as a Government measure, legislation on the lines indicated in head (3) of the question.

In this disappointing reply the Government alluded to the Private Bill introduced by Dr. Rashbehari Ghose, which aimed at conferring on any Court, having jurisdiction to try a suit under section 92 of the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908, in respect of such a trust, the power to order a trustee, on the application of two or more beneficiaries, to cause to be prepared and filed in the Court a detailed account of receipt and disbursements for a period not exceeding three years next preceeding the date of the application. These accounts were to be open to the inspection of the public, and failure without sufficient reason to comply with the Court's order was to be made punishable with the removal of the trustee. As we wrote on the occasion of the Hon. Nawab Shams-ul-Huda's interpellation, it will be readily seen that no new duty was to be imposed by Dr. Ghose or Nawab Shams-ul-Huda on the trustees of public charities. Dr. Ghose confined himself to the enforcement of a clear duty of all such trustees, *viz.*, to keep proper accounts, by allowing members of the public interested in the charity concerned the means of calling for and inspecting its accounts without having to undertake the burden of a law-suit. But the Hon. Nawab Shams-ul-Huda, following the Muslim League resolutions, would not wait for an application of two or more beneficiaries, but would prefer that the trustees should submit such accounts periodically as a matter of ordinary routine.

While the Government of India were giving such a disappointing reply to the Hon. Nawab Shams-ul-Huda early in 1911, the Government of Bombay were giving permission to the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla to introduce a Private Bill for the registration of charitable endowments. Sir. Ibrahim's Bill aimed at compelling every

trustee of property held in trust for a charitable purpose to submit for registration to a Registrar of Charitable Trusts, to be appointed by the Local Government, (*a*) the instrument of trust or a necessary certified extract therefrom and (*b*) a statement of the trust property together with the terms and conditions of the trust. The Bill also provided for making out and annually filing with the Registrar of such trusts a statement of accounts, which were to be audited by paid auditors indicated by the Government either by name or by qualifications. These accounts were to be open to inspection by any person on payment of a fee of Re. 1, and copies were to be permitted to be taken on payment of fees to be prescribed by the Local Government. Wilful default was to be punished with a fine not exceeding Rs. 50, and a daily fine within the same limits for every subsequent default. Offences under the proposed Act were to be made cognisable by a Presidency Magistrate in Bombay and a District Magistrate in the Mofussil, and the Registrar or any other person residing within the jurisdiction of such a Magistrate was to be entitled to make a complaint.

This Bill was obviously framed on the lines suggested in the Hon. Nawab Shams-ul-Huda's interpellation. But two important departures are noteworthy. The term "charitable purpose" was to include relief of the poor, education, medical relief, and the advancement of any other object of general utility, but did not include a purpose which related exclusively to religious teaching, observances or worship. In the second place, the provisions of the Bill were made inapplicable to endowments in which the property affected did not amount in aggregate value to Rs. 10,000, or which yielded an annual income short of Rs. 500.

The Bill of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah was, therefore, more limited in application than that of Dr. Ghose, inasmuch as exclusively religious endowments and smaller trusts were excluded. At the same time it had a wider scope, for it aimed at enlightening the public with regard to the terms and conditions of charitable endowment from which it may benefit even more than at merely checking malpractices.

Dr. Ghose's Bill is evidently dead, for he is no longer a member of the Imperial Council, and nobody else has yet come forward to adopt it. The Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla's Bill, however, is still in a way before the country, though it has had a suspended animation for more than three years. It seems that the Local Government of Bombay was willing to proceed with the measure although the Government of India had informed Nawab Shams-ul-Huda of their unwillingness to depart from their absurd policy of so-called non-interference in religious matters in relation to charitable endowments which they had followed, with a consistency hardly praiseworthy, since 1863. We understand that the matter was referred to the Secretary of State for India and that he was not quite unwilling to permit steps to be taken for safeguarding the interests of beneficiaries in the manner suggested by enlightened Indian public opinion.

This belief is strengthened by the fact that a little more than a month ago the Government of India held a conference on the subject during an extremely busy fortnight crowded with Budget discussions in the Legislative Council. But if the matter was at all worthy of consideration, if the Government, after disappointing the hopes of educated Indians in 1911 by boasting of their consistency since 1863, had felt some doubts about the wisdom of their policy and the applicability to this case of that excellent doctrine, non-interference in religious matters, of which many would like to be assured in a more practical fashion than has been the case at Cawnpore and Calcutta, —if indeed such was the case, then the proper course was the appointment of a Royal Commission to take evidence throughout India and report on the need and the practicability of reform. Instead of that, a hole-and-corner conference was held at a time when few could follow the proceedings, and, as a special feature, the Press was entirely excluded. And not the least surprising feature of the conference was the fact that what the Hon. the Home Member himself called an "exceedingly knotty and difficult" subject was discussed, and, for all practical purposes—at least, so far as the people were concerned,— settled, in the course of a few hours. Our columns were then, and have been since then, exceedingly crowded, as is always the case during India's very short "season for 'copy.'" We therefore considered it more advisable to postpone a detailed consideration of the whole question for a time, and now turn to the subject. We hope our readers will give to this important problem the earnest consideration that it deserves.

It will not be without interest to note that the question of Waqf is regarded as of great importance in many Islamic countries. Waqf literally means "a stopping" or "a standing still", and, according to the Hanafi School, is defined as "the appropriation of a particular article, in such a manner as subjects it to the rules of divine property, whence the appropriator's right in it is extinguished, and it becomes a property of God by the advantage of it resulting to His creatures." The validity of Waqfs is said to be founded on the rule laid down by the Prophet himself under the following circumstances. 'Umar had acquired a piece of land in Khaiber, and proceeded to the Prophet and sought his counsel, to make the most pious use of it, whereupon the Prophet declared: "Tie up the property and devote the usufrut to human beings, and it is not to be sold or made the subject of gift or inheritance; devote its produce to your children, your kindred and the poor in the way of God." In accordance with this rule, 'Umar is said to have dedicated the property in question and the Waqf is said to have continued in existence for several centuries until the land became waste. According to a similar Tradition reported in Bukhari, the "children and kindred" are not mentioned among the beneficiaries.

It is not our purpose here to give an exposition of the present Islamic Law of Waqfs and its evolution from the Waqf-i-Shar'i or, Khairi through the various interpretations of Muslim jurists to the Waqf-i-'Adi or-Ahli. It suffices to know that according to Young, the author of "Corps de Droit Ottoman," Waqf includes three-fourths of the building and agricultural land in Turkey. Clavel in "Le Wakf on Habous," quoting two other authorties, Bonnard, and Zey, states that the Waqf land in Tunis amounts to a third, and that when the French assumed the direction of Algeria, fifty per cent. of the immoveable property was subject to Waqf. Although no record of Waqf property is available for India, there is every indication that a considerable portion of immoveable property held by Mussalmans even to-day must be subject to Waqf.

In 1591, the Sultans of Turkey placed the charitable Waqfs under the supervision of the Chief of the Eunuchs who was given the title of Administrator-General of the Waqfs of the Holy Places. Early in the nineteenth century an Imperial Administration of Waqfs was created, but it was not till 1840 that this was transformed into a Ministry. The Minister of Waqfs has since had a seat in the Council of Ministers, and has under his orders 2,000 officials whose salaries are paid out of the Waqf revenues.

In Egypt, in 1835, Mohamed Ali created an Administration of Waqfs. It is true that it was suppressed within three years, but by a decision of the Privy Council of 1851, approved by Khedive Abbas I, the Administration was re-organised and re-established. According to the decision of the Privy Council, every Nazir (as the Mutawalli of a Waqf is called in Egypt) was obliged to make an inventory of the Waqf properly under his direction and render accounts of its revenues and expenditures, the Nazir being held responsible for any losses. Every failure on the part of a Nazir to carry out the wishes of the founder was to be brought before the Administration which had the power to dismiss him. It is noteworthy that all expenses of the Administration were to be paid by the Ministry of Finance, the Waqf property not being liable for any other expenses than those charged aganist it by the founder. In 1878, Khedive Ismail appointed his first Council of Ministers, and the Administration of Waqfs was raised to the dignity of a Ministry. In 1884, however, Tewfik Pasha took the Waqfs directly under his control in the form of an independent Administration. But only last year the Waqf Administration was once more transformed into a Ministry, though the motives of this change are far from certain. The Waqfs which were under the control of the Administration included all charitable Waqfs which had not been bestowed upon any particular individual; all Waqfs the beneficiaries of which were unknown; and any Waqf placed under the control of the Administration by an order of the *Mahkama* or by the consent of the Nazir and beneficiaries. The control of the Administration extended to the dismissal and appointment of the Nazir, the supervision of the accounts, the grant of leases, the making of sales or exchanges, and, in fact, to all questions of administration. The Ministry of Finance also possessed a certain power of control with reference to the Budget of the Administration. From 1905 to 1910 the Administration controlled 14,886 Waqfs, of which 8,339 were charitable, and 6,574 were private Waqfs. Obviously such extensive control over charitable endowments, many of them of a purely religious character, could only be conferred

on an administration which was of the same faith as the founders and the beneficiaries, in a country and where, unlike Egypt, there could be no suspicion of the dependence of the State on a more powerful State holding other religious beliefs. Such control cannot for obvious reasons be given to an official administration in India. But short of it there are numerous methods of safeguarding the interests of the beneficiaries which we hope to discuss in our subsequent articles.

Young India.

I

Young India is rapidly becoming articulate under the stress of new social and political conditions, but it has not yet learnt the art of self-expression. The old scheme of life that nourished the roots of faith and purpose of the earlier generation is dissolving into its elements. The new order of things is only just beginning to be evolved. The younger generation, that has succeeded to the heritage of a vast social tangle, a medley of vague desires and moral uncertainties and doubts, has not under the circumstances reached the stage of perfect intellectual certitude, and lacks in some degree the clear-cut aim, the sure method and the power of self-articulation that distinguish the life of a well established society. It is dreaming dreams, most of which are vague and fleeting. The magic casements open for a while, and it sees visions of glorious loveliness and splendours of heavenly joy poised etherially on wings of inexpressible desires, and the tense feeling of the moment shapes itself into some sort of speech. But the accents are strange, the words are incoherent, the emotion is halting and confused. The Utopia slips out of its mental grasp and is entombed in silence. Yet, inspite of failures, the quest goes on. Visions rise and die, but the hope endures. The unconquerable optimism of babes and sucklings of yesterday has not quailed before the vast burden of their race. The inner vitality of the life-force feeds the springs of their efforts, and they are convinced that there exist somewhere free and joyous states of thought and feeling from which Young India cannot long be disinherited. Only if they could utter all that they feel, and experience and suffer, and could mould their utterance into a coherent and beautiful speech, the misery of isolation would end and none of them would ever again feel that he is but

> An infant crying in the night,
> An infant crying for the light,
> and with no language but a cry.

As it is, the "infant" cry of Young India has never been heard in its full tragic pathos. Its enemies, devoid of understanding and of common human charity, call it hard names and think that it is full of the wine of insolence and the spirit of revolt. All those who know the innermost emotions of Young India know that it is a hateful and cruel lie. Never has a young generation of people set itself to bear the Titanic burden of a complete social reconstruction with deeper searching of the heart, greater earnestness and more reverent faith in the Power that shapes human ends than the "educated classes" of India. It is narrowness and perversity of the most malignant type that can blind one to the enormous difficulties and anguish of their situation. They stand in the midst of a vast process of change and destruction, in which ancient cultures and hoary institutions are silently crumbling away at the touch of the new iconoclastic forces. They look back into the past and are smitten with blank fear at the sight of the older generation—not yet wholly extinct—which stands dumb and paralysed as if with a sense of doom. The present stares at them as one huge note of interrogation. Only the horizons of the future are lit with hope and trail clouds of glory, but they recede as often as they come in sight. Is it strange, then, that the young Indian who loves his country and whom the Western education has brought into vital touch with the larger life of the world, should still be struggling manfully to construct a new life-purpose out of the debris of the old? His is the most difficult task known to history. He is only at the beginning of his gigantic labours. His path is strewn with frightful distractions. The world-forces of thought, desire, passion play around him. He is not yet firmly set on his course and the goal is not fully in his sight.

جاتاهون نهوڑي دور هراڪ تيز رو کي ساڻهه

پر جاڻتا نهين هون ابي راهبر کو ميٽي

(I swim with every rapid current for a space. I do not as yet know my guide.)

If Young India were not so artless, if it could pour forth its full heart into speech, the story of its inner struggle, of its fond hopes and gnawing fears would move the world. The young educated Indian is a tragic figure—he carries within his bosom the pathos of a great but fallen race. No poet has yet risen to reveal him to himself, no artist has yet caught the whisper of his soul and reproduced it. His romance of hope begins and ends in a circle of mute, individual experience. When he comes to take part in public affairs, in social movements and organised political effort, he has shed most of his enthusiasm. Only his sense of loyalty to his race and country prevents him from retiring tortoise-like within his shell and forget the sorry scheme of things entire. He meets others of his fellows, whose inner race, too, like him, has been run, and they sit together to rough-hew their destiny with an apparent energy of conviction, though each of them knows in his heart that his inner fires have burnt out to ashes. The hope of early days remains to them and they share it in common with some show of enthusiasm.

Without presuming to record the history of the inner struggles of the young educated Indian from the cradle to early manhood, we may take in rapid glance some of the significant phases of his intellectual life and moral tribulations. He is often the child of many prayers, and is born in a home of some material comfort. His parents have often more in common with the past that with the new order of things, which they dimly see beginning to evolve itself out of chaos. They had had their mental struggles, keen, tragic fights with the sense of impending change, which is devouring every familiar aspect of their old world. They have now resigned themselves to the inevitable. If one could lift their brain-caps, one would be amazed to find a host of shy intimations of embryo protests clinging desperately to a multitude of new sense-impressions. Their struggles are over, but there has been no decisive victory or defeat. It is a state of indefinite armistice, so to speak, which the weary mind of the older generation has been forced to accept for its own peace. It loves the past and cannot repudiate it. It does not fully understand the present and, therefore, views it with suspicion and veiled hostility. But the defiant challenges and the battle-cries of the early days have ceased to rend the air. The young educated Indian is born in this atmosphere.

As soon as the nascent consciousness begins to individualise, swarms of loose and unrelated impressions assail it from all sides, and the task of storing, sorting and cataloguing them becomes a crushing burden to the palpitating little mind. There is neither established authority to select and provide for the infant mind its early tools, nor the settled tradition to feed its instincts. Tradition is grown vague and decadent and authority is maimed with doubt. The mother throws out dry crums out of her starved and miscellaneous assortment of ideas as the child begins strenuously to construct its scheme of the universe. The father often meets the persistent questionings of the eager, little babbler with a conscience-stricken face. He is terrified at every new mental gesture, every fresh note of the inquiring voice. Sometimes he is afraid of giving sure and definite answers. For the bewildering mase of things he has no clue to offer. His halting, meagre replies suggest still more doubts and more distracting puzzles. His own key to the riddle of the universe has been lost, and he is reduced to blank despair as his son in mute insistent ways demands, in cries of pain and shrieks of joy and in pretty small talk, a key to the thousand riddles which daily grow in his mind and begin to appear in a broadening pucker of the brow. The young child soon begins to lose its zest, and things lose their virgin freshness. The world reproduces itself on its mental retina as some queer arrangement in which unnamable, irrelevant things keep a riotous company and are only related to one's personality by the extent of their power to increase or mitigate one's bodily hunger or pain. This is, of course, an extreme picture of the childhood of the young educated Indian. But it is neither an unfaithful nor an uncommon picture. There are cases in which parents are sure of their ground, and have tried to give confident direction to the growing mind and sensibilities of the child. They are mostly of the type known as "The Old School," that is to say, men who have clung passionately to the old symbols and the old ways of thought. They have provided a cast-iron mould for the younger generation, but the mould has either broken itself, or bent and irretrievably maimed the mind. In all cases the child, when he goes to the modern public school and begins to discover a new world through the text-book, carries with him a mentality which has very nearly lost its spring and in which the main channels of sensibility are beginning to find settled grooves. The home, the street, the school and all the other symbols of organised social life have no easily intelligible relation to one another and do not fall naturally into a picture of the whole. With the school the child is ushered into boyhood and begins his short period of romance.

Aligarh.

The Old Boys' Re-Union and Annual Dinner.

[From Our Special Correspondent.]

The Annual Re-Union of the old Aligharians was as usual held during the Easter holidays. Instead of two, three days were allotted to it this year. Early on the 10th April, in the unavoidable absence of Mr. Justice Rafique, one of the most senior and popular Old Boys, whom every body missed, the new palatial building of the Old Boys' Lodge was opened in the presence of the Honorary Secretary, staff, and a large number of Old Boys and present students by Mr. Syed Zainuddin, the president of this year's meeting. Mr. A. M. Khawaja recited a "Sura" from the Koran Sharif, after which Mr. Shaukat Ali, the Secretary in a short, neat speech explained why the Old Boys' were building such a fine two-storied building at a cost of about Rs. 40,000. The position of Aligarh was unique amongst the Colleges in India. Its sons were very staunch in their love and affection for their Alma mater. Not only that they wanted a place where they could stop while paying visits to the dear old College to revive old memories or when coming with their wives who insisted on seeing the place of which their husbands always spoke so enthusiastically and where their own younger sons were being educated but also that they had felt the want of a place where when necessary some distinguished guest to the College could be accommodated. It was "another contribution from the sons to their mother "Aligarh." The "Old Boys' Lodge would also be a sort of pictorial History or Directory of the College. Efforts are being made to collect photos of all those who were connected with it. There would be the great Sir Syed and the group of his devoted friends who founded Aligarh; all those who helped the College financially; all the officials who extended a helping hand to us from the days of Lord Lytton, and Sir John Strachey; all the members of the staff both Indian and English from Siddons, Theodore Beck, Horst, Harold Cox, Shibli Nomani, Walter Raleigh, William Wallace, J. C. Chakrwati, Theodore Morison, Thomas Arnold, Moulvi Abbas Hosein, Pundit Sheo Shanker down to the present day staff. Popular and old College servants and vendors would have a corner to themselves. All the Trustees and the Old Boys would be there, both singly and in their groups. This would in time become a most unique and valuable collection. The building would also have about 1200 stone tablets like those in the Strachey Hall, on which the Old Boys would have either their own names or those of their friends inscribed. All the rooms would be called after the Old Boy Doners and those ready have already been taken up. Nawab Ahmad Said Khan, of Chhitari Messrs. Iltifat Rasul, Sultanbhai Hajibhai Lalji of Bombay, Syed Raza Ali, Ahmed Mozal-lullah Khan Sherwani and Habiburrahman Khan are the doners. The president before opening the "lock" in an earnest speech appealed to all the Old Boys to stand and work together in harmony and requested the Hony. Secretary of the College to kindly assure the Trustees that they could always count on the loyal co-operation of the Old Boys, who were themselves very jealous of the honour of their Alma mater. Amidst the cheers of all the Lodge was opened. All the rooms have been most tastefully fitted up and furnished and every one congratulated Messers Shaukat Ali, and Sarfraz Khan, the Secretaries of the Association. After this ceremony all adjourned to the Siddon's Union Club, where the Secretaries' Report was read and after discussion, confirmed. There was an increase both in memberships and in the 1 per cent. contribution *i.e.*, the 1240 members against 1087 of last year paid Rs. 13,135 against 12,698 of last year. The realizations were bad and there was a large amount of arrears, which it is hoped would be recovered within this year. The Association besides contributing for the Old Boy Science Chair in the College, paid for the education of four of its wards, sons of deceased Old Boys, and gave two scholarships for Roorkee. It spent about 15,000 on the Old Boy's Lodge this year. It passed unanimously a resolution warmly appreciating the services of the 10 Old Boys who worked for Dr. Ansari's Great Red Crescent Mission to Turkey, sanctioned Rs. 10,000 more for the Lodge; decided to offer two scholarships each of Rs. 2,000 to the Old Boy members of the College and school staff to go to England, France and Germany to study the system of College and School management there and to report thereon to the Association. It passed a resolution strongly condemning the mischievous article appearing over the signature of "Asiaticus" casting aspersions on the loyalty of the Aligarh Old Boys and categorically denying the baseless allegations contained therein. Besides other resolutions a vote of confidence was passed for Mr. Shaukat Ali, they requesting him not to resign before the expiry of his term of office as he had wished to do but to spare some time from the Khoddam-i-Ka'aba Society and give it to the work of the Association. The Annual Dinner was held on the evening of the 11th and was a great success. The Strachey Hall has become too small for it and so it was held on the Cricket Lawn which was beautifully lighted and decorated for the occasion. Over 1,000 people sat down to Dinner, including besides the College authorities such distinguished guests as Mr. Justice Hasan Imam and Dr. Ansari, Dr. Ikbal could not come but sent a characteristic message in verses, which was warmly appreciated by all.

After the King Emperor's toast which was loyally drunk Mr. Ross Masud in a magnificent speech proposed the toast of the "Dear Old College." It was one of the best things heard in Aligarh and clearly put before all the ideal for the completion of which the Old Boys were to work. It was apparent to all who were present that Mr. Ross Masud was not going to live on the reputation of his great father and greater grand-father and that he was destined to do great things himself. Every one hoped that he would one day be the Provost of the coming Moslem University.

The Honorary Secretary Nawab Mahomed Ishaq Khan and Mr. Justice Hasan Imam on behalf of the Trustees spoke in very high terms of the services of the Old Boys to their Alma mater. The Honorary Secretary of the College assured the Old Boys that the Trustees had full confidence in them and in their love and affection for their Alma-mater and the time was not far distant when all the Trustees would be Old Boys. Let the Old Boys keep on working as they had been doing for the good of their College, which needed greater support and they could always count on him and may rest assured that they would find him sympathetic and helpful. Mr. Justice Imam in his remarkable speech laid great stress on the formation of character and on the cultivating of the habit for serious studies. He made an eloquent appeal on behalf of the education of Moslem Girls. After the toast of the Old Boys, the health of the staff, the guests and the chairman were enthusiastically drunk. Nawab Mohamed Ishaq Khan, performed during the Dinner a very pretty little ceremony. This was the giving away of medals with Red enamelled Crescent in the centres to all the Old Boys who had worked under Dr. Ansari and to Dr. Ansari himself on behalf of those who had worked under him. Those present were Messrs. Abdul Rahman Siddiqi, (General Manager) Mr. Shoeb Kureshy, Mr. Bashiruddin, Mr. Khaliquzzaman, Mr. Abdul Aziz Ansari Mr. Mohamed Ali (the Organizer) and Dr. Ansari (the Director.) All received tremendous ovations.

Besides business and serious functions, there was plenty of sport and each afternoon the Old Boys inspite of their growing years and girths, took in the present students at Tennis, Hockey, Cricket and Football. Ross Masud and Ehsan-ul-Haq easily disposed of the College pair Asad and Anwar in Tennis. In Hockey and Football, there were great struggles and the matches were matched by an enthusiastic and appreciative crowd, who admired all the nicities of the games displayed by the Old Boys.

If weight was to be taken as the proof of the strength of the teams, the Old Boys were easy firsts. They really played well especially Mr. Zamiruddin, the sporting and resourceful Referee. Not only that he saved numerous violent cowardly attacks by the slim Collegians on the Old Boys' goal but he managed to score for them also. I have heard that the "All round" editor of the *Comrade* who figured very prominently in all the games, has proposed with his characteristic boldness to raise a statue for this Referee—a real upholder of Discipline. He could not allow the "buchchas" of the College to forget their position and have the impertinence to beat their elders. We all painfully noticed the vile habit in the present Hockey team of being off-side so often. At least 30 off-sides must have been given against them. In fact the poor Referee instead of playing, was constantly whistling. The Old Boys won in Hockey by 3 goals to 2 !!!! In Football, the back line was remarkably heavy, the goal alone had four such wide people as Sarfraz Bashir Mirza, Mohamed Ali and Shaukat. No wonder the Collegians could not score inspite of frantic efforts; with such custodians in the goal, there was no room left for the poor ball to pass through. In the forward line, Messrs. Zafar Omar, Shervani brothers, Haji Hasan and Ansari were doing good work. Shamshad and Ross Masud as half backs were magnificient. Both sides were so well matched that upto the last moment, no goals were scored by either sides, When only few minutes were left, the resourceful "Heavy Brigade" suddenly left the goal and went as Forwards. In a few seconds Shaukat (goal-keeper) picked up the ball in his hands and though surrounded by a host of nimble opponents, by a clever combination of "Soccer and Rugby football, and with a twist of his wrist, sent the Ball into the net amidst the deafening cheers of the on-lookers. This brilliant player was chaired by the crowd, though owing to his weight, they had to drop him pretty quick. It was a pleasing feature that unlike last years, the son were cheering and encouraging their "daddies" all along. I am told the stoppage of pocket monies in the interest of "Discipline" has had most salutary effect. Mr. Justice Hasan Imam who was one of the amused crowds, summed up well. "It was really difficult to pronounce who were the greater babies, the fathers or the sons." A Daniel come to judgment !! In Cricket the Collegians were handicapped owing to the absence of their brilliant and popular Captain Prince Hameed-ullah Khan of Bhopal who, however, very thoughtfully had sent besides messages of love, a maund of delicious "Kalakand" for the Veterans. We all missed his genial and sporting personality. Cricket was a drawn game; Ehsan, Shaukat, Mahomed Ali and Ross Masud batting well. Salam and Shafkat were too good as bowlers. The Lodge was gay day and night and Masud (Tommy) fully deserved the affections and thanks of all. All sorrowfully departed after spending three happy days. *Au revoir* "dear old Aligarh" more next year.

The Army Crisis.

Debate in the Commons.

[*Continued from our last*]

Mr. Balfour's Speech

PREPARATIONS AND OBJECT.

REMEMBER, there was no question of secrecy in this matter. It is the idea that there is this manœuvring to compel the Ulstermen to take the offensive (cheers) that so deeply stirs, as I think, the heart and conscience of the country. (Cheers.) If you are only going to relieve a garrison here and there, why was a brigade of cavalry brought into question at all? I do not profess to know anything about these things from a technical point of view, but merely to add a certain number of infantry to certain guards over stores in a country, mark you, where, grave as the tension is, there has never been anything unfriendly passed between his Majesty's troops and the population—to say that you must have all these generals coming over here, that they must make speeches to their officers, that you must call in cavalry brigades and horse artillery (An hon. member.—"And battleships.")—yes, and a battle squadron—with all these things there can be no comparison between the preparations and the avowed object. Though the right hon. gentleman I know quite sincerely told us he desired to leave no corner of this dreadful question unexplored, in the light of his speech he has left that history utterly untouched.

Colonel Seely dissented.

THE GOVERNMENT AND GUARANTEE.

Mr. Balfour.—I do not now understand the position of the right hon. gentleman or of the Government in regard to the last two paragraphs of the White Paper about which all the difficulty seems to have occurred. The right hon. gentleman, I gather, says that he adheres to those two paragraphs, and I imagine from his explanation that his gloss of these paragraphs was assented to by Sir John French. Did the Government agree to those last two paragraphs before they were put in? I suppose not. I suppose that no colleague of the right hon. gentleman saw them.

Mr. Asquith.—No.

Mr. Balfour.—Very well, I ask no further questions as to that. Does the Government agree to those two paragraphs? I suppose they do. (Ministerial cries of "No" and Opposition laughter.) Then why have we still the pleasure of dealing with the right hon. gentleman as Secretary of State for War? These two parapraghs may or may not represent the considered opinion of the Government. They represent the considered opinion of the Secretary of State for War. They presumably do not represent the opinions of the Government, or at least if they do, they are not the opinions which the Government at this stage of the proceedings desire to avow. (Cheers.) But in truth they represent the facts. It is the Secretary of State for War who was brought up by personal contact and by his own direct opportunities of information with the real circumstances of the case, and it was he who saw that to compel the Army to take any part in its turn in compelling Ulster to accept the Home Rule Bill would be absolutely to destory our whole system. (Cheers.)

THE LABOUR POSITION.

I gathered from the speech of the hon. gentleman the member for Leicester, the Leader of the Labour Party, which he made on Monday last in answer to me, and from some speeches made by other hon. gentlemen below the gangway, that they think for the moment, apparently that there is a difference of principle dividing this House upon these doubtful and difficult questions. I do not believe that there is any difference. There may be very great and vital differences among us as to how in certain cases principles shall be applied. (Ministerial laughter.) I do not believe myself that there is any fundamental difference of principle. I believe that everybody agrees with the Prime Minister that the Army may be called in, and ought to be called in, in cases of necessity to support the civil power in preserving order, in preventing anarchy, and in stopping mob rule. I do not believe that there is a member of the Labour Party, below the gangway who denies that.

Mr. J. Ward—Hear, hear—as long as the order is applied indiscriminately.

Mr. Balfour.—I believe we all agree with the Prime Minister that the necessity has sometimes occurred, though more rarely in this country, I think, than in any other country in the world. It has occurred in this country and in two successive Administrations in which the Prime Minister was a responsible Minister. It may occur again, and, lamentable as it is, when that necessity occurs it may be, and it is, the duty of the military in power to give such assistance as may be required to the civil power to prevent all society sinking into anarchy. But also, are not we all agreed that there is a point at which, in connexion with great political issues, those principles break down? Can any one doubt that?

THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

I was very much interested in something that fell from the hon. member for Leicester on Monday. I think it was my right hon. friend near me who mentioned the case of the British officers and the American colonies and pointed out what we all know, that at that time many officers of all ranks, and men, I have no doubt, too, did not think that they ought to be asked to enforce the law in the American colonies. The hon. gentleman said:—"Oh, yes. Everybody admits now that the American colonies were right." What has that got to do with it? And they were not thought right at the time. (Renewed Opposition cheers.) How does he know that when history comes to be written Ulster will not be thought to be right? (Cheers.) For my own part, if the question before the House was whether there was greater justification for the American colonies or for Ulster, I should not hesitate to say that—and I do not think it is arguable—that the provocation which you are giving to Ulster is incomparably greater—(Ministerial cries of "Oh" and Opposition cheers.)

An Hon. Member.—What provocation?

ULSTER'S PROVOCATION.

Mr. Balfour.—What provocation! I do not want to discuss the whole of the Home Rule Bill, but I will mention two things you are going to do. You are going, apparently by force, if you can, to compel this relatively homogeneous population of the North-East of Ireland—are you not going to pass the Bill? (cheers)—you are going to compel them to leave the Assembly under which they are to go under the heel of another Assembly. You are going to do the greatest of all wrongs, which is to transfer by force a population from a Government which they like to a Government which they abhor. Nobody who looks into the American case—and I am not going to discuss it in detail—can pretend for a moment that any claim made by Great Britain in 1774 practically interfered with the liberties of those colonies at all. There were no practical wrongs. The practical wrong you are going to do to these people is of the most vital description and touches every hour of their lives and interferes with all their self-government. You are not only going to transfer these people by force and put them under another Parliament, but you are going to deprive them of their proper representation in this Parliament.

AN ENORMOUS DIFFICULTY.

It is quite clear to the House that you have now, and, as I think, by your most criminal policy, forced upon people who never wished to be troubled about politics the necessity of deciding which way their higher duty goes. The difficulty of this problem must always be enormous, it has proved enormous in our own history. It troubled men's consciences for generations. There was a whole school of politicians, the extreme Tory school of those days, a Tory and High Church school at the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century, who took the full doctrine of the hon. member for Stoke, who is their true lineal descendant (laughter), and they preached what is called the doctrine of non-resistance. They said that whatever the Government of the day decides must be carried out, and the Army are necessarily bound to obey in all causes the rulers of the day, and it is always inconsistent with the subject's duty to resist the forces of the law. That was the accurate doctrine of non-resistance, violently repudiated, of course, by the Whig party of that day and never accepted by the moderate Tories.

Mr. John Ward—There was no franchise then. The difference is plain. Only a very small aristocratic section of the community had any right or voice in the government of the country.

Mr. Balfour—I do not see that that makes any difference. The point is, may not a Government in their folly raise questions on which soldiers, as well as civilians, have to ask themselves, Does not this go outside, drive us outside those ordinary canons of conduct in ordinary moments to be guided in obedience to the civil magistrate? The question has cropped up in every country of the world at different times, and has always found a solution in different cases, and the wisdom of every wise Government is not to compel that question to be discussed. Of all the great sins against the community which I as a partisan may think by partisan feeling the Government have been guilty of, the greatest is that they have forced this question; and at this moment, putting the Army on one side, and not touching the immediate problem on which the right hon. gentleman has sent in his resignation, but talking merely of the civil population, can anybody doubt who knows anything about them, that the population of Ulster are loyal to the Crown and to the Constitution of this country, that they have been brought up under it, and that they have the same ideals of liberty as you have (Ministerial cries of "No, no" and Opposition cheers), that their doctrines are those all lovers of liberty preach (Ministerial cries of "No, no") and upon which you have specially prided yourself?

"AN ARISTOCRATIC INTRIGUE."

It is on men like that and not merely upon men and officers of the Army you compel attention to these tremendous and difficult problems. The Government in their folly have compelled this attention to be

concentrated upon these great questions, and the Secretary of State for War has come, in my opinion, to the only conclusion which any man acquainted with the facts can come—namely, that you are attempting in this House legislation which the conscience of this country will not stand. It is really pitiable to hear gentlemen say, I daresay quite honestly, that this is an aristocratic intrigue (An hon. member.—It is true all the same), and I know not what besides. They really should open their eyes to the fact. Is it so incredible to them that any man of British birth should hate firing upon other men of British birth in Ulster, because they want to preserve the liberties which you have given them? Is that an incredible proposition? Are those who hold it to be accused of necessarily and consistently therefore saying that if a town is in the hands of a mob the soldiers are to stand idly by and look on? Such statesmanship never was tolerated in this House before, and never will be tolerated, I believe, in the future. This is not a new question. The Prime Minister is a historian and has studied these things; he has studied the opinion of statesmen like Burke and of great jurists of the past. Who has ever before confounded these two things, who has ever said that the rules applicable to one are applicable to the other? There is no comparison between them and you have only got to look into your own hearts to know that there is no comparison between them.

Colonel Seely's Position.

I do not know what the fate of these peccant paragraphs may be. Apparently they were never seen by the Cabinet, and they are the pure creation of the genius of the right hon. gentleman the Secretary of State for War. He has resigned on them, but he has resumed office inspite of them, and let me say at once I think he was right to resign, and I think the Government were right to have him back, because he has told the truth to the country in words which are unmistakable. Behind him and behind the Army Council the whole Army will take them as their charter. After those words have once been written, printed, and published, after the Minister who wrote them declares he still holds by them, the idea that after that you are really going to attempt at the point of the bayonet to force your disruptive legislation on the population of Ulster is utterly and hopelessly incredible. My right hon. friend begged me to move the rejection of the Bill, and I desire to do so in the ordinary form. (Loud cheers.)

The Prime Minister's Statement.

Attitude of The King.

Mr. Asquith, who was received with prolonged cheers, said:—There is one preliminary observation which I should like to make before I deal with the substance of the speech of the right hon. gentleman, and that is to associate myself with what was said by my right hon. friend who sits beside me (Colonel Seely) in regard to what I think are the most unfair and inconsiderate attempts to bring the name of the King into these discussions. (Loud Opposition cheers and counter Ministerial cheers.) They are not made upon one side only. They proceed, I regret to say, in different senses from different quarters. I am entitled, as chief responsible Minister of the Crown, to say, and I say it with the fullest conviction and assurance, that from first to last in regard to all these matters his Majesty has observed every rule that comports with the dignity of the position of a constitutional Sovereign.(General cheers.) However strenuous, however exciting our debates may be, I hope we shall continue in all quarters to recognize that the Crown in a constitutional country is beyond and above the range of party controversy. (Renewed chsers.)

The Coercion of Ulster.

The right hon. gentleman drew a parallel in the course of his speech, and emphasized it by much argument, some illustration, and a good deal of rhetoric (laughter), between the position of the American Colonies and what he called the coercion of Ulster. I think it is quite time that we got to close quarters with this so-called coercion of Ulster (cheers), because it affects not merely the military but the political aspects of the situation. The right hon. gentleman spoke whith horror of men of British birth firing on other men of British birth who were simply rising in defence of their ancient and traditional rights and privileges. (Opposition cheers.) What is the actual situation? We have offered to every country in Ulster which chooses to go to the ballot-box the opportunity of excluding itself from the operation of our Bill—(Opposition members,—"Six years.")— during such time as will admit of two opportunities for the country to pronounce upon it. (Cheers.) What is the alternative offer made by the Leader of the Opposition? That you should have a referendum here and now, one single consultation of the electors of the United Kingdom, and if that goes adversely to his party and in favour of our Bill he will admit on the part of the party opposite that we are morally justified in coercing Ulster. (Cheers.) Let us deal not with phrases, but with facts. The coercion of Ulster—if he meant by that the interposition of the operation of military and naval force—is a thing which will never happen and can never happen if Ulster takes advantage of the opportunity that we have offered. (Cheers)

Lord Hugh Cecil.—Not six years hence?

Mr. Asquith.—Why should the verdict of the electors of the United Kingdom be of less weight six years hence than it is now? After all, we are not dealing with things that are going to happen six years hence; we are dealing with things as they are.

The Military Movements.

I was very much struck, in listening to the right hon. gentleman, with the extraordinary disparity in scale and in temperature of the presentation which he has made of the supposed shortcomings and evil designs of the Government with that which is offered to us every day by the organs of his party outside. (Cheers.) What is the case he presents? That there was a plot (Opposition Cheers), an intrigue (Opposition Cheers), a conspiracy (Opposition Cheers), engineered behind my back and behind the backs of most of my right hon. friends sitting beside me, by two or three dark and sinister spirits (laughter), who managed to secure the guilty connivance of the Secretary of State for War, a plot to undertake aggressive and provocative operations in Ulster. Is that really believed? (Opposition members.—"Yes," and "It is true.") Let us see what the evidence is. Here we have in these papers an official letter from the War Office, dated March 14—that is before the Bradford speech was made—I think it was the same day—in which there is set out with prefect explicitness and in detail the operations which in the opinion of the Army Council were necessary in order to protect from possible disorder and rioting certain military positions in Ulster. Is the plot supposed to have been there engineered? Is it really believed that that letter written on behalf of the Army Council, was the first step in these provocative operations? I want to know. (Cheers.) Is there anything there which goes in the least degree beyond what I have told the House repeatedly was the sole and undivided object of his Majesty's Government in making these comparatively small movements of troops in Ulster to occupy places which I pointed out before were of no strategic value and which no general in his senses would have occupied if he had thought of aggessive operations? (Cheers.) These movments were intended, as this letter shows, solely and entirely for the purpose of protection not, as I believe, against organized or concerted operations on the part of the Ulster Volunteers, but against possible risks to which, with an excited population, places and property of this kind are always exposed.

Mr. Bonar Law.—Cavalry and horse artillery, (Cheers.)

Mr. Asquith.—There were no cavalry or horse artillery engaged in the operation at all. (Cheers.)

Lord Charles Beresford.—Bettleships (Cheers.)

Mr. Asquith.—Nor were any bettleships engaged in the operation at all. (Cheers.) The utmost assistance which the Navy afforded in this very moderate and modest military operation was to send two small cruisers to assist in the movement of troops from one point to another. That operation was ordered, as I have said, as far back as March 14. It is quite true that in the following week General Paget was summoned to this country and held a consultation with his military superiors at the War Office.

Consultation With General Paget.

It is a most extraordinary illustration of the kind of constitutional topsy-turvydom of the times in which we live that the right hon. gentleman the member for the University of Dublin (Sir E. Carson) and his friends have been allowed to organize, equip, and parade a force, which we are told amounts to something like 100,000 men, no one saying nay, no one as far as we are concerned taking any offensive notice; but if we send for our General and take him into consultation here, at once it is said that this is an intrigue and an outrage. (Cheers.) Could absurdity be carried further? (Cheers.) We were perfectly entitled to summon General Paget. We were perfectly entitled to consult with him and with the Naval authorities also having regard to all these possible sources of danger and combustion as to what steps might be necessary to be taken to preserve the public peace in the North of Ireland. I do not apologize for doing it. (Cheers.) I say it was a natural and perfectly proper step, and if the same circumstances occurred I should certainly do it again. (Cheers.) Then General Paget went back. He had been instructed to do nothing, absolutely nothing, beyond carrying out these modest and necessary operations described in the letter of March 14. He took his brigadiers and divisional generals into consultation apparently upon the question whether these movements might be attended with excitement and possible resistance, and in that case what steps it would be necessary to take. Was that provocative? Was that anything but a precaution which every reasonable general in similar conditions ought to and would take? The right hon. gentleman mentioned just now the

Cavalry and Horse Artillery. Certainly there was no necessity to as either the one or the other for the purpose of these limited operations, but if they had been met, as it is possible they might have been, with resistance or opposition, and if anythig like a state of public disorder had arisen in any part of the province of Ulster, or in the South or West, it applies to every part of Ireland, it might of course have been necessary to move the Cavalry regiments.

Not Aggressive or Provocative Action.

General Paget did what every prudent general would have done under these circumstances. (Cheers.) To treat that as an act of provocation or an invitation to these gentlemen in Ulster to rebel, as luring them out of their attitude of, shall I say, belligerent quiescence into one of active warfare, seems to me one of the most grotesque propositions I have ever heard. (Cheers.) So far the matter seems to me hardly to admit of argument at all. How can any rational man whose mind is governed by the ordinary rules of evidence in the face of these facts assume or even pretend to assume that there was anything in the nature of provocative or aggressive action? (Cheers.) Now I come to what took place after General Paget had addressed his generals. There is undoubtedly, it would be unfair to deny it, a discrepancy of evidence as to what on that occasion was actually said, and I think it is extremely probable, in fact, I am sure it is true, that there was on the part of some of those at any rate whom General Paget addressed an honest misunderstanding of what he said. It is quite clear from the perfectly fair and reasonable letter which was written by General Gough on March 20 that there was a notion among them that what was described, or what they thought they had heard described, as active operations might mean, in the language of the fourth paragraph of their letter, the initiation of active military operations against Ulster. They were uneasy upon that point. The word "initiation," the House will observe, is underlined. That is a point which really is very important—"the initiation of active military operation—"; they felt uneasiness upon that point. They did not get what they regarded as adequate reassurance; and thereupon they took a step which I think very much to be regretted—namely, the sending in of their resignations. They were summoned to London. I want to bring home for a moment to the House what took place after these officers came to London. It is here really that the serious question of to-day's debate arises. They came to London; they were interviewed by—at least, they presented their case to the Adjutant-General at the War Office, as did General Gough to my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for War. I think I am not going too far when I say that they realized, and everybody realized, that there had been a misconception of what the General had said to them, and what the General required them to do.

The Cabinet and the Draft Letter.

On Monday last, two days ago, after these interviews had taken place, the matter was considered by the Cabinet, and in the course of our deliberations we received from the War Office—from the Adjutant-General, because my right hon. friend has told us he was for the moment away, as he had to attend his Majesty—we received from the War Office a draft of the letter which it was proposed on behalf of the Army Council to hand to General Gough on his return to Ireland to resume his duties. That draft was carefully considered by the Cabinet, and as it left their hands it is contained in substance, and I think textually, in the first three paragraphs of the last of the documents in this paper. Let me point out—I want to make this perfectly clear, because it lies at the very root of the matter—that when that letter was submitted to the Cabinet and settled by them, they had no knowledge whatsoever that General Gough had sent to the Adjutant-General, on the same morning, the letter which immediately precedes it in this White Paper. That is all important, as the House will see, and for a reason which I will make perfectly plain before I sit down. We had not seen the letter, nor had my right hon. friend received it, for it only reached him, I think it was, after the termination of the proceedings of the Cabinet, and we had no notion of any sort or kind that any such letter had been addressed by General Gough to the Adjutant-General. (Cheers.) In dealing with the matter as it then presented itself to us, we authorized the Army Council to supply General Gough with a written statement such as is contained in the first three paragraphs of this communication, which, as the House will observe, carefully abstains from giving any kind of assurance of any sort (cheers), and states in the plainest and most explicit terms, and I think in language to which no exception can be taken by anybody who realizes what is the constitutional position of the Army in relation to the civil power, what the duties of these officers would be. So far as we were concerned, we thought that was an end of the matter.

Colonel Seely's Additions.

My right hon. friend has stated most candidly and most manfully that he had the letter of General Gough handed to him, but I think he said that he did not pay much attention to it. That was not what influenced his mind; but, having regard to the statement he himself had made to the officers in the course of the morning, he added to the document, as settled by the Cabinet, the two concluding paragraphs. I am not going to criticize with any minuteness or any severity the language of those paragraphs. The first one is quite innocuous; the second might be read in a number of different senses. I am not going to criticize; what I am going to say is this. First of all, however, I should complete the narrative by saying that when I spoke to the House as I did on Monday—and I am sure the House will believe, after some experience, that I do not, at any rate in matters of fact, mislead them—when I spoke to the House on Monday, and said, either expressly or perhaps by implication—I forget which—in answer to an interruption, that those officers had returned to Ireland without any condition. I was speaking what I believed to be the truth. (Hear, hear.) What was the truth so far as the document was concerned, as settled by the Cabinet? I want to make my position and that of my colleagues perfectly clear on this point. Later on in the day, after the debate, or at least that part of the debate, was over, and when I had gone back to my room, I received a type-written copy of this document as it now appears. I read it, and of course I was at once struck by the addition of these two paragraphs. I sent for my right hon. friend the Secretary of State, and said to him. "How is it this which was never approved by the Cabinet has been inserted in the letter?" Then he told me in very much the same terms in which he has to-day told the House how it had happened. I began to argue the matter, when he said, "It is too late; the letter has been handed to General Gough, and he has taken it away with him to Ireland." I must add this to my own personal narrative, and even then I was not aware, nor were any of my colleagues in the Cabinet aware, of this letter of General Gough written on the Monday, which appears in the White Paper, in which General Gough expressly asks the question—a very different question, let the House observe, from that which he had raised in his letter of March 20. (Cheers.) Let me point out in what the difference consists. It is very vital. On March 20 General Gough and the officers on whose behalf he spoke were under the impression, which had been created in their minds by the address of the Commander-in-Chief, that they were about to be called upon to take part in some form of military duty. The expression, the House will see, is "Duty as ordered." The words are put in inverted commas. "Active operations in Ulster." They were therefore under the impression that they were or might be, immediately or within a very short time, called upon to undertake duty of that kind. Thereupon they said:—"If such duty consist in the maintenance of order and the preservation of property, all the officers will be quite prepared to undertake it: but if the duty involves the 'initiation'—the word which is underlined as showing the emphasis and importance which they attached to it—"if it involves the initiation of active military operations against Ulster, then the officers named would respectfully prefer to be dismissed." That is a very different demand from the demand preferred in General Gough's letter of March 23. Let the House observe how the position has shifted in the meantime.

The Request for an Assurance.

It is no longer a question of "What is the character of the duty or the operation in which we are to be immediately ordered to take part?" It is purely a prospective question, which deals with a future and, to some extent everybody must admit, a more or less remote contingency. The question is this:—"In the event of the present Home Rule Bill becoming law, can we be called upon to enforce it in Ulster under the expression of maintaining law and order?"

Mr. W. Guinness (Bury St. Edmunds, Opp.).—May I ask the right hon. gentleman whether the two paragraphs put in were substantially the same as the matter struck out of the original draft?

Mr. Asquith.—No, Sir; they were quite different. It is not really a very material point, but the hon. member may assume that what was struck out by the Cabinet went, in some respects, further than what was actually put in.

Mr. W. Guinness.—Did they deal with the same subject?

Mr. Asquith.—It dealt with the same subject matter, but that is not really material to my argument. What I am pointing out to the House is that in this letter of General Gough, brought for the first time to my knowledge and to the knowledge of my colleagues as lately as yesterday afternoon, we found a request, or, indeed, a demand—(hear, hear)—made by an officer in a responsible position in the Army for an assurance to be given to him as to what will or will not be required of him by the Government in a hypothetical contingency. I do not think it is right to ask of officers what they will do—(Opposition cheers)—in an event which has not arisen and which may never arise; and I do not believe that General Sir Arthur Paget did that. He may have been so misunderstood; but I do not gather from General Gough's letter of March 20 that it was that sort of question he was contemplating. It looks to me

as if he were contemplating immediate operations; but I am strongly of opinion, and I hope I shall have the general assent of the House when I say this, that it is not right to ask an officer in advance what he may or may not do in a contingency which has not arisen and in circumstances and surroundings which are left entirely to the imagination. If that is true, still less can it be right for an officer to ask a Government to give him any assurance. (Prolonged cheers.)

Mr. Amery rose, but amid angry cries of "Order," "Order" immediately resumed his seat.

Mr. Asquith.—Circumstances may arise to all of us, officers of the State, in whatever position we hold, as to what our duty is. We must decide according to our consciences.

Mr. Amery.—Will you deny that there was——(Renewed cries of "Order.")

Mr. Asquith.— And so far as my colleagues and I are concerned, so long as we are responsible for the government of this country, we will never assent to a claim—

Mr. Amery.— You have assented to it. (Cries of "Order" and interruptions.)

The Speaker.—I must ask the hon. member for South Birmingham not to keep interrupting. He made a speech yesterday and he had a good opportunity, and the least he can do now is to listen to the reply.

Mr. Asquith.—So long as we are responsible for the Government of this country, whatever the consequences may be, we shall not assent to the claim of any body of men in the service of the Crown, be they officers or men—it makes no difference for this purpose—to demand from the Government in advance assurances of what they will or will not be required to do in circumstances which have not arisen. Such a claim, once admitted, would put the Government and the House of Commons, upon whose confidence the Government depend, at the mercy of the military and Navy. (Prolonged cheers, Ministerial members waving handkerchiefs and other papers.) If that issue is once raised I myself have very little doubt as to what the verdict of this country will be. (Loud cheers.)

War Secretary's Resignation Refused.

I want to say one word, and one only, in conclusion, as to the position of my right hon.friend the Secretary of State for War. He made a statement to-day which I am sure must have enlisted the sympathy of members in all quarters of the House, whatever their political feelings. He told the House and told it with perfect sincerity and truth, that recognizing as he did that he had committed an error of judgment in the conditions under which he supplemented the agreed decision of the Cabinet, he felt it his duty to tender his resignation. My right hon. friend did that, as I and everybody who knows him fully understand, with perfect sincerity. I am not going to accept his resignation (some cheers), not because I do not think the step which he took did not involve an error of judgment—I agree with him that it did—but because errors of that kind in times of great stress and anxiety, when a man is oppresed, as my right hon. friend has been oppressed, with responsibility more arduous and anxious than really occurred to any of us—when we value, as we all do, his strenuous and effective co-operation in all great causes in our common work, I think it would not only be ungenerous, but unjust, to take any such action. My hon. friend retains the confidence and the affection of his colleagues and his political friends. He acquiesces loyally and fully in the judgment which, on behalf of the Government, I have announced to the House. If there be any criticism to be passed on what has taken place in regard to this transaction, I beg the House to bring back its attention to the point from which we originally started, that in all these matters the real question is whether or not the considered will, judgment and authority of the representatives of the people shall prevail. (Cheers.)

Mr. Bonar Law's Criticisms.

Mr. Bonar Law.—This Government has set in its time many precedents, but I do not think in the whole history of this House there has ever been a resignation of a Minister which has not been received not only with sympathy, but with seriousness in all parts of the House. That is not the case to-day. We have heard of people being thrown to the wolves, but never before have we heard of them being thrown to the wolves with a bargain on the part of the wolves that they would not eat him. (Laughter.) The Prime Minister has shown, as he always does, what an accomplished Parliamentarian he is (cheers) and how accurately he gauges the strength and sincerity of the hostility which from time to time is directed against his Government. I ask the House to contrast the statement made by the Secretary for War on Monday with the information contained in the White Paper which we have to-day.

Mr. Bonar Law then read what Colonel Seely said on Monday, and proceeded :—

Not a word about dismissal, and the Prime Minister—and here I must at once assume that he knew nothing about the facts—was asked the question, "Will the officers be reinstated because they have never been dismissed."

Mr. Asquith.—They were not dismissed.

Mr. Bonar Law.—The War Office sent a telegram to General Sir Arthur Paget that they should be relieved of their commands, which I understand means dismissal. ("No, no.") Take another example of the way in which the country is treated. In his statement issued on Sunday the Prime Minister said there is a widespread impression that there is to be an inquisition of what the officers' views are in certain eventualities, and he says there was to be nothing of the kind. How does he explain the resignations of the officers of the Cavalry Brigade in the Curragh on any other understanding than that this question was put to them and that it was their answer which caused all the trouble? Again he makes a statement which the facts prove to be absolutely inaccurate. That is not all. In the same communication the right hon. gentleman says this :—"As for the so-called naval movements they simply consisted in the use of two small cruisers," and he said that when the First Lord of the Admiralty tells us this afternoon that a battle squadron had been ordered to Belfast.

Mr. Asquith.—The First Lord never said anything of the kind. The only two ships that were moved were the two cruisers. The movement of the battle squadron to Lamlash could not take place for a very long time.

Mr. Bonar Law.—The First Lord of the Admiralty said, and boasted of it, that these ships had been ordered to Lamlash in order to be ready for Belfast if the emergency arose. The right hon. gentleman told us there was no movement of ships except these two vessels.

Mr. Asquith.—I said there were no movements of ships in connexion with these movements of troops into Ulster, and my communication was entirely confined to that.

Mr. Bonar Law.—The right hon. gentleman is quite wrong. Now we have got what was in his mind. He did not include orders in his communication to the country. It was only actual movements. We have a wonderful Government (Ministerial cheers and laughter), and we may be sure of this, that when the facts come out in connection with to day's statement, we shall probably find that the memories of right hon. gentlemen have deceived them precisely as they did on Monday. (Cheers.) The case of the right hon. gentleman again to-day is, that there were only movements of troops necessary to protect the stores, and all the rest of it.

The real truth is, and no other explanation fits the facts, that the Government decided on a great demonstration, military, certainly, and naval, as we find out to-day, in order to make an impression upon the people of Ulster. (Cheers.)

General Paget's Orders.

This whole dispute as to what was really intended turns upon General Paget. I read out in this House a note taken down by an officer who heard him (hon. members :—"Oh, oh," and "Name"), and it is corroborated. If they deny it, I am quite ready to give the right hon. gentleman the source of my information. It was taken down by this one officer and corroborated by three others who heard it. I asked the right hon. gentleman to give us what Sir A. Paget himself said, and he has absolutely declined to do so. We must therefore assume that the statement which I read is correct until they give us an alternative version to set against it. How does Sir Arthur Paget's statement agree with their story? First of all, both the Prime Minister and the Secretary for War tell us it was all a misunderstanding and that the officers did not understand General Paget. That is not possible. This was the misunderstanding as they tell us, that the officers thought that General Paget wanted them to do something more than the ordinary duties of preserving law and order; but they had to come to London to find that out, and then it was all put right. Here is the fact. These officers in the letter which the Prime Minister says is a highly proper one, referring to Sir Arthur Paget's speech, used these words :—"If such duty consists of the maintenance of order and the preservation of property, all the officers in the brigade, including myself, would be prepared to carry out this duty." It goes on:—"If the duty involves the initiation of active operations," and so on. What follows? One of two things. Either that the whole statement of the intention of the War Office is inaccurate, or that General Paget did not know what the intentions of the War Office were. (Cheers.) There is no getting away from that. If General Paget knew the moment he got that letter he would have said :—"It is all right. I am asking nothing more," and he would have wired to the War Office that the whole incident was at an end. That proves that, whether he was right or wrong, General Paget believed that he had received orders which meant an outburst in Ulster the moment he carried these orders into effect. (Cheers.) What about the Cavalry and the Horse Artillery? The Prime Minister says it is only for subsequent operations. But even that will not do, for what did General Paget telegraph to the War Office? This Cavalry Brigade was to be sent to Ulster to deal, not with the Volunteers, but with small bodies whom Sir

Edward Carson was trying to prevent engaging in the kind of operations suggested. That has been said, but even that explanation will not do, because Sir A. Paget, in telling of the resignation of these officers, actually uses these words:—"Prefer to accept dismissal if ordered north." How does that coincide with the statement they had given that they were only thinking about it as a possible necessity in the far distant future, when Sir A. Paget himself wires that officers have in substance resigned rather than be ordered north to fulfill a duty which he tells us they did not wish to fulfill? I do not believe that the Prime Minister knew all that was going on.

An Officer's Letter.

Now I am going to read an extract from the letter of a "young officer (Ministerial cries of "Oh," "Name," and "Anonymous again") connected with the Infantry Brigade. This officer wrote it as an account of what Sir Charles Fergusson said to him. It is very important, and I ask the Prime Minister to send to Sir Charles Fergusson and find out whether or not he did use language like this in addressing his officers. "The idea of provoking Ulster is hellish." (Ministerial protests.) It is quite in order to use the word when applying it to an idea, not to an individual. This is what Sir Charles Fergusson is reported to have said on advice which presumably he got from the War Office:—Steps have been taken in Ulster so that any aggression must come from the Ulsterites, and they will have to shed first blood." (Ministerial cheer.) Have hon. members ever heard of *agents provocateurs*? Was there ever anything in the world more wicked, if it is true, than to provoke these people in Ulster so as to be able to deal with them? The words do not admit of any doubt of it. (Opposition cries of "Read.") I say that I have given my authority for them and the Prime Minister can verify them, but so far as the words go they admit of no doubt. (Cries of "Read the whole.")

Sir T. Whittaker (Yorks, W, R., Spen Valley, Min.).—They mean the opposite of what you say.

Mr. Bonar Law.—Then I will read them, and the right hon. gentleman will see how they mean the opposite of what I say. "Steps have been taken in Ulster so that any aggression must come from Ulsterites." The right hon. gentleman means that the Ulster people themselves have taken these steps.

Sir T. Whittaker.—What I mean is that that obviously means that nothing would be done by us until Ulster—(Interruption.)

Mr. Bonar Law.—The right hon. gentleman is quite right. It obviously means that nothing will be done by us until we have provoked Ulster. (Ministerial cries of "No.")

Treatment of General Gough.

This whole subject has raised many wide questions, but there is one point which formed the end of the right hon. gentleman's speech to which I must allude, and that was his treatment of General Gough. I had always found the right hon. gentleman live up to the traditions of the position which he occupies in regard to the treatment of the servants of the Crown. I do not think that he has been fair to General Gough in this incident, (Ministerial cries of "oh.") I will explain why General Gough did not raise this question at all. (Cheers.) The right hon. gentleman himself admits that they had not a right to do what the War Office did, and I do not think there is a man in this House who believes that that was started by General Paget without instructions from the War Office. I at least do not believe it. The right hon. gentleman himself has admitted that that was a question which they had no right to put to General Gough—a question as to what he would do in certain eventualities. They did put the question. (Cheers.) He himself has said in these documents that if he had been ordered to Ulster he would have gone without any hesitation. They put the question to him about the future—General Paget nominally, but the War Office really. He gives an answer, the only answer which on his conscience he could give, and, having given it not on his own initiative at all, not by his own desire but the issue having been raised in plain terms. "Will you or will you not fight agains Ulster?"—not to keep order, but to fight against Ulster (Cheers)— I put it to any hon. member in this House who thinks as General Gough does that they have no right to engage in civil war against Ulster, what else could he do, if he goes back to the Army after it has been raised, but make it perfectly plain that his position on this question is not in doubt and that the War Office must know that it is not in doubt. No other course was open to him. (Cheers.)

Serious Responsibility.

I would like to leave this specific question and say a little about the broad issues raised. I have never for a moment underestimated the seriousness of all that was being done in Ulster and by us in assisting her. I have never under-estimated it and perhaps some members of the House may remember that quite lately I pointed out the seriousness of it and felt sure that the bench opposite would agree with me. It was only a question of responsibility and upon whom that responsibility rests.

My right hon. friend said to-day that there was not a difference of principle among us on this matter. There is a difference which comes almost to that, but it is not a difference of principle. The right hon. gentleman never for a moment will argue that resistance is justified. It is always that the constituted authority must be obeyed. I put to him this question. Is there such a thing as civil war at all? His speeches would lead us to suppose that there was no such thing, and that it could not be contemplated. If he admits that there is such a thing as civil war then ask him, and perhaps the next time he speaks on this subject he will do it, to give a definition of what civil war means, which would not include what is happening in Ulster to-day. (Hear, hear.) He will find it utterly impossible to give such a definition. Let us get rid therefore, of the preliminary ground. Every one must admit that there are circumstances when all the ordinary laws of society are broken down, and nobody can contemplate such a position without a degree of horror, which I think is not realized by a great many members in this House and out of it. There the question is not whether obedience to constituted authority is a duty under all circumstances. Nobody maintains that. Let us therefore look at the question whether or not it is justifiable under existing circumstances.

Ulster and the Electorate.

I wish to put my position in regard to Ulster clearly because I feel that I have a certain amount of responsbility in regard to it. Before I occupied my present position, and when I could speak without thinking as carefully as I do now (laughter)—I do not pretend to speak very well, but I do my best (loud Opposition cheers)—I said this in this House:—

"I do not think I am disloyal, and I do not want to be shot, but I say this with absolute deliberation"—this was after my argument that Ulster was justified in resisting under present conditions—"If the people of this country decide that they will make the experiment of Home Rule, then—and here I must part company with some of my hon. friends in this House and I must certainly part company with some of those who supported me in the constituency I represent—I should say that I believe in respresentative government, and however much you may dislike it you cannot compel the United Kingdom to keep up the present arrangement against their will." From that view I have never wavered, and over and over again in this House and out of it I have said so and by a definite offer only a week ago or less I said to the Prime Minister, "make certain"—and surely in face of this trouble it is worthwhile making certain—"that you have the will of the country behind you, and, so far as the Unionist Party are concerned, we will absolutely cease all unconstitutional opposition to the carrying of your measure," (Ministerial cries of "Oh! oh!"). Well, what more do you ask?

The Democracy of Ulster

Yesterday I was only able to listen to part of the speeches of the hon. gentleman below the gangway, but I found them very interesting, for I liked the idea of a new French Revolution led by an hon. gentleman whom we know so well and who sits on the Labour benches. I heard some of these speeches and what was the substance of them all? It was that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor. Now examine it. Who are the people who would be shot down by our soldiers if this civil war broke out? There is no more democratic community in the world, and that these Volunteers are a more democratic army than has ever existed in the world, not excepting Cromwell's own New Model in the time of the Civil War, and that when you say, "You are afraid to shoot down the rich," I say that there is no case in which soldiers could be employed where it would be more certain to be shooting down the working classes than it would be if you sent such an expedition into Belfast. And they say, I think I heard the hon. member for Stoke say, or somebody, "Tom Mann, look what he got." Sir Edward Carson, my right hon. friend the member for Trinity College, "Look how he gets off."

But is it the fault of my right hon. friend the member for Trinity College! Over and over again he has, and rightly, challenged the Government to take action against him, and he has done it rightly for this reason. I would never say for a moment that this Government, if they believed in their consciences that this country was behind them, have not the right to enforce this with horse, foot, and artillery. I do not deny it, if they think they have the right, but I say that anything more criminal than to allow this organization to go on for two years and then threaten it I cannot imagine.

The Army and the Aristocracy.

I have only one other aspect of this to look at, and that is the question as it affects the Army. All through in thinking about this the effect on the Army is what has alarmed me most, and I think I am right in saying that in the many scores of speeches which I have made on Home Rule in the last three years I have only referred in any way to the Army

twice. Nothing could be really further from the truth than the idea that the Army officers represent the aristocracy.

Mr. John Ward.—Of course they do.

Mr. Bonar Law.—There are some regiments where it is true, but it is not true of the Army as a whole. I think this whole trouble has arisen from two causes. All politicians—men who make politics their life and their profession—gradually get into a habit of looking upon it as a game more or less, and they do not probably have as strong convictions as they did when they entered on a political career as a rule. I think that general human weakness applies with unusual force to members of the present Government, and I really believe that all this trouble has arisen because through that human weakness to which I have referred they did not believe it possible that the men of Ulster had convictions as strong as they have shown themselves to possess. They never did believe it, and now it has come upon them they do not know what to do. It is the same thing as regards the Army.

The whole feeling is that the Government, without the consent of the country (Opposition cheers, and Ministerial cries of "No")—that is my feeling, and if I am worng they can set it right to-morrow—are trying to do something which the Army will not be their tool in doing. (Opposition cheers.) A great deal of analogy has been made about strikes. The member for Derby said it was too thin—the distinction between civil war and putting down strikes. I cannot see the connection, and I will tell the House why. Soldiers are never used to put down strikers because they are striking. They never would be used for that purpose by any Government.

Soldiers I have met have been men interested in their career, and so far as my experience goes they care nothing about politics; they, from the nature of their duties, know that they have to serve both parties, and until they give up the Army or go on half-pay it is unwise to come into active politics. Put yourselves in the position of an officer. He believes in his heart and conscience, as I do, that the Government are doing this thing without the consent of the country, that in pressing this forward without the clear approval ef the country they are really as much a revolutionary committee as President Huerta, who is governing Mexico to-day. (Ministerial laughter.) If I were in his place, holding the views I do, and if I were asked to take part in an expedition against Ulster I would resign my commission if I were permitted to do so. If that permission were refused, and I was told that I should be Court- martialled, then I do not know whether I would have the courage to do it, but I feel that in that case it would be my duty to say, "Very well, if you choose to do it, I prefer to be shot rather than shoot innocent men." (Cheers.) That is the position in which the soldier stands.

Ministerial Members.—The private soldier?

Mr. Bonar Law.—I said "soldier." That includes both.

Mr. J. H. Thomas (Derby, Lab.)—During a strike? (Labour cheers.)

Mr. Bonar law. I have tried to point out the difference (Labour) laughter, and a voice "Conscience" and at all events I was not interrupted when I was making the statement. I say that is the position in which you are placed. In my belief the Government know as well as I do that the position in which this matter is left is fatal either to the Army or the country. (Cheers.) They have not told us all about their manœuvrings as Ministers; they have not told us what is the position of General Gough and his brother officers to-day. (Cheers.) I would say this to the Gavernment. This whole difficulty is really due to the political situation to which we have come throughout the clash of parties in this country. I say, therefore, that a duty rests on any responsible Government, much more than on the Opposition though we feel the responsibility also—and I say that a duty such as has never rested on any Government before now rests on this Government and the Prime Minister to find some way of saving the nation from an impossible position. (Cheers.)

Labour Party View.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who was greeted with Labour cheers, said:—If what the right hon. gentleman has said about Ulster means anything at all to the soldier, it was an encouragement to the soldier to mutiny. (Labour and Ministerial cheers.) What is the use of the right hon. gentleman telling us that he was surprised when certain things happened in the Army? If he was surprised he was the only member in the House who was surprised. He has told us that a soldier can have a conscience when he is asked to put down riotousness in Ulster, but he was very careful to say that a soldier's conscience ought to permit him to put down riotousness which it is associated with strikes. (Labour and Ministerial cheers.)

Mr. Bonar Law.—I said that conscience would make it my duty to put down the same sort of thing in Ulster as I would put down in connection with a strike. (Cheers.)

Mr. Macdonald.—If the right hon. gentleman says that, I accept it; but he did say there was a distinction between strikes and civil war in Ulster. An extract from Hansard of what the right hon. gentleman said, if circulated, without a word of comment, as an electioneering leaflet, would certainly be responsible for hundreds of working-class votes being taken from the Unionist Party. As regards the extract the right hon. gentleman read from an annonymous letter, I maintain that, as the writer remained anonymous, the name of the general ought also to have anonymous (cheers), and a good soldier ought not to have his name in the newspapers as being charged by an anonymous writer. (Labour and Ministerial cheers.) The writer said, in effect "Steps have been taken by the Government to provide that if blood is to be shed at all, Ulster shall do it first." Surely that meant that the Government had taken precautions that the Army should not be used to initiate any offensive operations against Ulster. (Labour and Ministerial cheers.) The sentence is capable of a double meaning, and what does the House think of a responsible member who, knowing that, insists that it is only capable of one meaning. (Labour and Ministerial cheers.)

Officers Imposing Conditions.

There are two issues before the House. One is that the Government, or some members of the Government, or Sir Arthur Paget have been making some mistakes; but the main issue is whether generals, as in the case of General Gough, are going to be allowed to assume that they are going to impose conditions upon the Government before they do their duty as soldiers. (Loud Labour and Ministerial cheers.) I say nothing whatever against their resignations; they ought to resign if they like, but that is another question altogether. I say nothing against their asking their superior officers what is meant in certain circumstances, but they are not entitled to go to the Government, to their Department, or to their superior officers and to say, "If the Home Rule Bill is carried we want you to say that you are not going to ask us to enforce the Home Rule Bill." We are told that this was merely a mis-understanding, and that they were willing to do their duty, I say they are not and that the whole intention of this move is to make that impossible. (Hear, hear.) What was the use of the right hon. gentleman the member for the city of London talking about soldiers refusing to shoot men who simply objected to being turned out of the constitutional ambit of this country? What does he imagine is going to happen? There is not a single man of commonsense but knows that the only way in which a collision could happen is that the Ulstermen themselves will take the initiative and begin to break the law. Hon. members opposite ask, When did any Government ask soldiers to shoot strikers as strikers?" Are those hon. members telling their friends in the Army with whom they were in communication (cheers) that it was the intention of any section of this House to shoot Ulstermen simply because they were Ulstermen?

Mr. Page Croft (Christchurch, Opp.).—May I ask whether members of the Coalition also have been receiving letters from officers?

Mr. Ramsay Mac Donald—I regret to say that I have not, or I would be able to give more accurate information than hon. gentlemen opposite do. I do not belong to the political party which receives the allegiance of these devoted officers. (Cheers.) I believe we have neglected the Army too much. If we had been more careful to increase the pay of officers so that men of more democratic minds could have entered the Service, we would not have been in the unfortunate position in which we are to-day. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Lawson (Mile-end, Opp.).—May I suggest to the hon. member, with great respect, that the great majority of the officers are much poorer than the Labour members. (Cheers.)

Mr. Ramsay Mac Donald.—I am not going to enter into that. I know what a heavy struggle some deserving men have to go through; but that does not affect the remarks which I have made as to the general mental attitude of these men. The fact remains that they look down upon us.

Officers and Politics.

The point to remember is that these officers, who have given trouble in Ireland, have done so not on any ground of conscience. They have given trouble because they do not agree with the political opinions of the majority in this House. (Cheers.) In one of those naive confessions which the Leader of the Opposition is constantly making he said that Army officers know no politics. (Ministerial laughter.) I was very much surprised, but I said nothing, because I was sure that before he went very far he would reply to his own statement. Within two minutes of having laid down that innocent dictum he said that the reason why those officers were opposing the Government was that they knew that Ministers had no mandate from the country. (Laughter.)

Mr. Bonar Law—What I said was that they are not party politicians, but that did not imply that they took no interest in what was going on in the country.

Mr. Ramsay Mac Donald.—I do not mind the right hon. gentleman contradicting himself; but he has not got out of the difficulty. The statement is one made by party politicians for party purposes. These gentlemen are acting, not as soldiers, and not as conscientious objectors, with whom the party opposite certainly had no sympathy in days gone by. They are acting as party politicians—as a sort of standing military committee of the National Union of Conservative Associations. (Prolonged cheers.)

Some Reflections on General Gough.

General Gough acts, I think, as a Unionist. He is a very brave and good soldier, but, like all of us, he has got his human weaknesses, and I believe he holds very strong opinions regarding Home Rule, and he acted—I think the proof is in the papers—as a politician and not as a soldier in this case. If General Gough came over as a soldier to receive assurances from the Government, how was it that those assurances hardly reached General Gough's hands when they appeared in the Conservative Press of the country? I cannot help thinking that General Gough came over for scalps, and, having got them, he exhibited them in public in places where he knew the fact would be advertised for the purposes of the party to which he owes his political allegiance. I have heard it said, on what I think is fairly good authority, that he immediately resorted to a well-known Conservative club and exhibited the paper to anybody who cared to see it. I wish to know if that is so. Whether that is true or not, it is a curious thing that this document was published, and pretty accurately published, and the terms in which it was published indicates that it was shown to somebody for the purpose of being published. The hon. member for South Birmingham (Mr. Amery) made a speech yesterday which showed that he knows more about all these communications than anybody ought to know outside the Government. Then there was the circumstantial statement, which appeared in the *Times* this morning from its Special Correspondent in Dublin. How do these things get out? I am perfectly certain that hon. members on all sides of the House must unite in condemning these leakages and the methods taken to make them public.

"Where do We Stand Now?"

As I understand it, the Government now repudiates the last two paragraphs of the statement that was handed to General Gough. It does not hold itself responsible for them. It says it did not sanction them. It is perfectly true that the War Minister says he agrees with them, but, nevertheless, so far as the Government is concerned, it does not associate itself with them, and so far as this document is an undertaking, the Government say it is an undertaking minus the two paragraphs, but, minus the two paragraphs, it is no undertaking at all; it is simply a statement handed to General Gough of what his duties are as a soldier, so that the effect of the Prime Minister's speech this afternoon is to tell General Gough that the document must be docked of these two final paragraphs. That puts him exactly where he was immediately before he wrote the letter on March 20. He has received no reply to that letter and he has received no guarantee which he can hitch on to that letter. General Gough has been told therefore, that he is a soldier and must do the duties of a soldier or resign his office. (Cheers.) If I am wrong, having made that statement, it surely calls for a reply on behalf of the Government.

A Challenging Note.

But, as I said at the beginning, we must not allow our minds to be diverted by what Sir Arthur Paget or anybody else did, in reference to this unfortunate blunder and misunderstanding. The thing this House has got to settle now is—Is it going to submit to the interference of soldiers or is it not? If it is not, then we have got to go on with our business and our business is to pass the Home Rule Bill as quickly as we possibly can and get it inscribed on the Statute-book under the provisions of the Parliament Act (loud Ministerial cheers), and then we will take the consequences whatever they may be. (Renewed cheers.) I am bound to say that I sympathize with the Government in its position this afternoon. In the position, revealed in the White Paper, had been the Government's position, the Government could now have lived for 24 hours. I am delighted that that is not the Government's position. The discussion this afternoon makes it clear once more that we have got to brush aside these superficial accidents, and that we are going to take our stand again against the agitation which has been manufactured by hon. gentlemen opposite. They lost the support of the House of Lords and they fell back on the support of Army officers who share their political opinions.

Lord C. Beresford (Portsmouth, Opp.) followed.

Sir E. Grey's Speech.

Sir E. Grey (Northumberland, Berwick):—The noble lord has enunciated a good deal of exceedingly sound doctrine both as to the separation of the military and naval services from all politics and as to the way in which orders ought to be received. But I cannot agree that it follows from what he said that the Secretary for War should take his advice and insist on resigning. What ought to be the motive that should guide my right hon. friend in his present position? One motive only—namely, a consideration of the public interest, and by that consideration I trust he will be ruled. The questions involved in this debate are larger than was realized when this subject was first raised. Surely after the debate of yesterday and after such speeches as we have heard from the hon. member for Leicester this afternoon, no one in the House and most of all, no one on the opposite side can doubt how large this question is, and also that it will become larger and graver and more serious, and more dangerous the longer it is kept up. (Cheers.) In what shall say, I shall endeavour by again restating the position of the Government, and clearing up the facts as far as we can clear them up, not to lead to contention or keep the question open, but to bring it to a close.

Intention of the Government.

The right hon. gentleman the Leader of the Opposition made a point which the right hon. gentleman the member for the City of London also made when he said, What did the Government really intend in this matter? What we intended was expressed in the written instructions of March 14, which is contained in the White Paper and for which the whole Cabinet is responsible, not in its actual terms, but the Secretary of State for War put it perfectly accurately, as the instructions for which the whole Cabinet is responsible. It is assumed—and I believe with all sorts of imputations and motives—that Government really intended to go beyond that, and that they had much more in their mind. That is absolutely untrue. I will say no word which puts any responsibility or blame whatever upon General Paget. If there was a misunderstanding on his part it was an honest misunderstanding.

I take next as indication of the Government what the right hon. gentleman opposite quoted as being the words of Sir Charles Ferguson, the officer: "Steps have been taken in Ulster so that any aggression must come from Ulster." On those words the right. hon. gentleman puts the construction that Sir Charles Ferguson deliberately conveyed to a subordinate officer not merely that steps had been taken in Ulster, but that these are the actual words: "Steps had been taken to provoke Ulster." To the words taken literally in their meaning I have no objection to make. They are very much in accordance with things I have said continually in my speeches in this House—that if violence was offered it would be met by force. The meaning of that is not to provoke Ireland; that is absolutely untrue. I am told that the belief is firmly rooted in Ulster that warrants had been issued for the arrest of certain persons. For that there is not an atom of a foundation of truth. If there be provocation, and if provocation arises in that way, is the Government to be held responsible for provocation because of statements of that kind?

We had apprehensions that any movement, however purely defensive on our part, might lead to disturbances. Hon. members have expressed sometimes incredulity that there should have been really such an apprehension on our part. But have we not reason for it? (Cheers.) It is urged opposite too large a force and too many precautions were taken for the object we had in view. I have heard in this House sometimes reproaches addressed to the Government for doing something with too weak a force when the object was simple and when their object was protective and defensive, and that the very weakness of the force might be an incentive to some other responsible persons. That is the real dimension and extent of the intention, the real policy, with which the Government undertook the operations which have attracted so much notice.

General Gough's Letter.

Now I come to this serious question which is raised by the letter of General Gough dated March 20, which contains the terms "duty as ordered," to which I can see no possible objection whatever, and "active operations". We cannot judge of the words without the context before us. In any event, the mere movements of troops is an active operation. (Opposition cries of "No, no.") Then you must have the context. These are mere quotations in General Gough's letter from what he heard said. General Gough goes on in the next sentence to show that he is in doubt as to what is meant. He says:—

"If such duty consists of the maintenance of order and the preservation of property, all the officers in this Brigade, including myself, would be prepared to carry out their duty.

I agree with the noble lord opposite that the proper and efficient way of answering General Gough's statement would have been to say at once:—"That is the proper construction of the orders given to you. We have nothing more to do with those who are prepared to perform that duty. Resume your command." Just remember what the Secretary of State said. He had not that letter before him when he sent his instructions that the officers who sent in their resignations should be relieved of their commands or their resignation should be refused. He had not that letter before him. when did he get it? It was brought over when the officers came over. I understand that the hon. member for Leicester differentiates that particular letter entirely from the subsequent letter. For an officer who receives instructions to ask what he is actually intended to do is a perfectly legitimate question. In General Gough's first letter there is no question about the future. It is a question as to the actual meaning and scope of the actual

orders he had received orally. But the further letter which General Gough wrote on March 23 seems to me to make conditions not only about the future but about policy (cheers), and as such it is a letter to which no Government can possibly reply by making conditions or anything in the nature of them. (Cheers.) As to the particular responsibility for what appears in the paper as a reply to it, the Secretary for War has told the actual story. For the last two paragraphs of that reply, I believe, not technically the whole Army Council but the Secretary for War, Sir John French, and the Adjutant-General were responsible. The Cabinet are absolutely responsible for the first three paragraphs, which remain our considered opinion and which there is no reason for us to alter in any way now. When we were responsible for those three paragraphs we had not General Gough's letter before us, and when the first draft was made I believe that even the Secretary for War had not that letter. When you come to the question of the meaning of the last two paragraphs you must read them together. If they are to be construed, as I believe they are to be construed, so that, should the civil authority be unable to keep order in Ulster and a single policeman need help, there is nothing to relieve anyone in the Army of his obligation to give full assistance, then I do not see much fault to find with that meaning. When my right hon. friend said he stood by those paragraphs, that is the sense in which I understood him to do so.

"General Gough's Return was Unconditional."

Then why do we not accept responsibility for those two paragraphs? Because you have them, as they appear in this paper, apparently in answer to a letter of General Gough making conditions, though the Prime Minister stated originally that General Gough's return to his command was unconditional and because he said the same to-day. (Cheers.) He returned not as the result of any bargaining between himself and his Majesty's Government. We all know his reputation as that of a most gallant and courageous officer, who has the respect and admiration of all who know him and his public record. When the noble lord opposite asks what is his position in Ireland, of course his position is that which the Prime Minister has stated. (Opposition cries of "What is that?" and Ministerial cries of "He resigned.") No, he is in his command now. It is perfectly well known to General Gough what is the actual answer of the Government and what the position is. The first three paragraphs are the answer of the Government to General Gough. We stand by those and we are responsible for nothing else. (Cheers.)

If General Gough thinks that the last two Paragraphs are an answer in the negative to his question—"In the event of the present Home Rule Bill becoming law, can we be called upon to enforce it on Ulster under the expression of maintaining law and order?"—I want to remove that impression, I say definitely he must understand that he is putting question in that letter to which no Government can give a negative answer (cheers), and to which even the Leader of the Opposition could not give a negative answer. I go further and I say that it is not question that an officer should put. (Cheers.)

The Prospect of Coercion.

When you come to the question of the coereion of Ulster, to compel her to submit to the operation of the Home Rule Bill, I would say this, that it finally, under all conditions, it becomes impossible to make the will of the country as to the way in which the Irish question shall be settled prevail by agreement, then of course there will be nothing else for it but the use of force. (Hear, hear.) But I trust, and I still believe, that that time will not come. I look with the greatest reluctance—I would say with the greatest loathing—to the prospect of having to coerce even minority. Those of us in his House who in the old days consistently opposed the coercion of other part of Ireland cannot be expected to look forward with anything but the greatest dislike to landing overselves in anything which means a policy of coercion in Ulster.

I still hope that may be avoided by some agreement. Now, I turn again to General Gough's letter in which be asks for conditions with regard to future policy. An officer ought not to ask such a question and if he does he must be told that no Government can give an answer. I think it is not in the interests of the discipline of the Army that officers should ask such questions. It is quite true that if a conflict on the question of policy arose as regards orders between the Government of the day and the Army it might bring us very near a revolution; but there is one thing which would certainly bring us to a revolution, and that if any British Government ever allowed itself to be put in a position where it could be imputed to it that it had taken its policy from or allowed its policy to be influenced by the politics of officers in the Army. (Cheers.) That is why I say I believe that this has arisen orginally out of perfectly honest misunderstandings, and I doubt whether General Gough himself could have realized the fire that he was kindling—perhaps he does now after the debate in the House—by putting what I dare say appeared to him a perfect innocent question. Because we consider that this incident is to be closed, as I trust it may be closed, it must be closed on the note that there is no question raised by the Army in respect to the orders given them and, as regards policy, the policy is that of the Government which is not influenced by the Army or attempted to be influenced by the Army, it is because we believe on that note the incident is to be closed that we have laid these papers before the House, and my right hon. friend, the Secretary of State for War, has given the very frank explanation that he has of his own part in the matter and the Prime Minister has given an equally frank and authoritative statement of the position of the Government. (Cheers.)

Mr. Holt and the Opposition.

A Scene.

Mr Holt (Northumberland, Hexham, Min.) said they were going to have an Army which should obey equally the orders of Liberal and Conservative Governments. (Ministerial and Opposition cheers.) Otherwise they would have no Army at all. Hon. gentlemen opposite used to rely on the House of Lords, but the House of Lords had been crushed. Then they thought that possibly the Army might be a second string to their bow. (Loud Opposition cries of "Never" and "Withdraw.")

Major Archer-shee (Finsbury, Central Opp.) Is the hon. member in order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, in grossly insulting the armed forces of his Majesty in the way?

The Deputy Speaker.—I do not gather that there was anything of that kind.

Mr. Holt.—Hon. gentlemen opposite have been thinking they could use the army as a subsititute for the Lords. (Opposition cries of "Untrue" and "Withdraw.")

The Deputy Speaker.—The hon. member is entitled to state his opinion. We are here to listen to different opinions.

Sir F. Banbury said the hon. member made his statement as a statement of fact, and the Deputy Speaker remarked that members often expressed opinions without saying that they were opinions, but Mr. Holt again raised a storm by explaining that after listening to Opposition speeches during the last few years he had been unable to come to any other conclusion that it was their intention to use the Army as a means of preventing the decisions of this—

The hon. member got no further owing to loud cries of "Untrue." The Deputy Speaker once more appealed to the House to listen to opinions with which they might not agree, and Sir W. Byles (Salford N., Min.) remarked:—It is after dinner, Mr. Deputy Speaker.

Mr. Holt again rose, but was unable to make himself heard amid the cries of "Withdraw."

Mr. Butcher called attention to the "offensive remark" of the hon. member for North Salford, and

The Deputy Speaker said he had rebuked him at the moment without rising from the Chair.

Mr. Holt, resuming his speech, said that the House of Lords had failed the party opposite, and he thought they would find the second string to their bow would fail them too.

Mr. Chamberlain's Denial.

Mr. A. Chamberlain (Worcestershire, E.)—The hon. member contend that once we are returned here we are to be masters without check or control. No member on the opposition side had even claimed such right as that. (Ministerial cries of "You exercised it.") You say that when we are in power the check does no exist, but you never said that it ought not to exist. Now we have the hon. member, with the approval of his party, claiming that that is the true interpretation of our constitutional system. That is the claim for Single-Chamber government carried to its extreme; and Single-Chamber government, the Foreign Secretary declared, is "death damnation, and destruction." The hon. member said it was the determination of every section of his party "not to tolerate an Army which will not act for our side as it will for the other." We have never asked, expected, or desired that the Army should act for a party. (Cheers.) Our earnest object in all these anxious months has been to prevent any party question affecting the discipline of the Army.

I welcome the intervention this evening of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, but does the right hon. gentleman mean to suggest that there is anything comparable between the coercion, which he admits that he contemplates in certain eventualities, of the great mass of the people of all classes in the north east of Ulster and what was called the coercion practised by my right hon. friend as Chief Secretary. (A Ministerialist.—"Why not?") I will tell the hon. member why not. You may quote the example of my right hon. friend when the Ulstermen fire into the houses of those who disagree with them (cheers), when they tar and feather women who disagree with them (Ministerial cries of "Oh" and Opposition cheers), when they maim cattle (Ministerial interruptions and Opposition cheers)—until you accuse Ulstermen of those crimes (Mr. Dillon.—"I do accuse them" and Ministerial cries of "What about the shipyards?") and prove that they have committed them, because some men fling accusations about very lightly (cheers and counter-cheers), you cannot cite the action of my right hon. friend as any precedent to the coercion you are contemplating. (Cheers.)

(To be continued.)

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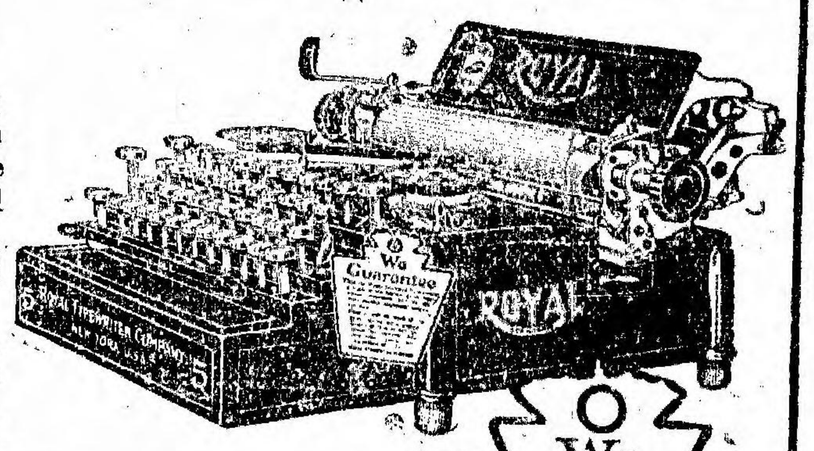
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