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 such communications.

The Week.

Persia.

Reuter wires from Teheran, dated July 24, that M. Mornard, Belgian Treasurer-General, has resigned.

A message, dated July 25, states that Lord Inchcape has been appointed Second Government *ex-officio* Director of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

Albania.

The Albanian insurgents, in a letter to the Powers, demand the withdrawal of Prince William, otherwise they threaten to destroy Durazzo, and say that if the battleships fixed, they would not spare the inhabitants.

London, July 24.

Reuter wires from Durazzo that the Powers have resolved not to answer the insurgents who insulted the Prince and threatened to make Durazzo a battlefield.

The Dutch gendarme officers have resigned.

London, July 27.

Reuter wires from Durazzo that those killed in the recent affray between soldiers and Nationalists, were buried yesterday. The streets were crowded.

The Haj Question.

Bombay, July 24.

The Commissioner of Police, as President of the Haj Committee, opened last evening the new Musafer Khana for use of the Haj Pilgrims New Institution, which is a commodious structure with accommodation for several hundred people having been built in place of the old one at Frere Road, acquired in connexion with the Alexandra Dock scheme.

Indians in Canada.

London, July 25.

The following special cablegram appears in the "Pioneer": The *Times* Toronto correspondent says that seven Hindus belonging to the Indian colony at Vancouver have taken passages on the "Komagata Maru" declaring that they are going to India to assist in spreading the revolutionary movement. The "Standard's" Ottawa correspondent says Sir R. Borden has been in communication with the India Office through Mr. Perley, acting High Commissioner. The correspondent understands that a conference of representatives of the Dominion's Home Ministers to deal with the whole problem is likely to take place shortly at Montreal.

The "Star" says: Canada ought if possible to discriminate in favour of British subjects when dealing with the question of Asiatic immigration. An Asiatic born under the flag ought to feel that he gets better terms than any other Asiatic and gets them because he is British born. Hindus of education should visit Canada with the freedom they enjoy in England.

The Crisis in Europe.

War Between Austria and Servia.

London, July 23.

Reuter wires from Berlin that in official circles here, it is considered that the conflict between Austria-Hungary and Servia, the possibility of which is not denied, can and ought to be localised.

Budapest: Speaking in the Chamber, Count Tisza, the Premier, said that the foreign situation was not now of such a nature that a serious turn was to be regarded as certain or probable. The situation abroad was now absolutely uncertain, but it could be settled by peaceful means, though the possibility of a serious complication also existed.

London, July 24.

Belgrade: The Austrio-Hungarian note has been delivered to Servia. It demands the suppression of the Pan-Servian movement and the punishment of accomplices in the Serajevo assassinations. An answer is required by six o'clock on Saturday evening.

Vienna: The Austrian note to Servia demands the publication of the Servian Government's condemnation of, and regret for, the anti-Austrian propaganda and the punishment of offenders, the suppression of anti-Austrian teaching in schools, dismissal of officers and functionaries whose names the Austrian Government reserves the right to communicate, the acceptance of the collaboration of Austrian officials in suppressing the anti-Austrian movement, and the prosecution of accessories in the Serajevo crime, with the collaboration of representatives of the Austrian Government. The note also demands the arrest of the Servian Major and the State official who are compromised as the result of the enquiry into the Serajevo crime.

The Austrian ultimatum is unexpectedly severe and uncompromising, leaving scarcely a loophole for negotiation. The situation is regarded as most grave and everyone is asking what attitude Russia will take up.

The semi-official "Pester Lloyd," of Budapest, affirms that Germany will suffer no third party to intervene between Austria and Servia.

Vienna: The semi-official "Fremdenblatt" says the Austro-Hungarian demands are the outcome of long and careful reflection and do not go beyond what is strictly necessary. "We have to destroy the mine which has been dug in Servia and which penetrates to the heart of our southern Slav territories."

Vienna: It is understood that no negotiations or bargaining on the part of Servia will be allowed, nor extension of the time limit, nor mediation by other Powers. Should Servia reply in the negative, it is intimated that the Army will be called to enforce Austria's demands.

Paris: Commenting on the Austro-Servian crisis, "Le Journal" says: "We find ourselves face to face with anti-Slav reaction to which Russia cannot be indifferent."

St. Petersburg: An extraordinary meeting of the Cabinet has been held to discuss the foreign situation. The Cabinet sat for four hours. It is understood that Russia will immediately intervene and ask Austria to prolong the ultimatum to Servia in order to give time to European diplomacy to exercise action. In the event of a refusal, extreme measures on the part of Russia may be expected.

Vienna: The Austro-Hungarian Minister at Belgrade has been ordered, unless the ultimatum is complied with to-morrow evening, to leave Servia with the whole of the Legation staff.

London, July 25.

With the exception of the "Vossische Zeitung" which criticises interference with Servia's dignity, the German Press raises a chorus of approval of the "dignified earnestness" of the Austrian note to Servia and promises the fullest support in the event of outside interference.

The Italian Press is astounded at the severity of the note and characterises it as an unprecedented humiliation.

Reuter learns that Diplomats in London take the gravest view and are of opinion that no Servian Cabinet could comply with the Austrian demands. In other circles, opinion is expressed that Servia may ask for proofs of the charges against Servian officials and that meanwhile the Powers will endeavour to mediate.

Berlin: Austro-Hungarian reservists have received 25 hours' notice to rejoin their regiments.

Belgrade: A semi-official note describes the situation consequent upon the Austrian note, as most critical.

St. Petersburg: An official *communiqué* has been issued stating that the Imperial Government is seriously preoccupied with the Austrian ultimatum to Servia, and is attentively following the development of the dispute to which Russian cannot remain indifferent.

Belgrade: The details of the Austrian note were only known yesterday evening from the Austrian papers. Servian papers published special editions which crowds eagerly discussed. The situation is considered more serious than prior to the Balkan War. With the exception of the "Morning Post" which inveighs against the most high-handed procedure on record in imposing the terms, such as have never been enforced on a conquered State, the London Press is generally anti-Servian in tone and counsels submission on the ground of the indefensibility of making one country the centre for intrigues against the integrity of another.

St. Petersburg: The Tsar presided at a council at Peterhoff to-day. Mobilisation of the Russian army is momentarily expected. While acknowledging that Austria has grave cause for complaint against Servia, the "Times" condemns the precipitateness and harshness of her Ultimatum which appears to imply that Austria is determined to settle the controversy by the swords. That newspaper warns Austria that the very existence of her monarchy may be involved by a general conflagration.

French newspapers are very indignant at the conduct of Austria who, they point out, has selected a moment when Great Britian is pre-occupied with the Ulster crisis and Russia with strikes. They consider that Servia cannot accept the humiliation imposed on her and urge the Triple Entente to intervene.

On the Stock Exchange to-day, international stocks were demoralised. Consols fell one and a quarter, and Russians and Austrians three. Other markets were depressed.

Vienna: Austria is awaiting Servia's decision with the greatest composure. Patriotic demonstrations were made throughout last night.

Vienna: The Russian Charge d'Affaires to-day called at the Foreign Office and asked for extension of time for Servia's reply to the Austrian note. He received a negative reply.

Belgrade: The Cabinet has been in constant session to-day. The Crown Prince asked the Opposition leaders to accept any decision of Government. Safes and archives have been removed to the south.

Vienna: Newspapers announce that Servia accepts Austria's terms under protest.

Vienna: Government announces that it will not extend the time limit.

Later.

The reply to the Austrian note is unsatisfactory. The Austrian Minister has left Belgrade.

The King of Servia and his Court are evacuating Belgrade and mobilisation is in progress.

The crisis has caused a rush of Ambassadors on holiday to return to their posts. Mr. F. D. Acland, speaking at the Steyning to-day, said the European position was far graver than that in Ireland. No one could imagine the disasters which a great war might bring. Britain's whole influence would be directed towards the maintenance of peace.

Berlin: Hundreds demonstrated outside the Austrian Embassy and sang the National Anthem. The Ambassador thanked the crowd.

St. Petersburg: It is reported that five army corps are mobilising.

The Tsar has approved of the decisions of the Cabinet. Mobilisation is proceeding forthwith.

Cetinje: Important movements of Austrian troops are reported from Ragusa. Twenty-two Austrian warships are assembled in Cattaro Bay.

Reuter learns that the Servian capital has been transferred to Kragujevacs and that the Servian reply accepts some and rejects others of the Austrian demands.

Budapest: Though rain is falling, the multitude is parading streets shouting: "Live the War" and "Down with Servia."

It is significant that France and Russia made concerted representations at Vienna this afternoon.

London, July 26.

Martial law has been proclaimed throughout Austria-Hungary. The Reichsrath and the Diets have been closed. The Servian Minister has left Vienna. General Von Möltke, Chief of the General Staff, has left Karlsbad to return to Berlin.

M. Poincaré, French President, is at Stockholm.

Sir John Simon, speaking at Manchester, said that any part Great Britain might play in the European crisis should throughout be the part of the mediator, singly, desirous of promoting peaceful relations.

Reuter wires from Berlin that a procession of twenty thousand men singing "Die Wacht Am Rhein" and "Deutschand's Deutschland Ueber Alles" paraded in Unter Den Linden and made enthusiastic demonstration in front of the Austrian Embassy. Patriotic scenes were witnessed in cafés and restaurants. Enthusiastic demonstrations in favour of war were held in Vienna and the provinces.

The Kaiser left suddenly for Germany yesterday evening. It is reported that all the divisions of the German fleet were ordered to assemble yesterday evening at pre-arranged places on the Norwegian coast.

A Vienna message states that it is reported that partial mobilisation has been ordered.

Berlin: The semi-official "Nordeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" hopes that in the event of rejecting by Servia of Austria's just demands, the Powers will strive collectively to prevent complications.

A St. Petersburgh message states that the Tsar has promoted cadets who have completed their course to be officers a month before the usual date.

Vienna: An official *communiqué* says that the foreign situation has so developed that regard for military necessities has become the supreme consideration. The *communiqué* proclaims ordinances suspending throughout the Empire constitutional laws on the liberty of the subject of assembly and the Press. Private correspondence is being suppressed and juries are restricting the issue of passports, partially prohibiting export and import of goods and enforcing military jurisdiction generally.

Vienna: Proclamations of the order for a partial mobilisation in Berlin and naval concentration, are denied.

Reuter wires from Stockholm that M. Poincaré has left for Copenhagen.

The Austrian and Russian censorship is most rigorous. Belgrade is isolated.

Reuter wires from Buddapest that General Putnik, the Servian Generalissimo and four officers were arrested in Hungary last night while returning to Belgrade. General Putnik was astounded when he was told that he was a prisoner. He said he was not aware that a state of war existed.

Berlin: Pro-Austrian demonstrations continued throughout the night. A crowd of thirty thousand assembled outside the

Reichstag and cheered the Speaker's call to arms. The police did not interfere and even allowed demonstrations outside the Palace.

Vienna: It is officially stated that Italy has spontaneously informed Austria that, in the event of an Austro-Russian war, Italy will support the Triple Alliance.

The splendid loyalty of Germany and Italy has aroused the greatest enthusiasm and gratitude.

Special editions of the London papers announce that war has been declared.

The German newspaper "Lokalanzeiger" says that unless all signs are deceptive, Britain, whose majestic fleet is still gathered at Spithead, is prepared to do everything to preserve peace and will exercise a moderating influence in Paris and St. Petersburg.

Vienna: Newspapers here are unanimous in declaring that war is inevitable unless Servia at the last moment submits.

Vienna: General Putnik will be allowed to proceed to Servia to-morrow.

There is no confirmation of the reported declaration of war. A continual exchange of visits occurred among Diplomats in London to-day, and everywhere the gravest views are held.

Berlin: It is semi-officially announced that Germany has notified the Powers that she regards the Austro-Servian conflict as a concern of the two countries involved alone, and therefore it must be localised. Germany's efforts will be directed to inducing the Powers to accept this standpoint.

Reuter wires from Brussel that the Government is preparing to reinforce the peace effectives, and a plan for a general mobilisation has been completed.

St. Petersburg: Decrees have been issued forbidding the publication of detailed information with reference to the Army and Navy and declaring a modified form of martial law in the cities and provinces of St. Petersburg and Moscow.

Paris: Slav students here made a hostile demonstration in front of the Austrian Embassy. It was immediately suppressed and the French Government expressed its regrets at the occurrence.

Reuter understands that Austria's military preparations still give Servia time to reconsider her reply.

London, July 27.

While peace is hanging in the balance news comes from Vienna that Servian troops on board a steamer on the Danube opened fire on Austrian troops near Temeskubin. The Austrians replied, and an engagement of some importance ensued.

A telegram from Vienna received in Paris states that military action against Servia will be taken to-morrow morning.

The evening in St. Petersburg was calmer in expectation of the success of British and German influence.

Feeling in Paris is pessimistic, it being thought that Austria will prove unconciliatory.

Berling is more hopeful that Austria will agree to mediation.

The Vienna press urges further action by Austria.

The Rome press urges the non-intervention of Italy.

Demonstrations in Paris against war were interrupted by members of the patriotic leagues. Disorder ensued which was quelled by the police charging the crowd.

Reuter wires from Vienna that a *communiqué* embodying the Austro-Hungarian semi-official view has been issued here. It says that the object of the Servian reply is to create the false impression that Servia is prepared in great measure to comply with the Austro-Hungarian demands, whereas the move is filled with a spirit of dishonesty, clearly showing that Servia is not seriously determined to end the culpable tolerance hitherto extended towards intrigues against the duel monarchy. The Servian reply must be regarded as unsatisfactory.

In the House of Commons to-day Sir Edward Grey said he saw the Ambassadors on Friday afternoon, and expressed the view that so long as the dispute was between Austria and Servia alone, we had no title to interfere, but if Austro-Russian relations were threatened, that would be a matter of the peace of Europe, and would concern us all. When he heard that Austria had broken off relations with Servia Sir E. Grey telegraphed to Paris, Berlin and Rome, to ask whether they were willing for their Ambassadors in London to meet him in conference, and endeavour to find means of arranging the present difficulties. Sir E. Grey simultaneously informed Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Belgrade of this proposal, and asked them to suspend military operations pending the result of the conference, regarding which complete replies had not yet been received. Mr. Bonar Law asked whether the Emperor William had accepted the principle of mediation which Sir E. Grey proposed. Sir E. Grey replied that the German Government was favourable to mediation in principle as between Russia and Austria but he was waiting Germany's reply regarding the conference. Continuing, Sir Edward Grey explained that in a crisis as grave as the present one the efforts of one Power were ineffective. The co-operation of all four was essential. He was unable to ascertain, owing to shortness of time, whether the Proposal was welcome. He thought, however, in view of the Servian reply that this proposal should at least provide a basis on which a friendly and impartial group of powers should be able to arrange a mutually acceptable settlement. "The moment when the matter ceases to be one between Austria and Servia and any great Power is involved," the Foreign Secretary concluded, "it cannot but end in the greatest catastrophe which has ever befallen the continent of Europe. Nobody can say what would be the limit of the issues raised. The consequences would be incalculable."

Reuter wires from Paris: "We learn that France has accepted Sir Edward Grey's proposal."

A Rome message states that Italy has accepted Sir Edward Grey's proposal.

The so-called "balance crews" of the second fleet have been ordered to remain in their ships at present instead of returning ashore.

A message from Gibraltar states that all furlough has been stopped. The refitting of H. M. battleship *Bellerophon*, due to begin to-morrow, has been postponed.

H. M. battleship *Bellerophon* has been recalled from Gibraltar to England.

A Berlin message states that the Kaiser has arrived in Berlin.

Reuter wires from Berlin that it is announced that in the event of a further decline in prices the banks will intervene. One great bank has declined to pay gold. Severe runs on the savings banks have occurred in Germany.

Instead of visiting Compenhagen and Christiana, President Poincare in returning hastily to Paris, passed through the former city to-day on his way back.

General Putnik has been released.

Reuter wires from Buddapest that the Bourse has been closed until further notice, as have the outside markets in Paris and Berlin, but the official Bourses remain open.

Reuter learns that Greece and Rumania have exchanged views regarding the maintenance of the balance of power in the Balkans.

The Netherlands are taking steps to maintain their neutrality.

London, July 28.

Newspapers announce that the 20 battleships and nine cruisers at Portland were coaling all night long and embarking war stores and provisions for several weeks. It is rumoured that they have been ordered to a point in the North Sea. The Admiralty has not issued the usual list of movements of ships. The King has postponed his visit to Goodwood owing to the crisis.

According to a telegram to the "Times" from St. Petersburg, the Tsar has gone to the Finish Skerries. On authorising a partial mobilisation, the Tsar is quoted as saying: "We have stood this sort of thing for 7¼ years. This is enough." Simultaneously Germany was informed that the remainder of the Army would be mobilised in the event of a German mobilisation.

Vienna: The Government has published the reply to the Austro-Hungarian demands with a commentary explaining why it considers the reply unsatisfactory. The Government emphasises that Servia should have made spontaneous enquiries with regard to the Sarajevo assassinations. It accuses the Belgrade Government also of altering the text of the Austro-Hungarian Note. Besides the reply, a possier of the alleged proof of Servian plotting has been published. The situation is one of patient waiting, the pendulum swinging backward and forwards. The news of one moment is superseded the next. It is useless even to attempt to indicate the chances of war or peace. All that can be said is that every moment of delay is a moment gained. Austria-Hungary appears to be determined to attack Servia and if the Russian once cross the frontier, then German will instantaneously intervene and the catastrophe mentioned by Sir Edward Grey will become imminent.

Reuter's agency has been informed that Germany has intimated that while sincerely sympathising with Sir Edward Grey's object she considers that the conference has no prospect of success as Austria-Hungary will not consent to submit her policy to such a tribunal. Germany thinks that conversation between the Powers is a better course than a conference.

Berlin: The fleet is gathering at Kiel and Wilhelmshaven and other important points and then pause permitting an opportunity for some reconsideration.

Russia has accepted the principle of Sir Edward Grey's proposal. At the same time she desires to continue a direct exchange of views with Vienna.

The declaration of war was received in London after the Stock Exchange had closed.

"Yankees" were the only market remaining, and they slumped two or three points.

Runs on savings banks in Germany are continuing.

Later.

Austria has declared war.

A *Detente* in diplomatic quarters in London, to-day, suggests that Austria-Hungary and Russia have arrived at some sort of understanding based on the former's positive disavowal of intentions of conquest or permanent occupation.

It is thought possible that Austria-Hungary may occupy.

London, July 28.

The comparative steadiness of consols in to-day's slump is attributed to Government's buying for sinking funds and purchases by big banking houses.

The German and Russian military have assumed control of Railway stations along the frontier.

Consols fell to 69½ to-day. Other stocks were not quoted. Government is buying consols which are now at seventy and a half. Already three small failures have been announced. The Bourses at St. Petersburg and Amsterdam have been closed.

The statement which Sir Edward Grey is making to-day, is being awaited with expectancy, unequalled in living memory, by the bulk of the public. While witnessing the collapse on the Stock Exchange in general, with extreme anxiety, businessmen are as yet scarcely able to realise the momentous issues impending and ask why Great Britain should be involved in a squabble between Austria and Servia in which it is felt that Austria has considerable right on her side. The question which Sir Edward Grey is expected to solve decisively, is what are precisely Great Britain's obligation to the Triple Entente and whether Great Britain can hesitate to take up arms if the Balance of Power is threatened by her friends being plunged into war. Many think that a plain declaration that Great Britain would throw in her lot with the Entente, may even now prevent war from spreading.

The "Times" says it is imperative to patch up domestic differences without delay in order that the whole nation may present a united front to the threatening international crisis. The paper says there cannot be a question of change of Government at present.

Vienna: The Emperor Francis Joseph, in a manifesto, reviews the "Servian intrigues." His Majesty says he is fully conscious of the consequences of his decision and his reponsibility to the Almighty. He says he grasps the sword to secure the honour, dignity, and territorial integrity of Austria-Hungary. A message to the *Times* from Durazzo says the Austrians have blockaded Antivari. Extreme tension prevails everywhere. The British Cabinet is sitting. Sir Edward Grey was late in arriving owing to a prolonged conference with the German Ambassador.

Reuter learns that Russia partially mobilised in the south and southwest. This does not necessarily imply a rupture and it is hoped that some Power will yet bring about an understanding.

News from Vienna reports big concentrations of Servian troops. Servian æroplanes are scouting on the frontier. A Montenegrin brigade with artillery near Pribog, is supporting Servia.

The British Cabinet sat to-day for over two hours and at its conclusion Mr. Asquith, Mr. Churchill, Sir Edward Grey and Viscount Haldane conferred together. In the House of Commons, Mr. Asquith said that the site situation was one of extreme gravity. He could only usefully say that Government was not relaxing its efforts and would do everything in its power to circumscribe the area of the possible conflict. Mr. Lloyd-George announced that he had consulted the Bank of England and was advised that it was neither necessary nor advisable at present to call a meeting of bankers to deal with the financial situation. Although Sir Edward Grey was expected to make a statement, he did not do so.

To-night's situation is more favourable on the report of a possible meeting between the Tsar and the Kaiser. The news is most conflicting. For example, it was announced that Austria had assured Russia that she will respect the territorial integrity of Servia and that she will not occupy Belgrade. Almost simultaneously a telegram from a Russian source stated that Belgrade had been bombarded and that the bridge over the river Save and been destroyed.

Lord Rothschild is of opinion that the war is being localised.

In the House of Lords to-day, Lord Morley said the Powers were actively communicating with a view to averting war beyond the area primarily concerned.

The Kaiser and the Tsar have exchanged telegrams on the situation.

M. Poincaré has arrived in Paris where he was accorded an enthusiastic reception.

Vienna: it is semi-officially stated that the Servians destroyed the bridge at Semlin, a few miles north of Belgrade, yesterday morning. The Austrians bombarded the Servian positions and compelled the enemy to evacuate them. Two Servian steamers laden with ammunition and mines have been captured.

Later.

St. Petersburg: The war fever is growing. Thousands demonstrated here and at Odessa yesterday evening, cheering for England and France. A crowd of twenty thousand gave an ovation to Servian officers departing for Belgrade.

Berlin: German troops are moving in response to the Russian advance towards Wirballen.

London, July 29.

There is a faint hope that direct Austro-Russian conversations will avert a European conflagration. In the meanwhile, Germany is taking military and naval precautions and people in Paris are calmly preparing for war. British dockyards are very active. The declaration of war was cheered by crowds in St. Petersburg and demonstrations were attemped in front of the British and French Embassies, but they were prevented by the police. There was no disorder.

Reuter wires from Rome that it is stated that dissensions have arisen between the Marquis Di San Gaiiiano, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Signor Salandra, Premier. It is said that the latter insists on Italy's absolute neutrality.

A message from Vienna states that the official "Fremdenblatt" says that Europe will now see that Austria-Hungary is a nation and not merely a political entity. The idea of a greater Servia will be shattered by Austria's united strength. Twenty-eight Socialist anti-war meetings have been held in Berlin. Speeches were drowned by the singing. There was a huge patriotic demonstration in Unter Den Linden.

Reuter wires from Now York that the declaration of war caused a panic on the stock market. Scenes occurred in the wheat pit which have been unprecedented since the Leiter corner in 1898. Transactions were made in over twelve million bushels and prices rose ten cents. Coffee and cotton slumped.

Prices of provisions in Vienna have risen fifty per cent. and stall-keepers in the market have been mobbed.

Hitherto seven failures have been announced in London and two in Glasgow. Some of them are of moderate importance.

Later.

Consols closed at 71. Money exchanges are absolutely disorganised. Cheques on Paris have slumped, the quotation ranging from 24-50 to 24-90. An advance of one per cent in the Bank rate is expected tomorrow. Wheat has advanced two shillings and other cereals a shilling. The net gold withdrawal yesterday amounted to £911,000 for the Continent and Egypt. To-day was the blackest day ever known on the Stock Exchange. Such a universal cessation of business is unprecedented. The extent thereof is illustrated by the closing of Montreal and Toronto Stock Exchanges until a definite improvement in the situation sets in. All day the air has been full of conflicting reports favourable and unfavourable. The feeling to-night is a trifle better in view of the reports of a possible meeting of the Tsar and the Kaiser. The fact that Sir Edward Grey did not speak in the Commons to-day, is regarded as an indication that he is still labouring to promote peace.

The strict censorship being exercised in Vienna, and Belgrade, except for official telegrams, prevents information leaking out as to the course of happenings in Austria and Servia, if any. Reuter learns that Russian mobilisation extends to thirty-two army corps at Kieff, Odessa, Moscow and Kazan, being thus entirely on the Austrian and not on the German frontier.

Our London Letter.

London, July 10.

THE CABINET AND THE NEW SITUATION.

Mr. A. P. NICHOLSON, who is usually in the "know" of the inner working of the present Government, writes in the *Daily News and Leader* of yesterday on what is generally considered to be the true position and intentions of the Cabinet and the Liberal Party in face of the new situation arising from the tremendous fall in the Government majority in the House of Commons on Tuesday last.

The Cabinet, according to Mr. Nicholson, met yesterday in a mood of surprise after the division in which their majority had fallen to 23 owing chiefly to the abstention of some of their supporters on a vital motion (concerning the Finance Bill of the year). The situation was discussed in all its bearings, but no decision was arrived at as to a change in program or the course which the business of the session should take. The next meeting will probably be held on Monday. The situation is one which must be faced seriously, and as the interests of the Government and the Liberal Party are at stake the course of the ministerial discussions yesterday may with advantage be indicated with more frankness than is usual.

The Cabinet first discussed the state of feeling in the Liberal Party. They are not yet fully aware of the causes which led to the check given to them by several sections of their supporters, and they were genuinely amazed that any Liberals should apparently be ready to let the Liberal cause be ruined rather than go to any length in support of the formidable program of business which has been placed before Parliament in this critical session. This is regarded as a new situation. If they had been defeated on Tuesday the Government would have resigned, for it is only a defeat on a "snap" division that they can ignore.

But Ministers are very willing, in the light of a sincere protest in their own ranks, to reconsider the business situation, and this spirit was manifested in their deliberations. One of the factors in

that the Cabinet as well as the Liberal Party are tired. On the whole, the feeling of Ministers seems to be general that it is impossible to push straight on with the present session till all the business in sight is concluded. The financial business would take till the end of this month, if we include the Appropriation Bill, and one or two other necessities and the proceedings on the Home Rule Amending Bill in the Commons might easily take two or three weeks in August. For this Bill in the shape in which it comes from the Lords must go through all stages in the Commons, and be remoulded after its drastic treatment by the Opposition peers.

The Opposition are not going to settle the Irish question promptly, if they settle at all—which is doubtful—in order to help the Government out of their difficulties of time. Their policy is delay. It would be fatuous to ask the Opposition to take some other settlement than the proposals grafted on the Amending Bill, in order that the Government might the better get through their other business. The Opposition are opposed to this business and do not want the Government to get through it.

The session should be ended at latest by the third week in August. Among the alternatives discussed yesterday were :—

Whether the Revenue Bill and some other measures should be dropped, in view of the graver issues hanging in the balance:

whether the session should be adjourned in August, and an autumn session be begun in October, in which the remaining business should be done; and

whether the session should be prorogued as soon as possible in August, and Parliament be summoned to meet for the new session, say, in November, when the Revenue Bill, the Housing Bill introduced by Mr. Runciman yesterday, the Non-conformist Education Bill, dealing with single school areas, and the Insurance Bill should at once be tackled.

There are various considerations to be taken count of, but the balance of advantage rests with the last alternative. If the Revenue Bill and other measures were dropped, there would be a loss of prestige to the Government and discontent among other sections of their supporters. If this business were postponed to an autumn session, during the whole of the delay arising the Parliament Act Bills would not have been placed on the Statute Book, and would be subject to any accident. In addition, Parliament would certainly have to meet as early as October to get through before Christmas, and a number of Ministerialists are opposed to attendance then.

If, however, the session were closed in August, the Parliament Act Bills would be on the Statute Book. If the new session began in November it would, at any rate, be a month later than October. There would be a long holiday at Christmas, and the Revenue Bill, perhaps in a simple form, would be passed before 1915 was much advanced. If the Opposition were not satisfied with the Irish Amending Act, a conference or convention could be held in the autumn, with a view to the further consideration of the question in the next session.

The discontented Ministerialists rallied to the Government yesterday. Having made their protest, the bulk of them have no intention of playing the Tory game. Mr. Asquith's announcement of the comprehensive inquiry on the income-tax has given satisfaction.

The Opposition imagine that the situation is analogous to that which obtained in the last years of Mr. Balfour's Government in 1903-5, when a rot set in which got worse and worse. It is far from the case. There are dissatisfactions on this score and on that—one criticism that is heard is that the Local Government Board has set the pace too fast. But there is this vital difference: Whatever difficulties exist now in the Liberal Party, they will not increase with time, but will diminish. For if the Government continue in office till next summer the Plural Voting Bill will be won. And if there is a settlement on the Irish question, or if the Government override their Irish difficulties, there will be a great reaction in their favour in the country, and their course will have been justified. Mr. Balfour's Government had no such possibilities in their favour.

India Council Bill Rejected.

It must, of course, be at once admitted that Lord Crewe's Bill was by no means perfect from the purely Indian point of view; but the Lords have certainly undertaken no little responsibility by thus rejecting the Bill without giving the House any opportunity to thoroughly discuss the measure in Committee and thus modify it by means of amendments. The latter course would have been more advisable and indeed would have produced a better impression in India. "India" is supposed to be a non-party subject in the Imperial Parliament, but the recent debate on this important Bill was conducted on strictly party lines, with very few exceptions. The most important feature of the debate was in reality not what was said or done but Lord Lansdowne's silence. The Leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords, whose Indian experience is as great as that of Lord Curzon or any other peer in that assembly, ought to have intervened in this important debate. His silence on this occasion is indeed remarkable and is, in my opinion, very regrettable. Lord Lansdowne had perhaps fully realised the gravity of the question, and a statesman of his calibre and weight could not be expected to cordially approve of the course so bluntly taken up by his less responsible colleague on the Front Opposition Bench, who had moved the rejection of the Bill. He may possibly have voted for Lord Curzon's motion, though so far no division list has been published; but the fact that he has deliberately abstained from taking part in the debate and according the motion his formal approval is very significant.

The Tory Press is naturally jubilant and hail the action of the Lords as a far-sighted and patriotic duty. The Anglo-Indian papers as well as some Indian papers, such as the "Bombay Chronicle," I see from the telegrams, are equally happy over the course events have taken. But personally I am sure the rejection of the Bill on its second reading is a gross mistake on the part of the Lords, who are beginning to treat Indian matters also in the narrow light of party politics.

The Bill, as I have said before, was not an ideal measure in any way; but it was certainly an attempt, I admit a very bad attempt, on the part of the Government to reform the India Council. Hopes and expectations had been realised in India and the Congress delegates over here were primarily concerned with this Bill. All of a sudden the measure has now been thrown away by the peers on the initiative of Lord Curzon, whose friends are describing his action in this respect as yet another "service" rendered to India. The House of Lords has been thus deprived of any opportunity it could have to amend and modify the Bill and the House of Commons is equally robbed of facilities to discuss this all-important measure. It is quite probable that the Bill, when duly discussed, amended and passed through both the Houses of Parliament, would have received the Royal Assent in a more agreeable form. But the rash act of the Tory peers has killed it in the very beginning of its career. It will be a bad day for England, India and the Empire if Indian affairs are to be henceforth dealt with on purely party lines. Lord Curzon's recent attitude and that of most of his supporters only too clearly indicate that they are rapidly tending towards that perilous and dangerous practice.

"Moslem Day" in London.

The Managing Committee of the Islamic Society, in consultation with the Exhibition authorities, have arranged for a series of lectures and addresses on various Islamic subjects, which are to be delivered in the Palace of Music at the Anglo-American Exposition in Shepherd's Bush on Friday, the 17th instant. The proceedings of the day, which has been aptly designated as "Moslem Day," will begin by the Jooma-Namaz, after which, throughout the day and evening, the public will be offered an excellent opportunity of learning something about the great religion of Moslems.

The happy scheme was hit upon by Mr. Khalid Sheldrake, an English Moslem, who once held the office of Vice-President of the Islamic Society. It at once met with the approval of Khwaja Kamaluddin Saheb, who, being a member of the Committee of the Islamic Society, promptly brought the matter to the notice of his colleagues at their last meeting, and it was naturally supported with great enthusiasm.

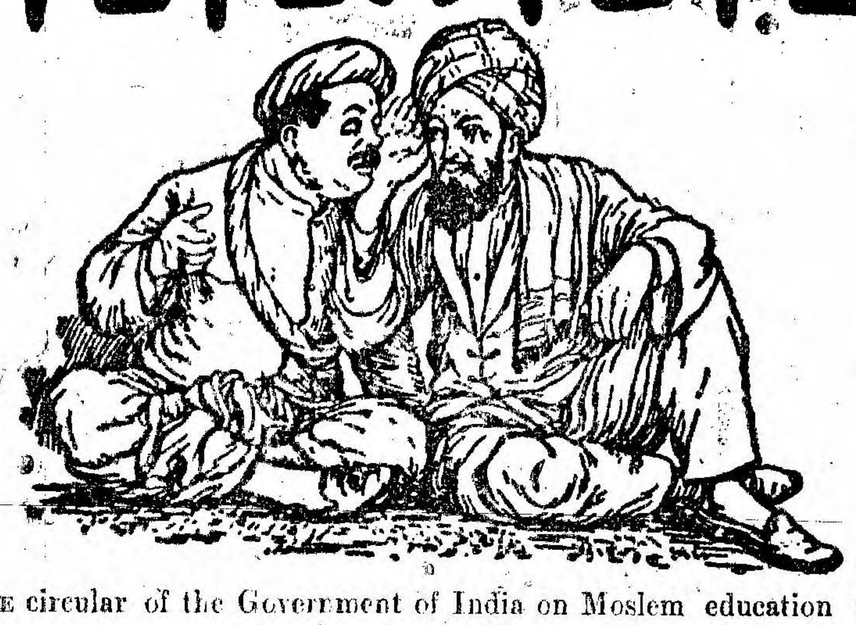
I understand the Society is anxious to hold two or three "Moslem Days" in the Exhibition later on in the summer, if their first attempt is successful. It will undoubtedly be an excellent means of spreading information concerning Islam in its various aspects among the vast members of the British public who daily visit the Exhibition. It is bound to create a genuine desire on their part to seek information and knowledge about a religion, which, despite all attempts to arrest its growth, is more than holding its own.

Coronation of the Shah: Celebration in London.

The Islamic Society is celebrating the coronation of His Majesty the Shah of Persia by a luncheon at the Hotel Cecil on Tuesday, the 21st instant, the day fixed by the Persian Government for the auspicious ceremony in Teheran. His Excellency Raghib Raif Bey, the Councillor to the Imperial Ottoman Embassy, will preside at the luncheon, in the unavoidable absence of His Highness Tewfik Pacha, the Ambassador.

The graceful act of the Islamic Society in securing such a distinguished representative of the Ottoman Embassy to take the chair on such a historic "Persian" occasion will no doubt be immensely appreciated by all classes and sections of Muslims in London and elsewhere. The formal participation of His Excellency Raghib Raif Bey in the festivities connected with the coronation of the Shah will at once dispel all doubts and fears as to the relations existing between the two neighbouring Moslem Empires. It will further strengthen the bond of friendship and brotherhood prevailing amongst the Moslem subjects of their Imperial Majesties the Sultan and the Shah. It will yet serve to demonstrate the unity of Islam despite its various sects and divisions, of which so much capital in made in certain quarters.

TETE À TETE



Moslem Education.

THE circular of the Government of India on Moslem education was issued more than a year ago, and it was welcomed as a proof of the genuine desire of Government to improve the educational position of the Moslem community. It was based on a clear recognition of the peculiar disabilities which have hampered the Mussalmans in the race for progress since the new order of things came to supplant the old. The duty of a modern State is not simply to preserve peace and order, but to ensure the material and moral progress of its citizens; and the Government of India could not remain indifferent to the lack of equality of opportunity which is responsible for the comparatively backward state of Moslem education. The Government circular was accordingly issued with a view to afford Mussalmans all reasonable facilities to avail themselves of the educational opportunities guaranteed by the State. The local Governments have had under consideration the suggestions embodied in the circular, and small committees of Mussalmans have been engaged in several provinces in formulating their views on the subject. Some of these committees have submitted their reports, but the local Governments have yet to define their lines of action. We trust suitable measures will soon be evolved in every province to carry out the intentions of the Government of India in their entirety. The circular indicates three broad directions along which efforts may be made with tolerable certainty of eventual success. In the first place, it is desirable to establish a system of liberal scholarships in every province in view of the general poverty of Mussalmans. Secondly, all reasonable facilities should be created according to the circumstances in each province with a view to adapt instruction in schools to Moslem needs and thus remove Moslem prejudices and antipathy against modern education. Lastly, Moslem teachers and inspectors should be appointed to ensure sympathetic guidance and encouragement to Mussalmans and their steady advance in education. These are the three chief requirements of the Moslem educational position on which the Government of India has based its suggestions. The ultimate results, however, depend on the sympathy and goodwill of the local Governments who have to devise practical measures, and we trust they will faithfully and ungrudgingly act up to the spirit of the just, wise and liberal policy laid down by the supreme Government in regard to Moslem education.

Local Governments and their Agents.

WE have no reason to think that the Government of India merely desired to utter sweet lullabies into Moslem ears, and that its circular on Moslem education was meant to remain a dead letter. The action taken by several provincial Governments leads us to hope that they are conscious of their responsibility in the matter and would not let the good intentions of the Government of India be strangled by red-tape. It must be frankly confessed that our local Governments have their peculiar idiosyncracies which sometime render their ways and methods quite erratic and incalculable. It is also a common experience that even local Governments are sometimes at the mercy of their agents who find little difficulty in stultifying a policy they dislike. We have just had an apt illustration of this in Burma. The affairs of that outlying province usually receive scant notice in the Indian Press, and it is, therefore, all the more important to give a detailed account of how the question of Moslem education is being treated there. The Government of India circular was issued on 3rd April, 1913, and the Director of Public Instruction in Burma invited a number of Mussalmans on the 1st July, 1913, to a meeting to be held in his office on the 28th and 29th July, 1913, "to consider a letter from the Government of Burma regarding the question of Mohamedan education "in this province." Objections were raised by some of the Mussalmans invited to that meeting as to the shortness of time given to them for the consideration of the whole question as well as to the absence of the necessary materials for its study. But the Director was disposed to offer few facilities in these directions, and it was only after a reference to the local Government that the necessary materials were supplied from the Secretariat and a Muhammadan educational committee was formed with sufficient time to go through the whole question and report thereon. The Committee set to work in real earnest, held numerous meetings from time to time, and after prolonged deliberations drew up a report which was submitted to the Director of Public Instruction on the 12th January, 1914. The report is a comprehensive document and much labour and thoughtful care have evidently been spent on its preparation. It deals with the whole subject in a thoroughly practical manner, reviews the state of Moslem education in Burma, points out the drawbacks and the obstacles that impede its advance, offers detailed suggestions for its improvement in primary, secondary and higher stages, draws up suitable curricula for Vernacular and Anglo-Vernacular primary and secondary schools, lays down the extent of the Government grants-in-aid necessary to supplement Moslem efforts, discusses the means of attracting good teachers and the need of appointing special Moslem educational inspectors, and finally recommends the formation of "an advisory standing committee of select educated Mohamedans" to advise Government from time to time on the question of the education of Moslem boys and girls. The report was forwarded by the Director together with his note to the Educational Syndicate of the Province for its consideration. The Syndicate left the matter to be dealt with by its Executive Committee, which has summarily dismissed the whole question of Moslem education by the following windy resolution :—"The Syndicate, while recognising that the position may be "different in those parts of India exclusive of Burma, are strongly of "opinion that there should not be preferential treatment in educational matters for Mohamadens in the province of Burma. As far as the "information and knowledge of the Syndicate goes, the Mohamedan "community in Burma is a most progressive one and not, as a whole, in "any way more backward than the Burmese Buddhist community and "that, in places, it is pushing itself ahead of the Burmese Buddhist community. It has only to be mentioned that the Mohamedan education "committee state that the Mohamedan community pay one-third in "taxes of the total revenue of the Rangoon Municipality and that alone "shows how wealthy they are getting in the province. The Syndicate "is therefore averse to these proposals of the Director that give any "preferential treatment to Mohamedans." The President of the Educational Syndicate, at its meeting of the 27th June, 1914, while referring to the report of the Moslem Educational Committee, remarked that the question of the improvement of Mohamedan education had been before the Syndicate in recent years, in connection with the resolutions passed by the All-India Mohamedan Educational Conference at its Rangoon session in 1909 and its Nagpur session in 1910. The Executive Committee of the Syndicate, to which the matter was referred, replied that "preferen-"tial treatment of Mohamedan pupils was neither necessary nor "desirable." In 1913 the Committee was of the same opinion. And now, when the Government of India has urged the local Government to take the necessary steps to improve Moslem education, the Committee of the Syndicate still talks of "preferential treatment," and its President takes occasion to make the epoch-making announcement that after correspondence with the Principals of the Government College, Rangoon, and the Government High School it has been ascertained that "the conditions relating to the education of "Mohamedans have not changed in any way since 1911, except that "there is now one Mohamedan on the college staff." And to fortify this attitude an inevitable Khan Bahadur, a Moslem member of the Educational Syndicate, comes forward to disclaim all need of Government help and is reported to have delivered himself thus in the meeting of the Syndicate. "He expressed his entire concurrence in "the decision of the executive committee concerning Mohamedan "education. No self-respecting community would seek preferential "treatment with other communities and for special provision for "poor students of all." The future of Moslem education in Burma has thus been placed at the mercy of obdurate officials and officious Khan Bahadurs.

Horror of Change !

IT seems to have been the constant refrain of the Executive Committee of the Syndicate and its President that the Moslem educational position has not changed, as if a change for the better would mean a catastrophe! Yes, there has been no change, *i. e.*, no improvement in Moslem education since 1873 and 1885 when the Government of India expressed its concern in the shape of a number of resolutions, embodying several measures of reform. The Moslem Educational Conference twice reminded the Burma Government that things had been practically stationary since the establishment of the British Rule in that province. The Government of

India circular may also be taken as the latest reminder to the Burma officialdom that Mussalmans have certain special needs which demand certain facilities, and that it is the duty of the State to provide those facilities as soon as practicable. The one thing that the Mussalmans of Burma complain of is that there has been no change in their educational position and the educational authorities of the province have been treating their just demands with indifference. Yet the Committee of the Educational Syndicate of Burma talks of "no change" with evident gratification and chooses to call all reasonable proposals matured by the Moslem Educational Committee on the basis of the suggestions of the Government circular as "preferential treatment." We think we know the real inwardness of this righteous cry, and we know as well that it is raised with loud insistence whenever Mussalmans get some chance of having their interests treated with justice and fairplay. Preferential treatment indeed! One can only realise the levity of these hollow words when one understands the actual conditions that confront the Mussalmans almost in every province of India in the field of education. To state it briefly, these conditions prescribe for them perpetual disabilities; they have taken the shape of something like monopolies and vested interests; they have rendered public schools and colleges in the majority of cases inaccessible to Moslem boys, not only on account of their expensiveness, but also on account of their unsympathetic atmosphere; in a word they deny the Mussalmans that equality of opportunity which it is the duty of Government to ensure to all communities in India alike, and without which "equal treatment" can have no possible existence. It is for an equality of opportunity that Mussulmans have been crying for many years in Burma as well as elsewhere, and not for boons or favours and preferential treatment. The "self-respecting" Khan Bahadur, who is so satisfied with the resolution of the Syndicate, has evidently no notion of the educational needs of the Moslem community in Burma or of the measure of responsibility that rests on those who presume to speak in its name. As a matter of fact the Moslem Educational Committee, which included men of the position and capacity of Mr. Ahmad Moola Dawood, who can speak with the greatest authority on Moslem requirements, has asked for nothing that is not in accordance with the intentions embodied in the Government circular or is against the just demands of the community on the public funds. Apart from its suggestions regarding the appointment of special Moslem inspectors, the Committee asks for grants to help Moslem schools and the establishment of a modest system of scholarships to help poor Moslem students. The Committee says: "The amount of scholarships and grants that is asked for by the "Committee may at first sight seem too large, but a closer examination of the part the Mohamedan community plays in Burma "would show that the amount asked for is but their due. The "amount is also justified by the proportion they bear to the whole "population of the Province. They number about 4 per cent. "of the total population and so they are entitled to a proportionate "allotment of the total expenditure on Public Instruction in Burma. "The Rangoon Municipality alone contributes about 4 lakhs of "rupees towards education. Rangoon Mohamedan boys are alone, "therefore, entitled to one-fifth of the same with reference to their "population only. If taxes are taken into consideration they would "be entitled to one-third of the same, as the taxes paid by Mu"hammadans amount to one-third of the total revenue of the Ran"goon Municipality. The population of school-going ages is con"sidered to be 15 per cent. of the whole population. According "to this there should be at least 60,000 Muslim boys and girls "going to school; whereas their actual number is roughly about "18,000 only. This is certainly due to poverty on the one hand "and lack of encouragement on the other. The Muhammadans are, "therefore, undoubtedly entitled for their education to an expendi"ture of at least 2 lakhs of rupees out of the total expenditure. "The average expenditure of As. 7 per head on the population of "the Province, as shown in the Public Instruction Report of the "Province for 1912-1913, also justifies the above claim." The resolution of the committee of the Syndicate seems to have been framed by some petti-fogging attorney concerned with scoring off points in argument rather than by a body of responsible men dealing with the important question of the education of a large community. It says that Mussalmans can not be poor because they pay about one-third of the total revenue of the Rangoon Municipality. The argument shows the spirit in which the question seems to have been disposed of. It scarcely does any credit to the Educational Syndicate of Burma and its capacity to deal with educational matters in a broad, honest and impartial manner. Because a few wealthy Mussalmans pay proportionately large taxes to the Rangoon Municipality it does not surely mean that the entire Moslem community is rolling in wealth. As we have said, there is a strong suspicion of brusqueness amounting almost to levity with which the whole question of Moslem education in Burma has been so far treated by responsible officials. But things can not be allowed to remain there. We trust the Mussalmans of Burma will approach the local Government with a view to secure fair dealing and failing that they should address the Government of India which, we are sure, will not allow its circular on Moslem Education—certainly a most valuable public document inspired with the best of intentions—to be thus reduced to a dead letter.

The Armageddon.

FEW could have guessed that the terrible Serajevo crime, which resulted in the deaths of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife, would have as its aftermath a crisis of the colossal magnitude with which entire Europe is face to face just now. The drastic Austrian ultimatum delivered to Servia on 24th July was the first and most sudden signal of alarm. Events have within the last few days moved with a rapidity that is bewildering. Europe is on the brink of the Armageddon with which its pacifists and its prophets have for generations been threatening the world. Austria-Hungary has declared war on Servia, and according to an unconfirmed message Belgrade is already in Austrian occupation. Russia, as the patron of the Serbs, is in no mood to see her protége humiliated to the dust and has ordered the general mobilisation of her Army. Austria has issued a similar order and Germany, her brilliant second, has followed suit. France and England are making breathless military and naval preparations. Diplomatic conversations initiated by Sir Edward Grey with a view to localise the area of conflict seem to have practically failed. Bourses in the principal European capitals have been closed, business has been disorganised, general panic is already producing acute crisis in the money-markets of the world, continental communications have been suspended, and amid martial laws and frantic popular excitement, huge armies are concentrating for battle. Only a miracle can save Europe from a terrific struggle that would bring world-wide devastation and ruin in its train and may possibly end by destroying all the fruits of European civilization. The outlook has never been so forbidding and there is little hope now for the European diplomacy to be able to save Europe from the catastrophe of a general war. Those who have striven to create the existing balance of power in the relations of the European States are primarily responsible for the nemesis that threatens to overwhelm Europe. The crisis now in existence was bound to come sooner or later. Artificial checks and impromptu devices can not permanently stave off the force of the economic laws or abiding moral principles. The States of Europe have individually sown wind throughout the world in the name of race and nationalism, and they must reap the whirlwind. The tragic murder of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand has only supplied the match which may set the powder-magazine ablaze. We need not attempt to speculate about probable developments. No one can be certain of what may happen next moment. The whole world is waiting in acute suspense, for issues at stake are such as have seldom been known in history. If the war becomes general and all the great Powers of Europe are involved, the world is sure to witness strange mutations and changes. The horror and misery that it would entail is almost unthinkable. The Power that shapes the ends of this world is all-good, all beneficient, and can it not be that even a catastrophe of such magnitude may in some inscrutable way prove to be a blessing in disguise. The latest messages show that Germany has declared war on Russia and France, and Italy has declared her neutrality. The titanic struggle has at last come over Europe, and no one can venture to estimate its consequences.

War Strengths of the Powers.

WE give below the approximate figures relating to the strength of the armies and navies of the various Powers which may be affected by Austria's declaration of war upon Servia, should the efforts to localise the conflict be unsuccessful. According to the latest information available, the forces of the leading Powers are as follows:—The Army of Austria on war strength, including the Austrian *Landwehr* and the Hungarian *Honved* as well as the "common army," numbers 1,820,000 men. It is believed that by embodying all classes of the *Landsturm* over 3,500,000 men could ultimately be put in the field, trained and untrained. Austria had a battle fleet of 14 battleships in January last. The latest figures regarding Servia's Army put the war strength at 270,000, but this does not include the Third Ban of the Army, that is the militia. These were the figures previous to the Balkan war. In that campaign Servia had an army of about 350,000 in the field and it is probable that in a great national struggle for existence, such a war with Austria would mean a force of something like 400,000 could be mobilised. The total war strength of the German army is approximately 4,350,000 men, including the field army and its reserve formations, the *Landwehr* (1,800,000) and trained men of the *Landsturm* (800,000). The highly trained and vigorous first line would not greatly exceed 1,500,000 men. In January last Germany's battle fleets consisted of 35 battleships and 4 battle cruisers. The total war strength of the Italian forces is roughly as follows, but it has to be remarked that the men of the territorial militia

are untrained:—With the colours 250,000, on unlimited furlough 450,000, mobile militia 320,000 and territorial militia 2,200,000, giving a total of 3,220,000 of whom 1,020,000 may be set down as more or less trained. In January last Italy had a battle fleet of 9 battleships. The war strength of the Russian forces consists of about 56,500 officers and 2,855,000 men. These form the Active army, but not all are available in any one part of the Empire. To these figures must be added the available reserve, estimated at 1,061,000, frontier battalions 41,000, Cossacks 150,000. The total war strength of trained men is estimated at 5,400,000. The Russian battle fleet on January last consisted of 8 battleships. The total first line effective of the French army is estimated at 2,500,000 and 2,000,000 older men could be put in the field. The standing forces, plus 800,000 of the younger recruits, would constitute an active field force of nearly 4,000,000. France had a battle fleet of 21 battleships in January last.

The Hindu University.

We reproduce elsewhere the opinions of some of the leading organs of the Hindu Press on the Government terms offered to the promoters of the Hindu University. An overwhelming body of opinion is against the acceptance of those terms, and many of the most influential supporters of the University project have counselled their rejection *in toto*. Some of the leading members of the University Committee had an informal conference with Sir James Meston, Sir Harcourt Butler and Mr. Sharp at Allahabad, the result of which has not yet been made public. It is understood that the governing body of the University Society are going to call a meeting of the donors and subscribers of five hundred rupees and upwards in order to ascertain their views on the Government terms. We do not know what course the leaders of the Hindu University movement may ultimately choose to take. If a Behar paper is to be believed, they would seem to have made up their minds to accept the Government terms, though it is difficult to imagine that the leaders will go against popular wishes which have been expressed in no uncertain terms. We would at any rate prefer to wait till the promoters of the project have arrived at some matured decision.

Religion and the Young Turks.

Our readers would perhaps remember that we had occasion to write a couple of notes on "Religion and the Young Turks" in our issue of 26th April last in connection with an Army order issued by Enver Pasha exhorting the commanders of the various Army Corps to take the necessary steps with a view to make the Ottoman soldier strong in the precepts and practice of his religion. Those notes seem to have attracted considerable notice in Turkey, and from the comments of the Turkish Press it would appear that there has been some misunderstanding of the tone and spirit in which they were written. A long passage in the letter of our Constantinople Correspondent, published last week, referred to "the buzz of excitement" created by those notes, and we have also received a passionately worded communication from own friend Ahmad Foad, a staunch Egyptian Nationalist, who writes to us from Hyder Pasha forwarding an English translation of the article that appeared on 13th June in *Tafsir-i-Ifkiar*, one of the leading dailies of Constantinople. We will publish Ahmad Foad's letter as well as the *Tafsir-i-Ifkiar's* article in our next, with such comments as may be necessary to show how greatly we have been misunderstood.

Generous Help.

A friend of the *Comrade* sent to us some days ago a cheque of Rs. 1,000, as his generous donation to help the paper in its existing financial condition. While acknowledging with deep thanks the spontaneous help rendered to us, we requested the donor to authorise us to publish his name, but he has declined to do so. All we can say is that we are grateful to our supporter who has thought of our difficulties and has come forward of his own accord with such a measure of assistance to us in carrying on our task. We have also to thank another supporter of ours, Mr. Z. A. Jamal, merchant of Rangoon, from whom we have received a letter this week forwarding a certificate of transfer, in the name of Mr. Mohamed Ali, of the thirty shares of the *Hamdard* debentures which he had bought. Mr. Jamal says that he hands over these shares to help the *Comrade* in the stability and progress of which he is so deeply and genuinely interested. We need not say how indebted we feel to such sympathisers whose liberal support, given in the most helpful spirit, enables us to persevere in our duties and face our difficulties with added confidence and strength.

The Comrade.

The Haj: New Proposals for Old.

II.—Monopoly or Free Competition?

Last week we had dealt with the new proposal of the Bombay Government substituted for the old proposal of compulsory return tickets, and we had shown that, in spite of the declaration that the original proposal had been withdrawn, that proposal was served again, only this time with a new garnish. To-day we turn to another new proposal which appears on the surface to have nothing whatever to do with the monopoly, but which in practice establishes a monopoly almost as rigorous as had been proposed last year and proves, as we said last week, that like Banquo's ghost at the feast of Macbeth, the proposals of the Bombay Government regarding Haj "rise again with "twenty mortal murders on their crown."

Let us first look at the proposal of the Bombay Government contained in para. 15(*b*) of their letter. It is proposed to raise the minimum tonnage of pilgrim ships prescribed in Rule 4 of the rules framed by the Government of India under Sec. 58 of the Pilgrim Ships Act, 1895 (XIV of 1895), which came into effect only as recently as the 4th October, 1910, in supersession of those promulgated on the 5th October, 1896, *i.e.* only a day before the Act itself came into force. The relevant portion of Rule 4 runs as follows:—

"No certificate under Sec. 12 shall be granted between *May 20th* "*and September 20th* in any year in respect of a ship of a tonnage of "less than 500 registered tons, or which is not capable of steaming "at 8 knots an hour *in ordinary monsoon weather*."

The italics are ours, and are meant to make it clear that the regulation of minimum tonnage and speed applies to pilgrim ships plying during the monsoon season only and not during the remaining eight months of the year also. It must be noted that although the rules framed in 1896 were superseded by the new rules framed fourteen years later and less than four years ago, it did not occur to the Government of Bombay before this to recommend any alteration in tonnage and speed nor to the Government of India to do it *suo motu*. Even last year when Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Co. were recommended for a monoply no such alteration was suggested. It is only now that the grant of a direct monoply has been abandoned owing to the determined opposition of Mussalmans that the Government of Bombay recommend as follows:—

"The development of shipping, coupled with the reasons advanced "in paragraph 14 *ante*, justifies the raising of the minimum of size "and speed which was fixed nearly 20 years ago; and the Governor "in Council is advised that it is possible and legitimate immediately "to raise the minimum tonnage from 500 to 2,000, with a warning "that after 5 years it will be further raised to 2,500."

The Bombay Government have furnished the Government of India a statement of "the ships recently engaged in the traffic," which shows that, of the 24 ships, only 9 were below the standard they had suggested. But although this statement was forwarded as recently as the 21st of April last, on enquiries made by us a fortnight ago we learnt that of the 24 ships included in it only 14 were running. Now, it is worth while enquiring how Muhammadan shipowners would be affected by raising the tonnage so suddenly from 500 to 2,000. Of these 14 ships which are still running only four belong to or are chartered by Mussalmans, the remaining ten being the property of Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. or chartered by the firm. If the proposed alteration is carried out, Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. would only lose three ships, or 30 p. c. of the total; but the Moslem ship-owners would loose as many as two out of four, or 50 per cent. If the tonnage is further raised after 5 years to 2,500, only three ships chartered by Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. would be able to book the pilgrims to the Hejaz. And yet the Bombay Government "is advised" that it is not only "possible," but also "*legitimate* immediately to raise the minimum tonnage from 500 to 2,000."

Apart from the obvious disadvantage to existing Moslem shipowners, the increase of tonnage would result in nothing short of a "Slaughter of the Innocents," for the smaller companies that could now own a number of small ships would be compelled to give up the pilgrim traffic. With the capital at their disposal the small companies that could own or charter, say, four ships of 1,000 tons each could now own or charter only two of 2,000 each. Now this, coupled with the insistence on the issue of return tickets, spells the ruin of small companies. With four such ships, A, B, C and D, such a company could possibly arrange a weekly or ten-day service so that on its return journey the steamship A could bring back approximately her full complement of passengers, consisting of as many of pilgrims as desired to return immediately after the Haj from among those who had done the outward journey in any of the company's four ships A, B, C and D. Similarly, the steamship B could bring back approximately her

full complement, consisting of such of the remaining passengers as desired to go a week or ten days later; and so on, till all the passengers brought by the company had been conveyed back to India. After the new regulation such a company could control only two ships, E and F, twice as large as each of her former ships, A, B, C and D, and each of them carrying twice as many passengers. Here the difficulty begins, for if E has carried, say, 800 pilgrims on the outward journey, she, or her sister ship F, must wait at Jeddah a fortnight or three weeks instead of only a week or ten days to bring back her full complement of 800 out of all those passengers that had been conveyed in the two ships on the outward journey. If she does not wait for the full complement of 800, but, considering the convenience of the pilgrims, conveys on the homeward journey only 400 who had gathered at Jeddah as before within the first week or ten days after the Haj, she would have to do two journeys where she did only one journey before. If, however, the company did not wish to ruin itself by doubling its recurring expenditure, and made its passengers wait an unconscionable at Jeddah, it would require more patriotism in the pilgrims than we have any right to expect to resist the temptation of booking by Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Co's steamers with their bi-weekly service. Ship-owners like that well-known friend of the Hajis, Abdullah Mian Khandwani Saheb, who, thanks to the inspector of pilgrim ships, now controls only one pilgrim ship—because the ss. *Kunzler* was declared to have an unworkable boiler for pilgrim traffic, although it has ever since been plying safely enough between Bombay and Mauritius—will have to go out of the pilgrim traffic altogether on account of the insistence on return tickets, even if his ss. *Lawoe* was not turned out of the pilgrim traffic because she has a tonnage amounting to 1,800 only. If the *Lawoe* takes 750 passengers say, on the 7th October this year, it is certain that these 750 will not all be ready to return to India when she sails back, say, on the 7th of November, and as she has no sister ship some passengers, of which who had arrived very early at Jeddah she could take back along with her own, it is obvious that she could only take back a very few of those who had done the outward journey on the 7th of October and a few more out of those that had done it a month or two months earlier in her earlier outward voyages. These would never make the full complement of the *Lawoe*, and in any case, as the *Lawoe* could not be ready to take back the second batch before a month, those who had to await her arrival for a month and were even then possibly left at Jeddah for her third homeward journey after another month, owing to a sudden overcrowding of those who had a return ticket like them, would never think of booking a passage by her, but would book through Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co., who had enough ships to give them a full complement on the return journey every time and to take up the overflow of the last preceding ship within three or four days.

Thus it is obvious that the insistence on the return journey places the small companies at a serious disadvantage in competition with large companies, and the addition of the increase of tonnage drives them and the owners of single, or, what the big companies would call, "pirate" ships, altogether out of the traffic. Therefore, unless the Mussalmans start a company of their own as big as the one which the Mussalman owner of the Bombay and Persia Steam Navigation Company found it convenient, if not profitable, to part with to Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. just in time for them to be recommended by Lord Sydenham for a monopoly, Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co would have their monopoly just the same as if the Bombay Government had never abandoned its last year's proposal of giving it to them.

It must be noted that the sole reason for the Bombay Government's proposal of the last year was the question of Indian pilgrims' dereliction at Jeddah, and no proposal were then advanced by Lord Sydenham about "the improvement of the conditions in which the voyage from India to the Hejaz and back is performed." Why then is the Governor in Council "prepared to recommend *immediate* action" now that his predecessor's proposal of a monopoly has been signally defeated by the universal, determined and uncompromising antagonism of the Moslem community? Have the pilgrims themselves complained about the tonnage or speed of pilgrim ships within the twelve months and 10 days that have intervened between the Government of Bombay's letters of the 11th April, 1913, and 21st April, 1914? We note that the Government of Bombay have consulted Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Co. at every turn. Had they also consulted them with a view to their suggesting the most effective scheme of giving them a monopoly of the Haj traffic without the jobbery obtruding itself too prominently before the public, and involving the Government of Bombay in well-deserved odium, we can safely say that this favoured firm could not have hit upon a better device. And yet "the Bombay Government recognise that the present is not a time when it is desirable to introduce measures which can by any possibility be misunderstood". A tremendous gulf seems to yawn between that Government's theory and practice; but in one thing it has been unconsciously prophetic. The present is certainly not a time when it is desirable to introduce measures which lend themselves so admirably to the art of the fanatical Moslem agitators that love a "misunderstanding" no less than the Government of Bombay seems to love Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co.

Let us offer a respectful warning to the Bombay Government while yet there is time. We have not yet met a Mussalman in Bombay or outside whose honesty and frankness was above suspicion who does not regard the Bombay Government's strange predelection in favour of Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. as unfortunate. The record of Indian Local Governments in the matter of fair dealings has been such that they could challenge even the ideal wife of Cæsar and it is because we ourselves firmly believe that their reputation has been earned by many generations of officials, from the humble Under-Secretary to the Hon. Member of Council, and His Excellency the Governor that we would respectfully suggest that the way in which things have been rushed through has exposed the Bombay Government to sordid suspicions. When we argue with people who shake their heads in a knowing manner, they offer us a still more sinister explanation, an explanation which, though it does not do injustice to the official reputation for fair dealing, exposes Government to political suspicions which are bound to arouse ill-feeling against Government. We beseech the Government of India to reject the main revised proposals of the Bombay Government, for this is no time to create "misunderstandings" in a hurry and regret them at leisure.

The New Kali.

We reproduced in our issue of the 20th June last a letter contributed to the *Times* of the 29th May, by Mrs. Annie Besant, on "India and the Empire," in which she had urged a powerful plea for justice to India as a member of the British Empire. The *Times* had acknowledged on the following day, in the course of a leading article on "The Problem of India," that Mrs. Besant's letter "draws attention in a very fair-minded way to certain spacious problems affecting the future of British Rule in India," but had evidently felt compelled to offer a feeble reply which was in the traditional style of the *Times*. This article was followed by a letter contributed a few days later by Miss Cornelia Sorabji. We must confess that if we did not reproduce the reply of the *Times* it was only because it was a feeble and futile effort; but if we did not publish Miss Cornelia Sorabji's rejoinder to Mrs. Besant it was because her contribution was not only foolish but also saturated with a fulsome flattery of the British and honeycombed with the grossest injustice to her own countrymen, which made us hold our head down with shame that even to-day educated Indians had among them persons so devoid of patriotic fervour and so full of subservient praise of those that helped them to butter their bread. This is no doubt a harsh judgment, but those who will carefully consider what follows will agree that it is much less harsh than what this good lady deserves. The most charitable course to adopt towards her was to ignore her letter altogether, and we therefore refrained from reproducing it and offering thereon some comment of our own. If we turn our attention to-day towards Miss Cornelia Sorabji it is because, encouraged by the silence of Mrs. Besant and others, she has contributed to the *Nineteenth Century and After* an article which, if it had been published by an Indian paper, would have made it liable to severe punishment not under the Press Act of 1910—which means so little—but under the Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act of 1908. It is a vile performance, and if this good lady has not lost all sense of shame we would advise her to bury herself in the oblivion that she merits instead of flaunting her criminal flattery of the British in the manner in which she has done.

Unlike her patron saint of the *Times* who admits Mrs. Besant's fair-mindedness at the very outset, this good lady begins her onslaught with the following statement: "But her great gift of oratorical "language is so misleading that no one acquainted with facts, "and belonging to India, and living and working in India, "is entitled to keep silence if there is even one further word "which can be said to minimize the inflammatory nature of her "statements." Now, as we shall prove later, if anyone has used inflammatory language it is Miss Cornelia Sorabji herself, though we regret to say *her* inflammatory statements, although misleading, are not relieved by a "great gift of oratorical language." As for belonging to India and living and working in India, those who know both Mrs. Besant and Miss Sorabji can easily say which is likely to be more intimately acquainted with the country. We quarrel no more with Miss Sorabji's Christianity than with Mrs. Besant's theosophised Hinduism or Hinduised theosophy; but is it not a fact that the one is more likely to bring its adherents into touch with the heart of India than the other? Again, even though Miss Sorabji's official patrons have seen to it that she is officially labelled as the legal adviser to *purdah-nashin* ladies whose

property is maneged by the Bengal Court of Wards, those who know how and where Miss Sorabji and Mrs. Besant live can judge best which of the two belongs to and lives and works in India in a greater degree. As for minimising what she calls the inflammatory nature of Mrs. Besant's statements, we fear there will not be a single Indian who would be induced to appreciate British Rule any better than he does by reason of having read Miss Sorabji's letter to the *Times*, while we are only too certain that many would be disposed to think less justly of people who have such apologist as Miss Sorabji.

Whether Miss Sorabji knows everything or something or nothing about the needs of *purda-nashin* wards we do not know, but she is almost the last person to be considered qualified to speak about the Indian Vernacular Press. We have yet to know whether Miss Sorabji knows any vernacular of India, including her mother-tongue, Gujrati, sufficiently well to be able to read with tolerable ease any vernacular paper of India. Naturally her official work, which is concerned with the *purda-nashins*, is carried on behind the curtain, but such of her social life as is unveiled and undraped is thoroughly Anglo-Indian, and it would not be too much to say that she is an Indian only partly in name and wholly in colour. And yet because Miss Cornelia is not a Smith or a Jones or Browne but a Sorabji, and because her skin shares its pigment with that of many of us, she must presume to sneer at Mrs. Besant's knowledge of India and talk as if she belonged to India and lived and worked in India any more than the Anglo-Indian bird-of-passage with whom she flocks, even though not of a feather with them.

Lest it may be considered that our resentment is due to her attack on a section of the vernacular press of the "violence and inaccuracy and incitation to rebellion" of which she speaks as if half a dozen daily papers in as many languages of India from as many provinces were daily devoured by her along with her breakfast, let us say that this part of her letter is too commonplace to excite those whose emotions have become jaded and have been staled by the daily working of the Press Act in Northern India. There is enough besides to excite contempt, if not indignation, and as a first sample which is only moderately exciting we may offer to our readers the following :—

"Indeed, there are those who fear that the large and rapid share "given to Indians of late years in representative government in "India may prove our own undoing ; and that it is possible to put "not too narrow but too liberal an interpretation on the word "liberty—when you are speaking and acting 'in English,' in a "country where the masses still speak and love the vernacular!" This could be tolerated in a Tagore or an Iqbal or a Hali who spoke and loved the vernacular ; but in a lady who plays the sedulous ape to the English, or rather the Anglo-Indians, it is nothing but a sickening cant.

Then we come to "Eastern Philosophy." We too have no sympathy with those who talk of "the East having nothing to learn from the West." But just as a regard for those who speak and love the vernacular is inconsistent in one who speaks and acts "in English" even more than those whom she criticises with an unjustifiable condemnation of the Vernacular Press which serves the masses, so is the sneer at those who "boast of a dead past" inconsistent with a denunciation of "the struggle to get rich, the "desire to play the game of politics as played in England." And it strikes us as particularly silly to ask if "the old Rishis, whose aim "was to feel after God, and who even renounced kingdoms to go out "into the forests and meditate if haply so, in silence and aloofness, "they might find Him", whether the Press Act should remain in force even after the judgment of Sir Lawrence Jenkins ! Lest any one should suspect that this ultra smart lady of the 20th century has any love or respect for the "old Rishis" we have the sneer at Mrs. Besant in the very next sentence that if that versatile genius, the friend and colleague of Bradlaugh, the gifted speaker and brilliant journalist, equally qualified to speak and write on politics, education and philosophy, the founder and presiding genius of a great College, if she "has any claim to a hearing at all, it would "be not about politics or the present condition of India, but about the "meditations of these same Rishis." Evidently the poor *purda-nashins* of Bengal not only provide Miss Cornelia Sorabji with a fat salary, but also furnish her with a claim to a hearing about politics and the present condition of India.

The following extracts from this bundle of contradictions would be read by the members of the Public Service Commission with some interest and possibly with much amazement :—

> Equal privilege of service for India in what is considered the highest grades of that service has long been open to us—although many Indians have counted the cost (loss of caste and family and orthodox Indian social privilege) too great to pay for the liberty of visiting England and becoming a member of the Civil Service. What the discontented Indian now claims, and Mrs. Besant for him, is really not equality but special privilege. He does not say, "Give me this because I have the same qualifications as an Englishman," but "Give me this because you must make allowances for me in not having the same qualifications." And he forgets that we do not "make allowances" for our equals, but for our inferiors.

The Public Service Commission took a good deal of evidence during their labours of two years in India, and no sieve could be discovered wherewith to exclude the fool and the flatterer and the knave from the list of witnesses. But we can vouch for it that no witness asked for Indians or attributed to them what this good lady takes for granted to be the aspirations of educated Indians. What follows is the most amusing twaddle that was ever penned even by the leader-writer of the *Times* itself, and for sheer inconsistency it easily takes the palm. Miss Sorabji writes that "the Indian had his traditions and ideals too, but he has for-"saken them by the very act which has put him in competition with "Englishmen in the struggle for place and power and wealth and "temporal aggrandisement." Is this not delicious ? If the Indian asks for a concession he confesses his inferiority. If he enters the lists as a competitor on equal terms he forsakes his traditions and ideals. And if he keeps his traditions and ideals ever before him and meditates in silence and aloofness, like the Rishis of old, quiet and contented, self-satisfied and self-contained, he instantly becomes an easy target for the sneers of Miss Sorabji about glorying in a dead past and believing that the East has nothing to learn from the West. In fact, as she says "the whole vocabulory of modern Indian "demand is wrong suffragist methods of aggression and intimidation "grounded on Eastern claims to be the students of quiet and of the "renunciation of the temporal !" An exquisite sentence indeed, and quite worthy of one who combines the clinging tenderness of one of her blushing *purda-nashins* with the aggressive self-love and loyalty of the most unblushing Khan Bahadur.

Miss Sorabji has destroyed all the idols of the Indian temple but you shall not accuse her of constructing nothing. She too has her ideals and dreams, and we get in her letter to the *Times* a fascinating glimpse of them. She says :

> I dream of an Empire into which every nation shall bring its own special glory and honour; and I would see Indians nursing the growing-pains of the transitional period of our history in silence and obscurity until that which the West has taught us has helped us to make the best use of our own national gifts and inspirations for the privilege of service.

What a sweet reposeful dream, suggestive of dark and cool pekotralia where the only sound to be heard is that of the breeze rushing from the thermantidote, while the rest of the world is astir, and throbs with life. But we wonder whether the great fabric of this dream could be reared on a less solid foundation than that of a comfortable sinecure such, for instance, as the lucrative legal advisorship to the *purdah-nashin* ladies of the Calcutta Court of Wards.

Mrs. Besant's passing reference to the social difficulties of Indians such as "the insults often offered to them if they travel by first class in railways", is mentioned by her critic as a reference "to an age-old incident in a railway carriage between an Englishman and an Indian", and this lady of dreams wanders on and says "it has often been quoted". Well, perhaps every one of our readers can give the details of some such incident from his own experience, and we would humbly inform Miss Sorabji that it is not a single incident which has repeatedly been pressed into service in such discussions. The source of such incidents is perennial. We know of an occasion within our own recollection when an Indian lady travelling by railway was referred to by two Englishmen as a "nigger woman". We are now sorry that she was not Mrs. Besant's critic, for she would then perhaps not have talked in her superior manner of "worn-out tales of the discourtesy of individuals." But inspite of Miss Sorabji's boast of keeping company with Gurus and Bawajis, who are friends of John Nicholson and Lawrence, we may say that we have the honour to be intimately acquainted with many more old gentlemen of the old school than she can even name. But we never came across one who told us anything so unlikely as her tale of an "England-returned" Bengali "dressed in English clothes pink shirt, patent leather shoes, bowler included", who was furious because the only available berth on a crowded train was one in a carriage in which "a Hindustani (old fashion) in loin-cloth was already sitting, "his *hookah* beside him", who at the demand of Miss Sorabji's pet aversion "simply held out a first class ticket which he had untied from a knot in his waist-cloth." We do not say that no "England-returned" is capable of such stupidity as demanding the expulsion of an old fashioned gentleman from a railway carriage, but such instances are rarer than a combination of pink shirt, patent leather shoes and bowler in a railway carriage and much rarer than a combination of loin-cloth and a first class ticket which has to be untied from a knot in it.

But all this that has found access to Printing House Square is the most ardent nationalism compared to the performance of our incomparable Cornelia in the *Nineteenth Century and After*. Her contribution to the latter takes the title and form of "A Hindu Guru's Views of the Political Situation in India". This *alter ego* of the writer, Father of Falsehoods whom she miscalls "the Truth-Named", is said to be of all her Guru friends in India "most like Kim's

Lama," and this Kipling in a *sari* sets down what the Guru is supposed to have said in the archaic conversational style affected by Kipling in his Indian stories but without any of his humour, worldly wisdom or vigour of thought and expression. Miss Sorabji's knowledge of the vernaculars is sufficiently testified to by her translating a "gossip" as "*bak*", which may or may not be the Anglo-Indian's Hindustani and by her spelling it as "*baq*," which not even an Anglo-Indian would perpetrate. Her "Truth-Named" Father of Falsehoods supposed to visit this lover of India's old Rishis and her ancient ideals and traditions, who is, however, fittingly called by him "Miss Sahib", not of course because she is a "Sorabji," but because "Cornelia" predominates in her psychology and surroundings. He repeats to her a conversation in which a Bengali youth and a Kabuli are the principal speakers, and a Mahajan and a Mussalman from Delhi walk the boards. It may or may not please the Marwaries of Calcutta to know that Deep Lal the Mahajan is a gambler and a coward, but it will certainly not please the Kabulis that according to Miss Sorabji's Bawaji "they are not clean folk"—though it is not clear whether this refers to their heart, their habits or their habiliments—and Kasim Mia from Delhi —Dacca would be more appropriate—does not seem to be a credit to the new capital of India if he is a "rogue" and "eats *dustoori* over the selling of a shoe"—whatever offence that may be under the Penal or any other Code for the time being in force in Miss Sorabji's India.

Well, the young Bengali whom the Bawaji calls "the foolish Bag-of-wind," a title which he shares with the "Dundee Windbag" of the *National Review*, otherwise the Right Hon. Winston Churchill, First Lord of the British Navy, comes to the Bawaji and boasts that "after all your preaching, we have done the impossible", which is subsequently explained by the remark: "we have made them afraid—the *Sahib log*." A further explanation is supplied by the Bengali student in this wise: "What say you to "this? Always and always we have heard, *Touch the women of the "English, and you touch that which is held sacred*—you will suffer. "Three months ago one of our brave liberators killed two women of the "English (I tell you, Guruji, with bombs, a fearful death.) What has "happened? Nothing; trials, appeals. . . . *They are afraid.*" To this the "unclean" Kabuli replies: "Oh! down-country fools, all this while you "have sat in comfort under the British umbrella; why you now want to "creep forth from that shelter God knows; but it is for this very moment "that we men of the North have waited. What care we for your "quarrel? The hour will be ours. Eh! but, the years of peace have "been dull years enough, and glad men will they be who come "over the Border: swifty, surely, shall we come on fleet horses, and "we will stoop and take and ride away laughing, as a Kabuli should, "knife at belt. We will stoop and take—women perhaps, who "knows? They are now better worth the taking than of old. And "we will stoop and take money bags, full well know we that these "be worth the taking, eh! Mahajan Saheb."

The Bawaji then informs "Miss Sahibji" that when "the *baq* (gossip)" went to talk of war, "the Bengali's air bag was letting out wind, "as he knew, when he moved on; and Deep Lal crept upstairs, as down-"hearted as if a Bengali banker had made him bankrupt," and that "next morning he went not to bet at the Silver Market; and by "now his money is safely buried in some far place where the Kabuli "will not find it, when the second great war has come upon us."

Now the hope that when the British umbrella is closed, or blown away in the storm, or torn to tatters by the showers of hail, the hour will be the Kabuli's, may possibly flatter some Mohamedans' sense of their military prowess a good deal. But even if the tremendous accusation against British Rule that it has unsexed one-fifth of the entire male population of the world be accepted as just, does Miss Sorabji think so poorly of the effect of British Rule on our brains that we shall tamely submit to an eternity of misrule and anarchy in which Kabulis, far more demoralised than ever before in history, would be permitted to come on fleet horses, stoop and take our wealth and our women, and ride away laughing, as not even a Kabuli should, even though, thanks to the Arms Act, he should be the only one "knife at belt?" Even Miss Cornelia Sorabji does not suppose that the British would leave India unless they are driven out of it, whenever that remote contingency occurs. In that case, is it not a shameful reflection on the puissance of the British that India should not be strong enough to keep out the Kabulis who come on fleet horses when it has shown its strength by forcing the British to take to their fleeter ships? This threat of the Kabulis is, if we may borrow Miss Sorabji's phrase, age-old, and we had hoped that all sensible persons had discarded all ideas of using it in these days when nothing is more certain than this, that no nation can rule over another for long except with its acquiescence, and surely Miss Sorabji does not think so poorly of Indians as to believe that they would prefer the roughs of the Border to her British patrons.

But the threat of the Kabulis is nothing compared to the question which Miss Sorabji's Bawaji asks of the "Miss Sahib" and the advice that he offers through her to the British. He asks her: "Are the present English not like the *Asli* (former) English; not like "*my* English, Miss Sahib?" and tells her that his English were "John Nikensen and the giants of his time," and why he asks the question is "because were *my* English now in the country there would "be legs and arms lying about, and villages burnt." In the following extracts is summed up the advice of the Guru and, of course, of Miss Cornelia Sorabji:—

> And my advice is—Consider the past. How would the old rulers of the people have acted *in these circumstances?* John Nikensen knew. There would have been legs and arms lying about, and villages burnt. That, Miss Sahibji, is the language understood in the country. That is Hindustani Justice. Law Courts? What connexion have Law Courts with justice, or with crime? What effect as punishment? See, how even that Bengali student who should have understood (are not Bengalis *B. A.* and *M. A.* people?), see how he boasted. The deed was done, look you, the women killed, *yet* the murderer was alive to defend himself and even to make appeals. The people cannot understand that. "In some way or other then, to kill must have been right" is what they will argue. If I were the big Lord Sahib I would let the *Sajee Log* at the Fort who wear the Nautch girls' skirts and make songs out of a skin water-bag—(he meant the Gordon Highlanders)—I would let them settle the question. What matter how, you could punish the soldiers afterwards, after the fight had helped to rid the Hindustani people of the harm done by the agitators and bomb-throwers and talkers. '*Be shaq* (without doubt), so would I do were I the big Lord Sahib,' he concluded.
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> Then again—'The language is all wrong, always: If you will not fight, why not *curse?* Cannot the English people's priest curse, Miss Sahib? Why not let all the priest-folk of the English wear their priests' clothes and walk through the city cursing—the priest-folk and the Lord Padri Sahib, cursing, and cursing, and *cursing* and saying no other word? Have you not some ceremony of cursing in the Christian religion, cannot that at least be done, if men who are soldiers will not fight?
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> 'Yes: the language of English justice is wrong, for our country,' he continued, 'all wrong . . . . . For children and grown up people there should be different ways of justice. All the ways of the English are wrong. Hindustani Courts had a simpler way. God and Fate made judgment, not man. *Them!* not *men*, talking and talking as to blind the other men who listen. Ordeal by the fire, ordeal by the animal, ordeal by some device invented by the Qazi—this was the Hindustani way; and if it erred as men count erring, still it was God's decision, and He could make good in the life that was to follow, in re-birth. . . . . Oh! my *Asli* English knew all these things. They acted first and talked afterwards. For every life taken, they asked not one life, but many lives. They spoke and it was done. What they willed, that was justice. . . . . Only one way is there for the Badshah People.

We have no doubt that some of our readers must have been wondering why we had adopted such a harsh tone throughout the article against the writer of the *Times* letter and the author of Bawaji the Guru, particularly when it happens to be a woman. None we trust will now feel surprised any more at our tone and temper. Here is an Indian, a Christian, and a woman who preaches not only the unpatriotic but the un-Christian and unwomanly sermon that Courts of Justice are of no use in India, that her rulers should act first and talk afterwards, that what they willed should be considered justice, that for every life taken not one life should be taken but many, that the Indian people cannot understand what justice means, so to kill is right, and that the gallant regiment of the Gordon Highlanders which has a famous record of frontier fighting should be let out on the entire population of a peaceful enough town to slaughter, perhaps to ravish, and sully its record even more than the Nautch girls to whose skirts its kilts are likened, that legs and arms should lie about and peaceful villages burnt down. And to make her appeal to the worst passions of mankind, she refers not to any recent outrage, but of the very first in which two English women were killed through mistaken identity, and tries to inflame the men by attributing to the English a tradition, as if it was something peculiar to them, and not common to all self-respecting races that their *women* were inviolable. In our time we have read many fearful things in the Anglo-Indian Press, but nothing so shameful and vile, nothing so wicked and degrading as this woman has unblushingly sent to a Review which we never expected to publish such incitements to violence and, in fact, massacre. Had the writer been a man we know what treatment we would have recommended for her, but although our views on woman suffrage are not the same as hers, we have "made allowances" for this "superior" being. There is no reason why this new goddess of destruction should not be exposed to the gaze of Government in the Legislative Council and a question asked why the Review that has published such vile stuff as this should not be proscribed under the Press Act and the writer prosecuted for instigating a general massacre and exciting hatred between the Indian and European sections of His Majesty's subjects. This is the least that she deserves and we ask Government not to deny her her deserts. She has tried amply enough the sweet uses of flattery, but in her greed she has gone much too far and it was time that the law which she studied at Oxford, but all respect for which she seems to have lost in the long interval, taught her to abate her "loyal" fervour. This was not perhaps the kind of worship that the new Kali of Calcutta expected. But she is going to get it all the same and a good deal of it. ***Be shaq!***

Ghasita : a Badmash.

IV—Murder, most foul.

When Ghasita awoke after his exciting experiences of the previous night, he was not slow in noticing a marked alteration in the demeanour of his host, the Sonar. Manphul, however averse he might be to having an escaped convict as a lodger, had managed to conceal his feelings in that respect so far, but now evinced a wonderful eagerness to be rid of his dangerous guest. Tidings of the dacoity at the railway station, and the murder of the luckless pointsman, had, with the proverbial celerity of bad news, travelled quickly to Tajgunj, and when calling at the Thana on his way to the city, the Sonar at once detected a decided coolness in the greeting accorded him by the Station Officer. It was one thing to ignore the ordinary peccadilloes of a man belonging to a caste commonly suspected of acting as receivers of stolen property, but a much more serious business when it came to harbouring a notorious desperado. The women-folk of the house, attacked by Ghasita and his companions, had taken careful note—despite their apparent attitude of helpless panic—of the appearance of the dacoits : their height, features, manner of dress and speech, in fact the *tout ensemble* of their ruffianly assailants. The descriptions given may not have been very accurate in every detail, still were sufficient to lead the investigating officer to suspect that Ghasita was present on the occasion and must, in all probability, have fired the fatal shot which was responsible for the death of the Jemadar—as a pointsman is called in railway parlance. The audacity shown in committing a dacoity so close to the police lines, and within easy hail of the railway cantonment station pointed to its being the work of somebody with little fear of consequences or dread of the authorities ; and the character of Ghasita for reckless daring was becoming well established. His past history had been unearthed and made known to the Agra Police : the mysterious theft of a rifle from the trolly of the Permanent-Way Inspector (already related in a former story), and sundry rumours arriving from there concerning the murder of the Rikabgunj constable—all served to connect our hero with those incidents.

The Thanadar remarked to Manphul that if always willing to assist at a house-search in the guise of the "respectable witness," he might not be equally eager to be present were his own abode subjected to a similar ordeal. Altogether the Sonar returned home fully determined to be freed at all costs from the irksome presence of the unwelcome stranger, though puzzled how to convey his wishes to the person in question. He interviewed Ghasita and purposely exaggerated the hue-and cry being made for the perpetrators of the dacoity. Confident that he had left no clue to his whereabouts—even were his identity with the leader of the gang and the man who fired the deadly shot suspected—it took some little time ere Manphul could impress Ghasita with the gravity of the situation and the likelihood of an approaching domiciliary visit from the police that would result in his capture. What vexed the Kachi more than any thoughts of impending arrest was the loss of nearly half his packet of Winchester cartridges, which had got spilt in his hurried flight from the scene of the crime to the spot where the gharry had waited for him and his pals.

He certainly had the revolver taken from his Kanjar allies, but that weapon was of ancient design : not guaranteed to shoot straight, if it went off at all.

The Sonar took advantage of that misfortune to advise Ghasita to visit a Deputy Collector who had many friends of the Mammon of Unrighteousness and who was seldom loth to render help to a criminal on the clear understanding that such services would be duly paid for. As a matter of fact, Manphul never imagined that the "Dipty Sahib" would either furnish Ghasita with a fresh supply of ball ammunition or put him in the way of procuring that article. Lax as he might be when seated in the Court, fear of after-revelations would surely deter him from aiding a criminal for whose seizure a reward was offered and in search of whom the whole of the Agra Police was becoming interested. He presumably would contrive to detain the dacoit under pretext of sending for some cartridges and, instead of those missiles, summon a posse of constables to take Ghasita into custody. The Sonar happened to have a grudge of his own against this Deputy Collector for having recently decided a case in favour of a personal enemy of Manphul's and revenge for such conduct would be sweet. Think of the *badnami* incurred when gossips spread news in the city bazars of the "Dipty Sahib" being visited by an escaped convict at night ! The hostile comments were bound to arise when it was known that Ghasita had actually entered the private house of a Magistrate as if he was on intimate terms with that official ! Manphul hoped to at once be released from his Old Man of the Sea—for he was as anxious to be freed from the presence of Ghasita as was Sinbad of the individual alluded to—and, at the same time, to attach odium to the Magistrate, no matter how devoid of truth might be the stories told about the latter on this occasion.

Accordingly he did his best to win over Ghasita—who at first bluntly refused to go into the city yet awhile, far less to call on a public servant—and after a long effort persuaded the dacoit to adopt his advice and lose no time in replenishing his stock of cartridges. Always prepared to act on the impulse of the moment, Ghasita announced his intention of looking up the Deputy that very night, as soon as it would be safe for him to stir abroad. Thanks to the clear information given by the Sonar, he felt sure there would be little difficulty in finding the house he wanted, still—on thinking matters over—Ghasita resolved to have a comrade on the trip : somebody to lead him to the place by the shortest and least frequented route, for a man credited with a couple of murders, a dacoity, and an escape from Jail was desirous of shunning all publicity in his movements. Manphul was at a loss where to find a guide of the right stamp, till he remembered a young Mahomedan, a great gambler, who would gladly perform a light job in return for a rupee or so to stake at his favourite gambling den. All necessary preliminaries settled, Ghasita lay down for a short sleep, bidding the Sonar call him when darkness set in—and have a decent evening meal ready for his benefit before setting forth on his perilous expedition. Not caring to trust his safety to the dubious protection of an old revolver, Ghasita borrowed a couple of thick blankets from his host, which he meant to wrap round his person in a manner to keep out the cold night air—it was the end of November—and also to conceal his beloved rifle from view. His nature partook more of the brute than of the man with brains, so he never suspected that Manphul was enticing him into a trap, but roughly thanked that worthy for giving him information as to replacing the cartridges he had dropped the preceding night. The sentry on duty at Tajgunj station had barely finished striking eleven o'clock on the gong used for that purpose, when Ghasita met his guide—Niaz Ali, a city *budmash* of a type familiar in the streets of Agra and Lucknow—who made no objections to leading him to the house tenanted by the Deputy Collector, and had little idea of the character of his companion. The latter muffled up in his blanket covering showed small desire to enter into conversation *en route*, so the gambler walked quietly along the road leading past the Fort and into the Tripolia Bazar, humming to a love ditty learnt among the frail sisterhood of the city, and only keen to get his task finished; payment for the same handed to him; and a rapid journey to the nearest resort of fellow-woors of Dame Fortune. The "*Dipty*" resided in one of the long narrow lanes (*galis*) which lead up from the riverside to the heart of that portion of Agra city. His house was one of many like forbidding structures, whose wide expanse of a black wall, built of those narrow bricks that denote the age of an Indian edifice, since they are no longer manufactured, a feeble glimmer of light perceptible in an upper room and whose doors seem to repel any possible visitor : places that have the air of boding mystery, if they do not actually hide secrets in their inner recesses.

Ghasita had begun to fumble in his *dhoti* for a cartridge to load the Winchester—for he was not a person to run risk unduly, and had long ago sworn to resist any attempt at arrest to the utmost—when the sound of a gong striking the hour of midnight gave him a start, the noise coming from the immediate vicinity. Thoughts of treachery on the part of the Sonar entered his mind for the first time, but the other man reassured him by saying that it was only the *pahrawallah* at the little Police Outpost of Chata, on the bank of the Jumna, striking the hour. Another unpleasant surprise was in store for him and his companion. Going up the lane, on whose brick pavement their naked feet made scarcely any sound, they perceived a lamp-post at the top of the narrow path and beyond it—so Niaz Ali whispered—was the house of the Deputy Collector. That personage had, like many others of the same class, several friends belonging to the Mutual Benefit Society, (known otherwise as the Municipal Board), and had suggested the advisability of erecting a lamp-post just outside his abode. He had besides persuaded the City Kotwal—another firm associate of his—to depute a constable for nightly watch and ward at the house, lest evil-doers or rioters come to disturb the repose of a hardworked Government servant. The policeman detailed for this duty on the night in question happened to be a Sikh: illiterate, but anxious to perform his work correctly. The outpost was to be inspected by the Assistant Superintendent next day, and the men had been learning by heart the descriptive-rolls of all proclaimed, or absconding offenders in the circle: one of the points sure to be taken up by the officer referred to when examining the constables of the different beats. The Sikh had tried his best to learn the distinctive features of several *budmashes* on the list, more especially those of Ghasita, since it was very probable that that person would form a subject of inquiry. With the solid perseverance of his race, he was going over the usual data "short stature, stout build, broad nose, small eyes, sallow complexion, etc.," in order to be well posted in the matter when the time for examination came. He was seated—for a waste of superfluous energy in patrolling was not recognised, and his real work was to guard the house of the "Dipty Sahib"—in a dark doorway, half asleep, half awake, but repeating his lesson in mechanical fashion. Suddenly some sub-conscious influence—one of the strange actions

that physiologists and professors of animal magnetism endeavour to explain—caused the constable to look up, when, to his astonishment, he saw by the light of the street lamp, a living representation of the person whose personal characteristics he was striving to commit to memory. Not cursed with nerves or imaginative powers, the bucolic son of the Khalsa sprang to his feet, shouted: "Who comes there," as nearly as he could render that military watchword, and running forward when no answer was returned to his challenge, seized Niaz Ali firmly round the waist. Ghasita had shrunk back from the light, and was taking his rifle out from beneath the folds of his blanket. Although puzzled to find another person in his clutches than the one he had just seen, the constable manfully held on to the struggling Mahomedan, shouting lustily the meanwhile for help. He cried out *Ghasita aggya*, to bring help all the faster, fully convinced that the convict was close by. In a minute any doubts he might have experienced on that point were set at rest by Ghasita stepping to the front and bidding him at once release his captive or take the consequences of refusal. What these were, the sight of the rifle pointed at him from a few paces distance plainly told, yet the gallant Sikh disdained to obey the order and only called all the louder for help. No time was to be lost if they wanted to avoid arrest, so Ghasita pulled the trigger and added a third murder to his two previous crimes of the same description. The poor constable sank to the ground mortally wounded, while Niaz Ali and the murderer swiftly ran down the lane in an opposite direction from whence they had come, hoping to reach the Fort road by traversing the net-work of small streets surrounding the Tripolia bazar and environs, certain to be empty of people at that late hour. The sound of the shot, more than the cries of the constable, had aroused the Police at Chata Outpost, and soon they came running to the scene of the fatal deed. Nothing could be done for their dead comrade, beyond recording the time and place of his death and such details as might occur to the inventive genius of a skilful *Mohurrir*, due stress being laid on their having heard the cry "Ghasita has come" when hastening in response to the shouts of the Sikh. Meanwhile, the fugitives made for the railway bridge across the Jumna as a near place of refuge, and halted in the deep shadow of one of the massive buttresses until the first alarm should have died down. They were a good way from Chata Outpost by this time and not apprehensive of immediate pursuit. Niaz Ali regretted having acted as guide to a man like Ghasita, thus ready to shed blood on the shortest notice and, apparently, without any remorse for having committed so terrible a crime. Gambling and minor offences against the Law he did not mind, but this night's work was too dangerous to have attractions for a *bul ash* of his type. Accordingly he walked moodily beside Ghasita when they deemed it wise to proceed back to Tajgunj, going along the lonely road, bordered on one side by numerous ravines, which leads to that suburb from the old Fort. Arrived at the dwelling of Manphul, the door of which was opened for them by the Sonar in person, Niaz Ali blurted out information of what had occurred and then hurried off to his own home, to vainly try and fancy the events of the last two hours a horrid nightmare, a painful dream, rather than a real drama in which he had played a part, albeit only that of a "super".

Frightened for his own safety, Manphul plucked up sufficient courage to tell Ghasita that it was impossible for him to be sheltered there any longer, since the Police were certain to search the house next day on hearing of this fresh crime. He had no great objection to harbouring an ordinary breaker of the law, but to commit murder two nights in succession was—to borrow a modern slang term—a "bit too thick". At least such was the opinion of the Sonar. Ghasita realised the force of some part of his arguments, so bade an *ekka* be sent for at dawn to take him to the Cantonment station as he meant journeying back to Sujyan and Bhurtpore territory. Too delighted at getting rid of the incubus of his dreaded guest, Manphul agreed to keep the Winchester rifle in safe hiding place till Ghasita should send for that weapon; the latter resolving to travel light for the present, only armed with his old revolver and a dagger. He had no intention of visiting Sujyan, but was anxious to throw dust in the eyes of the Sonar, convinced that under police pressure the latter was likely to tell tales in order to save himself from a possible trouble in the case. He meant in reality to spend the Diwali festival—then close at hand—in Goberdhan, a famous pilgrim resort in Muttra district and within easy distance of the eastern boundary of Bhurtpore, should circumstances render it necessary for him to pass outside British jurisdiction for a season. Furnished with a suit of old clothes by his host, Ghasita calmly drove down to the railway station, regardless of any fear of detection by members of the station staff who had turned out when the house of the Assistant Station Master was broken into by him and his gang. He espied Nasibun squatted on the platform with her basket of fresh fruit, but thought it more prudent to affect ignorance of her presence there. He managed however, to let her know his destination by purposely dropping his ticket for Muttra near where she sat, and in picking it up remarked, in casual fashion, that he was proceeding to Goberdhan but would spend that day in the city sacred to memories of Krishna, most popular of the many *avatars* of great Vishnu. Nasibun was quick-witted enough to take the hint, and when his train was about to start, she passed along the carriages, stopping for a moment at that where Ghasita was comfortably ensconced to utter the brief sentence—"this evening—the Waiting Hall" (*musafir-khana*)—in as careless a tone as she employed in praising the excellence of her stalks of sugar-cane and other articles of the fruit and vegetable world. The person for whom the words were spoken perfectly understood what the speaker meant to convey, and when the afternoon train from Agra steamed alongside the Muttra platform a sturdy individual, clad like a man of the lower castes, might have been noticed receiving a young woman from a third class compartment, and so shortly afterwards jogging along with her in *ekka* on their way to holy Goberdhan, some sixteen miles out of Muttra. When the Police Circle Inspectors, Kotwal, and the officers in charge of all Thanas within municipal limits were gathered in solemn conclave discussing the late crimes and evolving schemes for tracking down Ghasita—now universally supposed to be the leader in these deeds of murder and house-breaking—that personage and his *belle amie* were enjoying a hearty supper in the *serai* of Aring, a halting place for travellers between Muttra and Goberdhan.

A. N. G.

The Council of India Bill.

Debate in the House of Lords.

THE debate was resumed on Earl Curzon's amendment to the second reading of the Council of India Bill—namely, that the Bill be read a second time this day six months.

Lord Ampthill urged that the proper course, in all the circumstances, was to refer this Bill back to the India Office, and that would be the effect if the amendment were carried, until such time as public and official opinion was so far matured that they could form a better and more accurate judgment of what the measure tended to do and what its effect was likely to be. He asserted, with some confidence, that if the House refused a second reading to the Bill they would not seriously displease anybody. On the contrary, such a course would greatly relieve the minds of some of those who were firm supporters of the Bill. A bad mistake had been made, and it would be far better for all concerned to make a fresh start in a better way and at a better and more convenient time.

In supporting the amendment he was not endeavouring to set aside the questions which the Bill raised. He was very anxious that these questions should be fully and fairly considered in Parliament, and he earnestly hoped that the Marquess of Lansdowne would see his way to declaring, on behalf of the Unionist Party, that the question of improving the machinery of Indian administration would receive careful attention as soon as the present national crisis was over. All of them recognized that improvement was possible in many respects besides those with which the Bill was concerned. They were all agreed that it was fair and right that the Council of India should contain Indian members, and none would object to securing that object by statute. They most of all wished that members of the Council should be men of independent judgment instead of subservient creatures of a Secretary of State, and that they should have full opportunity of bringing their opinions to bear. It was just for that reason that they did not like the reactionary and autocratic provisions of the Bill. Their lordships might have noticed a telegram the other day from the Bombay Correspondent of *The Times*. He could not vouch for the accuracy of judgment of *The Times* Correspondent, but the presumption was that he was a reliable person, and the information he gave had been corroborated independently in the Indian newspapers. The Correspondent said:—"The accounts of recent proceedings in Parliament which have been telegraphed over here indicate an extraordinary misconception as to the nature of the opposition to the India Council Bill. Nothing is further from the truth than the impression that the opposition mainly emanates from Anglo-Indians. The most vehement critics of the Bill, especially of the clauses reducing the collective importance of the Council, are the organs of the Indian Press. Thus the *Bombay Chronicle*, an authoritative exponent of Congress opinion, hopes that Lord Curzon will press the motion for the rejection of the Bill. It says that Lord Crewe's ignorance of the present and prospective position of the Secretary of State is amazing, and that the proposed delegation of powers is dangerous. It concludes that it would be better to withdraw the Bill than to send it to a Select Committee." So much for the noble lord's remarks about feeling in India. Opinion in that country would not be disappointed if the Bill was not passed. The threat of

a recrudescence of unrest came from Lord Courtney, and not from the members of the delegation to this country.

Political Appointments.

The Bill provided that the Council should consist of not less than seven and not more than ten members, and required that six of them should require certain qualifications of domicile or service, while the seventh would probably be a financier. No qualification was required in the case of the remaining members, so that the Secretary of State might appoint any person he pleased. That was a dangerous power to place in the hands of any Secretary of State. Human nature being what it was, and party government what it had become, the people appointed to these posts would either be personal friends of the Secretary of State or else troublesome political supporters of the Government. When the present Government wanted a post for a member of the House of Commons who had lost his seat they created an appointment at the India Office, and they could well imagine what kind of appointments would be made in future. The Council of India ought not to be capable of being used for the exercise of party patronage in this country. There was a general opinion that the scheme revolutionized the whole conception of the Council, converting it more or less from an advisory to an administrative body. The result would be the establishment of that Departmental tyranny which was the inevitable tendency of officialism, and which in India ought at all costs to be avoided. The Bill would imperil the power and prestige of the Viceroy, and there would be a demand all through India that an elective system should be introduced into the Viceroy's Council and other councils. With politicians instead of administrators at the India Office, and with a Secretary of State exercising practically autocratic powers, whether he were a strong man or a weak man, it would not be possible to avoid perpetual friction between the Government of India and the India Office, between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. Legislation would be initiated without consulting local opinion in India; patronage would be exercised under the pressure of political parties in this country. In short, India would be governed from Whitehall instead of being governed in India, and nothing was more likely to check the aspirations of those classes in India whose aspirations they had encouraged. He submitted that this was not a time when they could fairly consider the questions raised by the Bill. They ought to get over their own difficulties in Parliament and the country before raising new difficulties in India. The British Constitution ought to be restored before any attempt was made to pull down and reconstruct the Constitution of India. He only contended for a reasonable postponement and would be content were the Secretary of State to withdraw his Bill on the understanding that the Opposition would give careful consideration to a better measure when all those who had a right to be consulted would have been consulted and would have made their opinions known. (Hear, hear.)

Speech by Lord Morley.

Effect of the Proposed Changes.

Viscount Morley.—The noble lord has not really mastered the conditions with which the Bill proposes to deal nor the way in which it proposes to deal with them. He is apparently curiously ignorant of the conditions under which the Secretary of State holds his office. He predicts that immense friction is sure to follow, from the passage of the measure, in the relations between the Governor-General and the Secretary of State; but we have heard of friction between them before this Bill, and there is no possibility that the changes now proposed will in the least degree or in any way affect the relations between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy. The noble lord presses for the views of the Government of India. I would point out to him that the Bill does not directly concern the Government of India. It is a Bill for regulating the constitution, the business, and the procedure of the Secretary of State at Whitehall, and the Government of India is not, directly or even indirectly, concerned in that.

Lord Ampthill.—Does the noble viscount contend that the Government of India is not concerned in these legislative councils which are asked to elect members?

Viscount Morley.—All I can say is that if there has been an important change in the constitution of the Council of India it is the change made by myself—namely, the introduction of two Indian gentlemen into the Council of the Secretary of State; that change was made, I will not say without consultation with Lord Minto, but independently of the judgment of the Government of India. To give the Government of India authority over the constitution and procedure of the Council at Whitehall, which was created to control the Government of India, would be contrary to the Act of 1858, which places the Government of India under the control of one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State. That does not mean that a Secretary of State would not be careful to correspond with the Governor-General and ascertain his views, but that is private correspondence in my judgment and experience. The noble lord spoke of this Bill as revolutionizing our conceptions of this and that. I do not know what he means by revolutionizing conceptions, and the Bill has nothing to do with that. The noble lord has asserted that we are promoting this Bill to serve the purposes of party passion.

Lord Ampthill.—I did not say that was the object and design, but I said that would be the effect.

Viscount Morley.—The noble lord surely assumes that we are not so blind and foolish as to forget what will be the effect of the Bill.

Lord Ampthill.—I was very careful to explain that I was quoting the opinion of others, particularly of critics in India.

Viscount Morley.—It is rather dangerous for a member of this House to quote opinions which may be those of other people. The noble lord said he had sympathy with the aspirations of the people of India, but this was not the time to introduce this Bill. The time will never come. If the noble lord is waiting until this House and the other House are entirely agreed on everything and have nothing else to do but attend to the Council of the Secretary of State for India he is like the rustic waiting on the edge of the stream until the water has flown by; it will never flow by. Suppose the Irish questions were settled next week, does the noble lord think there is nothing else to do? It is a futile position to take up.

Appeal for Magnanimous Treatment.

Here is a demand from some portions of India, and the Secretary of State, after two years' deliberation, has devised a plan and framed a Bill for meeting those aspirations. Surely we had better deal with the situation as it exists to-day without waiting for some millennial period when there is nothing else to do except pass an Indian Council Bill. The noble earl (Lord Curzon) took a severe and uncompromising line in regard to the Bill, and I cannot but contrast the tone of the noble earl on this occasion with that of the Marquess of Lansdowne and the noble earl in regard to the measures of far-reaching importance which it was my fortune to introduce a few years ago. No measures could have received more considerate treatment than those measures received from noble lords opposite, and it was owing to that support that we were able to carry out proposals which events have justified. This Bill is carrying out, rightly or wrongly, the policy which was started then, and I wish the noble earl could have consented to treat this Bill with the same show of magnanimity which he showed towards proposals which were of much more revolutionary effect in my measures. He used language in regard to this Bill which in calmer moments I am sure he will feel was not justified. He said the Bill violates the Constitution, dethrones the Council at Whitehall, and revolutionizes sound principles. It really does something to put the Secretary of State for India in the same position as any other Secretary of State. It does not materially alter his position in relation to the Council.

"An Enlightened Despot."

The noble earl has misconceived the scope and purport of the Bill. He says it is a grab at power. Viscount Morley was understood to say that when Earl Curzon was Viceroy of India he claimed, he would not say excessive or illegitimate power, but still he claimed that which in the case of the Marquess of Crewe he now described as arbitrary power.

Earl Curzon.—During the seven years I was in India I neither initiated nor carried through any policy of any importance without the knowledge, consent, and approval of my Council. I never overruled them on a single occasion. I employed and was proud to enjoy their co-operation, but I am not certain, since the noble viscount has raised the issue, whether he can quite say the same thing about his own career at the India Office, where he is well known to have been one of the greatest, though I have no doubt one of the most enlightened despots that Office has ever seen.

Viscount Morley.—With respect to the description which the noble earl has given respecting my career at the India Office, I may say that most of the members of my Council have happily survived and I can confidently appeal to them, individually or collectively, as to whether there was anything that could fairly be called despotism or anything approaching despotism. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Montagu's Position.

It has been said repeatedly as a matter of reproach to Mr. Montagu that he went to India, and on the strength of having been in India for some months he presumed to dictate or inspire the schemes of India Office readjustment. As a matter of fact the scheme of the Bill is not Mr. Montagu's scheme. It used to be a standing reproach to me that I had never been to India. I do not believe it would have done any good if I had, and I am not pretending that Mr. Montagu is better—I do not know whether he is or not—for having been there. I do not say that he would be more unfitted to arrive at opinions on the strength of six months' or three months' visit to India than would the noble earl to talk about the interior administration of the India Office after the period to which he referred, which was much shorter than Mr. Montagu's period in India. I should, however, like to say that there seem to me few abler men that I know of than Mr. Montagu.

Will the House pardon me if I tell them what goes on in the India Council? A paper arrives from India. It is sent to the Department at once. The Department minutes it and it then goes to the Under-Secretary, who transmits it to the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State sends it to a committee, and if there is money in it he sends it to the Finance Committee as well. Then it goes back from the committee to the Under-Secretary; and the Under-Secretary sends it to the Secretary of State, who marks it for Council. At the next meeting the Council consider it or it lies on the table for a week. There may be such a thing as possible obstruction even in the India Council, and if any particular member of the Council should feel dissatisfied with the line taken by his colleagues, he could move and almost insist upon it being referred back to India and on the return of the matter from India the whole of that process is repeated.

Viscount Midleton.—Is there any one of these processes except sending it to Council which the Secretary of State cannot put an end to by a stroke of the pen?

Viscount Morley.—I think not. The whole process under the most favourable conditions takes the best part or the whole of a month. The new plan is that instead of going to a committee a paper has to go to a member of the Council, or if money is concerned to two members of the Council. A single member reports to the Secretary of State—and the House must remember that all these questions have already been threshed out in India. The noble earl has given a perfect travesty of what goes on in the Council. I have attended scores of meetings of the Council, and I will never speak at any time of that Council without the language of respect and gratitude. In spite of my despotism (laughter) we always got on with perfect goodwill and commonsense. But it is not to be denied that a meeting of the Council is not what the noble earl supposes, a great deliberative assembly. It is in nine cases out of 10 not very much more than a formality.

Administrative Experience.

The suggestion that the Council is being changed from an advisory to an administrative body when closely examined is really in the nature of moonshine. The noble earl says that you are going under the new system to appoint men who have had no administrative experience. He insists, on the one hand, that the Council must be an advisory body and nothing else, and yet he insists, on the other hand, that the members chosen will be less well chosen if they have not had administrative experience. My point is that you might improve the India Council by introducing men who have not had administrative experience.

Earl Curzon.—My remark was exclusively confined to Indians.

Viscount Morley.—Even then the principle on which I myself acted when I was concerned with administration was that whenever you wanted fresh light on subjects considered by the Council you must not regard administrative experience solely.

I come to the point raised by Lord Ampthill as to the expediency of going on with the Bill. It is quite true that the noble earl opposite read some telegrams from Chambers of Commerce and other bodies of authority and repute hostile to the Bill. It is quite true that you will find in the Press, vernacular and otherwise, expressions of Indians adverse to the Bill. But that makes the very case for examining and looking into it, for considering the system, and not for taking so precipitate—I think precipitation without parallel—a step as throwing the Bill out. I do urge upon the House that to do this in the face of India—it does not matter to you, but it does matter there—and in the face of the expectations that have, rightly or wrongly, been aroused, would be, I do not think I use exaggerated language, something like a disaster, and certainly a grave bunlder.

"Against The Interests of India."

Earl Roberts expressed entire accord with the views of Lord Curzon and of the other noble lords who had taken part in the debate and were intimately acquainted with India. To reduce the number of the members of Council would, in his opinion, be detrimental to the interests of India, especially if, as pointed out by Lord Curzon, only two of these would be likely to belong to the Indian Civil Service, and, as he understood was to be the case, the two native members were always to be included in the Council. He was not opposed to native members; on the contrary, he thought their presence on the Council was most desirable, but then the Council should always consist of more than seven members, and the native members should be true representatives of the various classes in India, men selected, after careful inquiry by the Viceroy, and not forced upon him by what Lord Curzon had described as "*quasi*-Parliamentary bodies." It would be dangerous, he thought, to appoint what he might call young civilians to the Council. They could not have the lengthened experience of India which was so desirable.

The proposal to give the Secretary of State power to communicate secretly on all points with India was also, he thought, against the interests of India and unfair to the members of the Council. He could not imagine any worthy of the position being willing to become a member of the Council under such a condition. A Council constituted as now proposed would make the Secretary of State absolutely despotic. He would become more of an autocrat than he was at present, and that would be injurious both to the authority of the Viceroy and to the interests of India.

Lord Islington thought the step which Lord Curzon invited the House to take was an extreme one in regard to a measure of this kind and at this stage of its progress. He suggested that all the objections which had been raised by noble lords opposite could be dealt with quite effectively if the House were allowed to consider the Bill in Committee.

Lord Sydenham said that they did not know at present on what authority the Bill rested. Some of its provisions seemed to have been drawn up by somebody without any real knowledge of India. Many years must elapse before the electoral principle could become thoroughly acclimatized to the soil of India where all the traditions of the past were absolutely opposed to it. The Bill gave no idea of how elections were to be carried out, who would be eligible, or how large the panel was to be. The proposal would be peculiarly distasteful to the princes and chiefs of India, who had not the least belief in electoral methods and would never dream of employing them in the selection of their councillors. He regarded the scheme as vicious in principle and dangerous in practice. The existing powers of the Secretary of State, already very large, would be increased and the Government in India would be correspondingly weakened at a time when it was essential that it should be strengthened. He suggested to the Leader of the House that a small independent body should be appointed to inquire into the whole question of Indian administration, and contended that this was not the time to yield to the demands of a small section of a vast population. He thought that we had ignored too much the opinions of those who best knew and best loved India. Because he believed that the Bill would naturally lead to a further weakening of the foundations of our rule he felt bound to support the motion for the rejection.

Lord Reay said that the fact that the Secretary of State was responsible to Parliament had been to a large extent overlooked during the debate. The Bill was needed to secure efficiency, and to expedite business at the India Office. It did not involve constitutional change, and it did not increase the powers of the Secretary of State or alter the character of the Council. He had not heard a single argument which justified the rejection of the Bill.

Lord Faber said he was a member of the Royal Commission on Indian Finance, and as there were good features in the Bill he would be sorry if it were rejected on second reading. The Royal Commission found that in dealing with finance the Council was subject to dreadful delays, which were injurious to India, and the Commission expressed the view that they would welcome any change, whether requiring legislative sanction or not, which would simplify the procedure in regard to finance and avoid the delays in determining financial questions. In some respects Clause 1 of the Bill meet these defects. The Bill also carried out a recommendation of the Royal Commission in taking power to appoint as a member of the Council an expert in the London money market.

Lord Inchcape thought the work of India Office compared very favourably with the work of any of the great public offices in this country, but the arrangements made half a century ago were capable of improvement. He did not agree with some of the proposals in the Bill, but he appealed to Earl Curzon to give it a second reading in view of the fact that he agreed with many of its provisions.

Lord Harris said the proposals of the Bill were far-reaching and drastic; they were the direct antitheses of the 1858 Bill and in contradiction to the policy of Viscount Morley when he was in office. Viscount Morley had expressed himself in favour of greater celerity in the work of the India Office. He could not help being reminded of the advice which Queen Victoria gave him when he was going out, more than 20 years ago, to the Presidency of Bombay. "You cannot," her Majesty said, "go too slow in introducing changes in India." The noble viscount told them that this Bill did not really affect the government of India. He submitted that it contained provisions which most vitally affected the government of India, and the House would not be wise to give it a second reading because it would emerge from Committee in a shape that would be quite unrecognizable, because it contained proposals which, he honestly believed, were radically opposed to the best interests of the general population of India and because it did not contain that spirit of impartiality which he believed to be the keynote of the just administration of India.

Viscount Midleton declared, in opposition to the view expressed by Lord Morley that the Bill would have very little effect on the government of India, that it was the greatest change ever made in regard to that government, and that it would make the Secretary of State for India by far the most uncontrolled Minister who had ever done business in this country. Mr. Montagu had written a letter to *The Times* complaining of the "intolerable procrastination" inevitable under the India Office system. He asked whether it was not

in the competence of the Secretary of State to make his own rules and regulations for every single step, with one exception, that was taken in the India Office. During the last eight years and seven months two Secretaries of State had done nothing to remedy what was now condemned as procrastination which could have been removed by a stroke of the pen. He was sorry to have to put a personal point, but it was extraordinary for administrators to ask the House to cut up an Act as though it were at the root of the difficulties when it only bound them in one particular. Were the Council consulted upon the moving of Delhi, involving a complete change of policy and an expenditure that might amount to £14,000,000 or £15,000,000? The noble marquess called them into his room, bound them to secrecy, and presented them with a *fait accompli*. He had shown that when he chose he could take short cuts, and now he wanted an Act of Parliament to protect him from the interference of these inconvenient people.

Autocracy of the Government.

A good deal had been said about autocracy. The present Government had developed autocracy beyond any body of men in this country, but their action was nothing compared to the position in which the Secretary for India would be placed by this Bill. He would be an autocrat among autocrats.

Sham and Hypocrisy.

He should be profoundly sorry if the rejection of the measure were to cause the impression that noble lords on his side of the House were inappreciative of the desire of our Indian fellow-subjects to be connected with the government of India. But the Opposition disapproved of their being deluded by the Bill before the House. Were the House to read the Bill a second time hopes would be fostered which would certainly be disappointed.

Lord Crewe's Reply.

The Marquess of Crewe.—Lord Harris has spoken of the necessity of the existence of a Council to advise the Secretary of State. I in no way dispute that necessity, but I would remind the House that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of State for the Colonies have no assistance of the kind. It is considered apparently that the Act of 1858 is to be regarded as a sacred measure in all respects, as sacred as the Act of Union with Ireland; and the noble viscount who has just sat down has said that we are tearing up and destroying the statute. He, however, fell into an error which tends to vitiate a great part of his argument. He is apparently under the impression that the Council by this Bill would lose the whole of its financial control, whereas it will lose absolutely none. I never accused the Council of procrastination, though I have said that the system in itself is a difficult and impossible one to work with the same rapidity with which business can de done in other offices of which I have seen something. The noble viscount opposite pointed to the case of Delhi as one about which the Council ought to have been consulted at all stages. We need not, I think, go into the reasons which made it imperative that the knowledge of what was contemplated should be imparted to as few persons as possible. Nothing the noble viscount has said has convinced me that I did anything wrong on that occasion, and if I had to do it again I should proceed in precisely the same manner.

An Assumed Autocracy.

One of the criticisms levelled against this Bill has turned upon the assumed autocracy which is grasped by the Secretary of State under its provisions. Both Earl Curzon and Viscount Midleton have been rather hard on me in that respect. Earl Curzon dreads the excessive assertion of a single personality in the matter of government, and regards corporate responsibility as superior in all respects for the purpose to individual responsibility. There may be much to be said for that point of view, but I do not think it ought to be pressed to the almost pedantic length to which he pressed it. It is impossible not to have a vision of the time, if the wheel of fortune should revolve that way, when the noble earl will be First Lord of the Admiralty or Secretary of State for War, and when he will become the absolutely docile mouthpiece of the Generals or Admirals by whom he may be surrounded. (Laughter.) It would be a rather novel reading of the noble earl's character: but the advice which he has lavished upon me in this respect leads one to suppose that that is possible. As a matter of fact, there are countless checks imposed upon anything approaching autocratic action by the Secretary of State. Noble lords opposite seem to assume that the Secretary of State in future will only appoint to the Council incompetent people who will be his obedient slaves.

The Secretary for India is subject to the control which all his colleagues in the Cabinet have to submit to, not in matters of detail, but in the perpetual knowledge that any errors which he may commit reacts upon the Government, and that makes him exceedingly careful to direct his steps in as straight a path as possible. Then there is the perpetual and in some respects the ever-increasing control of Parliament, and there is the increasing force of public opinion in India and the power of the Press. Therefore, I cannot help thinking that noble lords are pressing too far the point of the autocracy of the Secretary of State. As regards the weekly meeting of the Council, to which noble lords attach such vast importance, it seems to me somewhat unnecessary that the Council should meet once a week during the months of September and October or at certain other times when the move of the Government of India has taken place and there is generally little business to be done. The noble viscount seemed to imply that one of the reasons which had actuated me in introducing this measure was that certain burdens would be removed from my shoulders. The passing of this Bill will throw considerable extra burdens upon the Secretary of State for India.

Questionable "Short-cuts."

It is impossible to do anything of a really serious labour-saving character within the walls of the India Office without modifying the procedure that everything that ought to come before the Council is to lie on the table for seven days. The noble viscount said, "Look at the Delhi case—what a short cut. Why does not the Secretary of State perpetually take these short cuts if he desires?" We do take a great many, but I fear that we are, if not actually breaking the law, uncommonly near breaking it on a great many occasions. It is no satisfaction to me to break the law. On the contrary, I would very much rather regularize our proceedings, and that is the main object and purpose of this Bill. The noble viscount spoke of the change in the panel system with regard to the Indian members as being the main object and purpose of the Bill. That is not so.

As regards the panel I do not think any noble lord has done me the honour to notice the reason which I give for suggesting this procedure—namely, that it was feared by a number of persons in India that at some future time Indians might be appointed not really representative of Indian opinion in any sense. The only speaker who alluded to that fear was the noble marquess himself, and he confined himself to saying that, as a matter of fact, the Indians who were appointed would be of the same high calibre as those who now sit on that Council. I daresay they will, but it must be admittted that those who take the contrary view are within their rights in assuming that these panels may be unwisely and from their point of view unfairly used and they will not be satisfied by a mere assertion that no such unfair use will obtain.

The two hostile points which I have seen as coming from India have been in the first place, that the Council is going to be turned into a directly administrative body, as to which I have explained that there is no such intention, and in fact no such possibility; and in the second, I am told that these proposals are almost retrograde, because they do not involve direct election by some constituency of a large number of Indian gentlemen. I have endeavoured to explain before why I consider these demands in their nature impossible to carry out.

Mr. Montagu And "The Times."

I should like to say one word about the rather strong attack the noble viscount made on Mr. Montagu. I most heartily concur in what my noble friend said of Mr Montagu's services and abilities. But those who speak of him as being the author of the Bill, as he was spoken of in *The Times* newspaper, are altogether beside the mark. I should like also to mention that in an article in that great journal there was a singular and not easily explicable confusion arising out of something that I have said, between the Parliamentary Under-Secretary and the Permanent Under-Secretary—two officials, as noble lords are well aware, of most different experience and with very different work to perform.

Rejection of The Bill a Blunder.

The noble earl is going to ask your Lordships not to read this Bill a second time. It may be assumed, I imagine, that the noble earl will have his way. I do not say if he does that we will not be able to get on at the India Office. Of course we shall get on. I can go on skating over very thin ice as regards breaches of the law, and I shall continue to do so with the knowledge that my action is heartily approved by noble lords opposite, and I may, perhaps, be sometimes tempted to extend them. I venture to think the machine is, in some respects, a faulty one from its age and from the fact that it was intended to apply to a quite different set of circumstances, and I cannot think your Lordships are wise in altogether declining to consider any change. Whether any opportunities will occur in anything that may be called the immediate future for any reconsideration of these questions I am not in a position to say. I regret that your Lordships are not going to see fit to give a second reading to this Bill, and, although we certainly will not agree, I believe that in the action you are taking you are making a blunder.

The House divided, and there voted:—

For the second reading	...	...	38
Against ...	...	...	96
Majority against	...	...	—58

The House rose shortly before half-past 8 o'clock.

Hindu University.

The Committee Meeting.

An informal meeting of the promoters of the Hindu University movement took place at Allahabad on Saturday and Sunday last. On the latter day the Hon. the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga presided.

At both meetings gentlemen from other stations were also present. Preliminary to the consideration of the letter of Sir Harcourt Butler at a formal meeting for which a month's notice is needed, they proceeded to discuss the matter informally. The said letter and the draft of the bill as submitted by the Committee to the Government on the 25th October, 1912, were carefully compared and considered. It was decided to record no formal resolution on the subject, but the general trend of opinion was that the provisions of the draft bill submitted to the Government on the 25th October, 1912, (and a copy of which was published in the papers at the time and sent to every member of the Society in the month of November) by the Committee were adequate and that a representation should be submitted to the Government asking for a reconsideration of the terms in the letter.

It was decided that a formal meeting of the Society and its Committee of Management should be convened at an early date.

On the morning of Monday, the 27th July, 1912, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor accompanied by the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler visited Benares and were shown over the sites proposed for the Hindu University by the Hon. the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga and the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Press Opinion.

"The Madras Standard."

I

A most serious crisis has arisen in the life of the Central Hindu College, Benares, and we return to the subject, on which a short note appeared in our columns yesterday. The whole future of this national institution trembles in the balance, and on the clear-sightedness and strength of the Hindu University Committee everything now depends. Let us recall what has already passed.

The Central Hindu College and High School were founded and have been maintained by the exertions of a small band of devoted Hindus, with the object of creating a National Institution, in which the Hindu religion should be systematically taught, in which character should be builded on Hindu lines, in which loyalty to the British Government should go hand-in-hand with patriotic devotion to the Motherland, and which should be controlled by Hindus, independently of, but in no way hostile to, Government authority. While it was necessary to accept educational curriculum of the Government, and to conform to its general rules as regarded the educational arrangements, the C. H. C. preserved its independence by taking no Government grant, and no rupee from Government coffers has ever been accepted by it. It has depended wholly on voluntary contributions from the public, and these were obtained on the distinct understanding that the Institution was under Hindu control, and that the Government had no hand, no voice, in its management. On these lines it was founded, and has been maintained.

The scheme of a Hindu University was conceived by the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and, after much discussion, it was decided by the Trustees that they were willing to take part in realising his ideal, and would, when the time came, surrender their cherished Institution to be the nucleus of the Hindu University.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya devoted his splendid eloquence and generous enthusiasm to the task of collecting the money which was demanded by Government before a constitution should be framed, and the Trustees met the further demand of the Government that an existing College should be the nucleus of the proposed University, by promising to hand over the C. H. C. for this purpose.

A Hindu University Committee was formed with the high ideal of enshrining Hindu culture in a national Institution under Hindu control, and the leaders of Hindu thought throughout the country became members of the Committee. Some 80 lakhs have been promised by the public for this purpose, and a draft constitution was submitted to the Government, which, while inviting H. E. the Viceroy to be the Chancellor of the Hindu University and giving him a veto on many important matters, yet left the effective control in the hands of a Court and of Governors, who should be elected, in various ways, by the Hindu community—I am not going into details—securing Hindu control. It was intended that the Hindu University should have the power to affiliate institutions in which religion and morals formed an integral part of education, and it was hoped to rear gradually a splendid edifice, a veritable Temple of Hindu culture, wherein the Nation should be builded, the Motherland worshipped, and the inspiration of a progressive and philosophic Hinduism should permeate the national life.

The first blow was struck when the Government refused to allow the power of affiliation. But we realized that our infant Institution could not effectively utilize this power for many years, and that, when we had sufficiently organized our University, we might again put forward the claim; so we submitted to the rebuff. The Musalmans bluntly refused, and their University has advanced no further. They may have been wiser than we, for our yielding has only brought upon us further demands—demands which, if conceded, destroy every hope with which we started, and give us the name of a Hindu University writ across the portal of a Government Institution. In the first place we are made a provincial Institution, and are handed over to the regnant Lieut.-Governor as our Chancellor. Many of us feared accepting a Viceroy as Chancellor, but a Viceroy is at least one of England's best, whereas a Lieut.-Governor *may* be a man of fourth or fifth rate ability, and is generally imbued with "Service Traditions". We remember Sir Antony MacDonnel, and his accusations of disloyalty when we began our work. We remember how even the kindly Sir James Latouche refused to allow us to invite T. R. H. the Prince and Princess of Wales to the College on their visit to Benares, and how it was only my direct application, in the face of the Lieutenant-Governor's refusal, that brought about an expression of a desire from the Prince himself to visit our College. "You have got the better of me, Mrs. Besant," was the good-tempered remarks of the kindly ruler of the Province, and he did not accompany the Royal visitors. We remember the arbitrariness of Sir John Hewett, and his attempt to prosecute me criminally in 1910 for my "Appeal to the Government and Europeans" against the shameful insults levelled against Indians by ill-mannered Englishmen. I was saved only by the interposition of H. E. Lord Minto and the generous defence of me by my revered friend, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale; Sir John Hewett never forgave the checkmate. That appeal, signed as President of the T. S. and the Central Hindu College, now lies before me, and in it there is nothing to regret nor to unsay. Lord Minto and Sir Arthur Lawley both thought it too passionate, written as it was in the midst of the assassinations, at the moment of the worst danger, but neither withheld his sympathy from the insulted youth who was the immediate cause of the "Appeal". But if we had been under the power of the Lieut.-Governor, I should have been deprived of my position in the College. I recall the incident as shewing our past liberty, and in order to deprecate the proposed subjection.

The Lieut.-Governor, as Chancellor, is given sweeping powers; he can appoint and remove members of the staff, send inspectors, appoint Examiners. In fact, he is created the master of the internal management of the University. Why then have the farce of Governors, the useless trouble of electing them? A Senate and a Syndicate to carry out His Honour's policy will be enough. The Hindu University will run in double harness with the Government University, and the *raisone d'être* of its existence will disappear. Moreover, if we accept these "terms," we do not know what further disabilities will be imposed in drafting the Constitution. Let us reject them, while there is time. I, for one, would never have given over our free and independent Hindu College to be ruled by the Lieutenant-Governor, for I feel that to do so is to betray a public trust, and to divert money obtained on one pretext to a use for which the donors would never have given it. From my standpoint, it would be a breach of public duty, and I have telegraphed my refusal to agree. I hope that my colleagues will take a similar view, and work out an independent policy on the lines I will suggest tomorrow, or on such better ones as their greater wisdom may design. And I invite the expression of public opinion on the matter in our correspondence columns.

ANNIE BESANT.

II.

The *Madras Mail* rightly judges that the letter of Sir Harcourt Butler "will create serious disappointment among the organizers of the Hindu University movement," but it urges them none the

less to "receive the proposals of the Government of India in the spirit in which they are offered, and establish the University." The "spirit in which they are offered" is a spirit of distrust in the sober and responsible men who have set themselves to a great national task, and such distrust does not encourage them to accept the assurance of the *Mail* that "the Government of India may be trusted to give the organizers every reasonable" facility, etc. Distrust does not breed trust. Various hopes are then held out as to the results which will accrue from the acceptance of the restrictions imposed. Meanwhile, the Committee is to divert the 50 lakhs collected and the additional 30 lakhs promised from a National University to a Government one, in the unguaranteed hope of greater freedom in the future. The Hindu Committee submitted to the refusal of the right of affiliation, when the Musalmans declined to yield. They are rewarded with further intolerable conditions. The *Mail* should ask itself why hard-worked men, mostly of limited means, should devote themselves to heavy and exhausting labour and contribute their money in order to build up what is virtually another Government University? These are men of ability, of definite opinions, of clearly-visioned ideals; why should they submit to a Civil Servant, when it is the defects of Colleges controlled by this very class which move them to personal sacrifice and labour? They would have continually to modify their plans lest they should not "co-operate "with the Government Institution; their forward speed would be curbed to suit the slow jogtrot of the Government steed to which they would be harnessed. They can use their money and their energies better than in making a useless appendage to the Allahabad University, and in stretching themselves on the Procrustes bed of officialdom. Oxford and Cambridge would never have become the National Universities they are, if they had been under the control of the Plantagenets and the Tudors. Even before England won her liberties, her education at least was free from Government control and thus her Universities gradually builded freemen. The Bengal National Education Council was wrecked by the withdrawal of Mr. Palit, who withdrew his lakhs from the Nation and gave them to the official University; but he, at least, disposed only of his own money, not of funds contributed by the public; we may regret his action, but we have no right to challenge his liberty to change his benefactions. The Hindu University Committee is a Trustee, answerable to the public, and Browning's words on 'The Lost Leader' must not come true of its members:

Just for a handful of silver he left us,
Just for a ribbon to stick in his coat.

"The Advocate."

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler has addressed a letter to the Hon'ble the Maharaja of Darbhanga setting forth the conditions on which the Government of India is prepared to accord its sanction to the establishment of the proposed Hindu University at Benares. Whether these conditions will satisfy the promoters of the scheme is more than we pretend to know. Of this, however, we are sure that if the Member for Education had desired to alienate from the movement the sympathy of the entire Hindu community, he could not have done so more effectually than by the terms laid down in his letter. The Honourable gentleman cannot be unaware that whatever may be the official view of Lord Curzon's University Act of 1904, public opinion is unanimous that it has completely officialised the Indian Universities and that there is widespread dissatisfaction felt throughout the country in consequence of this. The simultaneous movements, therefore, for the establishment of a Hindu or a Mussalman University were hailed with satisfaction throughout the length and breadth of the country. It was believed that as the movements were inaugurated by the people themselves, the Universities when established would be people's institutions and that the Government would have nothing to do with them. Unfortunately, however, the condition laid down in the case of the Moslem as well as in the case of the Hindu University leave no room for doubt that what the Education Department of the Government desires is that Benares and Aligarh Universities should be fresh editions of the existing Universities so as far as their constitution is concerned. In some respects even the small measure of freedom enjoyed by the latter is denied to the former. The first point in Sir Harcourt's letter relates to the appointment of the Chancellor. The Hon'ble member for education says:—

"On a review of all the circumstances of the case and the criticisms which have been advanced the Government of India and His Majesty's Secretary of State have come to the conclusion that the best form of the constitution will be to constitute the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces *ex-officio* Chancellor of the University with certain opportunities for giving advice and certain powers of intervention and control."

The proposal to make the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province the *ex-officio* Chancellor would not have been open to objection under ordinary circumstances. As however the Hindu University is proposed to be an all-India institution, it is necessary that the Governor-General should be at its head. Then again there is no disposition to treat the Senate and Syndicate as independent bodies. They are not to be allowed to exercise the functions that legitimately belong to them. Sir Harcourt Butler reserves all the powers and functions of the University to the Chancellor and leaves nothing to be done by these bodies. The spectacle of the ruler of a province advising that such action should be taken by the University and such staff appointed or removed is certainly not very edifying and yet the Member for Education insists upon it. But it is not only this, but as we have said, almost all the functions of the University are to be exercised by the Chancellor. He is to carry on his inspection for the purposes of seeing whether the standard of education is kept up sufficiently high, and the educational experts, Indian or European, are only to sit idle. He will appoint examiners for the University examinations, and the Syndicate or the Senate will do nothing. The appointments of Vice-Chancellor and Provost should also be subject to the approval of the Chancellor who will also look to the annual receipt of accounts. Of course, Sir Harcourt Butler assures us that some of the powers vested in the Chancellor are only emergency powers which may never be exercised at all. But emergency or no emergency, it all depends upon the Provincial ruler who for the time being holds his sway. When we have a ruler like Sir James Meston, we may depend upon it that there will be no occasion for the exercise of emergency powers. But what guarantee is there that we shall have always a Sir James Meston at the helm of affairs?

This assumption of almost unlimited powers over affairs of the proposed University shows a distrust of the people. Could not men like the Maharaja of Darbhanga, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Sunder Lal and others be trusted with the affairs of the University? Sir Harcourt Butler must be aware that there is a strong desire among the people that in the matter of education at least they should have a free hand. It is only this desire that created so much enthusiasm for the Benares as well as for the Aligarh Universities. If the people had been aware beforehand of the intentions of the Government, they would not have taken interest in the movements. But the Member for Education justifies the conditions laid down in his letter thus :—

"The principle underlying them all is that in the interest of the rising generation and the parents, the Government must be in co-operation with the University and in a position to help it effectively and secure sound finance. The interest of the Government and the students and their parents in this matter are necessarily identical."

We do not know how long the Government will continue to treat the people as children. They cannot be trusted with the education of their own sons and the Government must come in their aid. We are afraid the Education Member's proposal will cause profound disappointment throughout the country. We trust His Excellency Lord Hardinge will see that the conditions precedent to the grant of a Charter to the University may be such as may be acceptable to the people.

"The Leader."

Defective instruction with freedom and self-government would in the choice of evils, be better than the most perfect mechanism secured by parliamentary interference.—GLADSTONE.

If he were asked whether he would rather have Oxford free with all its imperfections or an Oxford without imperfections but under the control of the Government, he would reply, 'Give me Oxford free and independent with all its anomalies and imperfections.'—DISRAELI.

It was after long and weary waiting that the letter of Sir Harcourt Butler to the Maharaja Bahadur of Durbhanga was published stating the conditions on which the Hindu University might be established at Benares. The letter has not been received by the community with anything like enthusiasm. It has had a chilling effect on the public mind. If its contents had been different, the people would have received it with delight at the prospect of having at Benares at an early date, the grand educational edifice from which they expected so much for the future well-being and advancement of the community. We have purposely delayed our own observations on Sir Harcourt Butler's letter, to watch with what feeling it would be received by the prominent supporters of the scheme and the public generally. We know now that Dr. Rashbehari Ghose for one 'cannot accept the proposed conditions'. Mrs. Besant has wired from Madras to express her keen disappointment and her disapproval of the conditions and she has added that she would not have consented to the transfer of the Central Hindu College to the Hindu University Society if she could have anticipated such conditions. The *Bengalee* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* as well as the Indian papers of Madras write in terms of keen disappointment, and the former question whether it is any longer worth the while of the promoters to proceed with the scheme. Meetings will be held at Allahabad to-day and to-morrow for a consideration of the situation created by Sir Harcourt Butler's letter.

No exception will be taken to the tone of the letter, which indicates the desire of the Government of India to be of assistance as far as they could be. For this desire of theirs and their willingness to facilitate progress every one has reason to feel thankful. And this very fact encourages the promoters of the scheme and the community at large, of which they are the trusted spokesmen, to cherish the hope that when the difficulty of accepting certain of the conditions is pointed out to them, as it will be, they will consider the representations with an open mind and with a sympathetic desire to comply with every reasonable and moderate request. Because some of the conditions laid down in Sir Harcourt Butler's letter are impossible of acceptance unless modified and a few of them should be abandoned altogether if the Hindu University is to be even an approximation to what it ought to be, a self-governing educational centre, it should not be presumed by any one that the door is closed against suggestions and representations: that all is over with the University project. The very fact that at Sir Harcourt's instance a conference is to be held at Government House on Monday to review the whole position negatives such an assumption. What has now to be done by the thoughtful members of the community is to formulate their views, criticisms and suggestions for the further consideration of the Government. It is to this end that to-day's and to-morrow's meetings are to be held at the residence of the Hon Dr. Sundar Lal and the Darbhanga Castle.

We may now briefly consider the chief points in Sir Harcourt's letter. The first point is that the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces for the time being is to be the Chancellor of the University. This is a condition that would have been cheerfully accepted if circumstances had been different. As they are, however, we apprehend it cannot be. The first request of the Hindu University Society was that his Excellency the Viceroy be the Chancellor. It was not acceded to. In its place it was suggested by the Secretary of State that the University should have an elected Chancellor. The Society expressed natural disappointment that the University was not to have the Viceroy as the Chancellor and prayed for a reconsideration of their request, but were prepared for its not being complied with as was made evident by their modified draft bill of last year. There they provided that the King-Emperor be the Protector of the University, as his Majesty is of the Welsh University, that his Excellency the Viceroy be the first Patron, and such ruling chiefs of India as would be elected by the University be also Patrons. In the letter of the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga to Sir Harcourt Butler, dated the 25th October 1912, a similar request was embodied. The draft bill aforesaid provided that the Chancellor be elected. Nowhere was the request made in terms or by suggestion or implication that the Lieutenant-Governor be made ex-officio Chancellor. Nor is the reason far to seek. It is not that due respect for him is wanting in any quarter, but that the movement is an all-India, not a provincial one, nor even one confined to the limits of British India. Among the leading supporters of the University scheme are their Highness the Maharajas of Gwalior, Indore, Alwar, Udaipur, Bikanir, Kotah, Benares, Jodhpur and Kashmir, as there are many prominent men belonging to Bengal, Bombay, Madras, the Punjab, and Bihar, and to several Indian states. For this reason, if the highest representative of the Sovereign is not to grace the Chancellor's chair, the University Society prayed that his Excellency might be the Patron and the University left to elect the Chancellor. We trust this view of the point will commend itself first to Sir James Meston and Sir Harcourt Butler and next to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State.

The second point is that it is now urged that the appointments of Vice-Chancellor and Provost should be subject to the approval of the Chancellor. We do not doubt that the Chancellor will not as a rule veto an election made by the University authority, but where is the necessity, really, of the power being reserved at all? Cannot the most enlightened and most responsible men in the country be trusted to make a proper and an unexceptionable selection? If they cannot be, many sad and saddening reflections are forced on the mind, which are not complimentary to the Government or the people.

The right is claimed for the Chancellor, "of general supervision and power to advise that such action be taken and such staff be appointed or removed as will secure the objects of the University, with power, if necessary, to see that such advice be given effect to." In his letter of date 9 August, 1912, to the Raja of Mahmudabad, Sir Harcourt Butler stated that the Secretary of State had decided "that the Professors should be appointed without the previous approval of the Governor-General-in-Council." Naturally this was more satisfactory than the condition now sought to be imposed. That the Government should have "the right of general supervision" is one thing; that it should insist on having the "power to advise that . . . such staff be appointed or removed" and "to see that such advice be given effect to," is quite a different thing. Not even in the case of the affiliated colleges of the Allahabad University has the Government reserved to itself such an unnecessarily and unreasonably large power. With this in the hands of the Government, the so-called independent, self-governing university that is to grow out of the Central Hindu College will be actually less free to act on its own responsibility than that College can now do. We feel certain that it is not such an institution which evoked the unprecedented and unparalleled popular enthusiasm which we all have witnessed, it is not for such a university that prince and peasant came forward with his spontaneous and generous offering. If we could imagine the slightest justification for the Government wishing to retain such power in its hands in the interest of education or in the general public interest, we should be the last, the promoters of the University would be the last to grudge it. But we can see none. On the other hand, we feel persuaded that on occasion the possession of the power and its exercise by the Government would be embarrassing in no small degree and lead to delicate situations which ought to be avoided by every possible means.

"*The right of inspection* for purposes of seeing whether the standard of education is kept up sufficiently high *and for other purposes*," is even less acceptable, while the right claimed for the Chancellor *to appoint examiners* is to our mind positively objectionable. The Government does not exercise, and we believe does not claim, the right of inspection of the University of Allahabad; certainly it has not the power to appoint examiners. Who will say that it is at all justified in seriously proposing for a university established by aid of the people's private contributions, conditions of control more onerous and exacting than it has reserved to itself even under the retrograde legislation of 1904? So far as we are concerned the proposal is an impossible one and we confidently expect that the Hindu University Society will decide that it is so. If it will not, we doubt if it will carry public opinion with it.

Nor can we at all imagine why Government approval should be required "of the incorporation of local colleges in the University." Having forbidden the affiliation of outside colleges, the least the Government might have been expected to concede was full freedom to the University authority to incorporate local colleges or not to incorporate them as the case might be. Why should the Government come in to approve or disapprove of the institution of new faculties? And above all, in the name of all that is good and sensible, why should it step in "to lay down the limits of expansion at any particular time"? This is an intolerable condition, if any can be so characterised.

We are glad that the sentiment of the public has been respected and the University will be permitted to call itself the Benares Hindu University. We trust the same spirit of respect for opinion will be shown in the consideration of the conditions that have been laid down and that they will be modified so as to make the University acceptable to the community. We have frankly stated our conviction that some of the conditions cannot possibly be accepted. We apprehend that such strong exception will be taken to them that the question will be seriously considered whether the University scheme should be proceeded with at all unless they be abrogated or at least modified. We submit to the Government that it will be lamentable from every point of view if the University scheme will have to be dropped eventually as the result of the conditions imposed. Having allowed the establishment of the University, and so much popular enthusiasm in favour of it having been kindled and such large sacrifices having been made for it, it behoves the Government now to act with liberal statesmanship and let the University come into existence as a free and self-governing institution which will in every way be a blessing to all, instead of acting with suspicion and imposing conditions manifestly impossible of acceptance.

The "Patrika."

We hope this will be enough to root out any little weeds of suspicion that may have been clinging to any mind that it is a non-official, national University that the Hindus are going to get. No doubt, the letter has also declared, that "in order to meet the sentiment of the subscribers it has been conceded that the University shall be called the "Benares Hindu University." And for this great concession organisers should certainly be grateful to Sir H. Butler.

This reminds us of a Puranic episode. Dronacharya, who initiated the renowned Pandavas and Kauravas into the mysteries of archery, was a poor Brahmin. His son Ashwathama, who used to play with the sons of bigger folk, could not play so well as the others who were stronger because they could get enough of milk to drink. "Father, give me some milk to drink." Aswathama would say to his father, "so that I also shall be able to play as well as they." Now Drona, who was too poor to pay for the genuine stuff, made a solution of rice-paste which looked like milk and gave it to his boy to drink as milk. The boy was at first deceived by the white appearance and drank it gleefully. But when he afterwards, during the play, saw that, inspite of his drinking his so-called milk his strength and agility had not a whit improved, he suspected that his father had not given him real milk and came back to him and rent the heavens with his cries.

Now, if the organisers of the so-called "Benares Hindu University" accept the terms of the Government of India, they would be merely treating the subscribers as Drona did his son. The Hindu public wanted a real non-official Hindu University. But what they are going to get is no more what they wanted than the liquified rice-paste drunk by Ashwathama was real milk. In order that the organisers

may not be put in the unpleasant predicament of Dronacharya, let them, like their Mahomedan brethren, respectfully decline the concessions of the Government of India and try to forget their long cherished dreams. This is the obvious course for them. But the question is whether their chief, the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga, situated as he is, will be able to adopt it.

"The Bengalee."

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler has at last made a clear statement of the conditions under which alone the Government of India can allow the Hindu University to be brought into being and help it with a liberal financial grant-in-aid. Sir Harcourt has made these conditions known to the public in a letter addressed to the Maharaja of Durbhanga. It is of course for the promoters of the movement to consider whether it is at all worth while to persevere with the scheme after the Government have whittled it down to a soulless affair. But if they think that something is better than nothing then they must be prepared to accept this something. We are, however, at a loss to understand why the Government should insist on such a lion's share in the management of the proposed University which can be really serviceable, only if allowed to afford an unhampered scope to our national ideal and national initiative. Such names as those of the Maharaja of Durbhanga, Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Justice Sunder Lal ought to be a sufficient guarantee against the Hindu University ever degenerating into an undesirable atmosphere. No, the Government must keep a constant finger on its pulse and reserve the full right of control. Fearing lest the Governor-General should prove only a dilettante observer of its affairs it is proposed to place the Hindu University under the lynx-eye of the local Lieutenant-Governor. The Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces is to be the Chancellor of the University and not the Viceroy as desired by the promoters. It is further proposed to invest him with "general powers of supervision and control including authority where necessary to appoint and remove the staff, also to appoint examiners, approve appointments of Vice-Chancellor and Provost, nominate five members to Senate, maintain standard of education and inspect accounts." After all this what will remain for its non-official projectors and promoters to do is more than we can divine. It is said that the principle underlying the arrangement is that "in the interests of the students and their parents the Government must be in a position to help the University effectively." Or in other words Government can not help an institution unless it is strictly official in its composition and submits to its dictation at every step. It is this principle with which we have our main quarrel. Can we then expect no support or encouragement from the Government in our endeavour to stand on our legs and work out our salvation on the line of our particular racial evolution? We think the thoughtful men of our community are the best judge as to how our youth should be educated. To deny them that right is to at once put them out of court in all matters affecting their vital interests. It is a dangerous principle, extremely galling to a self-respecting people, which Sir Harcourt has enunciated by way of justifying the excessive control Government propose to exercise over the coming University. It is true that Sir Harcourt has put before the promoters the prospect of liberal financial aid. But what should it profit us if we gain the whole world and lose our own soul?

"The Hindu."

The constitution of the proposed Hindu University which, as appears in our telegraphic columns, Sir Harcourt Butler has announced, as the scheme agreed upon by the Secretary of State and the Government of India, will, we have no doubt, be received by the promoters of the Hindu University with feelings of profound disappointment and distress. A number of enthusiastic and patriotic Hindu gentlemen have been making strenuous efforts to found a system of national education, and have at the cost of much labour and trouble collected funds, and when they hope to have arrived within sight of the promised land, they find that the Government, as the price of its recognition, is imposing conditions which go far towards undermining the cherished aims and the ideal of the promoters. A bare perusal of Sir Harcourt Butler's letter is enough to convince anybody how impossible of acceptance the conditions are. They are much more rigid than those which the Muslim University refused to accept. The Hindu University under the proposed Constitution would be far more under official direction and control than the existing Universities of Bengal, Bombay, Madras and Allahabad. It is laid down that the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, who, in common with every Lieutenant-Governor in India, is required to be a Member of the Indian Civil Service, is to be *ex-officio* Chancellor. He is to be given unlimited and uncontrolled powers in regard to the Hindu University. He is to be given not only the right of general supervision, but power to advise that such steps be taken and such staff be appointed or removed as will secure the objects of the University, and power to see that such advice be given effect to. He is to have the right of inspection for purposes of seeing whether the standard of education is kept up sufficiently high and for other purposes, and so on. So comprehensive and minute is the scope of the power of the Chancellor, who is also ex-officio Chancellor of the Allahabad University that it is difficult to conceive of any matter belonging to the Hindu University which he cannot interfere with, and give directions about. Sir Harcourt Butler is good enough to add, by way of extenuating these all-embracing powers of interference and dictation, that some of them may never be exercised and some exercised only very occasionally. It is explained that "the principle underlying them all is that, in the interests of the rising generation and the parents, the Government must be in co-operation with the University and in a position to help it effectively and secure sound finance." Further, as inculcating a lesson in political philosophy, it is added that "the interest of the Government and the students and their parents in this matter are necessarily identical." Along with the numerous fetters under which the Hindu University is to work, the only circumstance which is to show that the proposed University is a Hindu University, is in the fact that Hindu Theological teaching will be given to the Hindu students. It will not be compulsory upon students other than Hindus. There is to be no religious test and the University will be open to all denominations as well as to Hindus. It seems to us, on the whole, that the Charter which the promoters of the University pray for from the Government, would, if they are willing to accept it with the annexed conditions, be a Charter, not of intellectual liberty, but of intellectual slavery. It is extraordinary how Englishmen who are bred in the traditions of English Universities which are autonomous Corporations with which the State has nothing to do, come to think so differently in India. In Germany, the Universities, of which there are a good many, are all State institutions. As regards them, Professor Paulsen, who is a recognised authority on the subject, remarks as follows:—"By entering more and more directly upon the portals of the scientific research under the leadership of a long line of celebrated men, the Universities gradually ceased to be mere state institutions for the training of officials, and grew further and further away from bureaucratic control; while France reduced her Universities to professional schools, Germany made her Universities, the embodiment of an independent scientific life, with the hope that an unfettered service of truth would not only be compatible with the interests of the State, but indissolubly linked with them. The relation of the State has now become one based essentially upon confidence in its independence. The principle of the freedom of learning and teaching, formulated in paragraph twenty of the Prussian Constitution, may really be described as one of the fundamental principles of our public law. The surer a Government was of its ground, the more fearlessly it accepted this principle and we may regard the independence of the Universities as a criterion of a Government's confidence in its stability." The Indian Government would do well to revise its proposed Constitution for the Hindu University in the light of the above observations.

"The Panjabee."

There is a very general feeling that the powers proposed to be vested in the Chancellor of the Hindu University will make that University anything but an independent institution such as it ought to be. As the matter is likely to come up before the promoters of the University scheme at an early date, it is perhaps as well for us to express our opinion in greater detail. The powers are as follows:—

(*a*) The right of general supervision and power to advise that such action be taken and such staff be appointed or removed as will secure the objects of the University, with power if necessary to see that such advice be given effect to;

(*b*) The right of inspection for purposes of seeing whether the standard of education is kept up sufficiently high and for other purposes;

(*c*) The right, as a special measure, to appoint if necessary (as the result of such inspection or otherwise) examiners for the University examinations who would report to the Chancellor;

(*d*) The annual receipt of accounts;

(*e*) The approval of the appointments of Vice-Chancellor and Provost;

(*f*) The approval of initial regulations, etc., and of subsequent changes;

(*g*) The approval of the incorporation of local colleges in the University:

(*h*) The nomination of five members to the Senate, and

(*i*) Approval of the institution of new faculties and the reservation of power to lay down the limits of expansion at any particular time.

As regards the first, it is absolutely necessary that the words "with power if necessary to see that such advice be given effect to" should be eliminated. It would be absurd for the Chancellor in a matter in which the bulk of the Senate differed from him not only to thrust his advice upon the Fellows, but to insist that it should be given effect to, especially when the advice related to such matters as the appointment and removal of staff. No Chancellor, even if he is a member of the versatile Civil Service, can hope to be a specialist in all subjects, and yet there is nothing to prevent a Civilian Chan-

cellor from being dogmatic and opinionative. What would happen if in the matter of, say, the appointment or removal of a professor of Hindu Philosophy the Lieutenant-Governor differed from the Senate and insisted upon his advice being given effect to? Such a case will not occur every day, it is true, but it is by no means inconceivable, and as the country knows to its cost even the Government of India are not above interfering in this unreasonable manner. As regards the second, while there can be no objection in a general way to inspection of the University by the Chancellor, we are not without fear, especially as he will also be Chancellor of another and a more officialised University, that the right of inspection, where the purpose is to see whether the standard of education is kept sufficiently high, may not be altogether a good thing for the new University. The third ought to be eliminated altogether. The Chancellor ought to have no right in the present case, no matter what the circumstances may be, to appoint examiners over the heads of the Senate and the governing body. The fourth is all right. The fifth, the six and the seventh are also all right, if the approval is to be merely a matter of form. But if the power of approval carries with it the power of disapproval, either such power should not exist at all, or the University must have effective safeguards against the abuse of this power. The eighth is not needed in the case of a University with the objects of the Hindu University, but if it is insisted upon, the governing body must also have a say in the matter. The ninth is absolutely unnecessary and ought never to be accepted. Lastly, we take strong exception to the view that the financial aid promised by Government should be contingent upon the University accepting these provisions. As the *Bengalee* remarks, what we can and do expect is that the Government should support us in our endeavour to stand on our own legs and work out our salvation on the lines of our particular racial evolution. For the Government to say that it will not pay the piper unless it is allowed to call for the tune, as the Hon'ble Mr. Lyon said some months ago, is to entirely misconceive its real position as the custodian of the people's money.

The Express.

Sir Harcourt Butler's letter to the Hon'ble the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga indicates the line on which the constitution of the Hindu University should be framed. The new University, to put it concisely, will be "officialised." That fact should be clearly realised. The Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces will be the Chancellor of the University and he will exercise powers of supervision as direct and drastic as possible. He will have the power to advise what persons should be appointed to or removed from the staff of the University and he will have the power to make such advice effective. He will also have the right of inspection for purposes of seeing whether the standard of education is kept up sufficiently high and for other purposes. These are large powers and the Government's letter indicates with sufficient clearness that they are meant to be exercised. Sir Harcourt Butler defines the principle underlying it all by saying that the Government must be "in co-operation with the University." What is really meant by the co-operation of the Government is that the Government must have a dominating influence in the affairs of the Hindu University and that the University must co-operate with the Government in carrying out the latter's behests. The University is not to have the power of affiliation of outside colleges and the decision in this respect is final. An important point referred to in Government's letter is that the University it to have no religious taste, the University will be opened to students of all denominations as well as to the Hindus; but Hindu theological teaching and observances will not be compulsory for any but Hindus. Lastly, the University will be of the teaching and residential type. These, briefly, represent the conditions the acceptance of which is precedent to the elaboration of the detailed scheme of the constitution of the University and Sir Harcourt Butler is careful to point out that the Secretary of State reserves his final decision even as to the details.

The position taken up by the Government is in accord with its declared policy in the matter of the control of higher education. What the Government is doing in respect of the existing Universities, it proposes to do with regard to education imparted at the new university. The principle insisted upon by Government is that the interest of the Government and the students and their parents in the matter of education are necessarily identical, and that the close association of Government with the University would alone secure the best interest of the latter. We are bound to say that this is a thoroughly sound principle and that it would be well for the University Committee to accept it without reservation. It would be well for the Committee to rid its mind of the cant of "officialisation". If the University authorities exercise the powers invested in them with due care and discretion, officialisation need have no terrors for them. We are not willing to believe that the Government would exercise its power of control otherwise than with discretion and with sole desire to promote the best interest of the University. We are rather inclined to think that this cant of officialisation is current only in circles in which the exercise of freedom is regarded as compatible with irresponsibility. The sooner this cant is got rid of the better. The Government is necessarily the largest patron of learning in the land and it rightly claims to have a predominant voice in determining the lines along which and the agency by which education shall be imparted. There is nothing intrinsically wrong in this claim and the country will rejoice if the Hindu University Committee accepts the constitution suggested.

"The Beharee."

Doubtless our readers must have perused with anxious interest the letter of the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler that has been addressed to the Hon. Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga. Its perusal impresses us with one dominant fact that the new University will be just like the existing Universities so far as the Government control over it is concerned, but that it will be unlike the State Universities in that it will not be an examining body. Either the Indian people have not yet developed the capacity of organisation sufficient for the purposes of conducting a University independently of the Government supervision or the Government itself at present does not intend giving to the people the privilege of educating themselves. Either of the two must have been the cause of the Government taking this step, and whichever it be, we have now to choose between the two alternatives, either to have a Uni- "officially controlled," but bearing the name of the Hindu community, or to have none at all. People generally will incline to the former view. But there is a section of the people which is more concerned with the affairs of the University than the people at large. This section constitutes the large number of donors who have made the present development of the University scheme possible, and also the thoughtful leaders whose support of the original scheme had influenced the donors to put their hands on their purses. The scheme as originally put before the Hindu public was that the Hindu University was designed to be an examining University and that it would necessarily possess the power of affiliation. This fact had induced the humblest individuals to make willing donations to the University propaganda. That was the main motive impulse which had wrought such wonders on the minds of the Hindu public. When this dream, however, is now dispelled by the Honorable Sir Harcourt's letter many of the donors naturally would be disappointed and many of them who have not paid their full amount of donations will certainly think of withdrawing themselves from the obligations of satisfying their promise. In justice to the donors of this class it is quite fair for the University Committee to put this question before them, viz., whether they under the present development would like to retain their names amongst the donors and if they do not intend so then the University should absolve them from the payment of the balance and also should refund the payments made if the donors do not desire to let their paid donations remain where they are. This is all fair and just. We are however afraid that if this step is followed the total will under promises go a considerable reduction. The foremost members of the University Committee should come forward before the public and should before deciding the refund question make an extensive tour in India explaining what the present position is. It is certainly likely that some donors would not recede, but some undoubtedly would and those who wish to get their names withdrawn should be allowed to do so and their payments should be refunded, such a tour however will have another advantage. It will induce a great many gentlemen of means—to whom the question of the Hindu University not being an examining body is immaterial—to come forward and make substantial donations.

As to the other question, whether there was any necessity for any University of the type just put before us, we reserve our comments, for while we hold and hold it strongly the view that while the bestowal of a Hindu University to the city of Benares is a matter of real response to the earnest wishes of the Hindu people all over India the official administration of the same, though done with wisdom and experience, is a matter which makes the entire Hindu community largely disappointed, and therefore they are led to think that Mrs. Besant's idea of gradually expanding the status of the Central Hindu College to the grade of a residential and teaching University was far more sound and feasible,—which the Government has adopted in the main—and that the ambition of a few Hindu leaders which had created some effect was untenable and has therefore received a miserable shock.

We welcome the present University scheme never-the-less.

SUMMONS FOR DISPOSAL OF SUIT.

(Order V, rules 1 and 5 of Act V of 1908.)

S. C. C. Suit No. 463 of 1913.

IN THE COURT OF THE MUNSIF, FYZABAD.

1. L. Gauri Shanker, son of Din Diyal, Bahadurgunj ; 2. Ram Pharosey, son of Kunjal Ram Pali ... ... *Plaintiffs,*

versus

Jaggu ... ... *Defendant.*

To

Jaggu, son of Basogi of Deobra, P. Haveli, Oudh, at present residing in Rangoon, Basi Tawami Stone Factory of Das Bahoo Raman.

Whereas, the abovenamed Plaintiff, instituted a suit against you for Rs. 22-8-0 you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person, or by a pleader, duly instructed and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit or who shall be accompanied by some person able to answer all such questions on the 17th day of August 1914, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim ; and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to produce on the day all the witnesses, upon whose evidence and all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence. Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined, in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 22nd day of July, 1914.

By Order Munsarim (Sd.) Illegible, Judge.

NOTICE TO SHOW CAUSE (GENERAL FORM.)

In the Court of the Munsif, of Fyzabad, Mis. Case No. 28, of 1914.

Pandit Baijoo Ram, son of Pandit Bhawanidin, of Muhalla Begumganj Garhia, city Fyzabad ;

versus

(1) Bandhoo Singh, son of Ram Lala Singh ; (2) Chatarpal Singh, son of Rambali Singh, of Hata Ballu, city Fyzabad, at present of Nagpur.

To—(1) Bandhoo Singh, son of Ram Lala Singh ; (2) Chatarpal Singh, son of Rambali Singh, of Hata Ballu, city Fyzabad, at present of city Nagpore, Atwari Bazar, shop of Shiv Narayan, Mohalla Hanspuri, Takia Nagpur State.

Whereas the abovenamed plaintiff Baijoo Ram has made application to this Court that a decree be passed in this suit under order 34, R. 6, C.P.C.

You are hereby warned to appear in this Court in person or by a pleader duly instructed on the 8th day of August 1914, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to show cause against the application, failing wherein, the said application will be heard and determined *exparte.*

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 20th day of July 1914.

(Sd.) Illegible,
Judge.

By order—
(Sd.) Lakshmi Narain
Munsarim.

H. M. Ahmad Beg

Indian Rubber Stamp Maker, Die Sinker, Copper, Zink Plate and Stone Engraver, Numismatist, Manufacturer of Brass Badges and Seals, etc. Dealer in all Stamping Requisites and Rubber Hand Presses.

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Thoughts on the Present Discontent.

By Mr. Mohamed Ali, B. A. (Oxon.)

(Published in 1907.)

Price, As. 8.

Some Press Opinions.

. . . Mr Mohamed Ali has read widely, and has thought well over the present conditions of India. He has the ardent temperament of the East, controlled by knowledge, and he wields a powerful and attractive pen. Above all he is absolutely honest. We recommend the study of his brochure, because it is a frank statement of the views of many educated Indians, and without the sympathetic appreciation of those views it is impossible to approach that great problem in the governance of India—the position of educated Indians in the State. , . Mr. Mohamed Ali has found so strong a supporter as the Secretary of State. We believe that his diagnosis of the complaint is substantially accurate . . .—*The Times of India.*

. . . The reader will find much that is fresh and excellently put on the perennial topic of Indian discontent. The style of the book is piquant all through, and carries the reader through without becoming prosy. We find here a combination of culture and common-sense, and knowledge of both East and West. The originality which we have mentioned as a distinguishing characteristic of his book appear not in his thesis but in his presentment of it. . . .—*The Madras Times.*

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