

THE IDEAL OF SWARAJ

THE IDEAL OF SWARAJ

IN EDUCATION AND GOVERNMENT

BY

NRIPENDRA CHANDRA BANERJI

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

C. F. ANDREWS

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DEDICATED
TO THE
PHILOSOPHER RECLUSE
OF
SANTINIKETAN
DWIJENDRA NATH TAGORE

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INTRODUCTION

THE author of this book has been my personal friend for nearly fifteen years, and I have watched with the deepest interest his independent judgment ripening and coming to its fruit-bearing season. He has been, for the greater part of his intellectual life, a professor in one or other of the Arts Colleges in Bengal. As a lecturer in English, he gained the affection of his students and inspired them with a love of study. They have told me frequently what help they gained from his keen intellectual mind and moral fervour. When the *Swaraj* movement reached Bengal, he was one of the first to respond. At that time he was Vice-Principal of the Government College at Chittagong. This government work was abandoned, as he entered into the national movement with all his heart and soul.

When he had thus been made free to devote himself to the service of his country and of humanity, in his own way, and according to his own natural bent of mind, he characteristically went among the poor and entered with eager enthusiasm into the labour problems of the Chittagong District. From Chandpur, at the end of May and the beginning of June, I witnessed some of the after effects of that first outbreak

of communal excitement. On the one hand, there was the devoted band of young student workers (many of them Nripendra Chandra Banerji's own pupils) who toiled night and day at the cholera camp among the sick and dying, and with whom I was throughout in closest touch and sympathy. On the other hand, I was obliged to stand out in opposition to a sudden development of this popular excitement, which I could not reconcile with wisdom. This was the strike movement on the steamships and railways. I felt that to be unwise and wrong.

In his later instance of the strikes, my friend's eager nature carried him along a path where I could not follow. He was ardently impatient for the strikes, while I was against them. But this difference of view-point in no way interrupted our common work in other directions; and I urged him, with all the strength in my power, to renew his own educational enthusiasm under the new conditions of the national movement, and map out for us his own ideas of national education.

Fortunately, he was laid aside by a short illness, which checked his outward political activities—fortunately, I say, because during his convalescence the greater part of the present volume was written. Had it not been for this illness, it is by no means improbable, that his political and social ardour, which was so intense, would have left him no time to spare for putting down his thoughts on paper.

My interest in the present volume is not merely due to a long unbroken personal friendship with the writer, but also because I feel that in the book there is presented freshly an ideal, which may prove to be one of sovereign value in India in the near future. Let me try to express it in my own language.

The modern world, whether in government, or production, or education, has been suffering from the malady of standardisation. To govern men on a large scale, to produce goods on a large scale, to educate men on a large scale, these have been the immediate aims, the short cuts to success. And the method followed has been always one of centralisation, combined with a perpetual standardising in the process.

But this method and process have almost turned human life into a machine. They have robbed it of its eccentricity. They have taken away that personal touch, which makes all the difference between a human being and an automaton. A man can, indeed, with terrible ease, turn himself into an automaton. And, no doubt, certain wheels of government turn very smoothly, whenever he does so. But all joy, all music, all poetry and art, vanish away wherever this process is at all drawing near to completion.

It needs to be remembered that this is not the first age in human history wherein this standardising process has been attempted. Every empire in the

past, from those of Babylon and Egypt down to the great Mediterranean Empire of Rome, has gained its strength, and also found its weakness, in these centralised powers of government. It is most probable that the Mauryan Empire in India showed the same tendency. The end has always been stagnation, decay and death.

But there were certain village republics in the North of India before the time of the Buddha; and there were certain sea-bordering city republics on the shores of the Mediterranean in the ancient Hellenic world, where there was no such deadening uniformity, but rather an extravagantly irregular individual citizen life, producing age after age unique, intellectual and artistic personalities. Does it need to be pointed out that the history of the world owes infinitely more to Athens than to Babylon or Rome? Is it difficult to understand that the religious life of man has been immeasurably more indebted to the *Sanghas*, or republics, from which Gautama the Buddha found the ideal for his own church, than to the military skill and administrative faculty of Chandragupta?

But if this is the true lesson of human history, then are we right in yielding at every turn, at the present time, both in our government and in our education, to the same fatal passion for centralisation? Is it not rather the local personality, which needs to be evoked — that *genius loci*, that spirit of the place,

which gives colour to human life, and prevents it from becoming too regular ?

When I went to Chittagong, I felt this sense of local patriotism, if I may so call it, in a remarkable degree. I have experienced it also in Hyderabad Sind and in other parts of India. The thought of a *Swaraj* for India, which means, not only political *Swaraj*, but also local and regional *Swaraj*, appeals to me intensely. For my longings and desires are for freedom; and it appears to me that there can be no beauty and joy of freedom in merely belonging to a huge and vast organisation. And just as I believe in the local and regional freedom which develops with intimate love and affection the personality, the individuality, the uniqueness, of the spot which we have learnt to call our home—our village centre, our town centre, our neighbourhood with which our childhood memories have become entwined—so also I believe that the school—the educational home of childhood—should not be a great barracks, or a huge institution, where no personal touch is possible, but rather a home, in intimate association with the local surroundings, carrying with it old and dear associations—a true second home of childhood, often more dear than the actual home itself.

When the time came for me to leave school and go to college, I can never be too thankful that my headmaster chose for me a college at Cambridge which was comparatively small in size, a college where every

one of us knew each one of our fellow students individually and where in consequence we lived a common life of personal friendships. The inspiration of those college days can never be forgotten in after life, and for fifteen years my college was literally and truly my second home to which I always returned with joy.

But when I came out to India and made a study of the intellectual and social life of the colleges of the Punjab and of Bengal, the huge unwieldy bulk of Calcutta University at once struck me with amazement. In the same way, on the side of the administration, the vast government secretariats and offices at Simla, with their never-ending rows of files and their numberless clerks and chuprassies, bewildered and distressed me. It was all so lifeless, machine-like and inhuman.

Slowly but inevitably my mind gravitated towards the ideal of Shantiniketan, where every child is known by every teacher. I am quite certain also that now, in my later life, if I were ever to live once again in modern Europe, I should be much happier in Switzerland or in Denmark, in Norway or in Sweden, than in one of those vast imperial systems (whether of France, or Germany, or England) whose very bulk and centralisation have robbed life of its individual beauty.

If it be answered that this local and regional interest may be altogether admirable when the world

is young and thinly populated, but it cannot solve the problems of hundreds of millions of human beings in the world to-day, then, in reply, I would say—Pray tell me, why not? Let us take India itself. It may be that, up to the end, some very slender central organisation will be needed in India, but have not the heart and soul of India been always in her villages? And is there any reason why these villages, clustering together, should not become, as it were, little village republics once more, each with a special hue and colour of its own, each with an individuality and personal character of its own? Only thus, at least, to my thinking, will the dreary monotonous dullness of endless repetition of offices and departments, of mills and factories, of monstrous school buildings and still more monstrous universities, be avoided.

While I have written thus strongly and almost vehemently about the need of local colour, I must guard myself against one implication. The wide atmosphere of humanity, encircling such a small but intense regional life, must be felt to the full; otherwise the deadening effects of a narrow parochialism will ensue, which are no less disastrous than those of huge machine-like organisation. The petty Indian States in Rajputana, or in the Himalayas, which are automatically sealed from the outside world, by no means represent the picture I would wish to give, when I speak of little village republics.

The contact of Athens or Florence, of Nalanda or Taxila, with the outside world was immediate and direct, vivid and keen. That is why the individual artistic and intellectual life (which was so local) was also so intense. Denmark to-day is in intimate spiritual touch with the great world outside. Our Shantiniketan Ashram, though retired from the world, is yet in closest spiritual contact with the widest ranges of human life and thought. The author of this book has recognised fully the need for the fullest and amplest scope, both in government and education, for this contact with the larger world. There is nothing narrowly national in his picture: his end is not India herself, but humanity.

I had not intended to go so far into the discussion of this question, but the subject has to me a fascination which traces back its origin to long years of dreaming and thinking. I trust that the reading of this book will do something to fill in the outline of the picture of the great word Swaraj, which is its title.

* *Shantiniketan.*

C. F. ANDREWS

CHAPTER I

NATIONAL EDUCATION IN BENGAL

EVENTS within the political and social horizon of Bengal appear to be moving rapidly. The age-long placidity of the masses is being broken. The dull apathy, the helpless, joyless, somnolence of the people is being broken up. The dull atmosphere of our so-called educational centres, catering purely for the narrow interests of the middle classes, is now being swept away. The speech of Lord Ronaldshay at the last Convocation in the Calcutta Senate House pointing to a compromise; the whispers that all teaching up to the Intermediate standard would be in Bengali; the conference of our exalted Vice-Chancellor with the Headmasters of Bengal High Schools; the recording of resolutions as to age limit and changes of curriculum the orientation of new subjects in science and different vocations for the Matriculation course—all these might have satisfied Bengal some two years ago. But to-day they are mere mirages. In East Bengal, the proposed University of Dacca, piloted by Mr. Hartog and facetiously styled the 'National' University, can never materialise. I predicted in April last, at a meeting convened for the purpose at

Dacca, that the whole thing was a snare. It would not be swallowed by the country. Two days after I left there was a heated debate in the rooms of the Bar Library at Dacca, where the total boycott of this sham University, with its showy paraphernalia of Professors, Readers, Lecturers, Provosts and Librarians, on fat pay, was resolved upon. This has been followed by a passage-at-arms, in the press, between a Bengali member of the Indian Legislative Assembly and the European Vice-Chancellor of the "National" University at Dacca. But Government keeps up a brave front. It publishes a long memorandum on several appointments and dispositions of the Dacca University which is to open on July 1st, 1921. As for the Calcutta University, its falsities and pretences and make-believes have been exposed in the columns of the periodicals and the press time and again: the dictator's nepotism; the air of servility that hangs about College Square; the sham 'doctorates' brewed in this intellectual distillery; the red-tape and mechanism and soulless routine that vitiates its organisation; the fetish of note-giving and mechanical examination which has been fostered by it; the premium it has put upon the place-man for years past, these are now widely known. Time was when Bengal learning needed a Director to dictate and domineer and bully into submission a recalcitrant bureaucracy for national ends. To-day, however, both the time-server and the dictator—the hard-headed intellectual,

the 'all brains and no heart,' have got to go. To-day is for the dreamer of big dreams and the seer of mighty visions, for the man of the big sacrifice and the bigger *Pratyaya*. This is the age of Democracy, of the people and of those who believe in the God-given rights and opportunities of the millions. This is the age of faith and hope and charity. The age of serfdom to the analytical intellect has ended.

This is the premiss from which I start—'The nation lives in the cottage'. Verily so. The village must be foremost in any scheme of nation-building. The town must take its rightful place as the carrier of the village produce, the centre of diffusion of the culture and the commerce of the villages, as the second and not the first spoke in the national wheel. This means that the producer, the tiller of the soil, the man of labour, must come first in any scheme of education that will do lasting benefit to the country. It connotes a complete swinging back of the pendulum. This is a problem which is not peculiar to Bengal, it is also a world problem. In the world-struggle that has already begun, those people will survive who can educate and train up to social and moral efficiency all its available man-power; those will surely die out who by miseducation subserve the ends of a particular clique or section for narrow profiteering purposes.

The teaching that is given in all the forward countries, even to-day, is admittedly defective—even

in Germany and America. The English system has been weighed in the scales of modern need and found wanting. Hence the reforms introduced by the Fisher Board; and even these do not satisfy the larger needs of to-morrow, the world moves so fast.

What I am driving at is this—The system which spent crores on the luxury of a soulless University education and next to nothing on the poor millions, is doomed. We have had a surfeit of this imitation ware, far too much of *belles lettres* and European philosophy and English economics and European history and politics; far too much of abstract *science* and higher mathematics; we have had a regular surfeit of the study of law. I do not say these have been useless. They were necessary. They served their time. But to-day this topheavy middleclass excrescence must go and be replaced by something larger, wider, holier, manlier, more harmonious, more artistic, and above all more in accordance with the country, more 'Indian'. 'Indian' is a big word and does not exclude foreign cultures; for has not India assimilated, throughout the ages, all that other countries and systems brought to her?

This can only be effected by an immediate decentralisation. Calcutta and Dacca cannot dominate. They represent unholy alliances with the cultural and economic exploitation of our country by its rulers. They cannot give the *mantram* that will vitalise the education of to-day and to-morrow.

Each district must henceforth formulate its own regional needs; must revive its old traditional cultures, must develop its available material resources. When the problems of each district find their solution, then a federated University system for all Bengal is bound to grow up. This all-embracing federation will be the rallying-point of the separate provincial cultures and a true meeting-point between Asia and Europe. Sir Asutosh's University has failed, for it has attempted the feat of putting the cart before the horse. There has been no primary education worth the name; there have been only ill-conducted, feeble, secondary schools. These have been the base. At the apex, there has been a central organisation seeking to unify various arts and sciences, chiefly of the West. But you cannot erect a pyramid on a point; and the day Bengal wins her birth-right of self-determination, this much-advertised university is bound by natural logic to fall to pieces. These remarks apply with even greater force to the Dacca University. For the University of Calcutta, including the Palit Science College, has, to all intents and purposes, an Indian agency. What is wrong with it, is the unreality of the system. At Dacca, we are having the spectacle of an uncanny compromise, third-rate European talent at the top, first-rate and second-rate Indian talent in the middle, and also at the base. The breezy atmosphere of a glowing Indian patriotism and national service is nowhere.

The *Swaraj* movement in India is bound to cleanse and purify, to consume all chaff, even in the Educational *Raj*.

And therefore I beg of my countrymen no longer to be deluded into a sense of security by these effete mechanisms and systems. They must search out again the real bases of Indian education. The spiritual relations between teacher and pupil must reassert their old Indian values and we must no longer have the deadening domination of persons not initiated into the holy sacraments of the *Guru*.

Let us have schools and ashrams, which will be residential in the Indian sense, not prison-houses cramping the air of God-given freedom, nor standardised institutions crushing out all singularity and individuality, but houses of holy living, agencies for self-expression with varying grades for varying types. Luxuries nowhere, every teacher and learner to raise his own food and weave his own cloth and perform all necessary service. And then, let there be utmost freedom of thought and intercourse between teacher and pupil. Let there be no top-heavy systems which crumble down inevitably under their own weight. Our new Nalanda and Taxila will come in their time; let us first revive our Bikrampur and Navadwip. What culture is sweeter, finer, more human, more divine than the Vaishnava culture, its philosophy, its poetry, its *sadhana*, its music? What logic more logical than Bengal's own contribution

the Navya—Nyaya? What literature more universal than Bengal's Krittivas and Kashidas and Kavikankan and Chandidas?

I press for these things, and more. I want a more bracing education than we have had for two hundred years in Bengal, more of applied science, more of political training, more reasoned talks on civic rights and duties, more attempts at economic analysis, more accurate handling of figures and tables of statistics, much more of European languages and European philosophy, literature, and science. But let us never have a mere second-rate imitation of European or American culture. Let us have no cultural domination in any form. Let us have full absolute and dignified *Swaraj* in the atmosphere of education.

The only solution lies in going to the village people, discussing with them, and framing a method which will not be a mere method, but a living idea and inspiration, which will spread its radii to all so-called civilised centres of trade and culture, starting from the unspoiled Indian mind of the villages of our country as the circumference.

I want Rabindra Nath's music and art of Santiniketan School unified with the hard discipline of the Gurukula idea. I want entire and absolute elasticity and enthusiasm fanned and fed by spiritual faith.

We must live and let live. The middle classes must not forge silken chains in this age of iron and

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hard reality ; for they will snap. Dreams of the Mid-summer Night must go. Concrete, hard realities must be faced. The future is for the masses. The new era is for the people. They come first. Others are but flies on the wheel of the car of progress which to-day has begun to move and push and carry every thing before its mighty onrush. I shall attempt a more direct and concrete presentation of these ideas, so far as they relate to Bengal.

In brief, I plead for :

(a) A theory and practice of education which will concentrate on the training of the masses, who form the real country, the real India, the real Motherland.

(b) Separate systems of vocational work for separate geographical and cultural centres. I will take one or two examples: Pottery and weaving for Nadia, at the base, with Vaishnava religious culture at the top. Forestry and elementary botany at the base; commercial economics, history and geography, mechanical and electrical engineering in the middle; with ship-building and naval Engineering at the top, for Chittagong. All this would be supplemented by a high type religious education, correlating Buddhistic, Islamic, Hindu and Christian cultures, for a select few of rare abilities. The amplification may be shown for all Bengal districts in turn. For every district has its own singularity of opportunity and ancient tradition.

(c) A complete Indianisation, unequivocal and immediate, of the agency of education. By all means bring out Continental or American or British experts, real savants of the very first quality, now and then, for specific periods; but the third-rate foreigner must go. He has poisoned our educational fountains at their very source.

(d) *Asramas* to be spread out over the districts. Each *asrama* should have its individual tone and tint, and also give training in a limited number of subjects, cultural and vocational. There should be a master-mind in each of the districts to correlate this net-work of residential schools.

(e) Highest vocational and scientific training to be correlated with first class manufacturing and trading centres, *e.g.*, Jamshedpur Steel Works, Bengal Chemical Works, the colliery centres, etc.

(f) Vocational training never to be entirely separate from some amount of linguistic and literary culture.

(g) The ideals of national unity and national freedom braced by an invigorating religious atmosphere, to be present in all educational institutions.

(h) Every *asrama* must be a moral and spiritual commune with its outlook towards the people. Discipline should be maintained by joint moral endeavour between teacher and pupil. There should be no harsh, penalising measures, no dishonouring of God's holy temple, the body. Everything should be based on

mutual confidence and association. It would be well to have these centres of diffusion of God's light placed at a distance from the towns and cities, in the heart of the country.

(i) No class distinction, no caste, no special privilege. Full autonomy for the guild of teachers, expressing and realising themselves through sacrifice and devotion.

CHAPTER II

THE END OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

“PRESENTLY education must become again in intention and spirit religious, and the impulse to devotion, to universal service, and to a complete escape from self, will reappear again, stripped and plain, as the recompensed fundamental structural impulse in human society.” . . . H. G. Wells: *Outline of History*.

In this paper, I want to clear up certain misconceptions that have long prevailed in the middle class mind about Education and National Education, and then to elaborate as clearly as I can certain positive *id vis* about National Education.

(i) Education must primarily aim at the educing, the bringing out, of the best in every individual man and woman and in the special community to which they belong.

(ii) This means that character-building, *i.e.*, the tuning of the individual intellect and the heart and the will to the Divine will and to the service of society as its corollary—is the fundamental postulate of education.

(iii) In every country there must be varied types of character answering to varied communal needs; thus: (a) there must be intellectual men and women, who will promote the ends of knowledge and culture; who will advance the boundaries of science and original research; who will educate and investigate. In this class are included teachers, researchers, journalists, founders of new schools of thought, philosophy and theology and science.

(b) There must be men of action, men who will take to the applications of science in every sphere and will be captains of agriculture and industry in the modern democratic sense, leading and guiding the common men into paths of greater production and more equitable distribution. These are the chemists, and biologists, the engineers, the shipbuilders, the aeroplanists, the geologists, and zoologists, the practical agricultural pioneers. These also include organisers of national defence and legislators and administrators.

(c) Then there are the men who make a special cultivation of the emotions and develop the æsthetic and moral side of human nature: these are the poets, the religious and social reformers, the painters, the musicians, the architects.

(d) And lastly, we must not ignore the most important class, whose main function is breadwinning by honest means. These will be the ordinary mechanics, artisans, and small traders. They will include

the vast army of manual workers of all grades and classes.

(e) Among women, there must be two sharply divided sections, those who enter the married life and become wives and mothers; and those who, for some reason or other, lead a single life, dedicate themselves to social service, and become sisters of charity and mercy. Training for these two different types cannot be of the same quality. More and more our womenfolk will have to come out into the open highways of life, to be trained to the teaching, the medical, the nursing professions. There will presently be a large demand for women social workers, public lecturers, founders of women's societies, journalists, temperance workers, workers on behalf of fallen and depressed women, etc. And scope must be given to women of rare talents and abilities everywhere, poets, painters and authors.

The education that we have been receiving for the last sixty years has failed either in solving the bread-problem or in developing the talent of the people to useful and productive purposes. This is admitted. The result has been due to an attempt at giving us an education of a hybrid type, having no roots in our past culture and traditions. The entire ideal of *Brahmacharya* and of the old forest hermitages, as also of the more imposing constructions in Nalanda, Taxila and Benares, has been swept off and a process of breeding mere intellectual imitators, of

manufacturing 'imitation Europeans' has gone on. The country has long been alive to the unreality and the denationalising character of this so-called education, an education which has brought disharmony into even our domestic relations, created unbridgeable gulfs between the classes and the the masses, divorced the minds of the intellectuals from whatever was grand and glorious in our past. And so to-day, man for man, the illiterate man and woman are found to be more of man and woman than the so-called educated products of this soulless, mechanical system. And the colossal apathy of our intellectuals to the fine arts, to music, painting, and beautiful Indian handicrafts, their innocence of all ideas of architecture, is simply amazing. The interior of our aristocratic and middle class houses and the decoration of our school rooms are a sad spectacle; the dull monotony and hopeless drudgery of the lives of our women are sights for gods to weep over.

A people who get lost to all finer conceptions of art and beauty, whose life becomes an endless routine of dry and dingy habit, who turn away from nature and nature's God to the soulless worship of lucre, for whom truth and the devotion to higher things become meaningless phrases, a people who have been weaned away from any faith in that absorption in the Absolute and Infinite *Rasa* and *Ananda* which have been the basic principles of their

old civilisation, what hope is left for them, unless it is the hope of despair, the bold precipitate plunge into the dark abysses of futurity, which to the man of God-faith, however, are sunlit heights of realisation and joy ?

An honest programme of National Education might lead us forward and purge our schools and our homes and cleanse them of all the dust which has been gathered by generations of slavish western imitation.

National Education must, first of all, take count of the nation. Our conception of nationhood is an association, moral and religious, of men and women based on ancient geographical, economic and cultural traditions, a common association for the betterment of individual and communal life, for the adjustment of mutual rights and duties, and not for the exploitation of any class or any other people. And so our young boys and girls should not be trained in the arts of hate, in the narrow, dogmatic deification of all that has been bred in our own soil to the depreciation of other cultures and civilisations. We should educate our youth into a wide, trustful respect for all that is noble and holy and pure and beautiful anywhere ; we should teach them to believe in God's process of evolution by means of mutually supplementary cultures through the vistas of the centuries ; we should train them to be world-citizens. At the same time the peculiar dignity, the philosophic detachment, the fine art-sense, the religious idealism, the *Premikata*,

that constitute the strong points of our ancient Indian culture, should be graven deep in the souls of our young learners. The India of the Vedas, the India of the six philosophic systems, the India of the *Puranas* and *Tantras*, the India of the gentle charity and ethical discipline of Buddhism, of the unifying creed of Sankara, the India coloured by the beautiful doctrine of generous equality and chivalrous brotherhood of Islam—and finally the democratic India of the vision that came to Chaitanya Nanak, Kavira, Tukarama, Namadeva—and then the Prabuddha Bharata—the reawakened India of Dayananda, Ram Mohan, Ramkrishna, Vivekananda, Keshab Sen—, and the modern India of Ranade and Tilak, Naoroji and Ramesh Dutt, of Rabindra Nath and Jagadish, of Aurobindo and last, but not least, the India of Mahatma Gandhiji's fashioning—that India, that undying and vital India, which has never died through the ages, but assimilated culture after culture, till to-day it stands triumphant over an alien political and cultural domination lasting through a century and a half—that real India, ever energising and vitalising, the meeting ground of the cultures of East and West, the past *Guru* of the world and the future *Guru* that is to be—must be visualised clear and deep by our learners and teachers alike. To have an intelligent and conscious pride in our past and present is not antagonistic to the reception and assimilation of what is worthy to be received from

other peoples and cultures. 'Sweetness and light'—more and more of it we must imbibe; but these cannot be acquired by a people moving in the Valley of the Shadow of Death and through the Slough of Despond and Despair. Therefore, first a revivalistic teaching, a turning back to and focussing upon the points of light in our old culture, and a simultaneous switching back to the flashlights of the West.

And so, manly self-reliance, an ennobling race-consciousness, a sense of national dignity, not of the bullying, blustering kind, but sweetened by humility and love—these must be the keystones of the arch we propose to build. Slavish imitation, and the still more foolish tagging on of so-called 'National' subjects—vocational, technical, by whatever names they be called—must be eschewed.

A mere reshuffling of subjects of study, a mere addition of extra 'classes,' a mere bringing up of foreign experts, who change their free and liberal minds as soon as they breathe the air of India—this is not 'Nationalising' the educational fabric. Nay, it may be worse than the existing scheme.

A complete overhauling, a merciless sweeping clear, a thorough cleansing of this educational stagnation is necessary. A complete change of heart, a complete change of outlook and viewpoint, a thorough reconstruction of the ideal—these are vitally necessary.

And for this we must have a catalogue of negatives to start with :

1. No cultural domination from without ; hence
 (a) the English language and literature must be relegated to a secondary place in the curriculum ;
 (b) Foreign history, foreign political and economic science, and sociology must be studied critically and analytically—not with a blind faith as to their correctness as represented by their exponents, but in a comparative spirit, as themselves necessarily tinged with local patriotism.

(c) The medium of teaching and examination to be *in every stage* the *vernacular* of the country : foreign languages to serve only as keys to the higher studies of literature and science—specially of applied science ; and the highest literary and philosophic flights.

(d) No foreigner as teacher in any controlling capacity ; for the foreigner can have no understanding of the national mind and heart—no practical intimate access to the loves and hatreds and ambitions and charities and imaginings and yearnings of the young learner.

(e) No faith in brick and mortar as necessary accessories to real education.

(f) No faith in mechanical examinations.

(g) No faith in register-attendance and vigilance-roll-calls.

(h) No faith in harsh rigid methods of discipline.

(i) No faith in rigid schooling fees.

(j) No faith in mere book-learning.

(k) No faith in the residential system as it is being enforced to-day by Government-controlled universities. This is a travesty of the real thing which should make for a life of common faith and aspiration between teacher and learner.

(l) No artificial segregation of the sexes as at present prevalent.

(m) No exclusion of any special class or caste.

(n) No special privilege for anything else, but approved and tested merit and talent.

This is to be supplemented by a catalogue of affirmatives :

(i) Types of schools to be differentiated according to object and method :

(a) Primary schools in the villages, which will concentrate on agriculture, the small handicrafts, and the elements of the 'three R's';

(b) Higher schools which will stress one or two particular vocational subjects and some higher courses of literary, artistic and historical training.

(c) Seminaries for boys above 15 or 16, which will concentrate on higher studies by a system of interlocked teaching in allied subjects or parts or groups of subjects.

(d) Special science schools, which will take up allied groups of scientific subjects (theory and application).

(e) Big technological schools to be located in centres of big industries.

(f) Two big University Colleges (one for Arts, another for Science) where research will be the main pursuit.

(ii) Regional needs and local traditions to be mapped out for the opening of schools suited to particular localities. This is an essential point.

(iii) Teachers and learners to be in residence together—living a simple life, bereft of luxury, raising their own food wherever possible and weaving their own clothing—Perfect democracy-discipline to be persuasively enforced by non-violent and moral means—through joint boards of teachers and learners.

(iv) Centres of education (except for the big Universities) to be placed away from towns, on selected, carefully planned village sites.

(v) The salary system for teachers to be discontinued and arrangements made by local committees representative of all classes for placing them above want and penury. A life of leisured ease and decent comfort is essential for the teacher to grow into serviceable ripeness.

(vi) Different scales of maintenance for married and single teachers.

(vii) Physical culture drills, games, scouting, and social service work to be made an integral part of every institution.

(viii) The study of religion in a dispassionate, humble spirit to be made an organic part of education. A comparative study of the scriptures of the different religions to be advocated and encouraged.

(ix) Moral and religious training by indirect means through informal talks and various kinds of gatherings and actual humanitarian work.

(x) School buildings to be agreeable to local conditions and to be regulated by strict notions of economy—decent *Chalas*, airy, open, on raised platforms of mud, brick, or timber, plenty of open lands for agriculture, cattle-breeding and dairying, and for sheds for technical instructions.

(xi) Teachers' residences (open hostels for teachers and learners as well as quarters for married people) to be scattered about in close proximity to the school-buildings.

(xii) Every school to have a big hall for purposes of solemn assembly and receptions and for serious debates and discussions.

(xiii) Hardly any furniture for school-teaching—wooden furniture and raised desks, etc., may be gradually made by the learners themselves.

(xiv) Provision for the teaching (elementary as well as detailed, according to varying standards) of music, drawing and painting, to be made everywhere.

(xv) Seasonal excursions to interesting places of historic, legendary or religious association to be

undertaken by teachers and pupils at the cost of the school-board.

(xvi) The interior of the school-rooms to be artistically decorated by representations of subjects likely to influence the mind of the child to the service of his country and of mankind.

(xvii) The study of civics and political history to be made obligatory in the higher courses.

In order to give an example of what may be called 'regional' education, the specific directions in which Chittagong might specialise would be, first, on the *purely cultural side* :

(a) A comparative study of local dialects—pure Chittagongese, Chakma, Tiprai, etc., with the dialects of other parts of Bengal—and of different classical languages—Pali especially.

(b) A comparative study of religions and philosophies, especially of Buddhism and Islam.

On the *vocational and technological side* :

(c) the special study of ship-building, naval-engineering, railway engineering, mechanical and electrical engineering ;

(d) the special study of commercial economics ; of forestry ; and research into Indian herbs and plants for medicinal and dyeing purposes.



CHAPTER III

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN

THE problem of women's education deserves very careful and special treatment; and though in the years to come, women themselves will take the initiative and elaborate a scheme of women's studies, yet for the present, men cannot escape the responsibility of thinking out the issues of this all-important question and finding at least a temporary solution.

In this connection it will not be idle to point out that the present system of education for women has failed still more absolutely than that for men. This is a very sweeping indictment; but alas! it is but too true. The lady educated in our secondary schools for girls and our women's colleges, hardly answers to the communal need, and seldom qualifies for the duties of devout motherhood. Her over-intellectuality, her over-stressed sense of individuality, her predilection for semi-European habits and fashions, her amazing ignorance of the beautiful points of ancient Indian womanhood, her unconscious divorce from the realities of her domestic atmosphere, especially her delight in artificial glamour and the streak of overstrained self-consciousness, which she

somehow imbibes from her academic influences, these all make her hardly a prototype of the Sita or Savitri, who, as ideal types of womanhood, will never cease to have their adoration in Indian society. She becomes a confused cross between two types, the imperfectly visualised indigenous ideal and the very imperfectly understood foreign one. The society lady, the loud suffragette, the masculine woman asserting her right to a position of equality with the male person, and yet lacking in that sweet and refined personal note, which, without aggressiveness, conquers, these are among the specimens that, with honourable exceptions, are too often produced by this denationalising education. There is another type, infinitely sadder, the emaciated, joyless, nerveless specimen, entirely broken down under the mill-stone of a tedious, worrying uncongenial education.

High seriousness, gentle self-devotion, patriotic instinct, social service, domestic charities, those fine nuances and subtle ways which delight one in a real woman, the simple, frank joyousness, the unassuming modesty, the fine courtesy which is so difficult to define and yet so easy to appreciate wherever it is found, all these are apt to be shaded by the glaring lamp-light of the occidental training of our advanced women. I admit there are brilliant exceptions, but alas! they are few.

The contrast, indeed, between the home-bred lady of simple faith and innocent joys and predilections

with her sweet absorption in domestic duties, her divine self-surrender to the demands of the family-life, and the seminary-bred lady with her note of assertiveness and her often unconscious pursuit of selfish delights and interests, has again and again struck the observer with forcible emphasis. Place these two types alongside, amidst the drab realities of life, and in most cases the first type proves her indisputable superiority.

The fact is, the education imparted is often very far alienated from the realities of the home and social atmosphere, so unrelated to the sphere of life from which the young lady comes. It has but few points of contact with her past and present and but little prevision of the future destiny that awaits her. It sedulously imports western methods, conceptions, habits into her orbit. It would, therefore, be strange if she often did not get transformed beyond recognition altogether. Then the courses of study are of the same standardised pattern as those for men, and the variations are very slight. A mannish education for woman is a treason against nature. 'Sweet girl-graduates' hardly ever can remain sweet. They fast approximate to a type of their own and many are forced to a life of drudgery as school teachers teaching by rule and compass. They lose all the salt and savour of the womanly life, through no fault of their own. Priggishness, high-toned angularity in manners and temper, a slow-coming

impatience with their lot in life, gradual loss of joy in their avocations, these often overcome many such women, who under other training opportunities might have added largely to the grace and sweetness of society. The openings for women, hitherto, in our country, especially in the purdah-ridden parts, have been inconsiderable. The result is that the supply of educated women is often greater than the demand. Then there is the inevitable curse of late and unsuitable marriages for many of these sisters of ours; and possibly no greater evil can come into a woman's life. Then there are women among them of the sweetest leanings, women who would follow in the steps of the gentle 'Lady of the Lamp,' dedicating their energies, their sweetness and patience and love to works of charity and social good, but the opportunities are lacking. The hushed whispers of the multitude, the antagonistic attitude of the average ladies' society, the gossip and the hardly-suppressed slander, lack of encouragement and sympathy and direction from persons who might show the way, all these are a perpetual menace and handicap to ladies with such admirable inclinations.

This leads us to the questions of purdah and women's seclusion. The disabilities of the purdah have been often harped upon by foreign sociologists of indifferent understanding of Indian society. Even in those parts where purdah exists, its rigours are not so harsh as they are often painted. In

fact, purdah in our modern towns has become more of a bane than in the freer atmosphere of the villages. Owing to the stress of modern needs, the system is fast breaking up, and I am convinced that the Hindu society of Bengal would not consent to be bound down by this effete, demoralising system, the moment the country achieves *Swaraj*. More and more, our women and our men are realising how it has lessened the social amenities, diminished the joy and the colour of life, and stood in the way of the freer development, the natural growth, of both sexes. And for this purpose, I consider it eminently desirable that boys and girls to the age of ten or twelve should be educated alongside one another in the same schools, with many subjects in common and some special subjects for girls, under teachers of both sexes, women predominating.

There can be no better teachers of infants and children than women, that is the experience of almost every advanced country on the face of the globe. When such schools are opened and provision is made for a supply of efficient women as teachers, we may expect very solid results.

As for a scheme of studies :

In the lower stages, while the "three R's" should be compulsory for both sexes, some knowledge of household management, sewing and spinning should be made compulsory for girls. And some elements of music and drawing should be also encouraged

wherever there is aptitude. These young girls should live as far as possible with their parents, in family surroundings. I consider it a crime to wean away tender, budding girls from the sweet charities of the family circles.

For higher studies: the system obtaining in the women's colleges should be entirely recast. University courses for women almost analogous to men's courses are unnatural. Hygiene, first aid courses, animal physiology, some elementary knowledge of nursing and women's ailments and child-rearing, an elaborate knowledge of cookery-courses, a finished knowledge of music, drawing, and painting (wherever possible), a study of poetry, some first-hand acquaintance with scriptures, advanced courses of sewing and weaving, and of household management in detail—these ought to be some of the subjects for study.

For those who might have to go out on social service work, some intimate knowledge of women's achievement in different spheres of charitable and humanitarian work, in asylums for foundlings, lunatics, or lepers, widows' homes, temperance work, work on behalf of depressed women in all parts of the world—should be made available. Special scholarships might be created for qualified and adult women to go to foreign parts and study conditions and remedies there at first hand. The nation can never rise to its full stature, unless its women are brought out into God's air and sunlight and given full and

free opportunities to know the world and its ways, all its good and some of its evil, all its joy and some of its sadness, to get into touch with women's work and organisations in the free countries across the seas. A stunted womanhood means a dwarfed nationhood, half grown wives and mothers, joyless household drudges, commodities sold in the marriage market and then used for men's gratification. These things are poisonous weeds that choke the stream of national life at its source.

Indian womanhood is really a wonderful thing. Varying types, in the different provinces and communities, each have their specific qualities, as well as the defects of their qualities. But average for average, the clean innocence, the simple faith, the sweetness and geniality of temper, the natural courtesy, the untiring patience of our women, these are unsurpassed. What they lack is some real contact with the world beyond the sanctities of the zenana, or their particular social sphere. A bath in the briny sea is always desirable for those who have never tasted its bracing joys. Such exhilarating experience it would be for many of our women, sweet, intelligent, graceful by nature and breeding, but hitherto cabined and confined in a narrow sphere of routine duty.

I know the fret and fever, the ceaseless rush, the craze for sensation, the delight in advertisement and cheap recognition, the fondness for fashionable

charity, that characterise the lives of many a modern 'woman'. I can never visualise a period in our national history, when such sins would beset our women; our past tradition and culture, our racial heredity, would preserve them from this taint. But, at the same time, we must not go to the other extreme and desire to keep woman entirely aloof from the outdoor active life of the nation.

I know there are many difficulties which to-day, in Bengal, appear insurmountable in the way of women's education, but the dawn of *Swaraj* will cause the clouds to disappear and make things easier by the accumulation of that moral energy and fervour and faith which will spread over our dear motherland and lead her into new avenues of strength and power, and, greatest of all, of pity.

All honour is due to Professor Karve for his initiation of a Women's University. As, however, I have not had the good fortune to know the details about his scheme, I am not in a position to offer any criticism or comment. All that I can say is, that any institution based mainly on European methods, would never strike root into the soil of this country. A real Women's University can only be run by women.

As regards *co-education*, in higher stages, I think it quite within the range of possibilities for such a thing to be undertaken, after a few years, when Bengal social opinion has had time to crystallise

and solidify. Some common studies there always must be, which young men and women could discuss and investigate together with mutual profit. Literature, poetry, fine arts, social science, medicine—these are among the pursuits where a common platform would do real good. Sexual barriers are mostly of artificial human creation; and nothing will cleanse and purify our prevailing sexual notions, the current sexual attitude and outlook, so much as mutual association in the pursuit of culture and humanity. Artificial disabilities, imposed athwart women's progress, are bound to be swept away, in the near future, by the Time-spirit.

CHAPTER IV
THE EDUCATION OF THE DEPRESSED
CLASSES

No system of education can serve its purpose if it does not take note of the poorer and depressed sections of the community, and of nature's unfortunates, the halt and the lame, the blind, the deaf and the dumb, the juvenile criminal and the adult criminal.

Society must do penance for the slighting and neglecting during these long centuries, of large sections of the population. Dwarfed nature must be made upright in the person of those, our fellow-beings, who have come under her imperfect touch.

The regular schools might very well work on the shift system, and continue classes into the evening for the benefit of those who have to be otherwise employed for livelihood during the day; and the courses might be varied to suit the differing requirements of different classes. It would be a good plan to mix up the pupils of the day classes and the evening classes from time to time, and bring them under the same moral discipline. This would prevent

that insolation of different sections that to-day is responsible for the cult of exclusion, the theory of the alleged inferiority of certain classes to others. Social solidarity, equal opportunity for all, the open door, this is going to be the creed of to-morrow. Mere birth and environment will not be permitted to shut out any boy or girl from the higher destiny which he or she may desire to attain. The classes for manual workers and persons engaged in what to-day passes for a low calling, must not be mechanical. They must be enlivened by good story-telling, by lantern shows, by pictures, by music, and there must grow up a sense of real comradeship among teachers and students here, as well as in the day schools. The three R's and elementary notions of civics imparted orally must form compulsory parts of the course, and some elementary geography, history and even science might be introduced gradually. And it should be made possible for exceptionally gifted pupils of this description by state help to rise to higher studies, and after duly qualifying themselves, to choose their own careers. No man or woman should be kept to the ruts of his or her heredity and out of the ascents to more cultured and leisured life.

There should be special provision made for the education of children of poor parents, by arrangements for free meals in between school hours, and other kinds of help. In no case should the hours at school leave the impression of cramp and hustling

behind. They must be real hours of enjoyment for the mind and the sense organs. Good pictures for the eye, good music and melodious, soft teacher's voices for the ears, engaging occupations for the hands, interesting drills for the whole physical system, and easily digestible food for the mind, plenty of light and air, brisk fun and light hilarity, these are my ideas of any school for any people. Those that we have to-day are dirty, dingy, smothering prison holes, where hardly a ray of sunshine, hardly a flicker of joy, ever enters into the pupil's soul. We must have a body of teachers who will be fitted for this delicate task by nature and training; who will take to their duties as a labour of love and who will receive the grateful homage and loving regard of the entire population for whose benefit they dedicate their lives. Until the mercenary atmosphere entirely vanishes from the schools, until the fawning, cringing, inefficient type of teacher becomes a thing of the past—until relations between guardians, pupils and teachers become a fine spiritual triangle of fine comradeship—there is no hope for the better education of the race.

The villages and the towns will know how to make arrangements, each in their own way, for such schools for the poorer and depressed classes. And these should be made available for both sexes. The cost should be met out of public funds: there is no better national insurance than education wide and effective

for the whole people, a much better and a more paying one than standing armies, navies, tanks and air fleets. India will not find it difficult to fall in with these ideas, for they are bred of the soil.

Special Schools for nature's unfortunates must be another standing feature of this new education. We have already beginnings laid in these directions, *e.g.*, in the Deaf and the Dumb School at Calcutta, and in Schools for the Blind in some parts of the country. As yet they are working without adequate funds, without adequate public sympathy, without adequately trained staffs. America is the country, of all others, which affords the requisite object-lesson and training for these types of schools. This is a matter for the specialist, and I must leave it here. The boy criminal affords another very difficult field of educational work. The so-called reformatory schools are hardly any good: they are more or less reminiscent of the jails with their harsh discipline a little toned down. I do not pretend to have any special knowledge of this field. Yet I make bold to say that here, if any where, we require the services of the very best men and women, full of loving tenderness, sweet, patient, devoted in their natures. For it is only loving moral association, the fine breeze of formative love, that can burst open the lotus-leaves of that beautiful human soul which lies encrusted under the hardening rocks of the boy-criminal's depravity. Sometimes the layers are thick enough; heredity and blood are often

unyielding, hard-resisting influences; often they are thin enough: any way the pick-axe and shovel system is hardly any use, it is the fine lancet of love that can pierce into the hidden beds of sympathy and humanity in the mind-soil of the depraved young. Change of environment and occupation, rebaptism into a new life of trustful freedom, with small checks and restraints—this is more necessary. Parental love, the kindling of moral qualities, the interpenetration of soft-hued charity, the nodding of heart to heart—this is far more urgent than any standardised doctrinaire system.

And here one word in passing. To my mind a sympathetic knowledge of the principles of psychology, and especially of child-psychology, and of the various methods of child-training in foreign parts, is of great help for any really efficient teacher. The teaching of children is infinitely harder than that of adults, and here is a sphere where woman can find a stimulating scope for her energies.

The question of the costliness of the new avenues of education, which I am placing before the reader, should not be dismissed without a word in passing. The question of cost is an eternal bogey, which has so often and insistently been dinned into our ears by designing people, that we have developed a sort of neurosis, till we have come to believe in its unflinching truth. But all question of money resolves itself at last into a question of choice of fundamentals for a

nation's life. As soon as we can educate public opinion into our faith that education for all, that is to say, individual efficiency leading up to communal efficiency, is the most necessary of all our social needs, money will be forthcoming, men and women will be flocking and rallying to the banner. Old illusions will vanish like mists before the sunlight.

The programme will take more than a generation to tackle, according to our present vision and reckoning. But when the flood-tides once sweep over a land, the old dams will burst open, and even though the back-wash and the eddy may produce a temporary confusion, the water will run into the most unexpected corners and crevices; the rivers will swell and foam and even the rills and the ditches overflow. Such an awakening, such an enthusiasm, such a spring-tide of vital energy, has begun to manifest itself already. And when this country of long memories and glorious vistas of tradition of light and culture, attains independence, the onrush and impetus of that sweeping, curling, foaming stream of *Swaraj* will carry every thing before it. It will sweep away every obstacle, evolve system and method, throw up workers by the thousand, and lead the race through remodelled education into wonder-lands of the perennially new.

CHAPTER V

A BENGAL SCHOOL

A DREAM OF TO-DAY

THE visualising of an ideal school, under *Swaraj*, and in Bengal, may logically follow upon an enunciation of the principles of National Education. Theory must take shape in practice. Otherwise it may help simply to weaken and enfeeble our growth of spirit.

The ideal school of my dreams will be an *Asrama*, reminiscent of the ancient hermitage and the forest-school, redolent of the memories of the playing fawn, the murmuring grove, the babbling stream, the delicately nurtured nursery, the robe of bark, the reverent homage paid to the *Guru*, the sense of oneness with nature, sanctified by the smoke issuing out of the sacrificial fire and endeared by the gentle love and spirit of service and humanity playing all around, an *Asrama* echoing in the daytime with the chanting of hymns, and lapsing into holy silence at even-tide, the sanctuary of the finest philosophic and artistic culture, the laboratory of simple appliance

and mechanism, wherefrom has evolved a spirit of scientific curiosity, the home and birthplace of religion.

This ancient simplicity of living and loving, this spirit of free enquiry and research, sweetened and softened by a spiritual outlook deep as life itself, this method that defied methodical mechanism, ever trustful of the potency of spiritual freedom; this organisation that evolved the highest fruits of Godward culture by its very lack of so-called organisation; this atmosphere of 'wise passiveness' and meditation, we must bring back to our modern times in all schools worthy of their mission.

At the same time, we may not ignore with impunity the later and more massive constructions at Nalanda, Taxila, Kasi, which met the requirements of thousands of learners in ever so many branches of study and research.

Both types are necessary, and a type assimilating the fine points of both would exactly approximate to our needs in the present age. Both have their weak sides. The first type is apt to stress and bring out the dreamy, the artistic, the poetic facets of human nature, and there is a danger of the more alert, sinewy, active side being atrophied, or at best imperfectly evolved. The second type is likely to rub down individual and communal angularities, to tone down eccentricities of temper and habit, to bring into play the active, dynamic forces of the soul—but mammoth organisations have an inevitable tendency

to coarsen and harden the finer feelings and the gentler emotions. No amount of common dinners and common discipline can take away from this crying evil of inhuman mechanism bred of the atmosphere of massive concentrations. We have lived far too long in the age of the huge and the immense. We have lost our human bearings and become parts of a machine.

Modern India needs an education that will be comprehensive in its broad aims and effects. It cannot afford to have dreamers and artists bereft of that hard 'grit,' that 'twang' of muscle and of mind, without which a modern citizen's life would become an abject failure. Again, it can hardly afford to have citizens efficient for public duties, quite 'fit,' commercially speaking, but lost to all appeals of the finer instincts of poetry. It cannot and should not breed intellectual Philistines, for whom music and the arts, sacrifice and martyrdom, service and humanity, have no meanings. India wants men and women, who combine the gentle charities with the alert activities of life; and for such an aim we ought to fashion our temples of learning.

There is, in our country, a school of thought that believes in a rigid education of the Vedic type, excluding the pupil from all participation in the communal life, and cutting him off even from home influences during the period of training. I do not believe that this method can bear fruit in such

measure as its sponsors expect from it. A life of prayerful isolation and spiritual practice might indeed complete the training of a man who has learnt well in life's school and imbibed a real intellectual culture. But a hard, rigid disciplined life, divorced from reality, cut off from the stream of national activity, oblivious and ignorant of communal problems, and the incidents of the day, can hardly fit a man for the career of an effective, useful citizen, bent on public good. It may train up spiritual ascetics by the dozen, there is need of such, and yet these are exceptional types.

The type that I would like to see growing is one that makes individual and social efficiency its main asset, but bases such efficiency on moral and spiritual training. Mere earning capacity cannot be an objective, though that also has its place. What we need is an elasticity of culture, an adaptability of powers, which will make the learner find his feet in any situation. Up to a certain point, therefore, the subjects and methods of study should be more or less common for all, though special leanings and aptitudes must always be utilised and encouraged. The moral personality of the teacher and of the teaching commune, as a whole, is the supreme factor; and all facilities of direct and intimate intercourse between teacher and pupil should be provided. The only individuals who may interpose between teacher and pupil are the parents. The school and the home

must share a divided responsibility as regards the training and must co-operate in willingness. A life lived in common, meals shared together, books read together, common participation in games and diversions, common prayers and hymns, common duties at the plough and the loom and the anvil, frequent discussions of an intimate character, common ideals of living, of ordered enjoyment and willing sacrifice, these are the things which can really impart fresh vitality into our educational centres. And everywhere the Indian emphasis must be stressed as regards the choice of pursuits, the adoption of ideals, the superiority of certain aspects of life to others. This can only be impressed, in the last resort, by the living examples set by spiritual teachers. To get these results, I would like the school-sites to be located away from the life of towns—especially from the smoke and belch of the factory and the mill areas. The school-sites should be close by a stream, with wide open spaces, grounds enough for erecting the school house and hall and its adjuncts, for spreading about residential quarters for teachers and pupils, for playing fields, for workshops, for looms, and lastly for the shelter of cattle, both for the purposes of dairying and cultivation. There should be excavated tanks of good size; and pasture-lands for the cattle must not be forgotten.

On a modest calculation, this would be possible if a plot of about 100 bighas would be secured. This

would leave about 50 bighas for agriculture, even if the school takes up advanced subjects and sets up a modest science laboratory.

Married teachers will naturally require separate quarters, but these should be in the vicinity. There should be dormitories, where one or two teachers will sleep along with, say, twenty boys. There should be hardly any domestic servants, the sweeping and cleaning and cooking and serving of meals being done collectively by teachers and pupils. Each member of the school will have to cultivate his plot and spin an assigned quantity of thread and weave it into clothing. Music, drawing, painting, will form part of the course. A wide option should be left in the choice of a few subjects among several. Training in civics and politics will be given in the higher grades. Modern history and ancient Indian history and culture, some economics will also be included.

Special emphasis will be laid on a comparative study of language and literature. Bengali, Hindusthani and English will be compulsory for all. Some chemistry and botany and agricultural science may also be appropriately introduced for those with a scientific and practical bent. Arrangements for teaching Indian philosophy side by side with European philosophy are also desirable.

In the lower classes, elementary Indian and foreign history with simple geography, elementary mathematics, some mechanics and mensuration will

be taught along with languages; music, drawing, weaving, will also be taught; manual training arrangements will also be there.

There will be no hard and fast rules about examinations. All teaching will be, as far as possible, through the vernacular. In the primary classes verbal and oral teaching will be the rule. There will be no rigid divisions into sections and classes. The system will admit of elasticity, so that a learner with special aptitude in one subject may not be handicapped. Oral debates and written discussions will be encouraged. These will be an interesting feature of the school programme.

There will be a school magazine, conducted, printed and circulated mainly by students, with a minimum of help from teachers. This presupposes a printing-press, which may print all valuable contributions from the teachers and advanced pupils. The teachers' gathering will be a lively centre of study and co-operative investigation, of debate and discussion.

The physical side and the social service side will be emphasised. Drills, Indian games, foreign games, suited to the boys, scouting, first-aid lessons and practice, nursing duty in the school and neighbouring villages, small-scale road-making, the printer's art, furniture-making, these will be among the duties allotted by rotation.

For moral and religious training, the arrangements will be genuine, but never rigid or formal. Serious

and sacred literature will be read in common and discussed. Memoriam days will be observed for great Indians and foreigners alike; recitations from good poets and prose authors will be encouraged. Now and then, there will be discussion about concrete points of morals. The teacher will simply help and follow the discussion, never lead.

A religious hymn and prayer might begin the day's work. There may be weekly prayer meetings. Songs expressing love of country might be encouraged.

The purse would be more or less common. There should be, in addition to free meals, provision for monthly allowances on a sliding scale for the single and married teachers and for the teacher with a number of dependents. Teachers and pupils alike must be placed beyond the reach of demoralising want.

The whole programme depends for success on the holding up of high principles of religious sacrifice and duty to humanity by the teaching body, who must be picked men and women. A bracing atmosphere of noble endeavour and patriotism and loving service must environ the school.

Worship of God, service of Man, loyalty to country, devotion to the ideal, a wide, liberal outlook on the world and its problems, moral and physical vigour, intellectual alertness, sweet humanity, these are to be the corner-stones, the mortar and the cement of this new educational fabric. Our dream will be surely realised in the days to come.

CHAPTER VI

WHAT IS "SWARAJ" ?

"SWARAJ" is the dream of the poetic mind, the mirage of the dry intellectual, the gossamer-thread of the philosopher, spinning his ideas, the incessant topic of street discussion, the ban and anathema to be committee-harnessed school-master, the apple of discord in the debating clubs, the object of laughter in many of our Bar associations, and, the golden apple, guarded by the sleepless eyes of Non-co-operation. It means so many things to so many persons, absolute, unqualified independence, Dominion self-government, a system of political makeshifts, Bolshevism, *Dharma-Rajya*, world-federation.

Most of these definitions deserve some consideration. They are not without elements of truth. It will be an interesting task to analyse these intercrossing strands of the warp and woof of *Swaraj* and to give them as far as possible their due setting in the texture. A certain looseness of thinking is responsible for these widely shifting views, but such looseness is a standing factor of human ways everywhere and we have to bear with it. Truth itself is

many-hued. It hides its white light from any but the specially gifted. I do not lay any claim to any special insight; all the same, a certain breaking of stones on the high-road might help in the road-building, and that is my excuse for the present attempt.

"Swaraj is Swaraj"—incapable of analytic definition said Sj. Chittaranjan Das, in his Barisal address. "Swaraj is Vedantic freedom of soul, in a universe of free community of souls"—this was the burden of an extremely interesting discussion by Sj. Sarat Kumar Ghosh on the same platform. *Swaraj* is and must be definable, its boundaries quite capable of being mapped out by the political geographer, said Sj. Bepin Chandra Pal and forthwith proceeded to elaborate his ultra-intellectual, and freezingly logical conception of *Swaraj*. Mahatma Gandhi goes on churning the Ocean of *Swaraj* with his spiritual rod and the result is now beautiful, sunlit, rainbow-hued phantasy, now a very hard and rigid declaration of rights, now open and unanswerable denunciations of a system of government that no longer answers to the country's need, and now an atmosphere of such Indian idealism that the common mind, fed only on European literature and history, finds it too rarefied for breathing. Lala Lajpat Rai dashes off straight, manly, direct pen-pictures of *Swaraj* that take the mind captive by their directness. And Lokamanya Tilak had his vision, daring,

aspiring, soaring, reckless of the counsels of compromise and halting half-beliefs. Rabindra Nath and Aurobindo from Bengal point to the 'starry-pointing' pyramids of world-confederation and warn us against mere negation.

All however agree in certain essentials :

(i) That the Indian bureaucracy is doomed by its past and present record, its slowness of response to the popular will, its unimaginative ignorance of new ideas, its misunderstanding and mishandling of the situation in India and its antiquated concept of the empire where India's sons and daughters are helots ;

(ii) That self-government in spite of inevitable mistakes, in the first stages, is infinitely superior to paternal government imposed by an alien people ;

(iii) That unless the systematic economic exploitation, which the bureaucracy has encouraged, is ended very soon, there is but little hope of survival of this country's efficiency as a world-unit ;

(iv) That a clear understanding must be arrived at between His Majesty's representatives and the leaders of the people's party, as to where the boundaries of popular government and of imperial interference must be laid down ;

(v) That no compromise can be even considered that excludes the admission of the right of India to control her own purse, to control her own internal affairs, to assert the prerogative of her children as

equal citizens of a free commonwealth within the empire ;

(vi) That dyarchy is an exploded futility ; that, though questions of foreign policy and imperial defence may be for the present left over, there can be no solution of the Indian problem unless there is full and free autonomy conceded to India in all her internal concerns ;

(vii) That the method of attaining this objective should be open and direct, strictly moral and non-violent ; for a violent revolution defeats its own ends and breeds counter-revolution, and India is determined to demonstrate to the world the supreme effectiveness of a united people's will backed only by soul-force, by the sinking of religious and tribal differences, by the levelling up of the depressed sections of the people, by moral and religious and economic unity of ideal ;

(ix) That if the country gets the right of self-determination, it will know how to adjust the balance fairly between province and province, class and class, Indians and aliens ;

(x) That world-forces are in our favour and the mass-mind will not permit any more suppression by capitalist and militarist cliques with designs of unholy exploitation of certain races by others more favoured by fortune hitherto ;

(xi) That in the event of any Declaration of Independence by India, in the near future, she may

count upon the passive sympathy of all forward looking men and women in every country, including England herself.

These items presuppose that a bloodless revolution will be successful in India; and that, in the present state of post-war exhaustion of modern Europe, the forcing of Britain's domination upon India by the sword will be an almost hopeless business. *Swaraj* workers also count on the fast-growing solidarity of the Indian Nation that is forming under the stress of common suffering and disabilities, and on India's powers of recuperative assimilation through the ages. The masses are also counted on for direct action. Indian labour is fast organising itself and giving proofs of a new-awakened strength. The small number of the intellectuals, who started the *Swaraj* movement, has to-day found the backing of large bands of heroic, devoted young men and women, along with the support of a large section of merchants. It has visibly impressed itself on the mass-consciousness, leading it to the higher levels of daring and aspiration. The whole movement has been shaped by the forceful yet sweet personality of Mahatma Gandhi, whose record of sacrifice, suffering, idealistic faith, hard common-sense and comprehension of the Indian masses, is an unbeaten record, and whose religious directness of speech and action is a constant enigma to the alien mind obsessed by long generations of political diplomacy and war-ethics.

The Pan-Islamic sentiment, whatever troubles it might bring later, is to-day a very important helper. The Pan-Indian sentiment has been nourished and fostered by a set of dreamers, thinkers, poets, artists, critics and scientists having the Indian emphasis in their ideal. The anti-foreign element in the country is a hard fact. It is at present directed only to the low-minded, exploiting, aggressive type of European, and owing to the age-long toleration of the Indian mind is not likely to spread further. But the motive power, the fountain-head of energy is deeply imbedded in the national soul: it is the God-faith, the high and serious religious idealism, of India as a whole. The immemorial sacrifice of Indian saints and martyrs is again bearing fruit. The bread which had long been cast upon the waters is being found now, after many days. The Indian is a born mystic. His belief in the suprasensuous world, his faith in the moral order, his intense joy in sacrifice, his inherited instinct for the simplicities and charities of living, his wide intellectual humanism, these are now coming out of the subconscious self of Indian nature into the region of the conscious. They are impelling him, individually and collectively and inter-provincially, to united effort and suffering.

The Hindu-Mussalman Unity in cultured centres of Islam is no longer a political make-shift; it has come to stay. The Indian mind has always been one of large accommodation, and the old virtues will not fail

it in the storm and stress of the present struggle. Foreign domination now seems to most of us a bad night's dream. Its spell is broken, so far as the mind-infection is concerned.

India (that portion of dreaming, thinking India which really counts) has come to believe that, in her immediate emancipation from undeserved slavery, lies not only her own salvation, but the salvation of the world. She believes rightly that she has her message of Brahma-Vidya, of soul discipline, of ideal solution of conflict between antagonistic cultures, of beautiful reconciliation between the communal demands and the individual's right of free development. In this faith, the *Swaraj* idealist works and moves. In this faith is the *Swarga* of *Swaraj* nurtured. This is the secret of the success of our faith among the masses.

The programme of *Swaraj* is so simple, because, like all simple things, it has greatness behind it. It does not really aim at expelling the good and saving virtues in European culture—it has no retrogressive tendency; it aims at the straightening out of life to simple issues, it aims at moralising and spiritualising our concepts of politics and economics. It has an ultimate belief in that golden future, when armies and navies will not be needed. It has faith that reason will prevail and that countries will solve their difficulties by group-discussion. It pins its faith on a new construction of labour, based on moral considerations

of hours and wages, on guarantees of leisure and diversion, on assurance of the amenities of culture and the graces of domestic life for every labourer. It believes in a much greater simplification of the common law of the land. It does not believe that riches and power should be the only rules in human affairs. It aims at the revival of the village life and a greater adjustment of comforts and privileges between town and village. It reduces the power of the diplomat, the shrewd lawyer, the tactful speculator, the hard-brained intellectual, the self-engrossed capitalist and the absentee landlord. More and more, it aims at transferring power, under wise direction and with availing checks, to the agriculturist and producers of all grades. Above all, it believes in the religious basis of human life, the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God.

These are some of its beliefs. The dry, analytical intellect can hardly seize the outlines of such a religious, unifying movement. It is faith and faith alone, the moral reason purged of worldly taint, initiated into the saving principle of non-violence, that can realise the potentialities of such a *Swaraj*. India is not pioneering to-day an isolated movement. She is marching forward with the world-movement: she is attempting to bring her own contribution to the solution of the world-problems according to her own ways and her own peculiar inheritance.

The men who lead, and the men who follow, are not playing a political game. They are working, organising, educating opinion, writing, persuading, collecting funds, introducing hard labour and the service of the suppressed classes. They are essentially religious, rather than political in their outlook. They are firm in their faith that, by the creed of selfless, organised, non-violence, the present evils will at length be overcome. They do not care to puzzle their minds over future schemes of administration. These will evolve out of the people, as surely as the rainbow spreads out its arch under the play of rain and sunshine. They believe in the evolution of the outward from the inward, in material things growing out of the impalpable mind-stuff. They believe, above all, in the spiritualising of all politics, in denuding the demand and agitation for people's rights of all deceit and fraud. They want truly to 'play the game,' but it is a moral and religious play, no game of political chess, where human and divine truth are staked as pawns; where principles are hedged in by practice and disappear before exigency; where human lives are bought and sold at the bidding of imperialistic designs.

When the present system of government is changed, in response to a united popular demand, what will take its place is difficult to foreshadow. Still we may work out some of the prominent features of a truly representative national government as follows :

(i) The Indian National Congress will be the first Parliament of the Federated United States of India ;

(ii) Expensive centralised administration will vanish, and a much simpler organisation will take its place.

(iii) There will be a big decrease in the proportion of Britishers in the public services. None except really able and good men will be permitted to stay on.

(iv) Provinces will be remodelled on a linguistic and geographical basis.

(v) The District will be more or less the unit of an autonomous government. Village committees, wherein labour and agricultural and trading interests will have an effective voice, will be the real centres of influence ;

(vi) Education, sanitation, roads, waterways, agriculture, local trade—every District will look after its own concerns in these matters with as little interference from outside as possible. The District will raise its own rates. District committees will be organised to set up their own departments and to spend their own rates economically.

(vii) Each District will have its own police to keep the peace in normal times.

(viii) There will be wide-spread provision for the teaching of the means of defence to as large a section of the population as possible.

(ix) Women will take an increasingly larger share in the big questions of education, administration and lawmaking.

(x) Much of the present rigour of the *pardah* will disappear. Such freedom will open out for the women of India a wider outlook and a larger sphere of duties.

(xi) The District Councils will be federated into a Provincial Assembly, which will legislate on the bigger issues relating to higher education, scientific and industrial research, promotion of industries, adjustment of relations between labour and capital, and the organisation of the country's defence.

(xii) The All-India Parliament will have a constitution which will empower it to legislate on the bigger questions, such as defence, foreign policy, finance, inter-provincial adjustments, organisation of central research institutes, large sanitary measures and international humanitarian agreements. This much may be safely predicated of this parliament, that it will be increasingly representative of all federated groups and associations in the country ; that the needs of the masses will increasingly prevail as its main consideration ; that it will not pursue any aggressive policy towards any other people ; that it will tend to realise ancient Indian ideals of the simple life in all its undertakings ; that it will attempt to set at rest the questions of race-hatred and narrow

nationalism based on the animal instinct of physical domination. Its ultimate mission will be to create a centre of spiritual, humane activity leading to a unity and harmony of world-cultures in India itself.

CHAPTER VII

SWARAJ AND AFTER

SPECULATION as to what will come with the advent of *Swaraj* and what lines of development *Swaraj* may take, in the near future, are at least a spur to the imagination, even if they do not serve a further purpose in clarifying our ideas and acting as a stimulus to the intellect.

With *Swaraj*, which to me connotes a *Raj* based on common moral and religious association, the first phase will necessarily be a crumbling down of the superannuated system which to-day calls itself the Government of India as 'established by law'. This has been founded, in the last resort, on physical force. It will have to yield place to a true government by the people grounded in righteousness. The old moorings are bound to be swept away. Their place will be taken by a federated organisation, which will assume jurisdiction only in the bigger interprovincial and international issues. For the present, this *Swarajist* India will, so far as I can judge, be within the British Empire, if only it is free to arrange its own relations of perfect equality with all parts of the

Empire and to have a political status equal to that of the Dominions. It will control its own army, organise its own navy and air-force, and be, to all intents and purposes, free to shape and mould its destiny in its own way. All this, however, hangs on the possibility of the old 'white Empire' outlook being substantially changed for that of a real Commonwealth, where all parts, near and remote, white and coloured, will be associated in ties of honourable and equitable co-operation.

Under *Swaraj*, the problem of education will naturally be the most insistent, along with problems of national production, national defence and of internal security. Expensive departments and portfolios will be abolished and exorbitant salaries will go. As Districts will be more or less autonomous, managing their affairs according to their lights, the problem of running central governments, will be made much easier. Red-tape delays, unconscionable waste of paper and ink, reference and cross-reference files, will be things of the past. Officials will be really the servants of the people. The big 'Directors' of education, information, commerce, and the like, and their establishments, will not be necessary. There is bound to be a rigorous application of the pruning knife throughout government establishments. For the true Indian ideal is that of simplicity. Each one of these departments will be overhauled and recast in the interests of efficiency and economy.

District Committees will organise themselves and distribute their functions. Though errors may still creep in and though unworthy, scheming men will here and there get to the front, yet all these evils the country will learn to work off with experience.

So far as I can throw out my fancy, I see before me associations of men of the same or allied productive functions, the actual labourers on the soil, the actual labourers on the railways, the actual labourers in the mills, and in the mines, and in engineering and transport departments, industrially sharing in the government of their own labour centres and obtaining at the same time their seats on the District and Provincial Councils. The townspeople and their associations may, at the start, dominate, but they are bound to be outnumbered at no distant date by agriculturists' and producers' associations from the country-side. The professional man, the middleman, and the lawyer, will less and less figure in this system of government. The man of action, of resolute daring, of moral force, of initiative, of original ideas, will impress himself most of all. Courage and faith and active intelligence will come to the fore. All this involves such a transformation, that the results may not even be anticipated to-day. The younger generation will present a new type, be intellectually alert, imaginative, original, dynamic—carrying things by the sheer momentum of moral

energy, and yet self-restrained and patient and ready to yield ground wherever necessary.

More and more these group-associations will emerge in each Indian District. If the Indian spirit truly asserts itself, Indian *Swaraj* may easily transform itself into a series of moral and religious republics, like the village republics of old, in the age of the Buddha—where man's moral needs and opportunities will prevail over his physical and material proclivities, where the intellect will be the servant of the moral reason, where the divine in man will assert itself over the animal and the brute. This projects an age when policing and physical defence will have become practically unnecessary and moral force alone will be used. But all this we may leave to the future; we can be assured in the faith that human society must continually work its way upward, and that it will purge itself of its baser passions. Generations hence, possibly in two or three generations, the poet's dream of a World-federation may be fulfilled.

Meanwhile, there will be many problems awaiting solution. One such will be the distribution of different provincial areas on the basis of common language and geographical convenience. Another will be the interprovincial exchange of commodities. A third will be the real unification of different communities, the removal of the cleavage between the castes, along with the complete abolition of the

ban of untouchability. A fourth problem will be the adjustment of relations between the Hindus and Musalmans. The question of Pan-Islamism will have to be grasped in all its bearings upon India, as it involves the question of Indian frontiers. Then there will be the question of an All-India language for diplomatic and political purposes.

The women's problem will have to be faced. Opinion is sure to be sharply divided about the removal of social and political disabilities hanging round women in different provinces of India. In some parts there is seclusion of women; in other parts they are free in their movements. Some portions are in advance of others in women's general education. In some regions social tradition and public opinion are already formed and powerful; in others they have to be created.

The question of the country's resources and raw materials being fully utilised and worked up by Indian finance, Indian management and Indian labour is a question that will require time to solve. The entire problem is so vast, with so many ramifications and issues, so much leeway has to be made up here, so many vested interests have to be attacked there, so much pioneering work has to be done, that even imagination quails before the undertaking. But the Indian mind, alert, resourceful, will know how to deal with each question as it arises.

Organised and scientific agricultural production, and organised development of Indian forests, form part of this bigger problem. A national government will know how to use its own greatest assets efficiently, quickly, and with economy.

The India of to-morrow, that I can picture, is an India, overspread with educational *Asrams*, where learning will no longer be a saleable commodity; where teacher and pupil will again live like the *guru* and *chela* of the old days; where Indian culture will erect such a structure of religion and philosophy, that European culture will reverently take note of it at every turn. The country-side will teem with a healthy, active population. The river-ports, the trade-centres of the interior, will be full of a busy, seething life. Old industries and handicrafts will revive and multiply, wedded to new methods. Steam and electricity will make dull country-sides into wonder-lands. The high seas will be traversed by Indian merchantmen and navy. The air will vibrate with Indian air-machines, carrying messages all the world over. If there are large industries, they will be co-operative, profit-sharing enterprises. The main feature, however, of Indian organised labour will be the cottage industries where the individual human interest will prevail; where machinery will be the slave, and not the master, of humanity; where the pursuit of beauty and culture and comfort will be open to the poor as

well as to the rich. Life, in general and in detail, will be much fuller and richer, much more varied in content, range and intensity. On the cultural side, we may look forward to India being again the centre of a critical and analytical exchange of ideas between the learned scholars of the East and the West. It will be the home of comparative research in the higher reaches of art, literature and religion. The Laboratory of Jagadish Chandra Bose, the Institute of Profulla Chandra Roy, the Santiniketan Asram of Bolpur, will draw scholars from other parts of the world, and they may well be the carriers of the renovated Indian culture to distant shores. The personality and spiritual discipline of a man like Aurobindo Ghose is bound to fructify where there is a constructive and unifying educational ideal.

The social life of India will witness far-reaching transformations. Caste-rigidity and social exclusiveness, are likely to be softened down till they disappear altogether. There will be no more untouchables. Already the sweeper, the chamar, the pariah, the namasudra, and other suppressed classes are coming to their own. They are beginning to lead cleaner lives and to develop a consciousness of human dignity. In the future, no stigma will attach to any means of livelihood. With the advance of electric power, it is possible that much drudgery may vanish altogether from our domestic and

industrial lives. Such electric power may reach the villages themselves.

The raising of our own food from the soil, and the weaving of our own wearing apparel, will be two of the most sanctified duties of life. The drink evil will go, and also the opium curse. Under *Swaraj*, there will be a total prohibition of drink and drugs.

The most respected profession will be that of teaching. The teacher of to-morrow will impress himself on society as a deeply revered worker, following a sacred calling and not selling his intellectual assets to the highest bidder.

Teaching will cover a host of other vocations, including the work of the religious, social and political reformers, the journalists, the men of research.

The profession of law will shake off its age-long sophistries and malpractices. It will be in the hands of the most conscientious and morally sound individuals. Law must learn to leave behind many of its archaisms and complexities and to become the poor man's friend instead of the poor man's burden.

The sex-relation will undergo a profound modification. The free activities of woman's influence, hitherto fettered and hedged in by artificial barriers, will result in good. The status of woman, both public and domestic, will be both rational and honourable. Those evil social conditions, which to-day make a class of female unfortunates possible, will disappear

as soon as women legislators appear on the political arena.

Social amenities will increase with the freer mixing, on the moral and intellectual plane, of the sexes. The renaissance in art, literature and science that we see at work to-day, will be more real, more abiding, more in accord with the genius of the country. The merely imitative faculty of mind among the English-educated classes, the mere copybook learning which is responsible for so much of the weakness of our present movements of culture, will disappear after *Swaraj* has been attained. In its place will arise a sympathetic and comprehensive ideal of art and learning that will truly reflect the age-long Indian consciousness, sharpened and whetted by contact with alien forms. We may expect a poetry that will project the high spiritual values of life; that will be irradiated with the light of God; that will voice the deepest aspirations; that will bring into shape the truest realisations of Indian religious life; that will sing the song of the poor and the oppressed, not only of the wealthy and the mighty; the song of the people, not merely, the song of the literary circles. We may expect also a drama and a fiction that will be representative of the joys and sorrows, the loves and hatreds, the delights and aspirations of the common folk. Furthermore, we shall witness a rejuvenation of painting and sculpture and architecture impressed with our own tint and tone, full of

a beauty that will be moral and spiritual. The delicate modes of old Indian line-drawing ; the tender effects of the ancient mixing of colours ; the mystical impressions of 'Indian perspective,' will again be revived. Art will assert again its place of honour in our land.

The architect will reproduce the turrets and domes, the airy lines and soft hues as of old. A new sense of order, of symmetry, will renew our lives and make its influence felt even in the market and household ware. Our houses will be brighter and cleaner inside and out, our shops and stalls will be pictures of methodised beauty, our villages will be pastoral, our cities will bear the marks of taste and refinement. All these will but be the outward manifestations of a deep-seated spiritual awakening. India, under *Swaraj*, will have no slum population, no need for the foundling asylum, no alcoholic taint in the blood, no vicious sale of woman's honour. She will be morally clean and healthy.

The new social order will bring along with it high ideals of responsibility, of equality, of justice, springing out of a renewed faith and charity. Petty class-jealousies, narrowing predispositions, small ambitions, will vanish ; and in their place will rise a sense of human solidarity and love.

An Asiatic Confederation may be expected, of which India and China will be the inspirers of the ideal social order and Japan and Afghanistan the

symbols of material power. Persia, Egypt and Arabia will not be slow to become partners in this grouping for the conservation of common ideals and the protection of common interests. And then, who knows whether at length the political centre of gravity may not shift from West to East? At least it may be asserted that this federation of Asia will have to meet on equal terms the federation of the West, if hopes of world-peace are to be entertained. The dream of the World Confederation, with common aims and objects, might then begin to take shape. But these are tremendously big issues and they may safely be left to the future.

The problem of India will never be solved by slow, tinkering processes according to legend. It was only the Deluge in older days that could sweep away the ills of the sinful world. It is only such a forceful flood of activity that can cleanse and purify India of her many sins of omission and commission in the modern time and bring her out into the high-ways of the world's spiritual commerce. In this process, the woman of India will take her part, bringing the light of her love, the charm of her sweetness, the purity of her patient and forgiving charity, the fire of her mystic self-immolation to the service of the Motherland. The evils of early or ill-matched marriages; the sad and sombre tragedy of disconsolate vacant widowhood; the immature maternity, with its neglected child-rearing; the miseducation of boy and

girl; the enforced subjection of women, shutting them out of vitalising activity and humanitarian service, these problems of our domestic life will be dealt with in turn by our women legislators of the future and with marvellous results.

The lands beyond India, to the making of which Indians have contributed so largely, and for which all the reward that has come to them to-day has been villification, segregation and expulsion, may yet have another story to tell to posterity. The economic and political struggle that has begun, may end for their ultimate benefit. Some of these lands may one day be parts of a Greater India beyond the seas. Nothing is impossible or impracticable for a people so temperate, so wedded to simple living, and by heritage such ardent believers in the supremacy of the spiritual, as the Indian people.

Courage, therefore, my comrades, in the struggle of emancipation.

To-day is for the armed man with brute strength and might, the last relic of an age that shows on certain sides signs of a relapse into barbarism. Tomorrow is for the spiritual man, the man of intellect and heart, appealing at all times for victory to the forces of the soul.

THE CLAIM FOR INDEPENDENCE

BY

C. F. ANDREWS

EMPIRES MUST PERISH TO DAY

as they have perished in the past, in order that free peoples may survive and realise their freedom. We have a signal instance of the fallacy of the 'imperial' idea in Italy and Austria. Last century, the subjection of Italy to Austria in one Empire made spiritual unity impossible. The Austrian Empire, with its Italian appendage, was a monstrosity. But now the relations between Italy and Austria have changed. Italy has come nobly to the help of Austria, in the hour of her greatest distress; and a spiritual unity is being found today, which is obliterating centuries of hate. The truth is, that the British Empire with its Indian appendage, is also a monstrosity. If the present unnatural relation between England and India continues, it can only lead, as it has done at such a rapid pace already to a continually increasing bitterness on both sides. But if the bond of subjection is finally and ultimately unloosed, : then mutual respect may succeed mutual hate. :

As. 8

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THE CLAIM FOR INDEPENDENCE

WITHIN OR WITHOUT THE BRITISH EMPIRE

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The Claim For Independence

WITHIN OR WITHOUT THE BRITISH EMPIRE

I

IMPERIALISM : AN INHERITED TRADITION

AFTER many varied experiences in the British Colonies, (while attempting to claim equality of status for Indians and to represent the Indian position of racial equality before my own countrymen) I have been carried forward almost imperceptibly, step by step, to the conclusion, that the goal of Indian freedom lies outside the British Empire. To arrive at such a conclusion has been no easy thing for me. It has represented the complete transformation of the thoughts and hopes of my early days,—the hopes, with which I came out to India itself, nearly eighteen years ago.

No one could have set out from England with higher expectations than I did. My inherited tradition with regard to the British Rule was a high one. My father belonged

to the old conservative school in politics, which regarded the British Empire established abroad as almost divine in its foundation, and as likely to lead, through righteous administration to the relief of the miseries and evils of the world. The unity of the British Empire was a sovereign thought with him; he would have died for it. British Rule in India was regarded by him as a sacred trust given to England by God Himself. He used to tell me, with glowing enthusiasm, how nobly England had fulfilled that trust, and what benefits had been conferred thereby on India itself. Therefore, although I came out to India originally as a missionary, yet, at the same time, there was always the idea present at the back of my mind, that India was, as my father had taught me, a sacred trust committed into the hands of Englishmen, and that by the fulfilment of that trust, Great Britain would stand or fall. I know that there seems something patronising and even pharisaical about such a position. I can feel it now acutely. But I can assure my readers, that my father was no Pharisee. His heart was full of love for all mankind. He inherited

a tradition in these matters,—just as I did originally myself. Even at this later date, I would say frankly, that I am thankful for my father's teaching: it remains still deep in my mind and heart. But I now read it in the terms of Indian Independence.

While this was my actual upbringing, my own experience since, during many long and arduous journeys, has convinced me that the Colonial Empire of Great Britain is entirely different from that which my father imagined it to be. It believes strongly in 'white' race domination. Such a dominance of one race over all others is by no means a sacred trust from God: it is rather a sordid commercial conquest and exploitation, in which process the 'white' race prejudice forms an important and integral part. Again and again, I have been buoyed up with ardent hopes, that this lower side was a passing phase; that it would die out, as the higher culture came in. But I have watched, at close quarters, the rigid determination of Englishmen to create at all costs, a 'white' dominion, from which coloured races shall be, as far as possible, excluded. I have seen how this determined effort has

been based on the law of self-preservation, and how it has become inseparably mingled with the clamorous demand for the protection of the honour of the 'white' women. I have watched how this sentiment has gone far beyond the colonial empire of Great Britain, and has led to the increasing brutality of negro persecution in the United States of America. This 'white' race religion, as I have often called it, has thus appeared to me, during my travels, to have become an incorrigible passion of the lower Anglo-Saxon mind, having all the fanaticism of a baser cult. I have seen it spreading its infection like some poisonous disease, or some noxious weed.

Now, I know for certain, that the British colonial will not allow the Indian to be near him on the terms of racial equality, except where the Indians are so few in their numbers, that for all practical purposes they do not count at all. To show how overwhelmingly strong this fixed determination of 'white' race domination is, I will make an acknowledgment. I have found myself again and again, when in despair of the argument of justice and equality, pleading with my own fellow-countrymen on.

the ground of mere expediency.—“You have stopped all immigration”, I have said to them, “you cannot possibly be swamped by Indians coming in. Can you not treat decently the small number of domiciled Indians, who will remain in your country?” To such low levels of appeal have I found myself reduced, in those parts of the British Empire which have stopped all Indian immigration. No other arguments were possible.

This has happened so many times, that I have become sick and tired at heart. And now, at last, since the conviction of the futility of the British Empire, as it now exists, has been brought home to me; since I can see no prospects within it except that of greater and greater exploitation of other races by the Anglo-Saxon; since it appears to me, that this accumulation of racial arrogance must some day explode in a world-wide, terrible disaster, I have felt that the time has fully come, and indeed is over-due, when it is necessary to stand out against this trend of events altogether. I do not wish, for one moment longer, either by word, or deed, or even by silence, to be a participator in a ‘white’ race

supremacy, which from the bottom of my heart I detest.

I am aware that the idea of complete Indian Independence is still regarded with suspicion, even by very many Indians themselves. The outlook is too adventurous for them: it takes their breath away,—just as a boy who is a weak swimmer stands shivering on the brink before making the final plunge. The word ‘Independence’ is also tinged with a certain almost physical fear about ‘sedition.’ The fact is not realised, that the great European war has altered the meaning of the word ‘sedition’ in almost every country in the world. It is wholly legitimate to day to regard the foreign sovereignty of the United States over the Philippine Islands as temporary, and the British protectorate over Egypt as temporary. What logical distinction is there between these instances and that of India?

To me, personally, it has been almost an inexplicable phenomenon to find in India so deeply rooted this obsession of the mind, that, whatever may be happening in other countries, the British Rule in India is permanent. I have found it among devoted Indian patriots

and I deeply respect it where I find it ; but I confess I cannot understand it.

It is quite true that 'Independence' is no new word or new idea. It was set forward, with the utmost bravery, in Bengal, many years ago. A band of revolutionary enthusiasts went joyfully, even to death, confident that some day their dream of Indian Independence would be realised. Their methods were often those of violence and the movement was suppressed. It was followed afterwards by a lesser and weaker claim for Home Rule under the protecting shield of the British Empire. This lesser and weaker claim, for a long time, held the field in politics. But it was never satisfactory. The truth is that even though, in outward speech, this final act of severance from the British Empire has not been prominently mentioned, the future is altogether on its side. If the present trend of event continues, it is likely to meet, sooner or later, with an almost universal acceptance,—just as the same claim for Independence in the Philippines, and in Egypt has now such a strong hold of the popular imagination in those countries, that it has the whole body of Philippines and Egyptians

behind it. The world forces are moving that way. It is impossible for India herself to lag behind.

The immediate practical reason for my publishing these articles is, that I am about to take another journey abroad to the British colonies, and I do not wish to set out under false colours. But far deeper than this is the reason I have already mentioned. I wish to stand out, with all my might and main, against this detestable religion of the supremacy of the 'white' race to which I referred above.

In spite of all the smooth and pleasing speeches at the Imperial Conference in London, last July, this frank rejection of racial equality, this 'white' race dominion, is being sedulously preached in nearly every part of the British colonial Empire. The Newspapers from New Zealand, South Africa, East Africa, reach me regularly. It has been a bitter commentary on Imperial affairs at London to find, that, even at the very same moment that complimentary speeches about India were being made by the colonial Premiers at Oxford, Glasgow and Manchester and other parts of the United Kingdom; even at the very time also that General Smuts was attempting to settle the

Irish question on the basis of racial equality,— at that moment, the absolute domination of the 'white' race was being insisted on at unanimous public meetings in East Africa, and a new immigration Act of the most humiliating character was being put into force in New Zealand, as the result of an Anti-Asiatic campaign on account of the arrival of a few more Indians than had been expected.

For the sake of clearness, I would here repeat, in a somewhat different form, the facts I have already given; for they cannot be too well known and understood. The experiences, which I have gathered at first hand in the colonies and dominions have convinced me that sooner or later the very presence of Indians is objected to by the colonials themselves. The two exceptions are (i) where Indians come in such small numbers as not to be noticed (ii) where Indians are brought over under some degrading form of indenture as a supply of cheap and conveniently docile labour.

There is, up to the present, absolutely no thought of equality. The very idea is resented by the average colonial: in prac-

tically every colony and dominion, the principle of the 'ruling white race' prevails. It is a phrase which is constantly heard on the lips, and its spirit is in men's hearts. That is the naked truth.

I feel quite certain, that, in after years, we shall all look back with wonder and ask ourselves in a bewildered manner such questions as these:—"How could we have ever held any other thought in our minds about India but that of Independence? How could we have trifled for a single moment with the idea of Home Rule as a permanent goal and end? How could we ever have regarded the the British Empire as our real home? How could we ever have considered it a worthy aim to continue for all time as an integral part of Anglo-Saxon dominion?"

In the days that are rapidly approaching, we shall be surprised and shocked that we could have acquiesced so long in the absurdly fanciful idea, that a people in Southern Asia, with a cultured past of its own and an ancient civilization, whose numbers were nearly 320,000,000 souls, could ever, by its own choice, be permanently bound to an island in

the North Sea for its protection. Historians, at some future date, may possibly tell the story how leading Indians, in their despair of conditions at home, were actually hugging the chains that fastened them to the British Empire; how they took pride in the fact that they were 'British subjects' and 'British citizens'. Historians will state truthfully that these things were happening at that very time when Indians were being treated like helots and out-castes in South Africa; when the last shreds of self respect were being stripped from domiciled Indians in Natal; when Europeans in East Africa were using threats of violence to prevent Indians from retaining land rights in the highlands of Kenya Colony. It will surely appear inconceivable to such historians, that Indians would have sunk so low in character as to boast, even in such days as these, of the fact that they were 'British'.

Now, at last, however late in the day, this strange hypnotic spell has been broken. The sense of the dignity of the Indian name, which had almost been lost under the British dominions, has been recovered. Their immediate response

to the call, which Mahatma Gandhi has made to the masses of the people of India, has been remarkable. It has shown how deep the latent feeling was in the heart of the people, if only the heart could be touched.

The political steps by which Independence may be reached are not in my province to discuss. The spiritual issues are uppermost in my own mind, and with these I shall deal at length. My object will be to show clearly, that, for the fulness of Indian personality, Independence is the only goal. My aim will be to convince my readers, that to remain permanently tied to Great Britain is contrary to the true nature of Indian culture, however valuable a temporary connection may have been.

What I am now giving to the Press is no hastily formed judgment, due to the excitement of the times in which we live. Every one of the conclusions, which follow, was formed many years ago and this manuscript has been kept for nearly a year, before publication, in order to give ample time for revision. It is my great hope, that there will be no single word, that will arouse racial bitterness; for the appeal will be to reason and to reason alone.

II

WHITE RACE SUPREMACY

I would wish to state once more, that it is not the political, but the moral and spiritual side of this great issue of Indian Independence which interests me most deeply. There is no programme I can offer as to the method by which Independence may be reached. The practical difficulties will not come under discussion. The conclusion, which I wish to make absolutely clear to all my readers, is, that Independence is the ultimate goal and none other. The reasons, put forward, may seem here and there to be sentimental, rather than practical; but they go down to clear fundamental differences, which I shall endeavour to explain.

All my life through, I have been a scholar and a thinker and a reader of books,—eager indeed at every turn to put thought to the test of action, but constitutionally unwilling and unable to take a lead in such action, except on very rare occasions. Whenever such

occasions have arisen, I have instinctively shrunk back as quickly as possible, because I have felt the political life to be something apart from my own. It has seemed to me necessary to make this personal explanation at the outset, in order to forestall the question which immediately arises as to whether Indian independence is really practical. This issue I leave to the men of action to settle. The only question, which will be brought forward in these papers, is whether Independence is, or is not, the true goal. I am convinced that it is the true goal, the only satisfying goal. The irresistible logic of events had driven me to this conclusion. It involves, for me, the greater issue still,—an issue as wide as humanity,—the breaking down of the 'white' race supremacy, which I hold to be the greatest menace on earth today, and the most potent incentive, if not checked in time, to a world conflagration. It will be understood, therefore, at this early stage of the discussion, that the question is not one of politics, but of humanity.

On whichever side I look today in considering the Indian future,—on the side of

trade and commerce ; on the side of industry and labour ; on the side of social reform, religious readjustment, domestic reconstruction ; on the side of literature, art and music,—I can see the creative impulse more sustained, and the inward energy of the soul of the people more responsive, if Independence could be postulated as the goal in front of us, rather than Home Rule.

To say this, does not necessarily imply that the British connection with India in the past has been an altogether unmixed evil, though I can conceive of no more shameful beginning to any rule than the organised plunder of India by the East India Company, in the Eighteenth Century. Yet, in spite of these evil beginnings of British rule and its failure, over large areas of the Indian people, to impress itself with any moral energy, I believe, with the late Mr. Gokhale, that this British connection has had its place in Indian history in the inscrutable divine Providence.

Just as, in the healing of some chronically diseased or infirm person, there is often the need of some drastic surgical operation, of some powerful shock, in order to restore a

failing vitality, even so, it appears to me, it may have been necessary for India to receive the surgery of a foreign conquest, and the shock of a foreign culture, before she could hope to be cured of her disease or infirmity.

To take a striking parallel from European history which may bring home my meaning, the shock of the Islamic conquest and civilisation which broke upon Western Europe like a thunder storm, at the time of the Dark Ages of barbarism and ignorance, awaken a strong reaction. This shock was undoubtedly painful to Christendom, but salutary. Yet we note that Europe, as a whole, went back to its own learning after the shock was over, even in those lands which had been physically conquered for many centuries by the Arabs and the Moors. Europe has been richer not poorer, on the one hand for the shock received, and on the other hand for the subsequent independence.

In a parallel way, the shock of the Anglo-Saxon civilization came upon India in what may be called, in general terms, India's Dark Ages of the Eighteenth Century, amid the decay of the Mogul power and the internal

anarchy which followed. Even though this shock came, accompanied by all the evils of foreign conquests and foreign exploitation, yet it may have been salutary in its ultimate effect. Certainly Bengal, with its one supremely great figure of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, standing on the very threshold of the change, did react in a remarkable degree to the stimulus of the foreigner. It aroused itself thereby from torpor and decay. Historians of modern India have not been wrong in attributing this renaissance in Bengal, in the first instance, to his tremendous impact from the West.

We may heartily agree with all that I have stated and call it, along with Mr. Gokhale, providential; but to prolong the shock by endeavouring to keep India permanently within the British Empire, or to hypnotise the Indian people with smooth words against the idea of Independence, may be altogether harmful. For, to be an integral part and parcel of that Empire, bound up with it, cramped up within its boundaries, ever more and more assimilated to it, ever losing the energy of independent life, this fate will not be provi-

dential at all, but unnatural to the last degree.

What would have been the European verdict, if it had been said that Spain and Portugal under the Moors, might have received in the past Home Rule, but not Independence? Would Home Rule within the Moorish Empire has been sufficient freedom? Would the blessings of Arab civilisation, great as they were, have been sufficient compensation for Spain and Portugal's own indigenous culture? We admire it is true the Moorish architecture, which has survived; but the world would be poorer without the immortal "Don' Quixote".

In the European Middle Ages there was a striking phrase describing anything which brought stagnation upon the future,—it was called the *mortmain*, the dead hand. I have already seen the dead hand of an essentially foreign rule, such as the British rule in India must always be, laid upon many things in Indian life that were vitally precious. Art, music, poetry architecture, may for a time, it is true, be quickened into activity by the impact of a foreign culture; but the 'dead

hand' inevitably creeps forward, if the impact is prolonged. This is really what has happened on an immensely extended scale with education in India,—that education which often goes by the name of Anglo-Vernacular. The name itself is revealing.

The same effect may be seen, as I hope to show later, upon the agricultural life of the villages of India. Changes which brought the shock of novelty have also brought the shock of destruction: and again, in this instance, we can see the dead hand creep forward. It has pained me intensely to see the deadening touch of that interference which is essentially foreign and unmeaning, upon many beautiful and natural village customs,—without anything good being given to replace that which has been taken away.

To bring this illustration to a close, I am eagerly longing to see this 'dead hand' removed from India altogether and the country once more entirely free and independent. I long to see India's own healthy and vigorous and normal life begin again, without any further stimulus or shock. I am quite certain that surgical operations, performed by the

rough instrument of foreign British rule, are now no longer necessary. The new current of indigenous life in India is running strong. It has its own direction. To apply surgery or medicines, or electric shocks from the outside, would be altogether unwholesome, and even dangerous. It would only lead to disaster.

Now; the freedom must be absolute, the Independence must be complete. There should be no merely half-way house : no remaining indolently in that intermediate state, in which all great issues become confused and the currents of life grow sluggish. The spell of weak dependence and languid indifference must be cast off. Freedom rests ultimately in the mind. No less a goal than Independence can give that freedom to the heart of India which she so passionately desires.

III CULTURAL INCOMPATIBILITY

WHAT first rivetted my attention, as a student, when I came to India and studied the educational problem was the ultimate inconceivability in abstract thought, of a rapidly increasing multitude of people, which now numbers 320,000,000 souls, and has already an advanced civilisation of its own, ever becoming finally and completely assimilated to the thoughts and temperament of a much smaller group of people in the North Sea, who differed from Indians in climate, language, race, religion, culture, and domestic life. India, which is, in itself, a sub-continent self-contained and self-complete, could not possibly be treated merely as an appendage of an Anglo-Saxon Empire.

To put this thought in other words, Indian civilisation, which has been almost continuously productive and fertile in men of religious genius, men of intellectual vision,

men of artistic creative power, could never, by any stretch of imagination be accommodated permanently to meet the ways and means and ends of Anglo-Saxon expansion. India must pursue a path, a destiny of her own. Anglo-Saxon advance might be salutary in the vast, vacant spaces of Australia, South Africa and North America. But it would be far from salutary, if it penetrated indefinitely the densely crowded regions of Southern and Eastern Asia. The time had come to say to this Anglo-Saxon land-hunger, "Hands off!"

No! The more this thought became tenant of my mind, while I lived and worked in India, the more it settled there and would not leave me. All the time that I was wrestling with this problem, the fact was indisputable to me that 'within the Empire' must mean some kind of subordination to the central ideal of the Empire. It meant a permanent outlook towards British ends and a tendency to sacrifice the ideals of India herself, to British aims. However much the prospect of the future might be camouflaged, in order to tone down too harsh a perspective, the ultimate goal, when the words 'within the British

Empire' were kept, would be a British goal, not an Indian goal.

Even though responsibility in self-government might be given in full to Indians themselves, there would always remain this residuum of dependence, this outlook towards British ideals and British ends. Australia, Canada, New Zealand, might not feel this residuum of dependence as 'integral parts of the British Empire' because the people of those countries were kith and kin of the British people. But Indians were nothing of the kind. They were foreigners, and must always remain foreigners, in the midst of an Empire of kinsmen. If 'blood is thicker than water', then it would follow that the blood relations would combine against the outsider, the foreigner, India. Self-government, on a Dominion basis, would not mean the same for India as it would mean for Australia and Canada. India would be outvoted on almost every vital issue.

There was another fact which brought home to me this truth. The Dominions could truly call Great Britain their 'Mother Country.' They could all claim to be daughters in the Mother's house. They could expect to be

welcomed with home affection into the one family circle but when these terms began to be applied to India, they were seen at once to be absurdly unreal and impossible.

For India herself has been the Mother of civilisations. India in her age-long wisdom, has been a spiritual 'Mother' among the nations. India could never be regarded by Great Britain as a 'daughter.' The idea was too ludicrously absurd !

An Empire, if it is to have a natural, human structure, and not to be artificial, and mechanical must be an organic whole, like a body with its own living members, or a family with its own children. It cannot have an extra limb grafted on from the outside: it cannot have a stranger in the house on the same footing as the children who are related to one another by blood.

But I could find no such organic relation, no such intimate, and vital connection between India and England. Their histories were poles apart, and it had been an act of brute conquest, merely, which had brought them originally together. I could believe, that this act of conquest was providential, if it were

temporary, and for a special providential purpose, but I could not believe that it could ever force India to become an integral part of an Empire, which must always remain peculiarly and centrally British.

Even in the mere matter of numbers, the odds were against any such permanent relation; for the Indian population was enormously greater than the British. According to Euclid, the greater may always contain the less. But here (so the thought presented itself to me) we were all engaged in trying to make the less include the greater. We were making the centre of one fifth of the whole population of the world permanently fixed at London.

A very important illustration came to my mind from the United States of America. Where the Federal countries, which now compose the United States, were closely akin to one another by blood and tradition, these were each in turn incorporated, and became integral parts of the American Republic. Thus California, Texas and other new States formed with New York and Pennsylvania and the older States one integrally united Republic.

Each state, on incorporation, sent its representative to the Central Council or Senate. But when an entirely foreign country, like the Philippines, came under the jurisdiction of the United States the rulers of the Republic very wisely took no steps to make it an integral part of the United States Dominion. They regarded the conquest as temporary only, and endeavoured to give it back its independence as soon as possible. India forms an almost exact analogy to the Philippines with regard to the British Commonwealth system. It ought to be given back its independence at the earliest possible moment. It should not be asked in the meantime, to send delegates to the Imperial Cabinet in London, because it is, and must always remain, a foreigner in relation to the British Commonwealth.

I can well remember the very acute distress which I felt one day in Delhi, soon after my arrival in India, when I heard for the first time an English-educated Indian saying to me, with an air of contempt for his own native country,—“ This place is a beastly hole. I wish I were going home! ” By ‘home’ he meant England. This very able young

Indian had so become inured to English dress, even in India itself, that he was wearing, when I saw him, lavender coloured gloves and a high starched collar in the hot climate of Delhi in April. Denationalization could not have gone further.

My whole soul revolted from the picture of such a denationalised existence. At first I felt a certain contempt. But, in a moment, my contempt had turned into pity. For how inwardly wretched he was! What an outcaste! What a pariah!

And the pity of it all lay just there that he had cut himself off from his own kith and kin. He was like a tree plucked up by the roots. He had no soil in which to grow. He could never really make England 'home' and he knew it and felt it.

Only a few moment's had passed by in my presence, when he flamed forth with burning indignation at some bitter wrong he had received at the hands of Europeans. Yes, it was pity rather than contempt that he needed! The whole thing was a tragedy; it was worse than physical death, with its few short moments of physical pain to be endured.

For here was *spiritual* death,—the life long agony of a tortured soul.

Often and often, since then, I have pictured in my mind that tragic figure,—with his lavender gloves and high starched collar in the heat of the middle of April in Delhi. I have said to myself, “This is false! It is an outrage on humanity! There is no truth in it! The sooner it is done away with, and a healthy, self-respecting, natural, Indian life substituted for it, the better!”

Yet, if India remains permanently incorporated within the British Empire, is there really any escape from such tragedies being multiplied, as time goes on, a thousand-fold?

IV

RACIAL ARROGANCE

Up to this point, I have tried to make clear, that the immense area and population of India, with its history and tradition so different from England, make the thought of India ever becoming in reality "an integral part of the British Empire" almost inconceivable. Furthermore, while Canada and Australia and other dominions can truly look back to England as their own national home, it is quite impossible for India to do so. The retention, therefore, of India within the British Empire, permanently and integrally, cannot possibly be for India's own sake: it must be for the selfish aggrandisement of the English race. This has really been the meaning of that phrase, (which I have even heard Indians themselves quoting as if with pride) that India was "the brightest jewel in the British Crown". This constantly repeated expression

ought to bring a blush of shame to Indians instead of pride. For in reality, while the Philippines are likely to obtain their Independence after less than thirty years of a foreign rule by the United States, more than 160 years have passed since the Battle of Plassey, and yet the goal of Independence is not even welcomed with any enthusiasm by a large number of Indians themselves. They would almost shiver at the thought.

We have seen that, if India with its 320,000,000 people, were to remain within the British Empire on terms of perfect racial equality, then it would so outbalance every other portion of that Empire by its sheer weight of numbers, that the Empire itself would have to become predominantly Indian in its character, rather than a *British* Empire. Its centre would in the course of time gravitate to Calcutta, or some other Indian capital, rather than remain in London. But, the British, themselves would never for a moment consent to an 'Indianising' of their Empire. As soon as ever such an 'Indianising' was likely to happen, the theory of racial equality would be given up, or at least be

cloaked over with all kinds of different disguises and subterfuges. Colonel Wedgwood may write about the Indo-British Commonwealth, adding the title 'Indian' to the old word 'British'. But it is not the name that matters; it is a question of facts.

We are seeing the crude facts illustrated at the present time in East Africa. The one simple reason why the British and Dutch in East Africa will never allow racial equality in that country,—just as they have never allowed it in South Africa,—is because they are in the position of an aristocracy, which insists on keeping its power. India is only six days journey from Mombasa: England is twenty days distant. Every year the number of Indian settlers is increasing. Therefore, the 'white' settlers are crying out for a 'white' East Africa, as they feel themselves outnumbered. There can be little doubt that they will have full sympathy from the other provinces in Africa where the English rule. The 'white' settlers would rather leave the country altogether than submit to live side by side, on equal terms, with Indians whom they despise.

It is sometimes asserted that this 'white' race supremacy has become less arrogant and insistent since the great European War. I wish I could see signs of this. What I have observed with my own eyes is exactly the reverse. In Africa, at least, the spirit of the 'white' race has grown more arrogant, not less. There is no lesson of the war, which has been more neglected and despised by the Anglo Saxon race, than that of respect for the non-European races of mankind. Wherever I have travelled, I have noticed, what I can only call a stiffening and hardening of the barriers which separate the 'white' race from all other races. An even more striking illustration of this may be given from parts which I have not visited. For the most sober papers in the United States continually regret the recrudescence of lynch law and fanaticism against the coloured people since the time of the Great War.

While I have been trying to work out this problem of racial arrogance, and to find some solution, I have studied the history of other countries, which have suffered the same fate as India, and

was true, in India, concerning the Moghal Empire, just as to-day it is proving true about the British Empire.

I would again point out, that this does not mean that foreign conquest is always immediately a disaster. The reign of Akbar was an untold blessing to India. The rule of the United States in the Philippines has been unquestionably a blessing in morden times. But, to *prolong* a foreign rule appears invariably to lead to disaster. And the whole controversy with England at the present time is, that its rule in India has lasted too long.

I need not dwell upon the different evils, that are certain to arise, when subjection has eaten into the soul of the people. They are only too well known. There is a slow undermining of the very foundations of truth and honesty and fearlessness of character. This is caused by the fear, implanted by the foreign rule and its arbitrary punishments and rewards. Everything is to be gained by facile accommodation and flattery. Perhaps it would be true to say that all educated Indians have felt, deep down in their own characters, these vicious effects of foreign rule upon the

truthfulness of their own lives. No material benefits can compensate for such losses in the inward life. Even the somewhat exaggerated expression of courage and plain speaking, that is now so often met with in the younger generation, has something strained about it. It is hardly yet the simple natural courage of the man, who has been free from his very birth and has known nothing else but freedom.

The more I studied Sir John Seeley's sentence, and then recapitulated to myself the facts of my own experience in India and the colonies, the more clearly I saw that foreign rule does actually lead to the subservient mind, and only the very few, who are able to rise above outward circumstances by the inner power of the spirit, can remain untarnished by its evils. This is a final fact of experience. It is true of the average man.

However much, therefore, "Home Rule within the British Empire" might be substituted for the present despotic power of the Viceroy and Council, I was quite certain, as an Englishman,—knowing my countrymen, as no Indian could possibly understand them,—that there would always be some residuum of

subjection in India's position; some remaining mark of dependence; some patronage from the imperial centre; something wholly foreign, and not Indian at all. And such dependence and patronage, however disguised and kept out of sight, would perpetually lead to that national deterioration, which Seeley has described.

I could not bear the thought of this. Often and often, in the silence of the night, I have pondered deeply over Christ's words: "Whatsoever yet would that men should do unto you, even so do unto them; for this is the Law of the Prophets."

While I have meditated, I have said to myself again and again, in silence,—“How can you, an Englishman, who love your own freedom and independence, as an Englishman, refuse to allow the very same freedom and the very same independence to every Indian?”

I had no answer to that question, except to acknowledge the truth it contained. If this independence, which is every Englishman's birthright, had made my own life free and fearless, what right had I to enslave others? No! By every sacred precept of my own

Christian religion, I was bound to strive ardently for the removal of every hindrance, which should stand in the way of those Indians among whom I was living, my friends and companions and brothers. I ought to prevent them from being deprived of that precious gift of freedom and fearlessness, which I myself had enjoyed as my own second nature and age-long inheritance as an Englishman.

Thus, in times of quiet thought, when all was still and silent around me, the iron of India's subjection,—a subjection which did not begin with British domination, though it had become accentuated thereby,—entered into my own soul, and I longed to receive strength never to add to it by any act of my own, but rather, night and day, to strive to remove it.

It was in very early days, while these thoughts were present with me, that there came one of those sudden revelations of the truth, which are given like a flash from time to time. There had been, in the year 1907, at Aligarh, a dispute between the students and the European staff. This had led to extreme bitterness.

Then, a sudden action on the part of the European Principal had provoked a College strike. The students refused to go back until their wrongs were righted. Early one morning at Delhi, Moulvi Nazir Ahmed and Munshi Zaka Ullah, whom I revered most deeply for their singular beauty of character, came to me, with tears in their eyes, to tell me that the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, which was the one darling treasure of their hearts in their old age, was on the point of ruin. They asked me to come with them to Aligarh itself. We went together and I could feel, without a word being said, the outraged spirit of the students,—their resentment, their sense of humiliation, their feelings of injustice. During that very night, when we were present at Aligarh, it flamed forth in a literal deed. For the insulted students burnt their college furniture,—their beds and mattresses, their tables and books. The flames mounted to the skies. They were a symbol of the student's own flaming indignation. After the strike was all over, and the students had gone back, and the disturbance was at an end, I asked from Moulvi Nazir Ahmed, what words of advice he

had spoken to the students. He told me, that he had said to them as follows:—

“You are slaves. What can slaves do? Get back to your books and work. You are not free men, but slaves”.

These terrible words of the Moulvi Sahib whom I passionately loved, haunted me like an evil dream. Was that all the counsel he was able to give these young men at the very opening of their lives. Was that in very truth these students' true position? Were they slaves? The more I thought over it, the more I found that the words of the Moulvi Sahib had truth in them. This foreign subjection was a servitude of the soul, more insidious, perhaps than any outward slavery, and none the less literally true. However much it might be disguised by a pleasing exterior, the true fact remained. If any one of these brilliant young students went to other parts of the British Empire, they would not be allowed to land. And even here, in India, they must flatter and fawn and beg for favours if they would get office.

I went over and over again, in mind, Sir John Seeley's maxim, which I had just discover-

ed,—“Subjection for a long time to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration.” The words “for a long time” stuck in my own mind. I said to myself,—“This clearly must not go any longer. For already, the period since the English came, as foreign rulers, is far too long a time for a country like India to be subject to a foreign power. Added to that, there have also been centuries of foreign subjection before the British advent. *This period of subjection must be ended.*” It was not long after this, that the central thought of Indian Independence became firmly established in my mind. I have tested it since by a hundred experiences abroad, but it has stood the test.

It is true, that, since the days when the Moulvi Sahib gave his advice to those Aligarh students great strides have been taken in the direction of the Indian Home Rule. Events, that no one at that time believed to be possible, have happened in a single year. But the act remains, nevertheless, that over a large area of the Indian population the subservient mind continues. For my own part, I can see no practical end to it, as long as India remains

40 THE CLAIM FOR INDEPENDENCE

merely that, which the August Proclamation, of 1917, declares it to be, namely, "an integral part of the British Empire".

V

HYPOCRISY AND EDUCATION

I have given in the last chapter a story relating an event, which happened in my own life, and brought home to me with terrible force the true facts concerning India's yoke under a foreign rule. Another event happened shortly afterwards, which drove still deeper into my heart the iron wound of this subjection and made me understand its meaning, even more unmistakably than I had done hitherto. I was at Allahabad, in the year 1908, and I had already made there many friends among leading barristers and pleaders. Late one evening, we were seated talking together about the condition of the country. When it was past midnight, and the talk had gone forward with the utmost freedom, one of my friends (who is now dead) said to me,—"All of us here are obliged to meet every day, officially, the government officers who are Englishmen. We cannot speak to them

openly. We have to say one thing to them, and another thing among ourselves," I was startled and shocked at his statement and said to him,—“Do you mean to say this goes on all day long?” He replied,—“Yes, all day long and every day of our lives.” The rest of those who were present corroborated his words. They told me that such a double life was inevitable, under foreign rule, unless a man was a saint, or a ‘mahatma’.

One further instance, of a different kind, occurred not long after, which opened my eyes still further. I was coming one day through the Kashmir Gate, when one of our college Professors, who was a brave and good man, met me, in a state of great indignation at a cruel wrong he had just witnessed. On the college cricket ground, which was close at hand, a brutal policeman had assaulted a sweet-meat seller, and when this Professor had protested, the policeman had summoned two other police-men to his aid, who happened to be passing by, and the three of them together had kicked with their heavy boots the sweet-meat seller, while he was lying on the ground. They had also assaulted

my friend himself. I asked my friend, who was still in a white heat of indignation, to come with me at once to the Deputy Commissioner and report the matter. But he refused. The police, he said, were part of the foreign system, and they were also a close corporation protected by the foreign Government. He might be able, with my help, to get justice in this case, but he would be a marked man in the future. And as sure as night followed day some charge would be brought up against him, in order to take revenge; and the foreign government would never throw over their own underlings, by means of whom they keep their power and control. "Mr. Andrews," he said to me, "you may think me a coward, but you, as an Englishman, have no idea what this police system, under a foreign Government, means to Indians. The police loot the people right and left with absolute impunity. They take to themselves all the power, which is in the hands of the English, and then abuse it. And every subordinate government official, under this foreign rule, does the same."

My next line of thought, in this matter

of a permanent remaining within the British Empire, was in a different direction. I began to see, as a foreigner, in a foreign country, what a predominant part geography and climate play in fashioning national life. While I firmly believe, that human nature is the same all the world over, and that isolated individuals, by spiritual conquest, can acclimatise themselves to any surroundings, I can also see that this unnatural effort is not required by God from whole peoples. They can best fulfil their own place in the divine Providence and Order of the world, by remaining true to their highest nature in their own climatic surroundings, eliminating more and more the passions of the brute. They are not called upon to go outside their nature. They are meant by God to correspond naturally and simply to the climate and soil from whence they sprang just as a flower grows best in its own congenial soil.

Yet, if India were to remain indefinitely within the British Empire, as an integral part of its structure, the result inevitably would be, that the whole system and climate (as it were) of life, which was temperamentally suited to

the Briton in his cold, sunless Northern Islands, would be imposed, in a greater or lesser degree, upon the Indian, who lives for his whole life within the belt of the world's greatest heat and under its most powerful sunshine. This would surely lead, more and more to a distrust warping and distorting of both the Indian character itself, and also of the Indian system and manner of life.

We can easily see, even to-day, how restless and dissatisfied modern educated Indians have often become, on account of English acclimatisation. In their case, however, there is a reason for this, because, with those who enter the larger world of men and things a certain amount of accommodation may be necessary. But it would be fatally unnatural if this artificially acquired temperament of accommodation penetrated the masses of the Indian population, who never have any need to change their habits to meet changes of environment. For the very beauty of their village lives, as they are lived at present, lies in the fact that they are so intimately close to nature and in harmony with their surroundings. Their life has found its unity.

It would be fatally useless for them to adopt all kinds of strange western habits, utterly unsuited to their environment, merely because of the facile imitation of a subservient race, which tries to copy its rulers even in things that are injurious.

Thus it will be seen, from what I have written very briefly and imperfectly, how this question of climate and environment made me feel more and more clearly every day the unnaturalness of the British rule if it were to be regarded as a permanent factor in Indian life. The first stimulating effect of contact with a new civilisation would soon pass away and the inevitable reaction would be sure to follow, if the same shock from outside were still further applied. Indian life, would be, more and more, forced into artificial ways. Just as a man is utterly uncomfortable, if he has to be dressed up in hot, unsuitable, tight and badly fitting clothes; just as he then finds himself perspiring and longing to throw off the tight dress and to clothe himself in simpler garments, even so the people of India would become restless and uncomfortable while adopting new foreign habits

and the situation would at last become intolerable.

I can give an example of this from my own experience. While living among the boys at Shantiniketan, it has been a great comfort to me to wear the simple loose Indian dress which is exactly suited to the climate. I have got so used to this, that it has become a second nature to me to wear it. I can hardly describe the discomfort of being obliged to change this dress, and to put on the tight fitting English dress, when I go to visit Europeans in Calcutta, who would be shocked if I appeared before them in an Indian dress.

The truth is, that the whole British system, with its cast-iron method has been imposed upon India in the world of politics. This pressure of foreign habits goes much further than the sphere of government, with such a people as the Indian people, who are so easily moved by external forces. Every market shows the useless foreign articles offered for sale. One can see it also in the houses themselves, where hideous oleographs of vulgar European art often bedeck the walls.

In the mansions of the great, in India, the taste is even more glaringly distasteful. Furniture of an utterly useless type crowds the rooms, covered perpetually in baize cloth and making the whole house stuffy and full of dust. The sense of coolness, which comes from a room where furniture is reduced to a minimum, is altogether lost. It is impossible to describe the utter waste of money in such houses, and also the miserable vulgarity of the effect. I have said to myself, again and again, that this foreign rule had become like the old man in the Arabian Nights, clinging round Sinbad the Sailor's neck and dragging him down to destruction. There is still time to throw off the evil. But the need for Independence has become day by day more pressing and imperative.

This question of environment and climate leads on, by an obvious sequence of thought, to the far more fundamental question of the education of the young. This has been my own special interest both in England and in India. Coming out from England nearly eighteen years ago, where education and environment had become in a great measure

one organic whole, especially in the older public schools and universities, it was an almost intolerable burden to me to find out by painful experience what an utterly unassimilated thing the foreign 'English' education in India was, and how the foreign rule itself was using the sacred cause of education as a propaganda of the glories and excellences of British rule. My own experience in St. Stephen's College, Delhi, revealed to me the fact, that a foreign government, such as the British government in India, cares very little indeed for education itself, as a search for truth, as a training of inner character, as an end rather than as a means. The foreign government inevitably gravitates towards making the education of the young a tool and an instrument for advancing its own politics even at the expense of truth.

Soon after my arrival in India, when once my own radical views had become known, an amusing experience of government intervention in strictly educational matters for its own political ends occurred to me. I will relate it in order to illustrate my point. While I was engaged in teaching in the Punjab Uni-

versity, the Vice-Chancellor expressed to me his great desire that I should become a member of the Syndicate. I had had some knowledge of the method of conducting 'Honours' courses, while teaching at Cambridge before coming out to the Punjab; the Vice-Chancellor, therefore, wished me to help him in starting Honours' courses for the B.A. in the Punjab University. Nevertheless, though, he put my name forward again and again, the Lieutenant Governor always refused to nominate me as a Fellow, because of my radical opinions. Yet I could not be elected to the Syndicate, until I had been made a Fellow. Therefore I could do no useful work, such as the Vice-Chancellor desired, until the Lieutenant Governor changed his mind and made me a Fellow. It is interesting to note also that I could become a Fellow in no other way than by the Lieutenant Governor's nomination.

Then, one day, in an idle moment, while Mr. Ramsay Macdonald was staying with me, at Delhi, I related to him the story of the Lieut. Governor's refusal, on political grounds, to appoint me. He was naturally indignant at an abuse of power which could never have

happened in free England. Without telling me anything about it, he related this incident in his book "The Awakening of India". The result was that something happened at the India Office, where Lord Morley was Secretary. The Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab hurriedly appointed me a Fellow and I was duly elected on the Syndicate. This is only a slight and somewhat humourous example of what is happening every day. The matter may be put in a simple phrase, Education under a foreign government is used for political ends. But there is something far worse than this political use of Education by Government officials. In India, as I have heard time after time from the very best students, the suspicion has been created far and wide among them that some of their fellow students are spies, in the pay of the C.I.D. This suspicion is founded on an imposing array of facts and I have no doubt in my own mind that it is true. For this reason the whole atmosphere of education is tainted with hypocrisy and lies. I know no other country, (except possibly that of Russia under the Czar) in which education has been so tainted with fear and

suspicion as that of India. The whole of this system of espionage, carried on in the schools and colleges of India, through the agency of the students themselves, as tools of the Police, is disgraceful. It has meant the prostitution of true education to serve the foreign government. It has shown unmistakably that the government is foreign through and through and cannot trust the people. It rather trusts its own paid agents, who have sold their conscience and have taken up the profession of spies. But the evil goes deeper when a political bias is given in the schools and colleges even to the subjects taught and to the character of the curriculum itself. The teachers, who have their own private political ideas,—not unfrequently of an extreme ‘national ‘character’—are expected to teach history with a view to upholding and supporting the British Raj. They are therefore to teach lip-loyalty. Hypocrisies of every kind are carried on. The double life of the teacher is imparted to the pupils. For the pupils quickly learn from their teachers to give lip service to government, on special occasions. They begin from their earliest days, to repeat ‘loyal’ phrases which

do not come from the heart and are not sincerely believed, either by teacher or taught.

I have in mind a contrast between two schools, which came under my own notice. At Shantiniketan, where I now have the privilege of teaching, the atmosphere of education is as free as the air we breathe and as the light of heaven which gives us gladness. There is confidence and trust. Whatever is in the heart comes out in speech. I went from Shantiniketan one day to give away the prizes at a neighbouring school, on their annual Prize Day. Here, from first to last, I felt the pressure amounting almost to compulsion, brought to fear, by Inspectors and others, upon the poor, weak men who were teachers, to lead a double life in order to please Government and to get an increase in Government grants. It was a pitiable mockery, to see two little children, with their hands straight down by their sides and their faces blankly unintelligent, reciting in English, (which they could not understand) 'God save our gracious King.' I am sure the last person in the world who would wish to be so doubtfully honoured would be King George himself.

I have maintained in times past and would still maintain, that the wide-spread teaching of English was of great benefit in the past to the higher education of India and to the progress of the country. It has been one of the most potent means of giving that shock, or stimulus, which India needed at one time in her history to rouse her out of sleep. It has given ideals of political freedom and of national unity, which have been invaluable. But while I say this with all my heart, I cannot help but see what dangers now lie ahead of India owing to the dislocation and unnaturalness of life itself, and the divorce between the English-educated men (who are forming a class by themselves) and the agricultural and town labourers. I paid a visit to Japan, some years ago, and studied higher education there. I am quite certain, that the progress, which Japan has made, is in a very great measure due to the fact, that the medium of instruction has been from a very early date, the mother tongue of the country, and not English. This has kept the Japanese life vigorous at its centre. But it is only fair to add, that Japan started its modern career with a much smaller popu-

lation than India, and with only one mother tongue for all her people. Its language problem was simpler.

I could not blame the foreign government for what has been done, any more than I would blame the people of India. The teaching of children through the medium of English was probably inevitable, so long as the government of the country was in the hands of foreigners. There has also been hitherto (as far as I am able to judge) a strange balance of advantages and disadvantages. It is useless, therefore, to cry over what has already been done. But the future of India, now that the shock and stimulus has been given, demands a return at all points to the mother tongue of each great Province and the teaching of all subjects (except English itself) through the mother-tongue. Nevertheless, though this is the educational requirements it is almost inconceivable in the present circumstances that such a vital change as this can take place, unless India, more and more, ceases to be an 'integral part of the British Empire':

I have sketched, in a very imperfect manner, the mere outline of a vast subject. Far

more deeply than any need of political, or of economic freedom, India is feeling the need of educational freedom to-day. It is not sufficient to substitute Indian officials for Europeans, in the Education Department. That alone can accomplish very little. The mentality of the people themselves has to be changed; for they have come to believe, that, in the knowledge of English lies the one pathway of material advancement. It is for this reason, that villagers will starve themselves and the other members of their family, in order that one son, at least, may get the very doubtful advantage of 'English' education.

When law courts, government offices, business firms, post, telegraph, etc. all use the mother tongue, as is invariably the case in Japan, then and then only will this unhealthy craving for 'English' cease.

But, as I have said before, this change can never whole-heartedly be effected, so long as the ultimate goal in view is, that India should remain 'an integral part of the British Empire'. That goal itself must be altered. Just as in the case of the Philippines, even so in India, Independence, and nothing short of Independence, must be the final aim.

VI

INDIA AND THE EMPIRE

I am fully aware that my discussion of the problem of educational freedom in the last chapter was inadequate even as an outline. The subject is so complex, that it would require to be considered at far greater length to do justice to it. I turn back again and again in my mind to the many years which I passed at St. Stephen's College, Delhi, with high hopes and ardent educational ideals. But since I have come out of that work to an institution where educational freedom is the very breath of life, I can understand, even if I cannot briefly explain, the difference between a purely indigenous and independent development and a dependence on a foreign outlook at every point in educational matters.

The one form of dependence which we still feel in Shantiniketan, along with the rest of India, is this. Our boys have to earn their living, as soon as they go from school;

and this means, in a vast proportion of instances, the necessity to go into Government service for the purpose of supporting their families. Even if these services are made Indian through and through, I still wonder and doubt if the foreign outlook can be eliminated, so long as India remains an "integral part of the British Empire."

I had a still further experience in India, while the years passed, one by one, and as I travelled in different parts of the vast Indian continent. The poverty of India came over my whole life, more and more, like a heavy cloud which covers the sky and obscures the sunlight from the eyes. I went, from time to time into famine-stricken districts, and also I visited constantly the homes of the outcastes. There I often watched the hollow faces of those who have never had enough even to eat. Only very slowly the whole picture dawned upon me,—what it means,—the hunger, the squalour, the fear of man for his fellow man, the servile and semi-servile condition. It came home to me that this was the lot of fifty to sixty millions of my own brothers and sisters. There came to my knowledge, at

the same time, how this very poverty was being ruthlessly exploited, on the one hand it was exploited by Indians themselves, and on the other hand by the rich and powerful profiteers of the West. I could see the new standards of luxury and comfort, which were set up by the British occupation. As these were adopted and imitated by the upper surface of Indian society they were bound to drive the poverty of India still deeper. It is bad enough to be exploited by one's own countrymen, to be oppressed by one's own neighbours,—and the millions of the 'untouchables' of India tell that tale in a language of misery, that he who runs may read,—but, to be exploited again and again, on the top of this, by powerful foreigners was altogether intolerable. It was to add misery to misery. I could not satisfy myself, in any slightest degree, that this age-long poverty and misery of India was decreasing under the British domination. There were a thousand things which told me the very opposite story. And there was one thing concerning which there could be, sadly enough, no open question. The British rulers of India had brought with

them, an expensive standard of living. This new economic standard had pervaded the country districts. It had upset the whole economic basis of life. On this account, the *pain* of Indian poverty had been increased in proportion as the number of human wants had been multiplied. The foreign economic invasion, which was ever growing and expanding, was in reality nothing more nor less than the exploitation of the weak by the strong. If India remained within the British Empire, as an integral part of that Empire, this foreign economic invasion and exploitation would never cease. It would become perpetual. The drain of wealth out of India would never end. The effect of this upon the helpless and disorganised and semi-servile peasantry would be, to fix deeper the poverty and misery and debt, while at the same time increasing enormously the standard of living. All the evils of the old factory system in England (which preyed upon the helpless and the weak) would be repeated in India on a far vaster scale.

An example of what might always happen, whenever a 'ring' or 'corner' could be made by powerful capitalists working hand

in hand together, has only recently come to my knowledge in Bengal. Though this special incident came later in my experience, I will repeat it here; for it is typical of what is constantly occurring. A Jute Mill, which I shall not name, was started by foreign capitalists in 1904. Up till the beginning of the war, the shares rose from 100 to 145, and the profits reached between 15 p.c. and 20 p.c., after considerable sums had been placed to 'reserves'. Just before the war the ryot, who grew the jute under exclusively hard conditions of labour in malaria-stricken districts, obtained thirteen to fourteen rupees per maund for this jute. During last year, however, although the cost of living for the cultivator had enormously increased, the price of jute has been driven down to five to six rupees per maund; while the shares of Jute Mill have gone up from 145 before the war, to 1160; and the profits (after setting aside the reserves of every kind) have been declared at 160 p.c. It is no wonder, under such conditions, that the influx of foreign capital and the permanence of a foreign suzerainty, are not welcomed.

But the evil does not stop, even with the introduction of such British exploiting firms from the West. The Western methods of gambling and speculating on the Stock Exchange, of 'rings' and 'corners' and monopolies' and 'trusts', which have assumed such sinister proportions in modern Western business, have been imported bodily into India itself: and the clever mechanical brains of many Indians of the merchant classes have enabled them to pursue these practices to the extreme limit of anti-social selfishness. I heard, for instance, of a Marwari in Calcutta, who had actually bought up, as a speculation, all the bricks for building round Calcutta, and had raised the price of building material by 200 p.c.? The figures given to me may be exaggerated; but the story made me wonder with a despairing anxiety and fear, whether all the extreme evils of modern capitalism were to be introduced, in the train of British rule, and how long this system, which had before been foreign to India on so large a scale, was to go on ever widening and increasing into disruption of Indian life and culture.

Amid all these varied arguments which have now been put forward, the final position I have been obliged to take has come, not from any theory, but from the hard logic of facts. Above all, the truth of the evil of foreign subjection has been brought home to me, as I have shown, from a most bitter and painful personal experience of what the words 'within the British Empire' really imply to the majority of Indians abroad. I have seen now, in every part of the world, what these conditions of life abroad are; what they imply to an Indian, simply because he is an Indian and not a European. I have tried my utmost to retain a favourable impression, whenever facts would in any way support it. But the conclusion, that has been forced upon me, is this. India can never, as things are at present, have an honoured seat and place of welcome within the colonies of the British Empire. The anti-Asiatic sentiment is against it. That sentiment is growing stronger year by year. It is hardening its surface of exclusiveness, with all the fanaticism of an irrational superstition. There can be no effective compromise with it from the Indian side and

no appeal to reason. It must run its course, as other irrational superstitions and base human passions have done ; perhaps it is the greatest anti-social menace of the present age. To think of an equal status for Indians in such a British Empire is an hallucination. It is an hallucination which is growing more and more fantastic every year. The shock of awakening must soon come to every Indian. It has come to me, before it has come to others because I have travelled so many journeys and have met so many people in the British colonies themselves. If all thinking Indians had had my own personal experience, I can hardly imagine them remaining unconvinced of the hard realism of my position,—that India has no vital place within the colonies of the British Empire, on those terms which alone are thinkable, viz; the terms of perfect equality of status.

My own mind had been fascinated for a long time with the idea, that the British Empire might lead on directly to the 'Parliament of Man'. But I have seen with my own eyes, in real life, that it is leading on to nothing of the kind. I have found out by an

experience (which has been almost tragically painful in its disillusionment) that the 'Parliament of man' cannot come about by means of 'Empires' at all. The last Great War, with its world convulsion, has really brought to an end this outworn theory of 'Empires'. The British 'Empire' is not going to be the only exception. Empires must perish today as they have perished in the past, in order that free peoples may survive and realise their freedom. We have a signal instance of the fallacy of the 'imperial' idea in Italy and Austria. Last century, the subjection of Italy to Austria in one Empire made spiritual unity impossible. The Austrian Empire, with its Italian appendage, was a monstrosity. But now the relations between Italy and Austria have changed. Italy has come nobly to the help of Austria, in the hour of her greatest distress; and a spiritual unity is being found today, which is obliterating centuries of hate. The truth is, that the British Empire with its Indian appendage, is also a monstrosity. If the present unnatural relation between England and India continues, it can only lead, as it has done at

such a rapid pace already to a continually increasing bitterness on both sides. But if the bond of subjection is finally and ultimately unloosed, then mutual respect may succeed to mutual hate.

I have received many letters recently from Indians in Europe, who have lived both in England and France. All, without exception, told me, that friendly relations with the French people are easy and natural and simple, because there is no question of 'Empire' looming up on every occasion between Indians and Frenchmen. But, in England, relations are becoming every day more strained and unnatural because of the perpetual factor of British Imperialism; which taints at the very source this springs of friendship. I have stated in these articles some of the reasons which have led me, an Englishman, so completely to change my original view as to the relation of the British Empire towards India. I am confident in my own mind that my own countrymen will ultimately reach the same stand point. It is of great interest to notice, how one group of solid thinkers, who so ably edit the "Round

Table Quarterly" and maintain on each number such a high standard of intellectual honesty of thought, have, from the first, been puzzled by the position of India within the Empire. They appear to be able to find no solution to the Indian problem. Whenever the subject of India has been brought forward, its incongruity with the self-governing dominions has become more and more obvious. I believe that the irresistible logic of facts is drawing these writers, even against their will to something very nearly corresponding to the position which I myself have been compelled to take up.

There remains a small group in India, of advanced social thinkers, who are conscious of the past benefit to India of the British connexion in breaking down hard social conventions and age-long religious superstitions. They have also all high humanitarian ideal of the federation of all races. They detest the common bigotry of 'nationalism'. I need hardly state, at this point, that I have every possible sympathy with these, and value their Judgment, in this matter, far more than that of others. But, as I have already said I believe

that more and more it will be made evident that the facts of history are against the 'Empire' theory of human advance. I believe also that the treatment of Indians in the British colonies will finally convince them, that Indians can have no honourable place, consistent with true self-respect, in an Empire where such treatment of Indians is not only un-rebuked and un-punished, but has become the normal aspect of life and the incorrigible attitude of wide-spread fanatical religion.



NON-CO-OPERATION.

BY

C. F. ANDREWS

CHRIST

declared, that it profited a man nothing, if he gained the whole world and lost his own soul. The soul of India was being lost in the mechanical civilisation of the modern world which has invaded both East and West alike. But now she has been called by a prophetic voice of one of her noblest children to a pathway of self-purification. India was rapidly losing her own individuality. She was forfeiting that supremely delicate and beautiful nature and character, which had been God's handiwork in her history all down the centuries. She was rapidly taking in its stead, without true assimilation, the barren nature of a foreign culture. Now she is realising that to go forward any further along that course, is to follow the path of suicide and destruction. Therefore she is definitely making the Great Refusal, which is called Non-Co-operation. Even if England offer her wealth, plenty, peace, protection, prosperity, within the 'Spacious British Empire' and, as the price of it, this compromise with her own inner nature, India will refuse.

As. 8

Ganesh & Co.,
Publishers, Madras.

NON-CO-OPERATION

BY
C. F. ANDREWS

As. 8

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Publishers, Madras.**

NON-CO-OPERATION.

The following letters have been written to a friend in England concerning Non-co-operation. It appeared to me, that they would be of interest to Indian readers, and I am venturing to publish them in India.

I

MY DEAR,

You have asked me, from your home in England, to explain to you the meaning of this new and very ugly word, that is being used in India,—Non-co-operation. You criticise it at first sight, and you have every reason to do so from your distant view of the situation. I grant you at once, that the word has an ugly sound. It seems to imply the very opposite of what every Christian has been taught to aim at, namely, to be a fellow-

worker and a fellow-helper. You are right also in saying, that there is nothing that the world needs so much today as brotherhood. Humanity is crying out for co-operation to heal the wounds of the War. I need hardly tell you, that I have weighed well, over and over again, the force of all this argument. And yet, it has not convinced me. I have lain awake, night after night, brooding over the problem. And yet I am, in principle, today a strong believer in non-co-operation. Need I say to you, who are a Christian, that I am a Christian also,—a believer in love, as the final remedy for all the evils of the world. We are, both of us, taught by Christ to love even our enemies. We are taught, that the whole commandment of life is contained in two words,—to love God with all our heart, and our neighbour as our own self. We have, both of us, learnt the golden rule of Christ,—“Whatsoever ye would that man should do unto you, even so do unto them; for this is the law and the prophets.”

And yet,—and yet,—I am resolutely going to defend this principle of Non-Co-operation from a certain standpoint. I would add? one

word further. I would say, that Christ himself was the example, for all time, of the *principle* involved in it. For he unflinchingly refused to compromise with evil. He declared, that it profited a man nothing, if he gained the whole world and lost his own soul. The soul of India was being lost in the mechanical civilisation of the modern world which has invaded both East and West alike. But now she has been called by a prophetic voice of one of her noblest children to a pathway of self-purification. India was rapidly losing her own individuality. She was forfeiting that supremely delicate and beautiful nature and character, which had been God's handiwork in her history all down the centuries. She was rapidly taking in its stead, without true assimilation, the barren nature of a foreign culture. Now she is realising that to go forward any further along that course, is to follow the path of suicide and destruction. Therefore she is definitely making the Great Refusal, which is called Non-Cooperation. Even if England offer her wealth, plenty, peace, protection, prosperity, within the Spacious British Empire' and, as the price of it,

this compromise with her own inner nature, India will refuse. She will refuse to co-operate on such a basis. She knows, in her heart of hearts, that she has compromised far too long, and now that she has an inspiring personality to give her unity and spiritual strength, she is determined to compromise no longer.

We, Englishmen, have gradually got into the way of thinking, that every country can be made, at one and the same time, more profitable to ourselves, and more happy in its own internal life, by coming under our protection. I happen to have been, during my travels to all kinds of places, and nothing has impressed me so much as the discontent, which is now existing among those indigenous peoples, who are being moulded into new shapes and forms by this protection of the British Government. The legend is kept up in England (for home-consumption) that every one is happy and contented under such protection. But this is not the truth. Whether it is a younger generation in Burma, or in South Africa, in Uganda or in Fiji—I have had heart talks with the young leaders in all these countries, and I can only say

that the discontent is profound. If I had gone to Egypt or Mesopotamia or Palestine, or Ireland, it would have been the same story. My dear man, let us, who are Christians, put to ourselves a plain and simple question. Would *we* like to be continually ruled by foreigner for our own so called benefit? Don't you think it would make us perfectly miserable? Then, if that is the case, why do we not apply the rule of Christ, and love the Indian, the Burmese, the Baganda, the Egyptian, the Irish, as our own self? Why do we not do to others that which we should wish them to do to us? If we would not like to be ruled by foreigners, why do we insist on keeping up a foreign rule? If we ourselves wish to be independent, why do we not wish them to be independent? As a Christian, it seems to me, there is no other way to meet that interrogation, except to desire earnestly and to strive all we can for the independence of every foreign part of what is called the British Empire. Don't you think that this follows from Christ's teaching?

I know full well, that there is no greater need in the whole world today than a full

mutual understanding between the East and the West. The future of the human race depends on such a mutual understanding being reached. But the very first requisite for such a mutual understanding is mutual respect. The respect of the wolf for the lamb, in AEsop's fable, is not a model for humanity to follow in the Twentieth Century. Yet the past treatment of Asia and Africa by Europe has been of the same predatory nature, and this predatory habits are not unlearned in a single day. I have seen a map of Africa in 1880, before the great plunder began. After a few years the whole map of Africa was cut up into pieces, each of which denoted the extent of the loot. Then, after that, Asia was being gradually divided up in the same way. Before the great War, as you know, China and Persia only by a narrow margin escaped the fate of Africa. I am sure that you, came into the Great War, as volunteer, in order to prevent the spoilation of Belgium, are not one of those who can look on the spoilation of the East with equanimity. Would you not rather, in principle, stand up on behalf of every country:

that has already been subjected, and claim that it shall be set free. Does not the thought of a 'Declaration of Independence' for India or for Egypt; or for Korea; or for China, stir your heart as the Independence of Belgium did? You, who fought for Belgian freedom,—cannot you fight, in spirit and principle, for India's freedom? We are not asking for a battle of violence and bloodshed. Rather, we are asking for a battle of suffering and endurance,—a battle of the Cross.

Does not that thought move you, as a Christian? I will tell you, one thing, which I witnessed with my own eyes. It was the sight of twelve delicate Hindu ladies coming out of the prison in South Africa, where they had suffered more than words can relate. Yet their faces were full of joy. They spoke gently of their persecutors. They told me all the kind things they could about their jailors. They had gone to prison not for any wrong doing (they were incapable of wrong) but to uphold their country's honour and freedom. That war of passive resistance in South Africa was won without striking a blow. Believe me, it was one of the most Christian thing I ever

saw in my life. I cannot possibly forget it.

This Non-Co-operation movement in India is really being worked out on the same principles by Mahatma Gandhi, as those which I saw practised in South Africa. It is only called by another name, in its essence it implies the resistance of evil, by forbearance, not by violence ; by endurance, not by force ; by suffering, not by slaughter. It regards the domination and subjection of India by a foreign country, such as England, with abhorrence, as an evil thing. It is determined not to co-operate with the evil and make it permanent.

If you say to me in reply,—“ We, English, are not dominating and subjecting India by force. As fast as we can, we are actually giving India freedom within our British Empire.” Well, I shall deal with that last clause “within our British Empire” later. At this point, my answer to your assertion, “we are actually giving freedom to India,” would be in a rhyming couplet,—

Freedom is not a mendicant's dole.

To be thrust in a beggar's begging bowl,

Freedom is a gift of the soul, to be won by self-purification and self-sacrifice. If England

really wishes India to be free, then she must stand aside, she must insist, that India shall have the dole of this so-called freedom, which England herself is patronisingly prepared to concede. This is the whole crux of the Egyptian and the Irish struggle,—not merely of the Indian struggle for liberty. We are told by Christ, as I have said, to love our neighbour as ourself; to do to others what we should wish them to do to us. Should *we*, English people, like to be bound hand and foot by conditions at the very time 'freedom' was being offered us? Should we be satisfied with all sorts of stipulations and regulations and provisions and precautions? Should we not do what our forefathers did in America—made a Declaration of Independence? Or again, I ask you, should we, Englishmen, be satisfied with mere boons and patronising doles of freedom? Read Wordsworth's sonnets; read Milton's *Areopagitica*; read Shakespeare's description of England in King Henry IV; read Burke on American Independence. English literature, from one end to the other, is crammed full of answer to the contrary. Then why not follow the law of Christ, and do to others what we should wish

them to do to us? For if England insists on giving India what English politicians today are pleased to call 'freedom',—in English politicians' own way, at the English politicians' own time, and at the English politicians' own discretion,—then, all I can say is, that it is no *freedom* at all.

II

You see, the trouble after all is this. Our British people at home have been drugged into a stupid satisfaction with the comfortable thought, that a sub-continent, such as India, with three hundred and twenty million people, and all sorts of Rajahs and Maharajahs can be marked red on the map as a 'British Possession', and can be quoted in history and geography lessons to every British child as an example of what the British Empire can accomplish in its rule in the East. The British are a kindly sentimental folk, on ordinary occasions, and they are prepared to go a long way in passing patronising legislation of a good-natured type, as long as the ultimate, solid, material fact of India, as a 'British Possession', does not elude their grasp. But when you come to think it over, this

attitude of 'Possession' is quite hopelessly out of keeping with any true, frank and sincere friendship. How can you be a *friend* of the man who insists on always keeping you in a semi-inferior position.' You may flatter such a man: you may pretend to be very devoted to him; you may fawn upon him for favours; but you cannot be his friend.

I know, at once, what you are eagerly seeking to answer. "Yes," you would say to me, "I grant all that, But times have changed. We are in a different age altogether. The great Reform Act of December, 1919, has been passed. Now such vital subjects as Education, Sanitation, etc., are in the hands of Indians themselves.—We have all about it in the House of Commons Debates.—Only such necessary public affairs, as Revenue and Police and the Army, are reserved subjects."

If that is your real answer, it is a poor one. In the west, it is a recognised principle of all true Government, that there should be no taxation without representation; that the man who pays the piper has a right to call the tune. But here, in the East, the very reverse

has happened. The non-official Indians Minister of Health, or Education, is faced with bankruptcy at once, if he tries any new schemes in his Department. The reserved subjects, which are not under popular control, have the first demand upon the national income. The Military Expenditure alone runs away with half the revenue. Then comes the Civil Expenditure, which provides for ever increasing official salaries. Then follows the Police Expenditure. These are all continually augmenting their budget demands. Only after their needs are satisfied, can any funds be granted for Education, Sanitation etc. which are popular subjects.

Let me give you an interesting example, which shows that extraordinary little vital change has been made even in the provincial governments. I have just seen through a most painful experience at Chandpur in East Bengal. Some thousands of poor, famished refugee labourers, from the Tea gardens of Assam, had fled from the gardens, and had become crowded in a congested area, on the river bank, where the railway meets the steamer. Cholera had broken out among them in a virulent form.

At such a time two things were done by the Administration which excited great public indignation. First of all, Gurkha soldiers were turned out, in the middle of the night, in order to drive these miserable people from the third class passenger shed at the railway station, where they had taken refuge. These weak and famished refugees were forced by blows to remove themselves to a bare shelterless football ground, with the monsoon rains already threatening. The attack was made upon them with the butt-ends of rifles. Numbers were wounded, among whom were feeble women and little children, too weak and ill to escape the Gurkha's blows. I was on the spot and saw those wounded people almost immediately after the occurrence. The sight would have made your blood boil as it did mine. Yet the whole disgraceful incident was glozed over in the usual official manner without any apology; and the limit was reached when Mr. Montagu got up in the House of Commons and declared that Government of Bengal had acted with "great humanity" in the matter.

The second chapter of this story was even more significant. At the instigation of

the Tea Planters Association, (whose representative suddenly appeared on the scene at Chandpur) it was decided by the Bengal Government to do nothing to help forward these people out of the cholera stricken town, for fear of a further exodus from the gardens. There was a deadlock and the people were furious. At this point, I was asked to come in and act if possible as a mediator. My proposal was a very simple one. If Government would provide a subscription of five thousand rupees, as a mark of sympathy, then the charitably disposed public would subscribe the rest. But the Government (which was strongly under the influence of the Tea Planters at this time, and living in the Planters' strong-hold at Darjeeling) refused to give anything at all to help the refugees forward. I went up personally to Darjeeling in order to meet the Government authorities. And whom do you think I was asked to see? Not the Minister of Health, who was an Indian; not any Indian at all; but three Englishmen,—the Governor, the Home Minister, and the Chief Secretary. We discussed the whole matter at length; I had come direct from the scene of action and

spoke hot words. The officials were as cold as ice. Believe me, in spite of Reform Councils, the autocracy is as wooden, as impervious, as obstinate as ever it was before. It is incapable of change.

That very day in Darjeeling I met some of the Indian Councillors. They told me in words as burning as my own, how furious they were at the Gurkha outrage. But at the Legislative Council, all they have been able to do in their helplessness have been to ask a few conventional questions receive official answers and pass a very timid resolution. And Mr. Montagu's statement in the House of Commons remains unchallenged. "The Government of Bengal," he said, "has acted with great humanity in the matter."

Just think of it! Just picture it to yourself! Only picture it! To turn Gurkha soldiers out at dead of night on poor, helpless, utterly miserable and emaciated men, women and children! To drive these wretched human beings, who were sickening with cholera, on to a bare shelterless football ground, hitting children and women over the heads with the butt-ends of their rifles! Picture it

man! Do picture it! Why, we shouldn't treat cattle like that in England! I saw on my arrival a little girl, with her cheek all cut and bruised by a savage blow, which only just missed the eye-ball itself. And yet Mr. Montagu is primed up with official despatches to say in the House of Commons that the Government of Bengal has acted with great humanity in the matter?

Pardon me, if I have become bitter and cynical. The Duke of Connaught came out all the way from England and asked us to forget and to forgive Amritsar. No sooner has he gone away, than the same weapon of brute force is employed over again on helpless people, with all the old wicked callousness and inhumanity. Once more public sentiment is outraged. Once more, the people of India from one end to the other have cried shame upon the cowardly act. But the Government of Bengal on the mountain top at Darjeeling takes no notice. Just as in the case of the Punjab and Amritsar, it assumes on its own side the gesture of non-co-operation. It says, in so many words,—“We will not bend to the will of the people.” Do you wonder at

all if the people take up the challenge and say, in return,—“You absolutely refuse to co-operate with us. You do not regard our opinion in the least. You hold icily aloof. The only course left open to us is to cease to cooperate with you. We shall go our own way. You can go yours. We don't seek either your help, or your money, or your favour.” Here is one of the main causes underlying the non-co-operation movement—the utter aloofness of the Government from the people. Can't you understand it?

Do you remember, sometime ago, what an outcry there was in England about a certain troop train from Karachi, wherein through gross mismanagement; some British soldiers died of heat-apoplexy? Do you remember, also the Mesopotamian scandal? These caused a sensation in England, because Englishmen were involved. But the same gross mismanagement is going on everywhere among Indians themselves, because Government is so completely aloof and occupied night and day with its files and out of touch with the people; and Government agents, of the subordinate type are all the while taking advantage

of that aloofness, to serve their own ends. The truth is, the Government is not a people's government at all.

You have to understand how sick at heart the very sanest and most sober-minded Indians are about these perpetual and grandiloquent promises of "Reform", which end in empty words. It is now sixty three years since the Queen's Proclamation of 1853, which promised racial equality in India. Yet we all know (except, it would appear to our new Viceroy) that racial inequality is still rampant. It would be as easy as possible to give you a dozen glaring instances from my own experience; and Indians themselves, who naturally know far more than I do where the shoe pinches could give hundreds.

I remember so well Lord Morley's Reforms, in 1903—1909. We were told, that at last Indians were to have a full share in their own administration. Again, there was utter discontent and disappointment. The autocracy of Government was not shaken.

Now we have before us these additional Chelmsford "Reforms". We have a Dyarchy, which no one believes in. The best that can

be said of it is, that it is so bad and unworkable, that it must be changed. It is impossible to go back. So things will have to go forward. That is its sole recommendation put before me by a Government official. I think you will see, from what I have told you, that all the glowing accounts you are receiving in England about "Parliamentary" Government in India must be taken with a grain of salt. I doubt if any real and solid power has escaped from the hands of the bureaucracy even now. At last what has been made up in other ways.

Do you remember, in Christ's times, how the Scribes and Pharisees were prepared for outward changes and outward embellishments of their own system, so long as these did not touch the heart? The Scribes and Pharisees, so Christ said, made clean outside of the cup and platter. They did outward homage to noble sentiments; they talked unctuous platitudes in order to show that they were on the side of the good and the great, but they clung to power, all the same, with a tenacity that never relaxed its hold. Christ said of them, with terrible irony,—“Ye build the tombs of

the Prophets, *and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous.*

I do not imply that the present Government of India is consciously hypocritical. The Scribes and Pharisees were good religious men according to the standard of their times. And the Government of India is perhaps the most hardworking and conscientious in the world. But the *system* of Government, as I have said, has almost utterly lost touch with the sentiments and ideals of the people. It has appallingly misjudged the vital movements of the times, and in nearly every instance set itself in opposition to them,—just as it is doing today, in a panic-stricken manner, with regard to non-co-operation.

There is another picture, which Christ gives, that is perhaps more appropriate for what I am wishing to bring home to you in England. Christ spoke, in his own generation, of the uselessness of patch-work reforms. "Men do not," he said, "put new wine into old bottles Neither do men put a new piece of cloth on an old garment, because the new piece teareth away the old cloth and the rent is made worse. But new wine must be put into new bottles."

The new wine today in India is this new religious, social and political movement whose fountain head is Mahatma Gandhi. This movement has spread throughout length and breadth of the land. Politically it has become known in England by that ugly name, which you criticise,—“Non-Co-operation.”

To my mind as I have seen events developing on the spot, it would have been altogether useless to have put this new wine into the old bottles of these patch-work Reform Councils. The rent would only have been made worse. The popular verdict—the verdict of the unsophisticated common people—is often the final verdict after all. They have recognised in Mahatma Gandhi a true deliverer from oppression. They have seen in him a true healer of India's festering wounds. And they have been quite clear in their determination to stand apart from the present unpopular Government: to work out their own salvation.

Cannot you then, understand a little more clearly, from this second letter, the meaning in India of the word Non-Co-operation? Cannot you see that there comes a time, when.

if the Government persistently refuses to cooperate with the people, the people in their turn will refuse to cooperate with the Government? This, it appears to me, is what happened in India today.

III

We, who are the members of the Anglo Saxon race, have gradually dropped into the perverse way of thinking, that we are the world's policemen. Here is one of our mistakes in India. We have got a false impression of our duty of protecting India from all possible dangers, internal and external; and in consequence we cannot leave things alone, or let any new movement of independence develop. They appear to us to be contrary to our British sovereign right of interference and control.

It goes without saying, that we do not undertake all these protective duties for nothing, though no tax is levied directly, the indirect gain to England from Indian trade is great. There is a well-known British maxim, which says, that 'Trade follows the flag', And

England has not been slow to take commercial advantage of imperial conquests in India, as well as in other countries. We are, what Napoleon called us, 'a nation of shopkeepers' after all! I think it may be also said of the Anglo-Saxon people that there is in them the one saving grace of an uneasy moral conscience. We don't like being caught out doing an act, which is sordid, or mean, or base, and we try desperately to defend ourselves against these imputations,—not always with success.

The result is, that in our dealings with others, we, Englishmen, are frequently double-minded. We strive to serve both God and Mammon. We have an uncomfortable feeling while doing so, that this is contrary to the Sermon on the mount. But we dismiss the Sermon on the Mount as 'unpractical'. Yet even when we have dismissed it, we are not satisfied. We have a vague suspicion that Christ may be right after all. It was S.R. Gardiner the historian, who said, that Cromwell, and not Shakespeare, was the typical Englishman,—Cromwell, who was commerical and sentimental, practical and idealist, religious and material-minded, at one

and the same time. Was it Cromwell, or some one later, who uttered, that typically English sentence,—“Soldiers, trust in God, but keep your powder dry.”

The truth is, this word ‘practical’ has become a kind of fetish with the British people. We, Englishmen do not ask first, if a thing is true, but whether is practical. And so in this British Empire, where it has been built up by conquest, there has been framed a wholly illogical, but solidly practical theory, that every added subject country was twice blessed,—blessed in the trade profits it gives to Great Britain, and blessed also in the protection it takes at a high market value. I fancy that, even in our school days, this seemed to us too much like a slim deal or a hard bargain. And as we have grown older, we have both of us learnt what an altogether sordid thing Imperialism by conquest really is,—base in its origin, and base in its development as a system. If you had not already reached this point of view, I should not be writing these letters. No! we both agree, do we not, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to be Imperialist and Christians at the same

time. The words of Christ are really true, however much we may try to get round them—
“Ye *cannot* serve God and Mammon”.

All that I have just written has direct reference to the situation in India. The disturbing conviction is constantly present, that our conquest had no moral justification. As Sir Frank Beaman has put it very bluntly,—
“We stole India”. In our heart of hearts we all know that this is true; and we have had, what I have called an ‘uneasy moral conscience’ ever since. This has left its mark upon all our British administration. It has continually had to justify itself for its original theft by exercising a peculiarly paternal protection. I would almost call it, if the word were permissible, ‘grand-paternal’. For such a grand-motherly government has rarely been seen on this planet before. No weapon of violence has been allowed in the average citizen’s hands,—not, of course, lest they should use them against us (that would be too shocking even to think of!), but lest they should injure one another! Every department had to be entrusted to an Englishman; for nothing must be allowed to go wrong under British patronage. If, in spite

of every precaution, anything did go wrong, then an English official must come in at once to the rescue. All initiative had to proceed from Englishmen. Education must be given through an English medium and by means of English books. Indians were to be treated, year after year, as though they did not know the needs of their own country as well as their beneficent English rulers.

I know what you are burning to answer at this point of my argument, and I can say it for you. You want to say again to me, "But all that has changed!"

Has it?

It seems to me that, in those two words, which I have italicised, we are brought up dead against the ultimate issue. Personally I have tried to show you, by examples, how sceptical, I am about the change. I have seen indeed outward changes in abundance, but not yet an inward change of heart. Dyarchy, with its fundamental refusal to entrust into Indian hands such subjects as the Police, seems to me even more patronising and more paternal, and perhaps in the long run more grand-motherly, than what has gone before.

It looks like one of those cautions, half-and-half moves forward, which are sometimes worse than no change at all. I may be mistaken, but as far as I can see at present, this Dyarchy will not give to Indians the opportunity they need of doing things entirely by themselves, or of governing themselves entirely in their own way. Believe me, in this matter, it may not be true, that "Half a loaf is better than no bread." For half a loaf means still the fatal policy of distrust,

Let me give you two very interesting examples, which will show you on what grounds my impressions are based. Some time ago now, I was present at a Committee meeting, that was being held up-country about a vital Indian question, with which Englishmen were only remotely and indirectly concerned. There was a little group of Englishmen there, and the rest were Indians. The great majority of the Indians said nothing at all, because the chairman, an Englishman, conducted the whole meeting in English. There was one Indian gentleman, who knew far more about the subject than almost anyone else in the room. He spoke English fluently,

but happened to be what I might call, for want of a better name, 'vernacular minded.' That is to say, he thought with his own Indian mind, in an original manner, and not always with an English tendency. There were there, on the Committee also, two or three Indians, who were 'English minded.' I mean, they had dropped to a great extent their Indian mode of life and Indian way of thinking, and had become so cut off from their own people as to think on these Indian questions in an English manner. The bulk of this Committee were almost entirely ignored because they did not speak English. Only now and then certain points were translated to them. It was quite noticeable, how it was possible for the Englishmen present to 'cooperate' with the 'English-minded' Indians. But they could not 'cooperate' with the 'Vernacular-minded' Indian, who spoke English, because they could not follow his train of thought. Nay, something further happened,—try as we would to prevent it, discussion always drifted back into the hands of the little group of the Englishmen, and in the end we decided everything.

Why;—Why of course, because the only medium was English. We, Englishmen, to all intent and purpose were 'non-co-operating' with our Indian colleagues, who had not made themselves into Englishmen. We were trying to force them to come over to our side. We were not ready to come over to theirs. If we had agreed that the conversation should be only in the vernacular, then how very quickly we, Englishmen, would have fallen into our proper place; as guests in India, not masters; as helpers, not tyrants; as people who had come to India for service, not for domination!

One more incident, that was typical. In the cholera camp, at Chandpur, about which I have already written, we had succeeded, with the greatest difficulty, in getting the young national volunteers to cooperate with the Government medical officers, for the sake of the cholera patients. But every hour of the day, the national volunteers would be blaming the Government officials; and every hour of the day, the Government officials would be blaming the national volunteers. To attempt to mix these two parties together was like

putting new wine into old bottles with a vengeance! The bottles were cracked to bursting.

A rupture took place. From what I saw of it all, I blamed the Government officials most. They were so wooden, so obstinate. They insisted on ruling. They were not ready to serve. On the volunteers' side, there were the natural faults of impatience and hot blood. But when another person, in high position, came down to work among them,—the Bishop of Assam,—and was ready to *serve*, not to rule, they worked with him happily up to the very end. But he was in his proper place,—a servant of the public, not a lord and master. I saw illustrated there, the very words of Christ,—“The king of the Gentiles exercised lordship over them, and they that exercised lordship are called ‘benefactors.’ But ye shall not be so: but he that is greatest among you let him be as the younger, and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.”

What was the result, do you ask? Did the national volunteers all go to pieces, when Government officials were withdrawn? Not a bit of it. They did uncommonly well, and the

work went on better, because with less friction. I learnt from the lips of this Government official himself, in an unguarded moment, the actual truth,—which is as true for the whole of India today as it was for the cholera camp at Chandpur. "*This Dyarchy,*" he said, "*is impossible.*"

Let me, in concluding this letter, give you a simple and homely analogy. Suppose some one is desirous of learning to swim. But an officious pedagogue, of the policeman type, insists on holding him back. This goes on for some time. At last, the youth, who is eager to swim grows desperate. He 'non-cooperates.' He frees himself from the pedagogue who would hinder him. He jumps into deep water. He struggles with all his might to keep up afloat, using his arms and legs. And he succeeds. He swims.

There, in that picture, is the analogy I wanted for Indian non-co-operation with Government at the present time. We in England fully appreciate that spirit ourselves. Independence runs in our very blood. We encourage our own children from baby-hood to be self-reliant, courageous, manly, hardy

enduring,—to do things for themselves. But we here, in India, we, Englishmen, have got almost to dread that spirit of independence in Indians. As I have said, a fatal habit of mind has made us act like glorified policemen, bent always upon the custodian's duty. We are quite certain, that Indians cannot and will not manage their own affairs and that we must manage everything for them. And so the old habits of patronage, on the one hand, and servility, on the other, linger. No half-way house of Dyarchy will cure them.

There is just one word further, that has to be written, though you in England may resent it; for you believe intensely that England's trusteeship in India has been well-performed; and I would not shake your faith, for on the whole I believe it is not misplaced. In certain ways, the British rule has succeeded; otherwise, it would never have lasted for over 160 years.

But as I have said, there is another side of Anglo-Saxon character, which is by no means so pleasing. If we had been entirely disinterested and single-minded in our rule, we should have welcomed this new national

movement of Mahatma Gandhi's with open arms,—or rather it would have taken an entirely different form. But this lower side of English nature,—the material, commercial and profiteering side,—came in and tempted us with monetary advantages. It is on that account, that the conflict has taken place. We Englishmen can only meet the movement fairly and squarely by our own self-purification. We must be prepared to give up our ill-gotten gains. We must cease to serve God and Mammon.

IV

As you know very well, the greater part of my own life has been given up to the study of educational and labour problems. I have never been what is called a 'politician', and I have always profoundly distrusted 'politics', because of the incessant opportunism involved and the juggling with human lives. At the same time, I am perfectly aware, that we can never shut up ourselves in water-tight compartments and eschew politics altogether,—especially in this modern civilisation of ours, which is three parts mechanical, and only one part human. What I do hate so much is the way politicians exploit the poor and the weak and the defenceless for their own ends; and I think that the time has come, when all who love humanity should make a determined stand against this.

It is because Mahatma Gandhi is essentially more than 'politician' (in this narrow,

technical sense of the word) that I have faith in the movement which he has founded. He would never, for a moment, make the poor a 'pawn in the game.' His whole soul would revolt at even the suggestion of such a thing. Rather he would always make the poor and the helpless the very heart and centre of all his thoughts and purposes, before whose interest every other consideration must give way, because they are in a very special manner God's friends, God's chosen, God's beloved. Ever since the great change came over his life when he was in Johannesburg, in South Africa, earning a large income and keeping open house for rich and poor alike,—ever since the time, when he renounced all his wealth and accepted poverty as his bride, in a truly Fransiscan manner, he has been out and out on the side of the poor, living as a poor man among the poor, suffering with their sufferings and never sparing himself in the very least. The fact that he has had this most intimate experience of poverty in all its phases has made his ideas concerning the welfare of the poor extraordinarily stimulating. He is so original, because he has emptied

himself of conventions and sophistications about the poor owing to his first hand experience. Certain books in English have struck his attention more than others,—such as Thoreau, Tolstoy, Ruskin, Edward Carpenter. But by far the greatest influence in his life from his English reading has been the Sermon on the Mount. It would not be too much to say that this has been with him throughout his life one of his most cherished sacred scriptures. He has found it truly to be in conformity with the scriptures of the East that he was taught when a boy,—with the great ideals of Jainism, Buddhism, and Vaishnava Hinduism which he has so deeply explored. Like Rousseau, before the French Revolution (though with a strength of moral character that Rousseau himself did not possess) he has turned away from the modern tyranny of civilisation to the freedom of a life lived close to Nature. The picture of the past in India has always been to him the picture of a time in human history when the pure in heart saw God. They lived in their forest Ashramas simply and serenely ; therefore their lives were beautiful and

healthy and good. But modern civilisation, he would say, is neither simple, nor serene. It is impure in heart. Therefore men cannot see God today. So we must go back to the simplicity of nature, and live a life as far as possible apart from modern civilisation, if we would see God. We must again seek to be simple and serene in our lives, and pure in heart, we must no longer attempt to serve both God and Mammon.

I have tried very crudely to put down some of his ideas. I can hardly tell you what a power they have been in fashioning my own life, as they have come to me, tinged with his own personality. My mind always reacts to them with a shock of surprise and often of opposition. At every turn, I find, he hits me hard : my own conventions crumble. But there is a pure joy in it all—first, the joy of conflict ; and then the greater joy of frequently being defeated and seeing where the mistake was all the time. Do you remember those young sophists who used to come to Socrates who used to knock them down so tenderly, but unerringly, with some searching question, and then pick* them up

again and show them exactly where they went wrong? I often find myself like one of them. There comes one sudden question from this Socrates of ours in the East,—and my house of cards goes tumbling down to the ground. Furthermore,—shall I say it with all reverence—sometimes the thought goes far beyond and far deeper than Socrates. It reminds me of the thoughts of Christ.

Let me give you one single illustration, which is as vivid to me, as if it had only happened yesterday. We had walked out together a distant place, outside Pretoria, where the Municipality had built, what they were pleased to call a 'Kaffir Location'. On the way back we sat in the shade of an overhanging tree beside a brook and talked together about many things. I had, for some time past, adopted vegetarianism as a diet, but I had done so, rather out of regard for other people's feelings than from any conviction of my own. The subject turned to the question of meat eating, and I somewhat perversely argued with Mahatma Gandhi, that in nature herself the lower life was sacrificed to the higher, and on that ground the taking of

animal life for food by human beings was justifiable. In a moment, his eyes were aflame; and then he said to me, in that quiet, restrained voice of his,—“You are a Christian, and yet you use an argument like that! I thought your Bible taught you that Christ was divine, and that just because he was divine, he sacrificed himself for such a sinful creature as man. That teaching I can understand: but what you have just said I cannot understand at all. I should love to imagine the whole Universe sacrificing itself to save the life of one single worm. That would be beautiful. But your argument is not beautiful at all. No Hindu would ever use it for a moment. The whole Jain religion would revolt against it. Buddhism would utterly repudiate it. And it is not Christian, either!”

I have mentioned this simple instance, not merely to show his quick, sudden surprises in argument, but because it contains in a small compass his own fundamental teaching concerning the poor. In contrast with this, it was seriously argued at a recent meeting in Calcutta by a group of ardent nationalists, who were present, that the fate of the few thousand refugees in

the Cholera camp at Chandpur, whom I mentioned in my second letter, ought not to stand in the way of a general railway and steamship strike, if it could be brought to pass. A few thousand coolies might be sacrificed, if India's 320,000,000 could obtain Swaraj. Remembering Mahatma Gandhi's argument outside Pretoria, I told the story of it to the meeting. So long, I said, as the whole of India was ready to sacrifice itself for a few thousand poor people, the act was glorious. But if this doctrine were reversed then the high spiritual standard of Mahatma Gandhi would be left behind, and there would be nothing glorious at all. The audience at once responded to this ideal. They could not resist its power.

This brings me to the final point of these long letters. The main indictment, which the Non-co-operation movement is bringing against the system of administration now predominant in India is this. The system more and more terribly oppresses the poor. It crushes the poor. It tyrannises over the poor. The burden of the oppression is growing more and more immense and the system is too hard and wooden.

and impervious for any vital change to take place in it as it now stands.

There was a time when the Government of India was truly called 'The Protector of the Poor'. It was the noblest title it could bear,—far greater than that of Kaiser-i-Hind, or any such pomposity. But this noblest title of all has been lost. The poor on every hand are crying out under the oppression.

This is terrible indictment. And though I have struggled for many years to disbelieve it, I am daily becoming more certain that it is not to be cast aside as untrue. Let me give one single example from an 'Open Letter to the Viceroy by Mr. S. E. Stokes of Kotgarh. It relates to things happening among the villagers on the Hindustan Tibet Road within fourteen miles of Viceregal Lodge at Simla. It refers to one of the greatest of all oppressions which the Government of India have gone on tacitly conniving at, year after year, knowing well what was happening to the poor people. Mr. Stokes writes to the Viceroy: "I left the Viceregal Lodge inspired by a hope that a matter so near to Simla would soon receive your attention, and return-

ed to my house at Kotgarh to spend some weeks on my back in bed by the doctor's orders. But I was aroused from the feeling of security, to find that repressive measures were being taken against my comrades at the very first stage on the road from Simla. Some had been arrested, for attempting to educate public opinion against the oppression and injustice, which had turned them into slaves. Others were being fined heavily; others were being brow-beaten and terrorised. I came to Fagu, in spite of my ill-health, to find the stage full of the Simla Police; the people cowed; their leaders hand-cuffed. Munshi Kapur Singh had been arrested, because he was engaged in getting the people to sign a representation, in which they stated their refusal in future to give certain forms of forced labour, so unjust in their nature that a description of them should have aroused the hot indignation of every true Englishman. . . . I can see now but one path of honour. *We must refuse co-operation, until justice has been done.*" (the Italics are mine.)

Mr. Stokes is an American, who naturalised himself as a British subject during the

War, in order that he might help Great Britain in her hour of danger. He served with distinction by recruiting soldiers for the army from these very Hills. His instincts, from the very first, have been on the side of Co-operation, and he has struggled long to cooperate. But he has been driven, by the oppression of the poor which he has seen, to declare at last: "*We must refuse to cooperate, until justice has been done.*"

Even if, in this one case, tardy justice is accomplished, owing to Mr. Stokes' own persistence and his immediate nearness to the Viceroy of India,—even then, there are still, literally hundreds of thousands of instances—among the 320,000,000 of India, where justice is not done; where these same things go on, not only unpunished, but actually countenanced (yes! and even instigated) by subordinate Government officials. A statement by Mahatma Gandhi, the importance of which can hardly be over-rated, has recently appeared. He is speaking about the liquor traffic in India, which, in the cause of the sorely tempted poor people he is doing his very utmost to stop. With regard to this, and other methods of

helping the poor to recover from the present miserable condition, he writes:—

“I see nothing wrong in inviting the Moderates and the Government to co-operate with us in all that we are doing. I see nothing wrong in appealing to the Moderates, or even to the Government through their authorised channels, to help us, in the Khilafat, or in the Punjab matters, or to shut up all the liquor shops, or to dot every one of their schools with spinning wheels and to prohibit by legislation the import of foreign cloth. For if they succeed in doing these things, I would cease to think evil of the institution they adore or administer. In making my appeal to them, I have shown them a way to partial reinstatement in public estimation, and have furnished myself and the country with a further effective cause, in the event of failure of the appeal, to demonstrate the wooden nature of the system.”

Judge for yourself ; Are these words of a mere fanatic ? Do they seem to you to be the speech of a purely negative and destructive worker ? Are these the sentences of one, who is merely a politician ? Surely no politician would give to his opponents such an opening as that !

But greatly as I could wish that the Government would take the opening thus offered, and co-operate with one who thus shows them the way to do so, yet, my own experience tells me, the probabilities are, that in these matters, which affect the very existence of the countless millions of the poor, the administration will insist upon carrying out its own wooden policy, and will not bend to the desires of the common people, as they have been so clearly and unmistakably expressed by Mahatma Gandhi.

P. S. I have just read the words of one of the very ablest and most cautious of Indian political thinkers, the editor of 'The Indian Social Reformer'. He has not adopted the non-co-operation platform. His words are therefore all the more significant.

"At one time," he writes 'it looked as if the British connection would prove to be the greatest formative influence in India's long history. That was when English administrators like Munro conceived their purpose here to be to help India to help herself. This type of administrator has disappeared since the early seventies, and the last quarter of a cen-

ture has seen the progressive increase of the kind of Imperialism whose purpose is to help itself by making India helpless against its exploiting tendencies. . . . The degeneration to exploiting Imperialism deprived it of its moral authority and it has had to resort increasingly to repressive laws and communal preferences. But these treacherous weapons have broken in its hands. The policy of utilising Indian Mohammadans as a sort of pretorian guard to defend the bureaucracy against the political aspirations of the educated classes, has recoiled on its inventors with an impact which they will not soon forget. The repressive Acts have to go because they have not only not repressed, but have added fuel to the fire of discontent. . . . Whatever chances the hybrid Reform Scheme, conferring a semblance of power on Indian Ministers, might have had, have been cruelly obliterated by the operation of recent years illustrative of exploitation at its worst. Is it possible for Britain in India to purge herself of the exploiting spirit and to revert to the pure altruism of her early Empire builders!"

Would you compare, this most carefully written sentence of a strong co-operator with Mahatma Gandhi's statement which I have just quoted? It should explain to you the universal dissatisfaction in India today, so utterly different from the pictures given in the English Press.

C. F. ANDREWS.

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INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY

C. F. ANDREWS

THE RACIAL PROBLEM

I can see what marvellous strides some Indians, who were under indenture themselves, (or whose father and mother were under indenture) have made. I can see also the Kaffirs and the Zulus making some what slower, but still perceptible progress. I can see also those, to whom my heart went out with deep affection—the 'coloured' people, as they are called,—the half castes;—so genuinely trying to "make good" and so obviously outstripping the European in many of the most sterling virtues of character and endurance. All these signs of a new day coming, when the "colonial born" Indians; the rapidly multiplying "coloured people"; the patient and long enduring Africans, will outnumber in the mass by perhaps tenfold the less rapidly multiplying Europeans, all these signs point forward to the prophetic saying that "the meek shall inherit the earth." No I can never despair

: of the racial problem in South Africa :

As. 8

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but happened to be what I might call, for want of a better name, 'vernacular minded.' That is to say, he thought with his own Indian mind, in an original manner, and not always with an English tendency. There were there, on the Committee also, two or three Indians, who were 'English minded.' I mean, they had dropped to a great extent their Indian mode of life and Indian way of thinking, and had become so cut off from their own people as to think on these Indian questions in an English manner. The bulk of this Committee were almost entirely ignored because they did not speak English. Only now and then certain points were translated to them. It was quite noticeable, how it was possible for the Englishmen present to 'cooperate' with the 'English-minded' Indians. But they could not 'cooperate' with the 'Vernacular-minded' Indian, who spoke English, because they could not follow his train of thought. Nay, something further happened,—try as we would to prevent it, discussion always drifted back into the hands of the little group of the Englishmen, and in the end we decided everything.

Why;—Why of course, because the only medium was English. We, Englishmen, to all intent and purpose were 'non-co-operating' with our Indian colleagues, who had not made themselves into Englishmen. We were trying to force them to come over to our side. We were not ready to come over to theirs. If we had agreed that the conversation should be only in the vernacular, then how very quickly we, Englishmen, would have fallen into our proper place; as guests in India' not masters; as helpers, not tyrants; as people who had come to India for service, not for domination!

One more incident, that was typical. In the cholera camp, at Chandpur, about which I have already written, we had succeeded, with the greatest difficulty, in getting the young national volunteers to cooperate with the Government medical officers, for the sake of the cholera patients. But every hour of the day, the national volunteers would be blaming the Government officials; and every hour of the day, the Government officials would be blaming the national volunteers. To attempt to mix these two parties together was like

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Indians in South Africa

CHAPTER I.

IN A WORSE PLIGHT THAN EVER BEFORE

THE full report of the Asiatic Enquiry Commission has been lying before me, but I have not been able to touch it for some days on account of the incessant occupation of every one of my own interests and emotions in the fate of the Chandpur refugees, who have come down from Assam. All that I have seen there at Chandpur seems only to represent to me another tragedy of emigration. It goes to swell the long catalogue of failure, so far as the United Provinces are concerned. Later on, it may possibly happen, that the gloom of what I have seen with my own eyes, at Chandpur, and Goalundo and Nainati,—the unspeakable misery and destitution,—will be partly lightened, when I am able to go to

Assam and to investigate conditions on the spot. But certainly the misery I have been brought face to face with during the last five weeks (whatever might be the original cause of exodus) can only have one word written upon it, the word "disaster." For the real trouble is this, that, in these various emigrations from Northern India, there is always the greatest difficulty in coming back again to the old village life, after once the emigration has been effected. This is the lesson, that I am learning, by bitter experience, and it is a lesson that is very hard to learn, and still more hard to accept.

When I was in South Africa at the time of Sir Benjamin Robertson and Mr. G. L. Corbett's visit, working side by side with them, but independently of them, this same problem stared us all in the face. I had come to Natal a few weeks earlier than they had done themselves. It was some time before their landing that I had made my own investigations. I had been already to many places on the main route up the North Coast, where Indians were employed on the sugar plantations (a large number of whom were still

under indenture), and I had seen at close quarters and carefully inspected their condition of life, their "barracks," their general appearance, their physique; I had heard their prayers and petitions; my heart had been moved to its depth by their wretched condition, and I had made up my own mind, on the evidence, and had come to a definite conclusion. Afterwards, I had discussed this conclusion, with all the leading Indians in Durban, who had at heart the interests of their poorer fellow countrymen, and they gave their unanimous assent to it.

My own conclusion was this:—It would be far better for these poor wrecks of humanity to come back to India, if they could get a free passage and a little help to start life again, rather than that they should go on sinking lower and lower,—actually falling below the level of the Kaffirs, who were being imported from the bush to compete with them on the plantations. I found out, from the actual statistics of the province (which were very accurately and carefully kept by the special Government Department), that this deterioration in Indian wage earning

was universal in Natal; that the Zulu and Kaffir wages were both rising while the Indian wages were falling. I found still further that, even though indentured labour had been actually ended and the last of the old indentured labourers had been set free (about the year 1915 or 1916), yet in the subsequent years, Indians had gone on and on re-indenturing themselves into a fresh bondage, simply because they were compelled by the force of hunger and misery to do so. I shall never forget how, on one estate, a hovel was shown to me, (the habitation of a whole family), into which I had almost literally to bend down as if going into a kennel, and when I got inside, it was quite impossible to stand upright. The filth inside was beyond words, and the air was putrid. But what else could be expected, when human beings were treated in this manner by overseers, who were living in palatial buildings themselves? I remember one appalling contrast. The Indian barracks were hardly a stone's throw from the house of the Manager of the Estate. The Manager's house had all the perfect air and light arrangements of modern sanitary

science: the Indian quarters were so sanitarily neglected, that I could hardly bear to stay in them even for a few moments, the air was so foul and the drainage was so filthy.

This experience made me restless night and day. I did not know what to do. All my Indian friends wondered at the moodiness, which had come over me, and the gloom, which settled down more and more upon me. They had themselves grown used to these sights and these conditions. But, for myself, I had not seen anything so bad, even in Fiji. And this re-indenturing business roused in me almost furious indignation. I knew it was under terrible temptation, or under some irresistible compulsion, that re-indenture was acquiesced in by Indians themselves. Stories were told to me about the recruiting, which were every bit as bad as the *arkati* stories, that I had heard in India in the old evil days of indentured labour in the past. And, in Natal, there was a temptation, that was hardly known in the United Provinces, and that was quite impossible in Fiji,—the temptation of intoxicating drink. I found that, in a large number of instances, the Indians were made

drunk with the intoxicating liquor by the recruiters, in order to get them to affix their thumb mark to the new indenture. They were given £2-10-0 on signing, and this only too often went in "drink."

All these things, as I have said, weighed upon me, night and day, and, I kept brooding over them. I was ill at the time, and I began to wonder if I had become morbid through illness. It was not possible for me to go down the coast, southward; but I received letters from Indians there, whose word could be relied on, that conditions in the South were exactly similar to conditions in the North. They also complained about the manner in which the Indian merchants in Durban had been profiteering in rice and thus making the lot of the Indian labourers still more miserable.

Then came Sir Benjamin Robertson, and Mr. G. L. Corbett, and Mr. Lolit Sen. At first, the Indian leaders were inclined to hold somewhat aloof. They had been bitterly disappointed at the refusal of the Hon. Srinivasa Sastri to accompany the Deputation. The position was taken up by some, that because Mr. Sastri had not been able to come, there-

must be something wrong somewhere ; and therefore the whole Deputation should be left on one side. There was at the same time, a section of the Indian community, who wished to boycott altogether the Asiatic Enquiry Commission and to have nothing to do with the Deputation from India on that account.

It was very difficult to come to a common agreement, and at first things seemed to go quite wrong at the time of Sir Benjamin Robertson's landing. I was in the country districts when the ship came in, and the news reached me by telegram, that the Deputation had actually landed. At once I hurried back to Durban, and saw Sir Benjamin Robertson and Mr. Corbett that night. There had been the usual difficulties about Mr. Lolit Sen's accommodation. Being an Indian, no Durban hotel was likely to take him in, on account of the acute racial prejudice. He was therefore still remaining on board ship. The same difficulty had been experienced in the case of Mr. Sarkar, on the former visit of Sir Benjamin Robertson; and I had fully anticipated it. We at once offered hospitality among the Indian merchants in Durban, and the offer

was accepted ; but in the end, Mr. Corbett was able to obtain a room in the hotel itself, though even then it would not be possible for Mr. Lolit Sen to have meals except in his own room in the hotel. It is these indignities, which bring, like a sharp lash, to Indian minds the helplessness and the hopelessness of their racial position in certain particulars. Probably the sensitiveness about such things had a great deal to do with the Hon. Srinivasa Sastri's refusal to come out, and I can very well understand the feeling and share it. There were, I know, other extremely cogent causes besides ; but I believe I am not wrong in saying, that this question of racial treatment weighed heavily with him. The difficulties connected with the late Hon. G. K. Gokhale's visit in 1912, were overcome by Mahatma Gandhi's continual presence ; but, even in Mr. Gokhale's case, there was no other method of travelling by steamer to South Africa except by occupying a whole three berth cabin by himself alone. For no South African would travel with him. I know full well, how great the danger of racial intolerance would have been, if Mr. Sastri had

come out; but all the same I believe that it could have been surmounted, and I am sorry that he found himself unable to come, when the time drew near.

But, to return from this necessary digression (for this question of racial exclusiveness is the fundamental question in South Africa), on that same evening after our conversation it was as clear as possible to me, that, in Mr. G. L. Corbett, we had one of the truest friends of India in the Civil Service that this Service possessed. He would very rapidly overcome any shyness or aloofness from the Indian side. This anticipation was soon realised. In a very brief time, after he had come round to meet the Indian leaders at the house of Mr. Parsee Rustomjee, or Mr. Mian Khan, he won golden opinions from all. Thenceforward, there was no trouble whatever about the Deputation being cordially received by Indians, all over South Africa. I would like to bear personal testimony to the truly remarkable way in which Mr. Corbett mastered each Indian problem and recognised almost immediately the Indian point of view. I have since heard, both from East Africa and

Uganda how he showed the same capacity of rapid understanding there also.

After Sir Benjamin Robertson and Mr. Corbett and Mr. Sen had been in Natal for a few days, they went out to visit the Mount Edgcombe estate. This was by no means the worst estate that I had seen in Natal. I gave no hint as to my own opinion, but asked Mr. Corbett specially to consider the condition of the Indian labourers. He came back in a state of complete dejection about it. He told me, that he had no doubt whatever, that these Indian labourers would be much better off in India. The best thing would be to repatriate them; and if the Union Government were willing to do it, this would be the quickest way to solve an altogether intolerable situation.

CHAPTER II.

THE STORY OF A BLUNDER

I HAVE tried to show in my first chapter the main difficulty which met me in Natal. It is true, that the rights of Indian traders to hold trading licenses and property in South Africa kept my time continually engaged. I could understand their vital importance. With these matters, I hope to deal later. But, it must be remembered, that these rights had their relation to a very small body of Indians, compared with the great mass of poverty-stricken people, who form the Indian labouring classes in Natal. The proportion of these labourers to the trading classes would be very nearly that of ten to one.

When I had fully understood the greatness of this Indian labour problem, it was natural that my energies should become more and more concentrated upon it. For this reason, I felt.

bound to alter my programme, and to spend the greater part of my time in Natal, dealing with this distress of the poor and devising immediate relief, while seeking on all sides eagerly for some ultimate solution. The situation itself was very greatly accentuated, while I was there, by the refusal of the Indian Government to send rice from India. In future, when an outcry is raised by national leaders against the export of foodstuffs from India, great care ought to be taken, that communities, such as this Indian labouring community in South Africa, do not suffer actual destitution in consequence. I have found this same problem of rice shortage in Ceylon, among the poorer Indian immigrants there also, who suffered acutely in 1919. There is a very real danger of a selfish nationalism arising in India, both with regard to exports and imports (due to ignorance and inexperience) and this refusal to send rice to these pitiably destitute labourers in Natal was a flagrant instance. Another thing which sickened me to the heart was to find, that Indian merchants themselves in Durban were actually holding up the rice, which they had in

1

stock, in order to make greater profits from it. At once, on hearing this, I summoned all the rice merchants who would come, and spoke very sternly about the iniquity of such profiteering. The result was, that one Indian merchant released his stock of rice at control rates the next morning. The moment the news of this got abroad, the rush was so great that famished Indian people formed a double line of waiting purchasers, which stretched right down a very long street. Only the smallest fraction of these obtained relief. The rest went empty away.

The remedy for this problem of the submerged Indian population, which at last I proposed, has not worked out well. It was that of repatriation. In the year 1914, Mahatma Gandhi had agreed, that if any Indian cared to accept a free passage home to India, at the price of forfeiting his right of domicile in Natal, he should be given a free passage by the South African Union Government. This free passage had somewhat fallen into abeyance during the war on account of lack of shipping and other reasons. The Natal planters were against it, because it would

diminish their supply of cheap, sweated labour. I did not personally accept the solution of this free passage without reluctance, on account of the condition of loss of domicile attached. But in the midst of these famished and sweated people, who out of sheer misery were actually going once more under indenture and were sinking below the level of the Kaffir in their wages, continually ruining body and soul alike with intoxicating drink,—face to face with these glaring facts, repatriation to India seemed to be the only door of escape from an intolerable wrong. Indeed, there on the spot, I could see no alternative, and nearly every Natal Indian leader, with whom I talked over the matter, agreed with me about it. Mr. Corbett, whose active service in India had been mainly in the villages of the Central Provinces, very strongly agreed, and Sir Benjamin Robertson also. The fact is undoubted, that each one of us, and the Natal Indian leaders themselves looked at this matter purely and simply from the humanitarian standpoint. In my own case, there is one single rule of life, that I have invariably employed for the solution of all

such difficulties. The rule runs as follows:—
“Whatsoever ye would wish that men should do unto you, even so do unto them; for this is the Law and the Prophets.” There could be no open question to me that, if I myself were in such a miserable plight in a foreign land, being dragged down lower and lower, I should intensely long to get back to my own village in India and to my own people. It seemed to me, that nothing could be clearer than this. Rightly or wrongly, therefore, I urged that voluntary repatriation should be encouraged; and I suggested that certain merciful actions on the part of the Natal Government should be asked for, if they were willing to show any consideration at all. A small sum should be granted to each person, in addition to the free passage, and the Gold Regulation, which prevented any gold leaving the country, should be modified slightly in their favour, so that any small saving, if in certain cases such had been obtained, and any women’s ornaments, should not be confiscated.

I have bitterly regretted, since then, the action which I took, for two reasons. In

the first place, the South African authorities seized at once the opportunity thus presented for what could only be called an anti-Asiatic propaganda. The Government official, who was placed in charge of this delicate operation of helping destitute Indians, began immediately to make his appeal to racial prejudice against the Indians. He even spoke about methods of driving Indians altogether out of the country. The voluntary character of the arrangement was thus compromised from the start. It became merely a new political weapon to drive the Indians bag and baggage out of the country.

Secondly, I had the disconcerting fact to face, that, even when these destitute Indians from Natal reached their own country, they were not well received. The poverty in India is so vast, and so increasingly extending, on account of the continuous growth of population, that, when these immigrants reached home at last, with eager expectations, having forfeited their domicile in Natal, they found themselves again most grievously disappointed in their own homeland itself. My friend, Mr. Naidu, from Pietermaritzburg, who came to India six

months after my own visit to Natal, took me to task most severely and most rightly, on account of the advice I had given. He challenged me in the Indian public press, and pointed out to me, that among the emigrants who had been repatriated to Madras, only a very small proportion had been successfully domiciled in India. The rest were destitute. I have had the painful experience of finding the same thing in Calcutta. The number who return to the Upper Provinces from Natal is very small ; yet out of that number, I have found that some have drifted back to the Calcutta Depot, penniless and helpless. I have expressed my own regret in the newspapers at the part I played in urging this repatriation. Since then I have stated my growing conviction, that even with regard to such places as Fiji, where Indians have felt their lot almost intolerable, repatriation is no remedy. In the last few months, I have had one of the greatest disappointments of all in a long life of disappointments concerning the amelioration of the poor. For the Indians, who thronged round me every day in Fiji, and fell at my feet imploring

me to find them ships to get them home have come back in many hundreds to the Calcutta Depot and have clung to my feet there also, begging and imploring me once more, in the same pitiable tones, to find ships to get them back to Fiji.

CHAPTER III

REPATRIATION—NO REMEDY

I HAVE explained, in my last chapter, how bitterly afterwards I regretted the day, when I put my hand to paper and advised repatriation from South Africa with forfeiture of domicile. It only shows how terribly complicated all these questions become, and how very dangerous are all schemes of a sweeping character, which attempt to undo recognised evils. I owe it to my friend, Mr. K. Natara-
jan, of the *Indian Social Reformer*, that the warning as to the result of my action came to me almost immediately and I was able in a certain measure to prevent further mischief. His own very long experience in social questions had put him on his guard, where I myself was ready to run risks. His argument was that of the extreme difficulty of social
work. To put it in my own language, he

told me, that poor people who had become already weakened in character by their very poverty could not be transplanted about from place to place and be expected to take root again and again. Their one hope really was, that they should "make good" in the soil in which they had been transplanted. A second and a third transplantation would only lead to greater and greater weakening of stamina. After all, it was not merely the amount of wages to be earned, but the inner character of the wage-earner, which was the vital factor.

I would certainly apply this principle to-day to Fiji, as well as to Natal and elsewhere. If I may venture to say so, the proposal of repatriation, which was unanimously passed without any discussion, at the last Indian National Congress, at Nagpur, was a hasty and an immature proposal. I feel certain, that, if every one of the delegates present had received the training and discipline in these matters, which I have been obliged to receive, there would not have been any such resolution unanimously passed, on a question which literally involves the life and death of numberless poor and helpless people.

No! In Fiji itself, as well as in Natal, in spite of all the wretchedness and immorality of the past, the problem still waits its solution there on the spot,—the problem how the Indians, who have gone out, can “make good” in Fiji. Repatriation is no remedy. For a proof of this, we have only to witness the many hundreds in the Calcutta Depot at the present time, who are only clamouring for one single object,—namely, to return to Fiji.

I would go further still. Personally, whatever evils might have existed, in the Assam tea gardens, both moral and economical, (and, I would add in a parenthesis, that I have felt the moral evils worst of all, though I have said little about them for want of sufficiently accurate information) it would have been utterly repugnant to me to have allowed anyone, if I could possibly help it, to call out the workmen without any care or forethought, urging them to make an exodus to the plains. If such things were actually done by political agents, I have no hesitation in saying, that they were done unwisely. When I first started for Assam, my intention was not to stop at Chandpur at all, but to go on immediately to

Karimganj and to the Chargola Valley, in order to try to stop the exodus, until further enquiry had been made and everything had been attempted to improve conditions on the spot. But I was confronted at Chandpur with a situation calling for immediate remedy. There was no possibility then of retracing steps already taken. Wild horses could never have dragged those famished, cholera-stricken refugees in Chandpur back to the tea gardens. They would have thrown themselves into the river, if such a forced return to Assam had been attempted. The only assault they ever made, was upon Mr. McPherson, of the Tea Planters' Association, who tried to turn them back to the tea gardens and prevent them going forward. Personally, after my experience of Fiji returned emigrants, I had no illusions about the labour conditions in the United Provinces, to which they were going. These were bad enough, in all conscience; and I knew it. But nothing could be worse; nothing could be more inhumane, than to allow them to die of cholera and pneumonia at Chandpur. My one serious mistake was, that I did not realise that some four or five hundred refugees were going into

the Central provinces. I made no preparations beforehand for them: and many of these grievously suffered, as Swami Darshananda pointed out. But the great bulk of the refugees, who went to the United Provinces, were prepared for beforehand and on the whole well looked after. In a very strange way, this Chandpur problem was almost exactly parallel to the principal problems of Natal and Fiji. For though repatriation had been tried in this Assam instance also (and nothing could prevent it, after the exodus had been actually made as far as Chandpur), nevertheless, those who had had these earlier experiences knew that, in itself, it was no solution. Indeed our fears have already in a certain measure begun to come true. For there is news to hand that some of the very same refugees, who could not possibly have been held at Chandpur, are now actually returning to the tea gardens after finding out for themselves the truth, which I have so reluctantly and slowly found out, concerning Fiji and Natal,—that repatriation is no remedy.

There was one further point, that I had partly overlooked in surveying mentally the

different problems of the depressed Natal Indians. I did not take sufficient notice of the very important social fact, that the educational facilities which were being given in Natal to Indian children were in reality much greater than could be offered at the present time in India itself. India is a poverty stricken country, through and through, from top to bottom. Natal is not. Its soil is wonderfully fertile: its rainfall is good: it has large and important coal deposits, and it forms one of the main exits for the mineral wealth of the Transvaal. There would, therefore, always be the prospect, in such a financially flourishing country, (provided the administration was liberal in its educational policy), that opportunities for the education of our Natal-born Indian children would increase instead of diminish. Indeed, if pressure could be applied along this line of direction from the Indian side, then all the instincts of modern statesmanship (which had reached a high level under General Smuts) would respond to such a pressure.

But what parallel hope was there for these poor people's children in the congested agricultural districts of India, from whence

they originally came? Might it not be said, at least, that the second and third generations of Natal-born Indians would have more educational chance and would make more educational progress in Natal than in India? Even if it were argued that the new national impetus in India would change all that, still this was not a certainty in the immediate future; on the other hand, the Natal prospects appeared to be very nearly certain.

This aspect of education, I had by no means left out of account during my visit to Natal in 1920. Indeed, I had carefully studied its possibilities and had done what I could to press forward Indian claims with regard to it. But, all the same, my own mind works very slowly, and I had not at that time got clearly into my own mental vision the picture of its cumulative beneficial effect upon future generations. Strangely enough, I had not thought of it as the one remedy for the submerged condition of the poorer classes in Natal, instead of repatriation.

The one last factor, that I had not, at that time, taken sufficiently into account, was the question of climate. Like the Fiji climate

the climate of Natal is non-malarial. It is a healthy and bracing climate for the Tamil population, which had originally come from the excessive heat of Madras. Even with those who had been born in Madras and not in Natal, I found that the climatic change to a cooler atmosphere had already had its effect. Those who returned to their homes in India were uneasy and uncomfortable because of the heat. With the Natal-born Indians, acclimatisation in India is far more difficult. Indeed, it is often one continuous physical strain, that is enervating and exhausting. They pine for the cooler climate of Natal and cannot settle down in India itself.

If, therefore, it were possible thoroughly to work out all the educational possibilities for Indian children in Natal; if, on account of the advantages of education in after life, some progress upward from the present submerged state could be attained; if the bright intellects of the little Indian children could be afforded scope for development, then it would surely be better to explore this way of escape from the morass of agricultural destitution in Natal rather than run the risk of repatriation.

It will be easily gathered from this narrative how slowly and almost painfully my mind has accommodated itself to the full situation and its remedy. If I am now accused, not only with a good deal of blame but also with a good deal of truth, for continually altering my mind and shifting my position, I must plead guilty. Looking back, it is indeed a surprise to me to find out how badly I was mistaken and how obsessed I was by the "short-cut" idea of repatriation. But the problems to be faced were by no means easy of solution, and it was somewhat like a traveller exploring a new country and taking the wrong turning again and again before taking the right one. I feel now that the right turning is for us to concentrate on the children of our Indian emigrants and to offer in that direction every help we can to the Governments of the different countries where they are settled.

In another matter, the mistake I made was less serious and more excusable. For I had strangely misjudged the inevitable bias and trend of the Asiatic Enquiry Commission itself. From all that I had heard concerning

the members selected, I had felt assured that they would be able to rise above the racial prejudices around them, and to treat this one question at least, of the submerged and depressed Natal Indians, as a humanitarian question pure and simple. I did not think that they would make this at once a political issue. But the unseemly haste and eagerness, with which they pressed forward in the direction of repatriation, when once an opening was given to them, and the zeal with which they published their Interim Report dealing with this question, disillusioned me. I could see, that the humanitarian aspect had little interest to them, and that these poor Indian people were merely being made a pawn in the great political game. My disillusionment was complete, when Mr. Cole was appointed by the Union Government to take up the question. For he immediately launched out upon a violently abusive anti-Asiatic campaign, explaining to the Europeans how they could get rid, not merely of the poor Indian labourers, but also of the wealthy Indian traders. After that episode, I had very little hope from the Asiatic Commission. But

even then, I had no conception that such men as Mr. Hofmeyer and Sir John Lange could recommend the things that they did finally recommend. The summing up of their Report has been a final blow.

CHAPTER IV

RACIAL ARROGANCE

IT will be naturally objected to, by those who have read my previous chapters, that they have dealt rather with my own personal impressions and judgments about the Indian labourers rather than with the whole Indian problem itself. This criticism is a true one, and I must confess that I have rather used the title of this book as a peg to hang some miscellaneous things on, which have been burdening my mind, than attempted to analyse the whole Indian situation.

The fact is, the fate of those very poor people in Natal, who had come chiefly from Madras and were so pathetically helpless, obsessed me night and day. They had been so neglected, not only by us in India, but, what was far more painful to think of, by their own fellow-countrymen in Natal,—with

a few very noble exceptions. At the time of my visit, they were in acute distress owing to the rice shortage and the general depression. So I became almost absent-minded concerning other things, compared with their fate. It touched me more deeply than I can possibly describe in words.

I would finish the story of what happened concerning them, before going on to discuss other subjects. Fortunately, the mistaken advice which I had given with regard to repatriation has had but little practical result. The great bulk of them have preferred to remain, and their choice to remain has been a wise one. The Union Government has been again and again approached by the Government of India with a view to prevent any unfair pressure in the direction of repatriation. After this, General Smuts has checked the compromising actions of his official representative, Mr. Cole, and then has relapsed into indifference on the subject. Certainly no pressure of any kind is being exercised to-day (as far as my own information goes) to compel Indians to repatriate. This indifference is due, in a great measure,

to the storm of indignation among the Natal sugar planters, when their Indian supply of cheap labour was put in danger by the Union Government's action in encouraging repatriation. It is to be hoped that these employers, who have thus become thoroughly frightened, will now look after their labour better than before. But, in any case, any danger of a very large exodus is now over; and the chief problem of Natal remains the Education Problem. Without any delay, an Education Committee should be sent over from India to consult with the Natal Government concerning the improvement of Indian Education in Natal. Perhaps a single commissioner would be sufficient. He should be an Indian of high standing.

With regard to the further problems dealt with by the Asiatic Enquiry Commission, it may be said, in general, that the whole body of evidence given in the Report, and the conclusions of the Commission based thereon, both go to prove that any fear of such a rapid growth of the Asiatic population in South Africa, that it would become the dominant factor and oust the European from

the land, is altogether without basis. It is a mere panic fear, sedulously propagated by commercially interested and racially biased Europeans. The Indian community must clearly be a diminishing feature of the population in South Africa. It cannot possibly increase proportionally with the European because of the simple fact that immigration has been finally prohibited to Indians, while it has been made more and more open and accessible for all Europeans. The census, which is being taken this year for the whole of South Africa, will, in all probability, finally dispose of a very large number of the false statements on which the anti-Asiatic propaganda has hitherto relied for its support.

In all this preliminary matter, the Asiatic Commission Report just published is, on the whole, satisfactory, though it has not appreciated the perpetual indignities which the Indian population has had to suffer, both in Natal and in the Transvaal. It has not also drawn definitely enough the conclusion, that one of the chief reasons, why there were practically no grievances and very little pronounced race bitterness in the Cape Province,

was because, in that Province, and in that Province alone, Indians had exercised the franchise since (if I am not mistaken) the year 1875. It would have been a great service done by the Commission, if this supremely important fact could have been made prominent by them.

But it is in their final recommendations, that the Asiatic Commissioners completely break down. Here there is very little indeed that favours the Indian. The Gold Law of 1885, in the Transvaal, which has been at the root of nearly all the mischief in that Province, is to remain, in all its racial ugliness, just as it stands to-day. This original penalising law of the old Boer regime has been only bearable for Indians hitherto, because it was far too drastic and severe to be put into practice literally and directly. From its very earliest promulgation, sundry devices were found to circumvent it. These were carried into effect with the connivance and even with the open co-operation of the Boer Government itself. Life in the Transvaal, as an Indian trader, was only possible because these circumventions of the Gold Law of 1885

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grew into long established customs. Since the Boer regime, further attempts have been made by the Transvaal Indians, not without some success, to find a loophole in the Law itself, by which to secure property and trading rights. It must be distinctly understood, however, that the Gold Law of 1885 is fundamentally racial and anti-social. As long as it remains on the Statute Book, the bar-sinister is against the Indian.

It was the hope of everyone, who favoured fair dealing with the Indian settlers, that the Commissioners would realise all this and would recommend the repeal of this antiquated racial law. But they have given no relief whatever. As far as the Transvaal is concerned, it would now appear as though every avenue of escape from these ancient restrictions would be closed for Indians in future generations, and that this closure will have the sanction of the Asiatic Commission behind it.

In respect to the licensing laws in Natal, the recommendations of the Asiatic commission are not open to the charge of direct racial bias. With regard to the proposal of consolidation and

uniformity of all licensing laws throughout the different provinces of South Africa, there would be no objection, so long as this distinctly implies a levelling up and not a levelling down. This point must be carefully watched, when it is proposed to put the principle into practice.

I have not got the Report of the Commission before me, and must quote from memory. One of the things asked for, namely, that the grounds for refusing a license should be laid down for the guidance of the Licensing Board has been accepted. The refusal of a license to an Indian because he is an Indian, and the refusal of a license without stating any reason at all,—these things will be no longer possible if the Commissioners' proposals are accepted. This clearing up of the racial situation is all to the good.

But on the other hand, the one ultimate safeguard in Natal, namely, an appeal to the Supreme Court, is to be taken away, and the appeal is to be finally settled by a Board of three independent persons appointed by the Administrator for that special purpose. I do not at all trust such a new departure. It is possible to have confidence in the High Court;

for it is a responsible body. But a Board of three independent persons, appointed by the Administrator, is really an unknown quantity. Such a Board, in some peculiar time of excitement of public feeling, might be utterly impossible. The most painfully astonishing proposal of the Commission is the clause concerning land-tenure in Natal. Here, the Commissioners have actually gone out of their way to suggest a direct breach of the original contract with the Government of India, and a direct curtailment of Indian rights in Natal, which have been exercised for over thirty years. It is proposed to restrict the Indian tenure of land to a strip measuring thirty miles from the coast. This would leave all the more healthy and bracing country entirely in the hands of the Europeans. It is a relief to find that one Commissioner, Mr. Duncan Baxter, objected strongly to this breach of contract. I understand that the Government of India have sent the strongest possible protest against this proposal of the Commissioners.

A word only needs to be said concerning the ugly racial proposals, which are thinly veiled under the name of "voluntary segregation". The

only *voluntary* segregation is that which exists at present, whereby the Indian naturally congregates with his fellow-countryman, and the European congregates with his fellow-countryman. To go beyond this natural and instinctive drawing together of those of the same race, is at once to bring in artificial pressure and something bordering on compulsion. To induce "voluntary" segregation by means of local and municipal votes, in which Indians are certain to be outvoted, is merely to cloak and disguise the objectionable word "compulsion."

CHAPTER V.

THE STRUGGLE AND INDIA'S DUTY

THE one key principle, which will unlock very nearly every Indian problem in South Africa, is this. With such a politically defenceless community, the only chance of safety lies in the right of appeal *away from the local authority*. Almost invariably the local authority, such as the municipal board, etc., will vote against the Indian. Had it not been for the continual possibility of appeal against the local authority to the Supreme Court, or to the Union Parliament, or to the Governor-General, or to the Secretary of State, every single right which is now possessed by Indians in South Africa, would probably long ago have been taken away. At the present moment, for instance, an attempt is being made to deprive the Indians, residing in townships in Natal, of their municipal franchise.

The Bill was introduced into the provincial Parliament by a private member, named Mr. Huelett. So strong was the support given by almost every member of the House, that it rapidly passed through its three readings. It now only awaits the signature of the Governor-General before being made law.* In such a matter the local authority has always been, predominantly hostile. The situation is almost parallel to that of the Jews in European cities, in the Middle Ages. Without the protection of the King, they were utterly defenceless against local attacks on their liberties.

It is this fact, which makes the whole situation in South Africa so apparently hopeless. There is an endless expense involved in these constant appeals to High Courts. The very smallest right has to be fought for, amid all the interminable intricacies of law and justice, from one court to another, from one assembly to another, from one Commission to another. The enemy is always on the spot, in almost overwhelming numbers, ready to take advantage of the slightest loop-

* The Governor-General has since refused his assent to this measure.—C.F.A.

hole. Any weakening on the part of the Indian community is immediately taken advantage of. It is one long unending struggle.

To take one further example, the whole instinct of the European population is against any European travelling in any kind of conveyance side by side with Indians. It is extraordinary to find, what lengths this anti-social prejudice has reached. It is now applied almost universally to Indians in South Africa. On the other hand, I have often watched the Japanese. They unhesitatingly take, as a matter of course, every right which is claimed by a European. They travel in European carriages, dine as a matter of right in European dining cars, etc. No one interferes with them: but no one sits with them. It was interesting to notice, on my long journeys up and down Africa, how the Japanese were treated. There was the utmost respect on the one hand, almost amounting to fear. On the other hand, there was aloofness. On every possible occasion, if I was travelling alone, I would go and sit at table with Japanese in the dining cars. But I never once

saw any other European doing this and I asked from the Japanese, when on one occasion we had had a long conversation, as to their treatment. They described to me just what I had witnessed with my own eyes. No one interfered with them: but no one mixed with them. They smiled as they told me what their treatment had been, but it was a forced and somewhat bitter smile which carried a lot of world-trouble behind it.

For Indians, there is no such respect in South Africa. If they assert themselves, there is the immediate danger of an insult. On more than one occasion, I have had to stop a blow that was being struck simply because, out of kindness to myself, an Indian friend had ventured, as it were, into the European sacred area. In order to avoid such insults, I had determined, from the very first, always to travel in the Indian compartment and never to stay anywhere at all where Indians would not be freely welcomed. But even here, difficulties arose. Again and again, the European conductor on the train would come along and insist on my vacating the Indian compartment, in spite of the protest of my

Indian friends against my ejection. I have had to cling to my seat and tell the guard, that, if he decided to turn me out he would have to do it by force. This persistence alone enabled me to keep my seat.

I do not mean, of course, that, at every time and on every occasion, these things occur. There is a good deal of politeness, a certain amount of cordiality, a rough good humour, and what I may call "give and take." But an unpleasant contretemps is always a possibility- even in the case of Indians who are in every way respectably and neatly clad and whose manners are unexceptionable. An incident of discourtesy is also much more likely, if an Indian cap or an Indian dress is worn. Even, (I am sorry to have to write this,) Indian ladies are not exempt from this ill-treatment and this rudeness of manners in Natal and in the Transvaal.

Capetown, on the other hand, is quite different. Life, all round, is more urbane; and the people are far more liberal-minded. I have seen delightfully refreshing instances of inter-racial courtesy and kindly feeling. This

is due to an old tradition, which has been handed down for many generation. I do not mean to say, that there is anything like racial equality. To judge from the Christian Churches, that is still far distant. For the stirctest racial cleavage still exists in what is called the House of God. It is almost a blasphemy to write down such a title,—“House of God,”—but what I say is true.

It has been one of the greatest benefits to the non-European races, that, when the South African Union was formed, the centre of its Parliamentary life was fixed at Capetown, and not at Pretoria. It was an intense relief to me, in the year 1914, to come down from Pretoria, with its Indian “locations” and its Kaffir “locations,” to the comparatively free life of the Cape Peninsula. Parliament had just begun its sessions, and I could at once feel the atmosphere less closely and narrowly confined within racial walls than in Pretoria. Even the back-veldt Boers feel the change when they reach Capetown.

There is only one danger that I foresee. Many of the older Capetown residents, who had kept their more liberal traditions, told

ne that the epidemic of crude racialism from the Northern States had begun to infect Capetown itself. If this is the fact, and if Capetown becomes infected with the poison of race hatred, then I am afraid that the hope of victory for humane traditions will be eclipsed for a time.

I would not, however, end this series of articles on this pessimistic note. Indeed, in spite of all that I have tried truthfully and faithfully to relate, I have still a hope that the race problem in South Africa will not be finally insoluble. I return again and again in my mind, as I ask myself what is the ground of my hope, not, I am afraid, as things stand, to the Christian Churches; for they to a great degree have betrayed their trust. They have succumbed, for the most part, to the race evil. I write this with the utmost sadness, as one who am myself a Christian and would share the blame with all my fellow-Christians. I do not accuse; I rather make a confession of the evil. No, the more I analyse what is happening at the present time, the more I turn in my thoughts to the levelling effects of the spread of education

I can see what marvellous strides some Indians, who were under indenture themselves, (or whose father and mother were under indenture) have made. I can see also the Kaffirs and the Zulus making somewhat slower, but still perceptible progress. I can see also those, to whom my heart went out with deep affection—the ‘coloured’ people, as they are called,—the half-castes,—so genuinely trying to “make good” and so obviously outstripping the European in many of the most sterling virtues of character and endurance. All these signs of a new day coming, when the “colonial born” Indians; the rapidly multiplying “colored people”; the patient and long enduring Africans, will outnumber in the mass by perhaps tenfold the less rapidly multiplying Europeans,—all these signs point forward to the prophetic saying that “the meek shall inherit the earth.” No, I can never despair of the racial problem in South Africa. There is a sense of justice abroad, in spite of all shortcomings, and the right hand of education has never been finally withheld from any race in the South African Union. Before we judge the South African

Europeans, let us remember carefully this one fact.

I would venture to urge in India again and again,—as I write these final words,—that there is a very pressing and immediate need to encourage and promote to the utmost of our power the education of our own Indian children in South Africa, especially in Natal. I would add that the same is true about East Africa.

It is not money, that is required from India, for the help of South African Indians. It is not even teachers. It is rather the help of those, who would be willing to go across the sea in order to give advice and guidance in educational matters to Indians who are domiciled in South Africa. Many obstructions and racial restrictions will have to be broken down; many new educational ventures will have to be tried; many untouched districts must be opened up; higher education has still to be built up almost from the ground; a new enthusiasm for education needs to be encouraged and fostered in the Indian community itself. All this must be done.

There are few things that I should have desired more to do than to help forward this work of Indian education in South and East Africa. I have felt often in the past the solitude of the task in which I have been engaged. But I feel quite certain that, with the new spirit of sacrifice and devotion abroad in this country, which can be seen on every hand, workers will never be wanting for such a service of humanity.

Home Rule Series No. 2.

Memorandum

SUBMITTED TO

THE JOINT COMMITTEE

APPOINTED TO

REPORT TO PARLIAMENT

ON THE

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BILL, 1919.

ON BEHALF OF THE

NATIONAL HOME RULE LEAGUE

By Mrs. ANNIE BESANT

(PRESIDENT OF THE LEAGUE)

QUESTIONS SUGGESTED BY THE

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BILL

Statement before the Joint Committee

BY

MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

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ON BEHALF OF THE
NATIONAL HOME RULE LEAGUE.

The National Home Rule League welcomes the announcement of August 20, 1917, declaring that the policy of His Majesty's Government is the realisation of Responsible Government in India, and it accepts the principle that the advance must be by stages. But while conceding that the advance should be greater in the Provincial Governments than in the Government of India, and that the present scheme is transitional, it submits that the maintenance of the "machinery of autocracy", in the Centre (Montagu-Chelmsford Report, para. 289) for the declared purpose of passing "permanent measures, to which the majority of members in the Legislative Assembly may be unwilling to assent," and "to perpetuate the official *bloc*" (para. 276), outside matters directly concerning the peace, tranquillity and defence of the country, Foreign Affairs (excepting relations with the Colonies and Dominions), Army, Navy, and relations with Indian

intends. The Secretary of State for India stated (Hansard, Vol. 116, No. 73, col. 1304) that "the policy of the Rules if not the actual wording of the Rules" will be submitted to the Joint Committee, and we welcome the statement reiterated in col. 1356. But we venture to urge that the policy shall be so defined that no power given under the Act can be whittled down by the Rules.

(a) The transferred subjects as given in the Feetham Report are on the whole satisfactory as a beginning, so far as the Provinces are concerned, but we trust that 6, 7, and 8, (Irrigation, Land Revenue and Famine Relief) will be transferred on the application of Provinces at the end of five years under the proposal of the M.-C. Report (para. 260, or Appendix I, 52), if Parliament should refuse to transfer them now. With these should go the power, proposed in the same paragraph, to order that the salary of the Ministers should be voted by the Legislative Council. In this respect the Bill falls short of the M.-C. Report, and the proposals of para. 260 should be inserted in the Bill by the Joint Committee. There is no reason why the third Legislative Council should not enjoy complete Provincial Autonomy.

Proviso.—A subject once transferred should not be again reserved. The remedy for maladministration should be the dismissal of the Minister concerned.

Sec. 2 (2)—Principal Act 46 (3). The power to revoke or suspend should be vested only in Parliament.

Sec. 3 (1)—The salaries of Ministers should be the same, whether high or low, as those of members of the Executive Council, so as to secure equality of status (Passed by National Congresses of Bombay and Delhi, 1918, by Muslim League, 1918, and Moderate Conference, 1918.)

Princes, will cause deep disappointment in India and prejudice the success of the Reforms, and that the principle of responsibility should be introduced into the Government of India by the division of subjects into "reserved" and "transferred," as urged by the National Congresses of Bombay and Delhi, the Muslim League at Bombay, and the Moderate Conference at Bombay, all in 1918 (See *Letter from the Government of India, dated March 5, 1919* and enclosures for the Congresses and Conference of 1918, pp. 97, lines 1-7; pp. 140, iii, 3 (a), 4 (a); and 142, 143, "Government of India," (a)). It is not desirable to perpetuate in the Indian Legislative Assembly "criticism unchecked by responsibility" (Moderate Conference) and to turn Indian energies away from the duty of good administration to continued public agitation. Moreover, serious friction is likely to arise between the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Executive Government, endangering the prospect of cordial co-operation. All this may be avoided by a wise concession to the unanimous desire of the Indian Nation to see the disappearance of autocracy in India, as in all other Nations in the civilised world. Its perpetuation in India alone places her among backward Nations, without even the protection which they will enjoy under a mandate from the League of Nations, and is regarded as showing a distrust of India's capacity and attachment to the British connection which she does not deserve after her sacrifices in men, food, clothing and money.

Part I.—(Draft Bill)

Local Governments.

Sec. I (1)—Rules made in India, as provided under 122a of the Principal Act 7 will need the very careful attention of Parliament so that they may give all that the British Government

tends. The Secretary of State for India stated (Hansard, Vol. 16, No. 73, col. 1304) that "the policy of the Rules if not the actual wording of the Rules" will be submitted to the Joint Committee, and we welcome the statement reiterated in col. 1356. But we venture to urge that the policy shall be so defined that no power given under the Act can be whittled down by the Rules.

(a) The transferred subjects as given in the Feetham Report are on the whole satisfactory as a beginning, so far as the Provinces are concerned, but we trust that 6, 7, and 8, (Irrigation, Land Revenue and Famine Relief) will be transferred on the application of Provinces at the end of five years under the proposal of the M.-C. Report (para. 260, or Appendix I, 52), if Parliament should refuse to transfer them now. With these should go the power, proposed in the same paragraph, to order that the salary of the Ministers should be voted by the Legislative Council. In this respect the Bill falls short of the M.-C. Report, and the proposals of para. 260 should be inserted in the Bill by the Joint Committee. There is no reason why the third Legislative Council should not enjoy complete Provincial Autonomy.

Proviso.—A subject once transferred should not be again reserved. The remedy for maladministration should be the dismissal of the Minister concerned.

Sec. 2 (2)—Principal Act 46 (3). The power to revoke or suspend should be vested only in Parliament.

Sec. 3 (1)—The salaries of Ministers should be the same, whether high or low, as those of members of the Executive Council, so as to secure equality of status (Passed by National Congresses of Bombay and Delhi, 1918, by Muslim League, 1918, and Moderate Conference, 1918.)

Sec. 4 (1)—A provision should be inserted from the M.-C. Report (para. 218, or Appendix 1, 26) that one Executive Councillor must be an Indian. (The United Congress and Muslim League of 1916 asked that half the Executive should be Indians elected by the Legislative Council. The Congresses of Bombay and Delhi, the Muslim League and the Moderate Conference passed the same.)

Sec. 5 (2)—We endorse the proposal of the Moderate Conference that the Governor should have no greater power over Ministers than over Executive Councillors, and that whatever power the Governor in Council has to interfere with decisions of Governor and Ministers on the ground of their possible effects on reserved subjects, corresponding power should be given to Governor and Ministers in regard to decisions of the Governor in Council affecting transferred subjects.

In order to carry out the Secretary of State's statement to the House of Commons on June 5 (Hansard, cols. 1310—1312, that "The Provincial Government has got to defer to its Legislature by Statute, that is to say, in transferred subjects you have a Government which is responsible to the Legislature"), it is necessary that the Joint Committee should adopt the principle of the proposals of the Congresses and Muslim League, that the relation of the Governor to the Ministers in regard to the transferred subjects shall be the same as that obtaining in the Self-Governing Dominions, with the difference that the Governor in the present scheme is both representative of the King and the Prime Minister. If, "so far as transferred subjects are concerned, we shall have parted with our trusteeship and surrendered it to the representatives of the people of India" (Hansard, col. 1312), the rules made under 5 (2) must carry out the above policy. This

is also rendered necessary by Mr. Montagu's criticism of the alternative scheme of the Local Governments, that "there is no certainty of control by the Legislature (in that scheme) because on all subjects, if the Governor certifies it is in the interests of his province, he can override it" (Hansard, col. 1314). We, therefore, urge on the Joint Committee the clear laying down of the principle endorsed by the House of Commons in the second reading of the Bill.

Sec. 6 (1)—We submit that the proposed Councils are too small; the number should be raised in the major Provinces to at least the 150 suggested in the Bombay and Delhi Congresses and the Bombay Muslim League. The United Kingdom had in 1911 (the last census) 670 members, each representing 67,000 persons. Taking Madras as an example—it has nearly the same population—it would have 600 members in its Council. A Council of 250 would give only one representative to 168,000 of the population, and with this must go a lowering of the franchise, as suggested below under 6 (3) (b). We prefer the 4—5th elected and 1—5th nominated, as agreed to in the United Congress of 1916 and the League, and confirmed since by the Congresses and League to the less convenient figure adopted in the Southborough Report, Schedule 1.

(3) (b) —The Rules should provide that no person resident in India who is a subject of a Dominion which puts disabilities on Indians, shall be eligible for election or nomination. On this we call the attention of the Committee to the Note to Appendix XI in the Southborough Report on the Franchise, that "The proposal to enfranchise persons domiciled elsewhere than in the United Kingdom will be subject to any action which may be taken in view of the reciprocity resolution passed at the Imperial Con-

ference held in 1917." In the Southborough report disqualifications, para. 7, women are disqualified; we earnestly beg the Joint Committee to remove a disqualification founded only on sex, now rejected by most civilised countries and alien from Indian traditions. The Congresses of 1918 passed resolutions against such disqualification, and many District Conferences have done the same. So far as we know, no Indian Conference has voted against woman suffrage. Mr. Hogg (Report, p. 4) pointed out that no strong opposition was shown in the evidence. It is true that the number of women voters would at first be small, but they would be women who are powerful levers in the uplift of their sex. Women's agitations in India are markedly formidable, as was shown in the removal of indentured labour in Fiji, and in the release of Mrs. Annie Besant and her colleagues from internment in 1917, for they are more indifferent to consequences than men, and public feeling in India would not tolerate any physical violence against women. It will be unwise to invite the agitation which will certainly arise if votes are denied to them, whereas the immediate effect of granting them the franchise will be a stimulus to girls' education and to the already powerful movement against child marriage. It is obviously absurd to grant the franchise to illiterate men labourers and to deny it to women University graduates. We agree with the other disqualification, but would add one to them by the omission of the words "a ruler or" in 6 (4). The size of electorates as fixed in the Southborough Report, para. 11, p. 5, is too small, giving only a total of 5,179,000 out of a population of 245 millions. Supposing that these five millions are all literates, which they certainly are not, at least the remaining 3 millions of literates should be added to those voting on a property qualification; if the addition would overstrain in the electoral machinery, any of them

who wrote a demand for a vote, in the presence of the registration officer or his deputy, might be enfranchised. By the end of the term of three years of the first reformed councils it should be possible to be prepared for the registration of a much larger number, and the proposed property qualification should be lowered.

We are not in favour of the extension of communal electorates advocated on pp. 7 and 8 of the Southborough Report, for they perpetuate religious divisions in political life and check the growth of healthy National unity. The Muhammadan communal electorate must remain till Muhammadans themselves demand its abolition. But the Sikhs' interests are not separate from those of other Indians; the Europeans are already sufficiently represented in their separate electorates; Anglo-Indians are specially favoured by Government, and need no special representation to urge their interests; Christians also are a favoured community, and should unite politically with their fellow countrymen. The general Hindu communities elect Christians, Parsis, Sikhs, and Musalmans as well as Hindus—a most desirable liberality.

Sec. 7 (1)—After the words “he thinks fit,” insert “provided that the intervals between the sessions do not exceed 4 months.”

Sec. 9 (2)—Proviso (a), (b), (c), (d) are far less liberal than the M.-C. Report Proposals Appendix 1, 50, where the budget is to be altered so as to give effect to resolutions of the Legislative Council, unless the Governor certifies, for reasons given, that the restoration of sums for the reserved subjects is necessary

for peace and tranquillity. We consider that control of the purse is essential to responsibility and to the due discharge of the important functions entrusted to Ministers. There should be one purse, its allotments being decided by "consultation and joint deliberation on the same policy"—to borrow Mr. Montagu's phrase (Hansard, col. 1311), and where there is a deficit it should be jointly borne, and taxation levied jointly for the reserved and transferred subjects. As the Congresses and League have agreed: "It is essential for the welfare of the Indian people that the Indian Legislature shall have the same measure of fiscal autonomy which the Self-Governing Dominions of the Empire possess. The Budget shall be under the control of the Legislature, subject to the contribution to the Government of India and the allocation of a fixed sum for the reserved subjects; and should fresh taxation be necessary it should be imposed by the Provincial Government as a whole for both transferred and reserved subjects." (*Letter from the Government of India, 5th March, 1919, p. 141., III ii, 4a and b.*) The Moderate Conference also resolved that saving the Imperial obligations agreed on, the "Government of India, acting under the control of the Legislature, should enjoy the same power of regulating the fiscal policy of India as the Governments of the Self-Governing Dominions enjoy of regulating their fiscal policy." (*Ibid, 143, under heading, "India and Fiscal Freedom."*) On this matter all Indian Reformers are unanimous, and its concession is absolutely necessary to give lasting satisfaction to the Indian public.

9 (3).—The Congresses did not approve the institution of Grand Committees, but if they are instituted, they urge that not less than one half of their number should be elected by the Legislative Council.

Part II.

Government of India.

Secs. 14, 15.—We do not deny that during the period of transition the Government should have an instrument for passing what it considers to be necessary legislation. But the Council of State—which the Congresses would reject—is so constituted as to enable it to pass any measure certified by the Governor-General in Council as essential to . . . “good Government,” a vague phrase, and held to include “sound financial administration” (*M. C. Report, Appendix I, 15*). In *Sec. 20 (4)*, the words “interests of British India or any part therefore,” are substituted for good government and sound financial administration, but these are equally vague. The Moderate Conference also objects to these words, and would confine certification to foreign and political relations, and “peace and order,” and limits its passing of legislation objected to by the Legislative Assembly to “time of war or internal disturbance,” without reference to the proposed House of Commons Select Committee, unless the legislation is limited to one year (*Letter of March 5, p. 143, Government of India, d. c.*).

The Congresses, on similar lines, propose that if the Legislative Assembly does not pass measures on reserved subjects deemed necessary by the Government, the Governor-General in Council may provide for them by Regulations for a year, to be renewed only if 40 per cent. of the members of the Assembly present and voting are in favour of them (*Letter of March 5, p. 140*).

We suggest that Grand Committees are more suitable in a condition of transition than a Council of State, which would tend to become permanent. The Grand Committee also implies the introduction of reserved and transferred subjects into the Legis

lative Assembly, a matter on which all Indian parties are agreed. We urge this for the reasons given in the opening paragraph of this memorandum. Among others, so thoughtful a Moderate leader as the Hon. Mr. S. Srinivasa Sastri has expressed himself strongly on the necessity for agitation if this be not given. Customs, Tariff and Excise Duties at least should be transferred to a Minister, and the Budget should follow the Provincial procedure. The whole prosperity of India depends on its finance being under Indian control, so that the interests of India shall be regarded as primary. The Congresses consider that the reserved subjects should be Foreign Affairs (except relations with the Colonies and Dominions), Army, Navy, and relations with Indian Ruling Princes and matters affecting peace, tranquillity and the defence of the country (*Ibid*).

As Home Rulers we feel that the solid block of an autocratic Central Government should not be placed on the road of advance to complete Responsible Government, and regret that no indication is given in the Bill that that goal of British policy is ever to be realised. There is no "gradual development of self-governing institutions" herein, as promised on August 20, 1917, nor even any suggestion of its beginning. We respectfully submit that unless a beginning of responsibility is made in the Centre, the announcement in the House of Commons will not be fulfilled.

Sec. 16 (2)—We submit it is desirable that the Legislative Assembly should consist of not less than 150 members, 80 per cent. of whom shall be elected.

Sec. 17 (2)—As in the Provinces, after the words "as he thinks fit," insert, "provided that the intervals between the session do not exceed four months".

II

Sec. 21 (1)—The provision that half the Executive Council should be Indians should be inserted. (*See M.-C. Report*, Appendix I., 7.) Only “to increase the Indian element” is there proposed, but no provision is made in the Bill.

Part III.

Secretary of State in Council.

As the Report on this matter is not published we refrain from comment, but see with pleasure *Sec. 22*, transferring the cost of the Department to moneys provided by Parliament.

Part IV.

The Public Service in India.

Sec. 25 (1)—We urge the establishment of simultaneous examinations, without precedent nominations.

We view with alarm any proposals to raise the salaries and pensions of the I.C.S., suggested in Civil Services Commission Report, and endorse the dissenting minute of Mr. Justice Rahim.

Part V.

Statutory Commission.

Appendix I, 52 of the M.-C. Report already noted under Part I. *Sec. 1 (1) (a)* should be inserted, unless recorded previously, and a similar power should be given to the Indian Legislative Assembly.

The Statutory Commission at the end of ten years should recommend such extensions of responsibility in the Central Government as should ensure complete Responsible Government at the end of another period of five years, and it is very desirable

that a definite term should be inserted in the Statute so as to put an end to all agitation, and to direct all Indian efforts to the task of efficient Responsible Government. There would thus be three stages outlined in the Statute for the reaching of the goal, and Britain and India would go forward together as partners in the Greatest Commonwealth that the world has ever known. Autocracy would be rooted out of its last citadel, and the ideals with which Britain, the Dominions and India entered on the War of 1914 would be realised

QUESTIONS SUGGESTED BY THE
Government of India Bill

(MRS. ANNIE BESANT, NATIONAL HOME RULE
LEAGUE DEPUTATION.)

[The following replies were given to written questions submitted
beforehand.]

Mrs. Annie Besant, National Home Rule League Deputation.

I have already submitted a Memorandum on behalf of the National Home Rule League to which I crave leave to refer for fuller statements.

I.

1 (a) Do you accept the proposition that it is desirable to bring about the progressive realisation of responsible government in India? and (b) if so, how do you define the expression "responsible government"? (c) and do you generally accept the proposition contained in the Preamble?

Answer. (a) Yes.

(b) A "Responsible Government" is one which is responsible to—that is, holding office at the pleasure of—a wholly elected Legislative Chamber.

(c) *Preamble.* I accept the progressive realisation of Responsible Government, *i. e.*, realisation by successive stages, not because I admit that India has no inherent right to Home Rule or is incapable of complete Home Administration; but because time is needed to prepare efficient Home Defence against invasion—a necessary concomitant of complete Home Rule—and also, as a question

of expediency, it is wise to conciliate contrary opinion, to effect by compromise that which otherwise might arouse dangerous conflict of opinion and increase racial antagonism, a catastrophe to be avoided by all legitimate means. I would insert after the word "gradually" (line 3 of Bill) "by substantial stages to be completed within a statutory time limit."

(Lines 5 to 10 of Bill). Yes, provided that independence of the Government of India is accompanied, step by step, with the responsibility of the Provincial Government to the Legislature.

2.

Do you think that the realisation of responsible Government in the provinces involves the establishment in provincial legislature of a substantial elected majority? (Clause 6).

Answer. Yes, I submit with this (p. 5 Memorandum), sec (Clause) 6 (1), reserving other points to the Answer to Question 19.

3.

(a) Do you think that the non-official members of the provincial legislatures should possess power to control the actions and policy of the executive? (b) Do you think they possess such power at present?

Answer. (a) Yes. But having accepted realisation by stages, and diarchy in this first stage, I must accept the fact that certain subjects are reserved, and are therefore outside legislative control. This concession makes it necessary to insist on joint discussion on all subjects between the Executive Councillors and the Ministers, that is by the whole Executive Government. I should be content

to rely, during the first stage, on the increasing influence of Ministers backed by the Legislature, rising more and more into actual though not nominal, control, thus preparing for the complete control in the Provinces, at the end of the first five years, indicated as possible in the Joint Report, para. 260.

(b) No. They only possess the power of making what the Report calls "irresponsible criticism," and this has been the subject of repeated complaint by non-official members, as giving to Council debates a sense of futility and unreality.

4.

Do you think that there are certain matters or functions of Government in the Provinces in which at present the provincial executive must remain responsible to the Secretary of the State and Parliament, and must therefore be in a position to enforce its wishes?

Answer. Having accepted diarchy, I admit the necessity of the Provincial Executive Council remaining responsible to the Secretary of State and to Parliament for reserved subjects, and therefore of supplying an instrument whereby its decisions may be enforced.

5.

If you accept the propositions stated under Questions 1 to 4, do you think that the dual form of Government embodied in the Bill is the best means of securing them? If not, what are your objections to that feature of the Bill, and by what other means would you attempt to secure the objects in view?

Answer. Having taken a large part during the year 1916 in the formulation of the scheme known as the Congress-League Scheme, finally accepted by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League in their respective Annual Meetings in the December of that year, I naturally prefer it to the dual form of Government embodied in the Bill; it was based on the precedents afforded by the Colonies in their attainment of Self-Government through the stage of an irremovable executive and a representative Legislature, and while none of these was nominally aimed at Responsible Government, they all rendered it inevitable by a process of natural and continuous growth. But since the above-named representative bodies have after long discussion accepted the principle of diarchy as embodied in the Joint Report, to embark on a new scheme would mean mischievous delay, and such delay would cause much resentment in India. In order to avoid this resentment, and the keen disappointment of the hopes raised by the Declaration and the Joint Report—on which the Government of India and the Local Governments were fully consulted before its issue—it is necessary that the Bill should embody all important proposals in the Report, and should also embody some further modifications, as given—in order to avoid repetition—in Answers to Questions 7-10.

6.

If you have any other method to suggest, does it (1) provide possibilities of advance by stages and facilitate the "progressive realisation of responsible Government," and, if it does, in what way? (Clause 2, 3, etc.) (ii) Does it afford means of judgment (a) to the electors, and (b) to the Statutory Commission which is to examine and report on progress, of the success or failure

in results of the control exercised by the legislature and those who represent it in the executive ?

Answer. I do not propose any other method than that of the diarchy embodied in the Bill, and have therefore nothing to say on (i), or on (ii) (a). (ii) (b) I deal with under Question 17.

7.

If you consider a dual form of Government acceptable in principle, are there any points of detail the modification of which you regard as necessary ? If so, what are those points, and what modifications would you suggest ?

Answer. Yes. First : it is eminently necessary that the Joint Report should not be whittled down in the Bill ; Second : certain modifications should be introduced.

Under the First come :

1. The transference of additional subjects at the end of five years on the application of a Province. (Para. 260, p. 211.)

2. The voting of the Ministers' salaries should be transferred to the Council. (*Ibid.*)

3. Insertion in Clause 4 (1) that one Executive Councillor should be an Indian (Para, 218).

4. The restoration in Proviso Clause 9, (a) (b) of the Budget proposals in para. 256, 257. (I withdraw on p. 5 of the Memorandum, Proviso (c) (d), inserted in error.)

5. Insertion in Clause 21 (1) of the provision to " increase the Indian element " in para. 272, if No. 5 of the proposed modifications be rejected.

6. The insertion in Clause 9 (3) of the word " here " before the word " majority " in line 3, (para. 253.)

Under the Second should come as a paramount necessity :

1. A real control of the Budget by both Provincial and Central Councils by making the resolutions of the Legislature binding in the decrease of reserved subjects' allotments where they carry out a majority vote in the Executive Government, after discussion as a whole, except where the Governor or Governor-General certifies that the proposed vote is necessary for peace, order or the defence of the country, for foreign affairs or for carrying out relations with Indian Princes.

2. The grant of financial autonomy.

3. The introduction of diarchy into the Central Government.

4. The removal of the sex disqualification.

5. The appointment of half the Governor-General's Executive Council from among Indians.

6. The non-establishment of a Council of State.

Of less importance, but eminently desirable :

7. That the Joint Committee shall lay down fully and precisely the policy to be followed in the Rules (Clause 1 (i)) and that they shall be subject to the positive procedure of the pool.

8. That Proviso Clause 1 (2) shall be omitted.

9. That Clause 46 (3) of the Principal Act referred to in Clause 2 (2) shall be cancelled and the power vested in Parliament only.

10. That (Clause 3 (1)) a Minister's salary shall be same as that of an Executive Councillor in the same Province, so as to ensure equality of status.

11. That on Clause 5 (2) I beg to refer to pp. 4, 5, of Memorandum under same head.

8.

In particular, do you think—

(i) that Ministers should hold office "during pleasure"? — i.e., should be liable to removal if they are unable to support the action decided upon in their department by the Governor, or if they fail to retain the confidence of the legislature? (Clause 3 (1).)

(ii) that the Governor should have power to disregard the opinion of his Ministers if he considers that action in accordance with that opinion is inconsistent with the due discharge of his responsibilities? (Clause 3, (3).)

(iii) that the executive council should in all provinces normally consist of one official European and one non-official Indian? (Clause 4.)

(iv) that the Governor should have power to dissolve his Legislative Council? (Clause 7 (4).)

Answer. (i) Yes.

(ii) Yes. But frequent disregard would give rise to a serious position and great discretion should be exercised.

(iii) Yes.

(iv) Yes, if in Clauses 7 (1) and 17 (2) the words be inserted “ provided that the intervals between the sessions do not exceed four months.”

9.

Referring back to Questions 2, 3, and 4, if your answers to the first and third of these are in the affirmative, and if you think that the legislatures should be given greater powers of control and influence than they possess at present, do you regard the limitations imposed generally by Clause 9 of the Bill upon their financial and legislative powers as—

- (i) suitable, or as
- (ii) unnecessarily severe, or as
- (iii) inadequate to safeguard the responsibilities which the Government owes in the last resort to Parliament (Clause 9).

Answer. I regard Clause 9, Proviso (a) and (b) as unnecessarily severe, and refer to 7 (1) and (2) under “ Second.”

I object to Grand Committees—Clause 9 (3) (4) (5)—as an undue interference with legislation and reducing Council debate to the position it now occupies.

Clause 9 (b) should omit the power to appoint the persons to preside by rule, and the statute should give the power of election of President and Vice-President of Councils and Assembly to the body affected.

10.

In particular—

(i) do you think that the Legislature should have power, with whatever limitations, to vote supplies (Clause 9 (2)),

(ii) do you accept the plan of Grand Committees as the means of giving to the Government the power to secure essential legislation in the event of their failure to carry their propositions in the Council ?

If so, have you any modifications of detail to suggest ?

If not, what other method would you suggest to secure the object in view ?

Answer. (i) Yes.

(ii) No. A better method would be the passing of a Regulation to last for a year ; on its resubmission to the Council at the end of that period, 40 per cent of the members present and voting should suffice to pass it.

II.

Do you accept the position adopted in the Bill (Part. II.) that the time has not yet come to give the Legislative Assembly a similar measure of control over the Central Government as that given to Provincial Legislative Councils over Provincial Governments ?

Answer. I agree to the control being less, but some control should be given.

12

Do you agree that it is advisable none the less to provide for a substantial elective majority in the Indian Legislature ? (Clause 16).

Answer. Most certainly.

13.

Do you accept the plan of a bicameral legislature as arising out of this, as constituting both a satisfactory machine for the ordinary purposes of legislation and as affording the means to the Governor-General in Council to secure legislation which he regards as essential? (Clauses 14, 15, and 16).

Answer. No. A Second Chamber is not necessary in India, where conservative tendencies are already too strong, and where the new electorates are too small to include the democratic elements which favour over-hasty legislation. A quickening rather than a retarding impulse is needed. All interests are represented in the Assembly, and it is not necessary to duplicate those of landlords and capitalists in a second chamber.

The Governor-General can already issue Ordinances and Regulations, and the Bill does not deprive him of those powers. I would limit his power of issuing Regulations, by making them valid for one year only, to be renewed if 40 per cent of the members of the Assembly present and voting passed them (Memorandum p. 9, Secs. 14-15, para. 2.) If some further instrument is thought necessary, I would prefer Grand Committees to the Council of State.

14.

Do you accept the provisions of the Bill as to the course of legislation in the Indian Legislature? (Clause 20 (3) and (4)). Or do you regard them as unnecessarily restrictive on the popular will, or as an inadequate means of ensuring to the Governor-General in Council the discharge of his responsibilities?

Answer. No. While objecting to the Council of State as a whole, I think a decision reached by a joint sitting, if final, would lessen its objectionableness, but Clause 20 (4) should be limited to a temporary measure concerning order, tranquillity and emergency, and even this is unnecessary, as the Governor-General has the power of issuing Regulations and Ordinances.

15.

Do you accept the changes made by the Bill (Clause 21) in the constitution of the Governor-General's Executive Council? If not, what are your reasons and what modifications would you suggest?

Answer. Half the Executive should be Indians, as universally demanded by Indian opinion, and if diarchy is not introduced these should be selected from among the elected members of the Assembly.

16.

Do you think that the development of provincial autonomy on the one hand, and of Self-Government in the Provinces on the other, involves any modification of the provisions of Sections 2, 33, and 45 of the Government of India Act? (Clause 23.)

Answer. As the process of devolution proceeds, it appears to me probable that new lines of demarcation will have to be made between the powers of the Secretary of State for India and those passing to a self-governing India, assimilating his powers to those held by the Secretary of State to the Colonies, and that would imply a change in Section 2. The changes made in Sections 33 and 45 appear to me to be adequate, but I am not sufficiently

seised of the subjects with which these Sections are concerned to express an opinion of any value.

17.

Do you agree that the gradual realisation of Responsible Government involves periodical examination of progress, by independent authority, and that the provisions of Clause 28 of the Bill are well designed to afford such examination ?

Answer. No. I do not consider it is consistent with the rights and the dignity of India that she should be subjected to periodical examinations as to her progress. Having started India on the road to Home Rule, it should be left to her representative Councils to regulate her advance to complete Responsible Government.

18.

Are there any matters which it is proposed in the Bill to deal with by rule which you would suggest should be provided for in the Bill ?

Answer. The election of the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Council and Assembly. Clause 9 (6).

19.

Have you any observations to offer on the Reports of Lord Southborough's Committees and of the Committee on the Home Administration of Indian Affairs ?

Answer. I accept the Report on Functions, subject to remark in Memorandum p. 4, Clause 1 (i) (a) On the Report on the Franchise I beg to refer to Memorandum pp. 5, 6, Clause 6 (1) (3) (b).

On the Report on "Home Administration of Indian Affairs,"
I accept (p. 13, para. 35).

- (i) As a valuable check on the power of certification ;
- (ii) As a clear step towards Responsible Government ;
- (iii) As preferable to precise delimitation as suggested by Professor Keith, while I admit the value of his expert opinion ;
- (iv)
- (v) A distinct improvement, preferred by Indian opinion ;
- (vi) Indian opinion has long desired the abolition of the Council of India herein given ;
- (xvi) Will be approved highly by Indian opinion ;
- (xix) The same remark applies.

I suggest the following changes :

(vii) The Council being abolished, it is useless to create a feeble double, to be vivified only on occasion; the Secretary of State can call in any special expert when he wants expert advice ;

(viii—xiv) These fall with vii, the addition of between £72,000 and £144,000 annually for unnecessary advisers condemns itself.

- (xv) Seems unnecessary, being obvious ;
- (xvii) Of doubtful utility ;
- (xviii) It would be preferable to assign an Under-Secretaryship of State to an Indian ;

(xx) I approve the establishment of a Select Committee. The remark (para. 33) that members are already overburdened is a good argument for Home Rule, but to have a small number of members with a special duty to India is better than to have none.

Statement by Mrs. Annie Besant before the Joint Committee.

Mrs. Annie Besant was called as a witness before the Joint Committee on the Reforms Bill on Tuesday morning, July 29th. She began by reading the following preliminary statement :

Speaking generally for my deputation, we agree with Mr. Surendranath Bannerji that the Bill must not be whittled down from its present provisions, and we add that the whittling down that it has already undergone as compared with the M.C. Report, issued after the full discussion to which the draft report was submitted at the hands of the Supreme and Local Governments, should be remedied. The most important of these will be found on p. iii of my answers, Question 7, and I lay special stress on the necessity of restoring 1, 2, and 4. The first of these points is that laid stress on by Mr. Bannerji, of the five years' revision instead of ten; the second, the vote of the minister's salaries being transferred at that period; and the third, the point about the Budget, on which I shall probably be asked questions later. Transference on application from a Legislature is the right method of the progressive realisation of responsible Government, and it should be substituted for periodical examination by Statutory Commissions. (Note Clause 1 (a) p. 4line, Memo.) Complete Provincial Autonomy would be enjoyed by the third Legislative Council, if the periods were reduced to three years instead of five—*i.e.* for the lifetime of a Council.

We also agree with Mr. Bannerji in accepting the principle of diarchy as inevitable in a transitional stage from irresponsible to responsible Government. It was found in a slightly different

and more disguised form in the transition from irresponsible to responsible Government in the Colonies when the Governor's Executive Council appointed by him under his Letters Patent was increased by Ministers chosen and dismissable by him, the mixed Council being irremovable by a vote though confronted with a representative Legislature. I cannot conceive of any other way of transfer by stages, though it is more camouflaged in the Congress-League Scheme based on Colonial precedents. The inconveniences inseparable from diarchy gradually force complete responsibility which comes naturally by the increasing power of Ministers backed by a strong Legislature, and will come in India without serious shock if the drag of periodical examinations be omitted.

We agree with Mr. Bannerji in the necessity of giving control of the Budget, and therefore in the restoration of the M.-C. proposals 256,257. We urge that it is absolutely necessary to make the resolutions of the Legislature binding in the decrease of reserved subjects' allotments where they carry out a majority vote in the Executive Government, after discussion as a whole, except where the Governor or Governor-General certifies that the proposed vote is necessary for peace, order, or the defence of the country, for foreign affairs or for carrying out relations with Indian Princes.

It is vital that Ministers alone should approve and possibly propose all taxation, but after full discussion in the whole Executive Government, the Budget should be presented as a whole to the Legislature, whose resolutions, as said, should be binding (see p. 6 Memo. clause 9, (2), I was glad to hear Sir James Meston agree with Mr. Montagu that the procedure suggested might be

applied to the Budget of the Central Government (see Evidence 440, 445). That would carry us in the direction of fiscal autonomy, which is claimed by Indian opinion almost more insistently than anything else.

We also agree with Mr. Bannerji in urging that diarchy shall be introduced into the Central Government. Without this, the Bill is like a cart on one wheel, and responsibility in the Provinces overruled by autocracy in the centre will prove unworkable and will render provincial responsibility a shadow. Absence of all responsibility in the centre will reduce the Indian Assembly to the futile condition of Provincial Legislatures now, and will overshadow the Provinces with the menace of interference. India is not likely to submit to an autocracy for another ten years, much less for an indefinite time, when all the rest of the world is free from that anachronism; and continual agitation will be the result of the preservation of the machinery of autocracy. And that agitation will be led not only by "violent" Home Rulers like myself, but by prominent Moderates, who have already publicly stated that such was their intention.

We also agree in the appointment of half the Governor-General's Executive Council of Indians, and in dislike of the Council of State, though my colleagues and myself object to it wholly, and prefer to it a Grand Committee, or an Ordinance to last for a year, to be then re-submitted to the Assembly, and passed by 40 per cent. members present and voting, or rejected.

We endorse the Moderate contention stated in Memo-pp. 5 and 6, Clause 5 (2): "that the Governor should have no greater power over Ministers than over Executive Councillors, and that whatever power the Governor in Council has to interfere with

decisions of Governor and Ministers on the ground of their possible effects on reserved subjects, corresponding power should be given to Governor and Minister in regard to decisions of the Governor in Council affecting transferred subjects.

In order to carry out the Secretary of State's statement to the House of Commons on June 5 (Hansard cols. 1310—1312) that "The Provincial Government has got to defer to its Legislature by Statute, that is to say, in transferred subjects you have a Government which is responsible to the legislature," it is necessary that the Joint Committee should adopt the principle of the proposal of the Congresses and Muslim League, that the relation of the Governor to the Ministers in regard to the transferred subjects shall be the same as that obtaining in the Self-Governing Dominions, with the difference that the Governor in the present scheme is both representative of the King and is the Prime Minister. If, as Mr. Montagu also said, "so far as transferred subjects are concerned, we shall have parted with our trusteeship and surrendered it to the representatives of the people of India" (Hansard, col. 1312), the rules made under 5 (2) must carry out the above policy. It is also rendered necessary by Mr. Montagu's criticism of the alternative scheme of the Local Governments, that there is no certainty of control by the Legislature [in that scheme] because on all subjects, if the Governor certifies it is in the interests of his province, he can override it" (Hansard, col. 1314). We are therefore asking that the Joint Committee will specially lay stress on that point.

We agree with equality of salary and status between Councillors and Ministers.

We believe that the members of all the Progressive Deputations in England agree with Mr. Bannerji on these vital points,

and most of us differ only on lesser. But my colleagues and I differ with him on the desirability of claiming woman suffrage as part of the present Bill. We urge that the objections to it are weak and artificial, and that it introduces a sex disability into Indian life that is alien to its whole spirit : for in the elected Councils which have marked Indian civilisation from the dawn of history, women were not barred, and the idea of sex as a barrier only came with Western systems, and even there did not succeed in barring University degrees to women. Woman suffrage has been carried in the two Congresses before which it has been brought, and in all the districts and other conferences where it has been proposed. Why should a fresh cause of agitation be set on foot by the Bill ? With regard to that agitation, I would refer to the Joint Committee to p. 5, where it is pointed out that women's agitations are markedly formidable. They have already agitated with regard to South African troubles, and succeeded. They have agitated also against the Fiji Indentured system, and formed a deputation to the Viceroy, which obtained from him a promise that the indenture should be cancelled. And in other cases which they have taken up they have never yet failed, in obtaining that which they desired, even where men had failed, partly because Indian men would not tolerate police interference when women are concerned. Therefore they have been able to carry out an agitation on lines where men have been stopped by the police, and it seems to me very undesirable that an agitation of that kind should be liable to be started by the very powerful section of educated women, who are pressing for woman suffrage. It is true as stated by Mr. Bannerji that there might be some objection from orthodoxy or conservatism, I would say from modern orthodoxy and modern conservatism. They object

to the revival of the old Hindu custom of recognising women's place in public life, any objectors can easily stay away from the polls; they need not be helped to keep away other women, whose men wish for their help.

We do not approve of communal representation, as it intensifies separation by importing religious questions into politics where few, if any, political interests divide the persons. We except from these the Muhammadans in consequence of the Lucknow compact, as it has been called, and the belief that their desire for it is gradually diminishing under the increasing tendency to unite the two great communities. The objections to the others I will leave. They will probably come up in questions, so that I need not put them here. But one that we particularly object to is the European electorate, because it is already largely over-represented in proportion to its numbers. It is represented in Chambers of Commerce, in Planters' Associations, and in other specifically European organisations where there are ports and port trusts, and so on, and we think, therefore, that being over-represented in the special electorates already given, there ought not to be another special electorate confined to Europeans alone.

The new communal electorates are unnecessary, and the Europeans are already largely over-represented.

We venture respectfully to urge on the Joint Committee that it will carry out Mr. Montagu's promise in his speech on the second reading that the policy embodied in the rules will be fully laid down by the Joint Committee. The Letter of the Government of India, March 5, 1919, and the despatches of the Local Government, show how unfriendly they are to the new policy, and Rules made by them will, as in the case of the Minto-Morley Reforms, emascu-

late the Reforms embodied in the Bill ; the warm welcome given to the Minto-Morley proposals in the Congress of 1908 and the bitter disappointment expressed in the Conference of 1909 mark the injury that may be done by rules made by reactionary Governments to reforms conceded by Parliament in a liberal spirit.

We think the Report of the Functions Committee satisfactory on the whole, but would transfer Land Revenue, Irrigation and Famine Relief, the first two as sources of revenue for the spending Departments transferred, because the greatest spending Departments are to be transferred to Ministers, the only solid source of revenue transferred appears to be Excise, but the expansion of that means outraging the religious feelings of Hindus and Mussalmans, and the few Budhists in India, as well as implying the moral degradation of the people. We regard the Franchise Report as unsatisfactory, the property qualification being too high and no literary qualification being added. About 3,000,000 literates are excluded.

The Crew Committee Report we accept, as far as regards provisions (i), (vi), (xvi), (xix) and (xx). We suggest the changes stated in (vii)—(xiv) and (xviii) and would omit (xv) and (xvii) as unnecessary. The changes stated turn on the substitution of the Advisory Committee for the Secretary of State's Council. We conceive that the Secretary of State will be able to call on any expert evidence or counsel that he wants when the occasion arises, and that the heavy increase of expenditure, 144,000 rupees or half that amount is quite unnecessary when the whole expert evidence is available for the Secretary of State whenever he needs it. We are therefore in favour of the entire abolition of the Secretary of State's Council, as has been asked for by the Congress for a very long period of time.

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Editor

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"The Servant of India"
Bhadurwar Bēh
Poona (Ctg)

BOMBAY HOME RULE SERIES, NO. 8.

SCHEME OF REFORMS.

PASSED BY

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

AND

THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

1916.

HOME RULE LEAGUE,
251, Hornby Road,
BOMBAY.

Price Half-Anna.

Foreword.



This pamphlet is published in connection with the petition to the Secretary of State drafted by Mr. Gandhi. It is meant to enable people to fully understand the demands of the Congress and the Moslem League, before signing the petition.

This scheme does not provide for full Self-Government but is the first and most essential step towards it. The main points about the scheme are, greater provincial autonomy, enlargement of the Legislative Councils, both Provincial and Imperial, a provision that half of the members of the Executive Councils shall be Indians and elected by the Legislative Councils, four-fifths of the members of such Councils being elected by the people, financial control of the Councils, and a provision that all resolutions and bills passed by the Councils shall be binding on the Government unless vetoed by the Head of the Government, greater independence of the Government of India from the control of the Secretary of State, abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India and a provision that the Secretary of State for India should stand in the same relation to the Government of India as the Colonial Secretary to the Governments of Self-Governing Dominions.

If this petition is to have any effect it must be signed very largely. We earnestly appeal to all who are interested in the future of this country to co-operate with us in making this petition a success.

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I

RESOLUTION.

(a) That having regard to the fact that the great communities of India are the inheritors of ancient civilizations and have shown great capacity for Government and administration, and to the progress in education and public spirit made by them during a century of British Rule, and further having regard to the fact that the present system of Government does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and has become unsuited to existing conditions and requirements, the Congress is of opinion that the time has come when His Majesty the King-Emperor should be pleased to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer Self-Government on India at an early date.

(b) That this Congress demands that a definite step should be taken towards Self-Government by granting the reforms contained in the scheme prepared by the All-India Congress Committee in concert with the Reform Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim League (detailed below).

(c) That in the reconstruction of the Empire, India shall be lifted from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the Self-Governing Dominions.

II

That this Congress urges the Congress Committees, Home-Rule-Leagues, and other Associations which have as their object the attainment of Self-Government within the Empire to carry on through the year an education

Per Editor

Editor

"The Servant of India"
Bhawan Beha
Poona (C.G.)

propaganda on law-abiding and constitutional lines in support of the reforms put forward by the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League.

REFORM SCHEME.

I. Provincial Legislative Councils.

1. Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated members.

2. Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major Provinces and from 50 to 75 in the minor Provinces.

3. The members of councils should be elected directly by the people on as broad a franchise as possible.

4. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and the Mahomedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions ;

Punjab.—One half of the elected Indian members.

United Provinces—30 per cent " "

Bengal " 40 " " "

Behar " 25 " " "

Central Provinces 15 " " " "

Madras " 15 " " "

Bombay " One-third " "

Provided that no Muhammadan shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils, save and except those by electorates representing special interests.

Provided further that no bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be

determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the bill or any clause thereof or the resolution.

5. The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council but the Council should have the right of electing its President.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. (a) Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy, and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be Provincial.

(b) There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Government, such fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.

(c) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the Province, including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation, and to vote on the budget. All items of expenditure, and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue should be embodied in bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption.

(d) Resolutions on all matters within the purview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself.

(e) A resolution passed by the Provincial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government unless vetoed by the Governor-in-Council, provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

(f) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

8. A special meeting of the Provincial Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

9. A bill, other than a money bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor.

10. All bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become law but may be vetoed by the Governor-General.

11. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

II. Provincial Governments.

1. The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.

2. There shall be in every province an Executive Council which, with the Governor, shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.

3. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils.

4. Not less than one-half of the members of the Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

5. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

III. Imperial Legislative Council.

1. The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be 150.

2. Four-fifths of the members shall be elected.

3. The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible, on the lines of the electorates for Muhammadans for the Provincial Legislative Councils and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils should also form an electorate for the return of members to the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. One-third of the Indian elected members should be Muhammadans elected by separate Muhammadan electorates in the several provinces in the proportion as nearly as may be, in which they are represented on the Provincial Legislative Councils by separate Muhammadan electorates.

Vide provisos to section 1, clause 4.

5. The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions shall not be restricted to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. A special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

8. A bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefor.

9. All bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor General before they become law.

10. All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in bills. Every such bill and the budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council.

11. The term of office of members shall be five years.

12. The matters mentioned herein below shall be exclusively under the control of the Imperial Legislative Council.

(a) Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable.

(b) Provincial legislation in so far as it may affect interprovincial fiscal relations.

(c) Question affecting purely Imperial Revenue excepting tributes from Indian States.

(d) Questions affecting purely imperial expenditure, except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor General in Council in respect of military charges for the defence of the country.

(e) The right of revising Indian Tariffs and customs duties, of imposing, altering or removing any tax or cess, modifying the existing system of currency and banking, and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country.

(f) Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole.

13. A resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor General in Council; provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

14. A motion of adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

15. When the Crown chooses to exercise its power of veto in regard to a bill passed by a Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Legislative Council it should be exercised within twelve months from date on which it is passed, and the bill shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned.

16. The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign and political relations of India including the declaration of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties.

IV. The Government of India.

1. The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.

2. He will have an Executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.

3. The Indian Members should be elected by the members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

5. The power of making all appointments in the Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, due regard being paid to existing interests, subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council.

6. The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of a Province, and powers not specifically given to a Provincial Government, shall be deemed to be vested in the former. The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Governments.

7. In legislative and administrative matters the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, shall, as far as possible, be independent of the Secretary of State.

8. A system of independent audit of the accounts of the Government of India should be instituted.

V. The Secretary of State in Council.

1. The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.

2. The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates.

3. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India, as the Secretary of State for the Colonies does in relation to the Governments of the Self-Governing Dominions.

4. The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

VI. India and the Empire.

1. In any Council or other body which may be constituted or convened for the settlement or control of Imperial affairs, India shall be adequately represented in like manner with the dominions and with equal rights.

2. Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire.

VII. Military and other Matters.

1. The military and naval services of His Majesty, both in their commissioned and non-commissioned ranks, should be thrown open to Indians and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and instruction in India.

2. Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers.

3. Executive Officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them, and the judiciary in every Province shall be placed under the highest Court of the Province.

POLITICAL PAMPHLETS—III

**THE CONGRESS-LEAGUE SCHEME
AN EXPOSITION**

BY

V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

President, Servants of India Society

**Servants of India Society
ALLAHABAD**

November 1917

Six Annas

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When the war at long last comes to an end, we shall find ourselves confronted with a maze of difficulties such as no generation of men, of whom we have any record, have ever had to face before. As the war itself is the greatest in history, so will its aftermath be the most prodigious. And upon all those who are not of necessity wholly absorbed in the conduct of the war itself, there rests no higher obligation than to think constantly, strenuously, connectedly, with soberness but, also, if they are fortunate enough to possess it, with imagination, of the new measures and methods by which those difficulties may haply be overcome.

—Lord Milner

THE CONGRESS-LEAGUE SCHEME.

AN EXPOSITION.

FUNDAMENTALS OF THE SCHEME.

The fundamental ideas of the Congress-League scheme of post-war reforms may be summarised under a few heads:—

1. The voice of the duly elected representatives of the people should prevail both in the Indian and in the provincial legislative councils, and for this purpose these elected representatives should be in a substantial majority.

2. These legislative councils should in their respective spheres enjoy complete freedom of legislation, subject of course to certain exclusions and to the veto first of the head of the province concerned and then of the Governor-General, and to disallowance by the Crown.

3. The legislative councils should have full control of the finances of the country. This includes the power of regulating the taxation and expenditure of the State, omitting certain specified heads, and also the power of fixing the tariff, not only for the purposes of revenue, but, if it be deemed necessary, for encouraging indigenous manufactures and industries and thus utilising to the full the economic resources of the land.

4. The councils should have the power of controlling the executive, though not of turning them out of office.

5. To ensure that the representatives voice the real needs and wishes of the people, they should be elected by ballot on a direct and wide franchise.

6. To safeguard the constitutional rights of the subject in respect of person and property, freedom of movement and expression of opinion, etc., as well as to administer justice between subject and subject, the courts of the land should be manned by a judiciary, independent of the executive and controlled by the high courts of the several provinces.

Each of these reforms is a wide departure from existing conditions. At present the executive Government, which is almost exclusively British, monopolises all power. The elected members of the legislative councils have some opportunities of criticising the administration and suggesting improvements; but the executive have everywhere the power of getting such laws passed as they desire and employing the financial and economic resources of the country in ways that seem to them proper, while the judiciary in some ranks do not enjoy the complete independence of the executive that they should, and are precluded by law in certain classes of cases from protecting the citizen against the encroachments of the executive. The ruling class who wield these vast powers are generally unwilling to yield them even in part, and the European community in India, who get certain benefits from the existing state of things, likewise resist all proposals that tend to transfer civil authority to the hands of popular representatives. Such resistance is natural, however indefensible on grounds of justice. It is difficult to see how the leaders of the Indian political

movement of the day can show any tenderness to this practical British monopoly of civil power without betraying the interests of posterity, which they are bound to regard as a sacred trust. One of the few wise things that Lord Sydenham has said recently is that Indians have abundant opportunities for expression of opinion in the counsels of Government. No reforms which merely multiply such opportunities will answer the needs of the hour. Our European friends, who offer co-operation in a reasonable and moderate programme—and it is quite welcome—may have their own ideas. But they should understand clearly—and it needs frequent iteration—that the most vital part of the Congress-League scheme is the vesting of political power and responsibility for internal affairs in a legislature in which the popular representatives should be in a majority. Adequate and even liberal representation shall be given to all interests, certainly the European interest will be amply safeguarded; but the dominant voice in the future must be that of the natural leaders of the people.

BRITISH SUZERAINTY GUARANTEED.

UNFOUNDED FEARS.

The Congress-League scheme provides ample guarantee for the maintenance of British suzerainty in India. The Indian legislature is to have no control over the army and the navy or over foreign relations. War and peace and the conclusion of treaties are left to the imperial authorities. A clause in the scheme expressly states that “no resolution of the imperial legislative council shall be binding on the Governor-General in council in res-

pect of military charges for the defence of the country." The prerogatives of the British Crown are untouched. The posts of the highest power and distinction will still remain in the gift of the authorities in England. The sovereignty of King and Parliament in legislation is intact. It is true that the Indian legislative council will under the scheme make laws governing the constitution and character of the civil services, and the Government of India will control all the appointments thereto. But as vested interests are to be scrupulously preserved, the personnel of these services, even in the highly improbable contingency of drastic changes coming into early operation, will remain largely European for another generation. The regard for vested interests in the region of commerce and industries will be no less tender. The alarm of British capitalists that self-government in India will imperil their money and destroy the railways and factories is a grotesque survival of primitive tribal distrust. Let them understand that Indians have a keen sense of national honour, and if they were to have far more independence than the Congress-League scheme seeks, they would scorn to repudiate the lawful claims of any community or decree a general spoliation of the property of foreigners. In any case it is a ridiculous idea that western people, who have long practised the arts of economic and political aggression in the east and know how to exact reprisals and indemnities out of proportion to the damages suffered, will be without the means of making good their just claims in their own dependency, held down by an army under their undivided control. Another fear that has been expressed is that the transfer of power suggested

by the Congress-League scheme would be followed by a revival of the anarchy and disorder of pre-British days, when, if we are to believe the common text-books of history in our schools, thuggee and dacoity were regular and profitable occupations, journeys were perilous, and property and even life were insecure. Now, there is abundant testimony to the fact that, beneath the disturbances and movements of warrior bands of that time, the life of the common people ran smooth in the usual channels, and the operations of agriculture and trade were seldom brought to a standstill. Peace and civil order are not conceptions new to India; and in the hundred odd years of British rule they have struck their roots deep in the institutions of the country and the disposition and character of the people. It may suit opponents of the political advance of Indians to contend in the heat of debate that Indians left to themselves cannot, by reason of their natural slackness, tenderness of disposition or fatalistic views of life, maintain a strong executive government. This theory, though it may be pleasing to the vanity of those that now wield civil power, is not borne out by the facts of every-day administration or the annals of our courts. It is an easy but none the less fallacious reasoning which infers, from the earnestness with which pleaders defend the accused in criminal cases or the vigour with which editors expose the vagaries of district officials, that the community in general cannot appreciate a strong and impartial rule. Besides, if there is a breaking up of laws and the stern arm of justice is paralysed, the resulting disaster will not be confined to the property and interests of European merchants; it will fall with crushing weight on the people themselves, whose

losses, moral and material, will outweigh beyond all measure those of the foreign capitalists who now loudly bewail their anticipated ruin. Such fears, it is impossible to believe, European traders in India really entertain; what apparently they are concerned about is the gradual diminution and final loss of the facilities that the political ascendancy of their race gives them for exploiting the economic resources of India. The expanding national life of the country will doubtless tend in the direction of breaking all monopoly and undue advantage and placing the children of the soil on a footing of perfect equality with all classes of His Majesty's subjects who make India their home. If this consummation be unwelcome to any community, there is no helping it. Opposition coming from them is dictated by selfish greed and deserves no consideration.

MUST MILITARY AND CIVIL POWER GO TOGETHER ?

By an ingenious turn of reasoning our willingness to leave the direction of military and naval affairs in the hands of the executive, which should be accepted as conclusive proof of our loyalty and our desire to remain within the empire, is used against our cause. Freedom must be justified of her children, says one critic, which is perilously near to saying that freedom will be given only to those who can fight for it. Do you expect us, asks another, to defend your country from her enemies, while you exclude us from all administration? A third thinks that we have no business to lean on the British power for protection against the risks of our own policy. We ask whether the self-governing Dominions do not look to the British navy for protection, and whether the right of civil ad-

ministration is exacted from them as the price of it. If the answer be that the people of the Dominions are the same flesh and blood as the British, it is a confession that non-British races in the empire must be content with the status of perpetual subordination. If, on the other hand, fitness and character are to be the criteria, a study of past history or present conditions fails to justify any discrimination. If Indians are to-day unable to defend themselves, whose fault is it? The disability has been imposed upon us, and one of the great acts of restitution that the British have to perform is to enable Indians, as expeditiously as may be, to defend their hearths and homes against foreign aggression in the international complications of the future. There is no reason why the grant of internal autonomy to the people of India should wait on the process of their military equipment. The pace of the former need not be regulated by that of the latter. The better mind of England, which has accepted responsible government as the political goal of India, will refuse to assent to the doctrine that India should be left a prey to the foreign aggressor, unless she paid for her defence, not only by providing ample guarantees, as already mentioned, for the maintenance of British suzerainty, but by continued renunciation of her right to self-rule and self-realisation.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA MUST BE LIBERALISED TOO.

The authors of the scheme have made little difference between the Government of India and the Governments of the provinces in respect of the composition and relative position of the executive and the legislature. In the central as well as the local Governments, they have pro

vided for a four-fifths majority of elected members in the legislative council and endeavoured in various ways to secure its ascendancy over the executive Government. In so doing they have gone beyond the limit laid down by Lord Morley, who made out the necessity of an official majority in the imperial legislative council in the following passage of his Reform Despatch of 1908 to the India Government: "I must therefore regard it as essential that your Excellency's council, in its legislative as well as its executive character, should continue to be so constituted as to ensure its constant and uninterrupted power to fulfil the constitutional obligations that it owes, and must always owe, to His Majesty's Government and to the Imperial Parliament." The same point was emphasised in 1911 by the Government of Lord Hardinge in the sentences that immediately preceded the oft-quoted promise of provincial autonomy: "The maintenance of British rule in India depends upon the ultimate supremacy of the Governor-General in council, and the Indian Councils Act of 1909 itself bears testimony to the impossibility of allowing matters of vital concern to be decided by a majority of non-official members in the imperial legislative council." The idea underlying this radical difference between the Government of India and the provincial Governments is that, as the responsibility for the welfare and advance of the people of India rests ultimately on the people of Great Britain, the policy that is to prevail in the internal administration of India must be the policy of the British executive. The recent announcement of policy made by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons expresses the same idea in the following words: "The British Gov-

ernment and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and the advancement of the Indian peoples, must be the judges of the time and the measure of each advance (towards responsible government)." Opinion in India no longer acquiesces in this theory. It holds that the people of India through their representatives are quite fitted to bear this responsibility, and that, so far at least as internal affairs are concerned, the responsibility should be devolved on them. Provincial autonomy, though an important object, is no longer the highest object of Indian ambition. A substantial measure of internal freedom, allowing for the effective preservation of British paramountcy, is the first "definite step" which the advanced political school urges His Majesty's Government to take towards the realisation of India's political destiny, which has been recently defined authoritatively to be responsible government. Now freedom in internal matters requires that the determination of policy and the oversight of those that carry it out should vest in the duly elected representatives of the people, who should therefore be in a clear majority in the Indian legislative council. The experiment of provincial autonomy cannot be conducted under favourable conditions, if the proceedings of a democratic body, using the word in a very approximate sense, were to be reviewed by a bureaucratic body above. The ideals of the one are different from those of the other, and in some respects may even be sharply contrasted; and past experience gives no assurance that the reviewing authority in this case will have either the knowledge or the sympathy necessary for a just exercise of its function. Among those accustomed to the possess-

tion of irresponsible power, it is a common belief that to interpose a check on the advancing tide of democracy is to perform a great service to humanity in one's generation. The prospect before autonomous provincial Governments would be dismal indeed if their growth were to depend on the countenance and approval of an unreformed Government of India, sure of its own perfection and proof against generous enthusiasms. Nor is there anything in the nature of the subjects that will fall within the province of the Government of India, so intrinsically different from the nature of the subjects with which the local Governments will be concerned as to justify their administration by agencies differing not only in range but in kind. Omitting military matters and foreign relations, the Government of India will regulate such branches of administration as salt, customs, railways, the penal code, and currency and banking. Are these branches best dealt with by a bureaucratic form of government? If education may be entrusted to the leaders of the people, why should not the manufacture and sale of salt be entrusted also? In fact, if the immediate bearing of a department on the welfare of the people be a test of its fitness to be placed under the control of the representatives of the people, such questions as customs duties and the development of local industries come appropriately within the category. It follows therefore that the central Government, to which must be assigned not only all matters of imperial revenue and expenditure, but all those in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable and those relating to the administration of the country as a whole, must be dominated by the popular element to the same extent as the Governments of the provinces.

FOUR-FIFTHS ELECTIVE MAJORITY.

The scheme asks that the Indian legislative council should consist of at least 150 members, that the legislative council of each major province of at least 125, and that of each minor province of from 50 to 75 members. In every case four-fifths of these members are to be elected, and the remaining one-fifth to be nominated by the Viceroy or the Governor, as the case may be. It may be taken for granted that the members of the executive council will be nominated, and perhaps also some secretaries to Government and the heads of departments. The nominated non-officials would very likely represent classes or interests who win no seats at the elections and may also include men of distinction or experience in business or administration. Mahomedans are to return through special electorates of their own one-third of the elected Indian members in the Indian legislative councils and in the provincial legislative councils a proportion varying from one-half in the Punjab to 15 per cent. in Madras and the Central Provinces. Except in the cases of Bengal and the Punjab, this proportion is much in excess of the numerical proportion of the community to the population. The theoretical propriety of communal representation, with the added elements of separate electorates and excessive proportion, is a much debated question. Its necessity in the present conditions of the country is generally acknowledged, and our scheme pushes the principle a step further and provides for the adequate representation of important minorities by election. What these important minorities are must be determined for each province by its own peculiar conditions, while the mean-

ing of the word 'adequate' may give rise to much wrangling in certain cases. It is fortunate that in some provinces like Bengal and the United Provinces no non-Moslem minority has yet demanded separate representation. The Sikhs in the Punjab desire to be recognised for this purpose, though it is doubtful whether the community as a whole will support the demand, put forward by one of their leading men, of one-third of the strength of the local council while the community form only 12 per cent. of the population. In the Bombay Deccan, the Lingayats, whom Mr. Gokhale specifically mentions by way of illustration in his scheme, have not been slow to claim separate treatment, while the 'depressed classes' also seek special consideration. Certain other classes like the Marathas, Malis, and Bhandaris, grouped together under the general name 'backward', have likewise advanced similar claims; but as they form a majority of the population they can hardly come under the description 'important minorities' mentioned in the Congress-League scheme. The same remark applies to the non-Brahman Hindus of Madras, whose numerical strength overwhelms that of the Brahmans. Indian Christians and Panchamas have raised their own voices in the southern presidency. In this unfortunate province a section of non-Brahmans have gone so far as to repudiate the Congress-League scheme on the ground that it would take them away from the protection of the impartial European ruler and place them once more under the heel of their original oppressors, the Brahmans. This repudiation is repudiated by a section of non-Brahmans, larger and more influential than the other, who have recently organised themselves for the purpose of

supporting the Congress-League scheme and at the same time demanding separate representation for their community. It is unusual to make special arrangements for the protection of an immense and overwhelming majority, but it is also unusual for a numerically small caste to enjoy a decisive ascendancy over most other classes in culture and social and political influence. The framers of the Congress-League scheme failed to foresee this contingency. But some way must be found of overcoming it. So far the proposals that have been made for the purpose aim at securing a minimum representation for the majority and on a special electorate. It would seem easier and more natural to fix a maximum for the Brahman minority. After setting apart the fifteen places due to Moslems, some seats for Indian Christians, some for Panchamas, and some for special interests, namely, the university, commerce, trade and planting and the large corporations of Madras, Madura and Trichinopoly, the balance of seats may be distributed among electorates to be constituted on a territorial basis. If, instead of making a district the unit electorate, we group two or three districts together and make such a group the unit electorate, it should be practicable to assign four or five members to each group and then restrict the Brahman to one seat in the case of four-member groups and two seats in the case of larger groups, the voting, however, to be not by non-Brahmans and Brahmans separately, but by all the qualified voters placed in one common list. Subject to such a limitation, the territorial election may be so arranged, if the plan be generally approved, as to yield proportional representation on a transferable vote. (And this may be adopted all over India.) On this

proposal the maximum representation that the Brahman can get will be somewhat over 25 per cent. of the territorial representation while it is possible that he wins no seat in some constituencies and fails in the aggregate to reach 25 per cent. It would be a meritorious act of self-sacrifice on the part of the Brahman to agree to this or a similar plan before the time comes for Madras representatives to meet the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, and it would be a proud and happy day for him and for the other parties concerned, when, after about ten or fifteen years, the non-Brahmans of Madras resolve that this restriction on the Brahman be removed as they no longer fear and distrust him. This will be the only effective way of reassuring those who have a genuine apprehension that the Congress-League scheme would give too much power to the Brahmans and silencing those others who exploit this apprehension for their own purposes and shed hypocritical tears for the fate of the long-suffering masses of the country under the tyranny of the narrowest and most selfish oligarchy in the world.

Lord Islington in his Oxford address expressed the view that, while it was necessary to give to legislative councils power and responsibility, there was no need to enlarge them. This is an untenable view. In an earlier part of the address he had himself stated that the elected members should be "properly representative of the various classes of the Indian society." When it is remembered that not only various classes but various interests also require to be adequately represented and that the authorities would be unwilling to dispense with a certain number of officials, it is easy to see that the number fifty is too small to allow of all the requirements.

being fulfilled. His Lordship objects to the franchise being territorial as it will result in the return of members belonging to one and the same class. It is to avoid this evil that the framers of the Congress-League scheme have adopted the principle of communal representation; but since the root-idea of the reforms is to allow scope for the popular will to prevail, the representation of communities on the council cannot be the sole or even the principal aim to be kept in view. What may be called the general body of the people must be given the bulk of the representation; in other words, the territorial representatives should be in a substantial majority. It should be remembered that the scheme provides both at the centre and in the provinces for a single house of legislature. Care has therefore to be taken that, while the composition of the house includes the elements which are distinctive of either chamber in a bi-cameral parliament, the popular element, which stands for the general population, may have it in its power to determine policies with a fair degree of uniformity and continuity. The executive councillors and the other nominees of Government, assisted now and again by the representatives of the various interests, will discharge the functions of a second chamber, correcting, criticising and retarding, if not altogether hindering, measures bearing the marks of prejudice, ignorance and haste commonly associated with the popular element. The official nominees and those that associate with them from time to time require for this reason to be of sufficient importance in the council, by their number and quality, to influence its proceedings, but they should not have it in their power as a rule to outvote or paralyse the territorial element.

FULL POWER OF LEGISLATION.

The legislatures, having substantial majorities of elected territorial representatives, are to enjoy, within the spheres marked out for them, full power of legislation. The Indian legislative council cannot deal with matters relating to the army or the navy, the declaration of war or the making of treaties; these will be the exclusive province of the Viceroy and his executive. Clause 12 under the heading 'Imperial Legislative Council' enumerates the classes of subjects on which it has exclusive power of legislating: they are: "(a) matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable; (b) provincial legislation in so far as it may affect inter-provincial fiscal relations; (c) questions affecting purely imperial revenue, excepting tributes from Indian States; (d) questions affecting imperial expenditure, except that no resolution of the imperial legislative council shall be binding on the Governor-General in council in respect of military charges for the defence of the country; (e) the right of revising Indian tariffs and customs duties, of imposing, altering or removing any tax or cess, and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country; (f) resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole." The imperial legislature will also have concurrent power with the local legislatures to deal with all matters pertaining to the provinces. Laws passed by this council may be vetoed by the Governor-General and disallowed by the Crown within one year. There is a remarkable limitation placed on the legislation both of the imperial and the provincial councils. It is to the effect that the

Hindu or the Mahomedan members of any council may by a three-fourths majority object to the enactment of any bill or any clause thereof, introduced by a non-official member, and the objection shall prevail. Provincial legislation is subject to the veto of the Governor and of the Governor-General and to disallowance by the Crown in one year.

Reference may be made at this point to Lord Islington's conception of the future of reconstructed India as resembling the Australian Commonwealth. Of course we have to think of the Governments as wholes, the executive and the legislative branches together. In Australia the component States existed in complete independence for a long time and then by common agreement federated together into one Commonwealth. Anxious that their original independence should suffer no more diminution than was absolutely necessary, they stipulated that the Commonwealth should have only certain specified powers, the residuary functions inhering in them as before. In India, on the contrary, according to both theory and practice, the provincial Governments have no independent constitutional status and are merely the agents of the Government of India. In the natural course of devolution, the former will get only such powers as are transferred to them, and the residuary powers will remain with the central authority. Our Congress-League scheme expressly lays down this proposition: "The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of a province, and powers not specifically given to a provincial Government, shall be deemed to be vested in the former." Moreover, even in respect of the powers so devolved, the imperial Government is under

the scheme to retain the right of 'general supervision and superintendence over the provincial Governments,' though its interference should ordinarily be limited to such general supervision and superintendence. The analogy of the Australian Commonwealth has thus no exact application here. The arrangement in Canada affords a more apt illustration. There the Dominion Government has no general control over the provincial Governments, but it has a veto over the legislation of the provinces, whose law-making power is, as in the case of local Governments in India, restricted to certain specified subjects. On the other hand, in another respect, not so important as the mutual relation of the Governments from a constitutional standpoint, but not less impressive to the popular imagination, India would prefer the Australian to the Canadian model. In Canada, the heads of the provinces are Lieutenant-Governors appointed by the Governor-General in council of the Dominion and removable by the same authority. The Australian States have, on the contrary, decided to have Governors appointed direct by the Crown. Politicians were not wanting who argued that Lieutenant-Governors would cost less to the States and might be chosen from among the local leaders; but the view which prevailed was that the plan would necessarily carry an inferiority of status, and the States thought themselves, like the States of the American Union, co-ordinate in rank with the federal Government. For a reason quite different, Indian public opinion prefers Governors from abroad to Lieutenant-Governors selected from the Civil Service. Notwithstanding a great record of work and many names of eminence,

this service has, by its power-grasping, self-admiring and unprogressive character, evoked an unfriendly attitude on the part of the educated classes, who see a brighter chance for their political ambitions under rulers who have been trained in the free public life of constitutionally governed countries. That is why both the "Nineteen" Memorandum and the Congress-League scheme give prominence to the need of choosing statesmen outside India for the headship of the provinces. Leaders of opinion in India are fervent believers in the distinction emphasised by Dr. Woodrow Wilson in the dictum: "Political and administrative functions require different aptitudes, must be approached from very different points of view, and ought seldom to be united in the same persons." Lord Islington's plea on behalf of the Civil Service, backed as it is by the great authority of Lord Morley, is hardly likely to make any converts in this country.

POWER OF THE PURSE.

The power of regulating policy and making laws will be illusory unless it be accompanied by the power to dispose of the material resources of the State. The importance of the power of the purse is a commonplace in the history of popularly governed countries. It is true that this power has been of inestimable help to the representatives of the people in establishing their predominance in government, but the truth is of equal importance that these representatives can make no practical use of the powers that they may obtain from time to time unless they can also determine the distribution of the burdens of the State and apportion the

revenue among the various objects of administration. Land revenue, second to none in India among the sources of taxation, and its periodical increase ought no longer to be matters entirely within the competence of the executive. Not that the legislature has now the decisive voice either in raising the other taxes or applying them; but the law, as it stands to-day, does not impose on the Government even the trouble of making out a case before the legislative council for enhancing the State demand on land. The extremely contracted sphere within which the finance committees work in the various provinces, the stringency of the rules governing debate on the financial statement, the practical impossibility of the so-called non-official majority to carry any resolutions to which the Government may be opposed, and the power that the Government have of refusing to abide by any resolutions which may be carried (till now no resolution on the budget has been so carried)—these have rendered the discussion of the budget a solemn waste of time and vexation of spirit. Chronic dissatisfaction exists with regard to the impetunious condition of local bodies, the unequal terms on which railways and irrigation compete for a share of the resources of the State, the undeveloped condition of education and sanitation, the scantiness of medical relief to the millions of the rural population and several other features of our financial system. No remedies will meet the situation which have not the cordial support of those to whom the people's confidence is given by means of the ballot.

The imposition of free trade on India, which has exposed indigenous industries to ruinous outside com-

petition, has long been a standing grievance with politicians of all shades of opinion in India. Be it said to the credit of European administrators in India that they have generally withstood the sacrifice of Indian revenue or the interests of Indian industries to the interested clamour of powerful parties in England, and their championship never shone brighter than when during this year a duty was imposed on imported cotton goods and this first measure of fiscal freedom to India was defended with much eloquence and spirit in the British parliament. The Viceroy spoke brave words and touched the heart of India when he declared recently in the legislative council that, if this cotton duty were threatened after the war, the people of India might rest assured that the Government of India would offer the most strenuous opposition. India rests confident in the hope that this measure of justice would be followed by others of a similar nature and that she would in course of time acquire fiscal independence.

The Congress-League scheme also lays down certain definite principles for defining the financial relations of the Government of India with the provincial Governments. The idea underlying the proposal seems to be that the revenues of the country except under certain heads belong as of right to local administrations, which should thus be left free, in co-operation with and under the control of their legislatures, to advance the welfare of the populations entrusted to them. What are now known as divided heads are to be transferred entirely to the provinces, and the Government of India should make good the resulting deficiencies in its revenue by contributions levied from local Governments, the

amounts of which may be revised whenever any extraordinary and unforeseen contingency should arise. This arrangement would amount to a complete reversal of the existing relations between the central and local authorities. The finances of India, though raised in the provinces and by the administrations of these provinces, are accounted the constitutional possession of the Government of India. They distribute the money among the various Governments according to principles settled by them, which are known as 'Permanent Settlements.' Each local Government is bound, in spending the amount allotted to it, by various bodies of minute rules; numerous returns have likewise to be submitted to the imperial Government; and as the budgets of the various provinces have to be worked into the imperial budget, the scope of provincial finance as a separate or independent system is extremely narrow. Complaints on this head have become very loud of late years from local Governments and their subjects combined. The Government of India, restrained only by the criticisms of the press and the cries of local Governments whenever they were over-squeezed, were naturally more solicitous of the departments and the services in which they were directly interested than of those in which the provincial Governments were interested, and at successive revisions of provincial contracts even resumed considerable sums. This state of things, being highly unfavourable to the development of the provinces in directions immediately concerned with the welfare and prosperity of the people, has produced a reaction in the public mind which is reflected in the proposals of the Congress-League scheme. Critics may contend with some justification that these proposals

go to the other extreme, leaving the Government of India in a condition of precarious dependence and without the means of rendering any financial assistance to the more needy and less advanced parts of the country, which cannot expect much consideration from the more fortunate provincial administrations. Indeed, the scheme is open to a slight suspicion of incongruity in giving the central Government all the residuary powers of the constitution and a general power of superintendence and supervision over provincial Governments, while assigning to it a somewhat inferior position in financial matters and making it appear in the light of a venerable dependent entitled to maintenance. The analogy of the German system with its *metricular* contributions is somewhat misleading, because in Germany there was a real federation of independent States which surrendered a part of their freedom and their revenues to the newly created federal Government. A compromise between these extremes may be necessary, but it is likely to offend against logic or the natural division of functions between the central and local Governments. The Congress-League scheme has the merit of giving to the central Government all those sources of revenue which are not really of a local character though they may be raised in particular localities, and the responsibility of external defence which is of a like nature. This subject affords a good illustration of the truth that it is easier to criticise than to improve. As soon as we touch a source of revenue like land tax or income tax, we are overpowered by the thought that it is much better left to the administration of each local Government and its legislature. To suggest a division of any such head is to suggest a division of responsibility and a fruitful

cause of strife and controversy. Are we not finally thrown back on the device of contributions from local Governments? Great difficulty will be felt in determining the agency by which these contributions should be fixed and altered from time to time, and the basis on which they should be fixed, whether population or total revenue, or a combination of both. As regards the agency, Mr. Gokhale's suggestion before the Decentralization Commission was that it should be a conference of the revenue members of the different provinces sitting every five or ten years and presided over by the finance member of the Government of India, the Viceroy having the power, in sudden and extraordinary emergencies, of altering the amounts of these contributions as he might deem necessary.

A word of caution may here be said to indiscreet advocates of self-government. These are apt to recommend it on the ground of economy, resulting finally in reduction of taxes. The experience of popular government elsewhere gives no ground for this hope. Vested interests will render retrenchment extremely difficult, if not impossible. Our obligations under the head of the country's defence will increase by leaps and bounds. The utmost vigilance and energy of our popular representatives will be fully taxed to resist the further encroachments of the organised services on the resources of the State, if they can accomplish even so much. Education, sanitation, industries are departments that have been long starved and will clamour for a chance under democracy. The Gladstonian doctrine that "the constitutional duty of a legislative chamber is not to augment but to decrease expenditure," is apt to

be forgotten by those who depend on votes and will be under the constant temptation of adding to government posts and the possibility of patronage. In his famous book on France, Bodley satirises the futile attempts at retrenchment frequently made in that country. Says he: "They call to mind those radical schemes for reorganising our public offices at Whitehall, which new ministers with ingenuous zeal sometimes promote. Three superfluous clerks are made to retire on full pay; three other clerks have their salaries raised to reward their increased labours, and the next year three new clerks are introduced to complete the old establishment." The same writer in another passage thus describes the enormous multiplication of offices in the modern popular regime. The evil is aggravated in France by the inordinate importance which a deputy acquires in his constituency. "For, as we shall see, each member of Parliament, not hostile to the Government, thus becomes a wholesale dispenser of places, controlling the administrative and fiscal services in his constituency, and supervising the promotion of the judges. Moreover, to augment his popularity a legislator likes to have as many posts as possible to bestow. The tendency of representative government is, therefore, to effect not economy, but the multiplication of State-paid offices, ruining the finances of the country, and turning the industrious French people into a nation of needy place-hunters. Under previous parliamentary regimes this evil was not patent, as the electorate was extremely limited, and if every voter in France had been given a post under Louis Philippe the bureaucracy would not have been unduly swollen. Whereas with ten million constituents encou-

raged to regard their members in this light, the rich resources of the land are strained, and citizens are taken away from callings which increase the national riches, are deterred from colonial enterprise, and are generally diverted from ambitious pursuits which elevate the standard of a nation."

THE LEGISLATURE AND THE EXECUTIVE.

The next topic in order of importance is the subordination of the executive to the legislature and the means by which the scheme endeavours to secure it. Before dealing with it, it is necessary to describe the executive briefly. The Viceroy or the Governor is the head, not merely in name but in reality. He is to be assisted by an executive council to be composed, half of Europeans, half of Indians. The number is not fixed, but the general idea is that it should be six. Members of the Indian Civil Service or any other service should not ordinarily be appointed to these councils, the idea being, as Woodrow Wilson's dictum has it, that men who have for years administered departmental details cannot exhibit the large spirit of statesmanship necessary in those who have to shape and guide policy. The holders of portfolios will be assisted in the discharge of their duties by the experience of the permanent heads of the departments, as in England. Naturally civilian officers resent this proposal bitterly, but it is of capital importance and cannot be surrendered. The term of office of executive councillors and of the heads of Governments is to be five years, and that is the term also of the legislative councils.

The conception of the relations between the legislative council and the executive council which is embodied in the Congress-League scheme is something between the English and American conceptions, avoiding the extreme points of both. The most conspicuous feature of the English constitution, to which almost superstitious reverence is paid in Great-Britain and the self-governing Dominions, is the responsibility of the ministry to the House of Commons; i. e., its obligation, according to one of the unwritten conventions of the constitution, to resign office on an adverse vote of that house on any subject of importance, unless they persuade the King to dissolve the house. The Indian executive will not be under such an obligation. Its tenure of office need not depend on its retaining the confidence of the legislative council. In America even a direct vote of censure cannot remove the President from office, and as the other principal officers of State derive from him, they are equally untouched by the proceedings of Congress. In fact the separation between the executive and the legislature is complete in the United States, it having been considered necessary to maintain the balance between the two. Neither the President nor his principal officers belong to either house of Congress. Thus they cannot defend themselves against hostile criticism in Congress nor take steps to get such laws passed as they desire, while Congress for its part has to legislate without the experience and guidance of the executive. The Congress-League scheme seeks to avoid this evil by placing a considerable power of nomination to the legislative council in the hands of the Viceroy and Governors.

It is expected that they will put in the executive councillors and perhaps also a few other officials. Their superior knowledge and experience will be available to the legislature, and in fact they will be in a position not only to defend their executive acts but to frame legislative proposals and conduct them in the council.

It is curious how different are the forecasts that people make about the actual working of the scheme. Those who study its provisions from the standpoint of the executive apprehend that it would be at the mercy of the legislature, harassed by ignorant criticism and compelled, as Lord Islington put it, to carry out laws and resolutions which it did not approve. Indian publicists, on the other hand, obsessed by the cunning with which the constituencies in the present regime have been so designed as to render the non-official majority a mere name and rules of debate have been so framed as to render the budget discussion a mere mockery, take it as a foregone conclusion that, if the executive were not to be under the constant fear of being turned out of office, it would defy the legislature and set its decisions at naught. On both sides occasional deadlocks are anticipated, and the scheme is criticised for not providing a means of getting over them, as the authors of the constitutions of the Australian Commonwealth and the South African Union have had the forethought to do. Let us now look at the provisions in detail. First those which tend in favour of the legislature. They are eight:—

- i. The term of office of the head of the Government and also of the executive councillors is limi-

ted to five years. If it is to be tyranny, it will at least be short-lived.

ii. Members of the legislative council are to have the power of questioning the executive as to their acts; in the same way as in the English Parliament, other members coming to the aid of the questioner in asking supplementary questions. Holders of portfolios should certainly have the liberty of refusing to disclose information in the public interest; but if a minister habitually evaded questions without sufficient cause, he would soon be found out and visited with general displeasure.

iii. On a requisition by one-eighth of the members of the legislative council, the head of the Government will be bound to summon a meeting of the council. This will prevent undue intervals during which the executive might be glad to escape the vigilance of the legislature. Present-day practice in India has apparently suggested the need of this provision.

iv. As in England, it would be open under the scheme for a member to call attention to "a definite matter of urgent public importance" and raise a debate on it, if he is supported by one-eighth of the members present.

v. The legislative councils themselves will have the power of making and altering the rules under which resolutions on matters of public interest may be discussed. It is somewhat anomalous that at present the councils have some voice as to the rules for the conduct of legislation, but none as to the rules governing interpellation and the discussion of resolutions or of the budget.

vi. The legislative councils are to elect their own presidents, the Viceroy and the Governors being precluded from conducting the proceedings in person or through vice-presidents appointed by themselves.

vii. A resolution passed by the legislative council, may be vetoed once by the Government concerned; but if it be passed a second time, after the lapse of a year, it must be carried out.

viii. The Indian members of the executive council who are to form one-half of its strength, should be elected by the elected members of the legislative council concerned.

When these eight provisions are taken along with the provision requiring a substantial elective majority, it is obvious that the people's representatives have abundant means at their disposal of getting their wishes respected and making their mark on the proceedings of the legislature. To doubt it is to take it for granted that the members returned by the general electorates would be of poor calibre. If, however, an additional safeguard be considered necessary, the taxation of the country, instead of being wholly permanent as now, may be made in part annual, so that the Government cannot carry on unless they keep the legislature in a good mood and get the temporary taxes renewed every year. The salt duty in the case of the imperial Government and the income tax in the case of provincial Governments would seem to be appropriate for this purpose.

Those that scan the scheme from the standpoint of the executive will probably complain that it is de-

fenceless against this array of weapons in the hands of the legislature. In truth, however, their superior organization and discipline and the expert knowledge and experience which they command constitute a great advantage in a continuous contest with a loose body of men elected by different constituencies and perhaps divided by caste and other prejudices. The personal merits of these legislators are apt to vary greatly, and it will be long before they learn to act together, evolve definite policies and assert themselves in council. Moreover, the scheme lays down that a money bill may be introduced only by the Government. Private members, who desire to distinguish themselves or please their constituencies, may possibly flood the council with all sorts of legislative proposals for a time, but soon the requirements of business will put the initiative to a large extent in the hands of the executive, and ambitious members will have to seek their opportunities in criticism and amendment of Government measures. Judicious bestowal of honours and titles, careful distribution of patronage, the discriminating sanction of schemes involving financial outlay in which certain members may be interested, are means of oiling the legislative machinery, which may not stand the most exacting ethical tests but will be found of much practical value. But the principal weapon in the armoury of the executive is the veto, which may be exercised once in the case of resolutions and without any such restriction in the case of legislation. If one desires to conjure up difficult situations, one may see in the light-hearted and frequent use of the veto a fruitful source of misunderstanding; but the Congress-League

scheme gives the veto in the case of resolutions to the Governor-General in council and to the Governor in council and not to the Governor-General and the Governor acting singly, and that is a guarantee that the veto will not be exercised unless there is due cause. In respect of legislation a tactful head of Government will generally act under the advice of his executive council, and he will not be slow to discover that he need not veto every law which does not command his entire approval, but that he is bound to prevent laws coming into operation of which he feels reasonably certain that the consequences will be disastrous. After all it is good to let the people now and then experience the evil effects of their ignorance and haste, especially when they have failed to profit by the counsel and warning of the executive while the laws in question were being discussed. It may minimise friction to give the head of a Government power to return a bill to the council with the remark that he might be compelled to veto it unless it were modified in certain defined particulars. Another power with which it may be found necessary to arm the executive is to dissolve the legislature when there is reason to believe that it does not represent the views of the electors or that time gained may bring better counsels, if not better councillors. In this case a wise executive will submit if the council endorses the decision of its predecessor. In case a council is dissolved before its time, should the nominated members also go out of office? It would seem that they should, as one of the considerations to be borne in mind by the nominating authority is to supply any deficiencies which the results of election may disclose. In normal

conditions one may confidently look forward in India to the executive and legislature working smoothly together. In spite of what ill-conditioned critics have said of Indian character, the prediction may be safely ventured that the bulk of our legislators will be practical-minded and willing to listen to reason and well-meant advice. Judging from the behaviour of Indian leaders in the trying conditions of the present legislative councils, their successors will stand a lot of provocation before they push differences of view to the breaking point or test the edge of the constitutional weapons in their hands. The executive will find that faith and patience will receive generous response from the other side. Misgivings are felt with regard to the power of voting the budget which the scheme proposes to give to the various legislative councils. What would happen if in any year a council should refuse to pass the budget? To adapt the language of Lord Bryce in his treatise on 'The American Commonwealth,' to withhold the ordinary supplies and thereby stop the machine of Government would injure the country and themselves far more than the executive; they would, to use a common expression, be cutting off their nose to spite their face. But political feeling, when it runs high, may make a great change in men's natures, and it is conceivable that an angry legislature may decline to pass the budget in time. In Japan the difficulty is got over by giving the executive power to carry out the previous year's budget. To provide for a deadlock is to invite a deadlock. The executive, feeling that it can fall back on the previous year's budget, may defy the legislature and refuse to negotiate with it in a rea-

sonable spirit. If such an expedient be enacted as a part of the law, it may be necessary to make the legislature even with the executive by providing further that it should not be resorted to in two succeeding years. A year's interval may have its own effect in softening differences and enabling the two branches of Government to come to terms with each other. We are advised to provide a machinery for overcoming a deadlock, because the constitutions of the Australian Commonwealth and the South African Union have done so. But the deadlock contemplated in those parts of the British empire is between the two houses of legislature, which are of co-ordinate rank and must concur for legislation to have effect. In India the Congress-League scheme provides only for one house, and as the executive is meant to be subordinate to the legislature, no deadlock can arise. Let the executive advise, expostulate, warn; let it dissolve the legislature; let it gain time by working the last year's budget; but finally it must bend to the will of the people if it cannot convince them. Having enjoyed absolute supremacy so long, it may be difficult for the Indian executive to reconcile itself to take second place. But no executive in any constitutionally governed country pretends to override the legislature; and the attempt of political reformers in India is to assimilate the well-established principles of government in such countries. If an executive, to take an instance, felt that a resolution passed by the legislative council for a second time was such that it could not accept the responsibility for carrying it out, it would be compelled to resign; for if it held on and refused to carry out the resolution, it would be dis-

obeying the law of the land and might provoke civil commotion.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

Although in extraordinary circumstances like those imagined above the executive Government may voluntarily resign, the Congress-League scheme does not contemplate the resignation of a defeated ministry and its replacement by a new one as the normal feature of government ; in other words, there will be no responsible government, as the expression is understood in constitutions following the British model. No Government in India need dread an adverse vote or a succession of adverse votes as a sentence of death. Constitution-writers are agreed that a system of ins and outs can work beneficially only where there are two large and well-defined parties in the legislature and only two such parties. Where this condition is wanting, the members of the legislature form little groups or cliques, with no principles to keep them together, but only temporary and perhaps selfish ends. No Government can in such circumstances be stable ; it must have recourse to compromises and makeshifts ; and its principal anxiety will be how to live rather than how to govern. Every Government that can be formed must include members from most of the important groups ; a change therefore may introduce new persons, but not necessarily new policies or views of administration. One of the greatest evils that can befall a country is a weak executive. Those that would take a hand in shaping the fortunes of India must pause seriously be-

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fore they adopt a system where there is a general race for office, and a Government, with many rivals watching to trip it, can only live by making concessions and compromises at every turn and by not putting its hand to anything big or important. Maybe in course of time we shall evolve two opposite schools of political thought which may seek to shape governmental action by organising themselves into two permanent parties. Then elections may be fought on issues involving political principles or programmes, and it may be determined with some approach to accuracy which of the contending parties commands the majority of opinion in the country and is therefore entitled to form a cabinet. It will be time enough then to think of the parliamentary system: It has not been an unmixed good outside Great Britain; even in Great Britain it has seen its best days, and, among thoughtful observers the doubt is seriously felt whether after this war it will regain its original hold on politics. The newly formed National Party in England, of which it would be rash to judge the future by its recent failure at a bye-election, has the following paragraph in its prospectus: "For years past the old party system has been nothing better than an organised mockery of the true spirit of the nation. If we are to win victory in the war—and after—we must free ourselves somehow or other from the clutches of this octopus. The future of the commonwealth of British nations depends upon the honesty and capacity of our public men. Politics is a matter of national life and death. Should it continue to be played as a game of party interests and personal ambition, served by two machines which are kept in

funds by the sale of honours, the end can only be disaster." In a recent book called the 'Elements of Reconstruction' and marked by much originality and vigour of thought, the same idea is hit off in a striking phrase, 'that persistent tendency to a bi-lateral system of conflict about false issues which is denounced as the party system,' and Lord Milner in his introduction to the book speaks of it as 'now happily in abeyance, and never, let us hope, to be revived in its old insincerity.' Burgess, whose keen analysis is hardly surpassed, has some weighty remarks on this subject which, though long, may here be quoted without apology.

"What, then, are the conditions which require the political responsibility of the ministry to the legislature, or the popular branch thereof, or which make this relation advantageous? We have now two distinct questions which require distinct answers. I can conceive of nothing *requiring* this relation except the permanent incapacity of the executive head, or irrational persistence on his part in an unpopular policy, or such evidence of a treacherous disposition as to make it impossible that he shall be trusted. On the other hand, ministerial responsibility to the legislature will be *advantageous* when the electorate and the legislature are of so high character intellectually and morally as to be practically incapable of forming an erroneous opinion or of doing an unjust thing. The checks and balances of double or treble deliberation by independent bodies will then be no longer necessary, will be rather hurtful than necessary. The natural age of compromise will have been passed. Until something like this condition shall arrive, however, the responsibi-

lity of the ministry to the legislature for Government policy tends to the production of crude measures, and, in general, makes government radical. I do not think that parliamentary government stands in such high favour with political scientists as it did a decade or more ago. Based upon the narrow English electorate of twenty-five years ago, its working seemed to vindicate most thoroughly its principle, but the recent great extension of that electorate has revealed dangers hardly suspected before, and has shaken the faith (once orthodox) in its perfection and in its adaptability to every condition of political society. I have no hesitation in saying that to me England, as well as France, now appears to need a greater independence of the executive power over against the legislature."

The irresponsibility of the executive, which the leaders of political thought in India have adopted with a sure instinct for what is safe and suitable in the present condition of their country, is not without a parallel in the west. Omitting Germany, which is not reckoned among popular governments, there are the United States and Switzerland, in both of which freedom dwells in some of her most lovely forms. The American example is somewhat complicated by the executive being not only irremovable by Congress, but unconnected with it constitutionally except for the President's qualified veto. This latter feature is generally regarded as a weakness, which would lead to very untoward results were it not for the natural good sense of the Americans, of whom it has been remarked that they can work with advantage the worst constitution in the world. The analogy of Switzerland is nearer. The executive there

are elected by the legislature for a period of three years. They cannot vote in the legislature, but may attend either house and take active part in its proceedings, both initiating and criticising measures of legislation. The results are pronounced to be excellent, the executive being regarded as the servants not as the masters of the legislature. Yet this subordinate position does not deprive them of influence or prestige; the legislature trusts them entirely and re-elects some members frequently. Prof. Dicey observes that although its irremovability confers on it a certain measure of independence, it loyally carries out the policy of the legislature. "Its dependence is the source of its strength. It does not come into conflict with the Assembly; it therefore is a permanent body which carries on, and carries on with marked success, the administration of public affairs." The defect in the Swiss system is that, as there is no well-organised efficient civil service, the members of the executive are themselves the heads of departments and overwhelmed with details of administration. In India the existence of a first-class civil service would keep members of the executive council free for parliamentary duties.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN COMPARTMENTS

While there are opponents of the scheme who denounce it as wholly evil and likely to land the country in disaster, there are others who see that substantial reforms are inevitable, but would like them to assume an experimental form, so that Indian political leaders may prove their fitness to manage popular institutions step by step. A proposal has been

forward, the main feature of which is to administer a few selected departments by means of a cabinet on the English plan, i. e., chosen for their ability to command a majority in the legislative council and liable to be replaced by another cabinet as soon as the majority turned against them. The Viceroy or the Governor is to be in respect of this cabinet like the King in England, choosing only the Premier and always accepting the advice of the responsible ministers. The rest of the government is to be carried on as under the present regime. It may be readily acknowledged that this proposal is made from a genuine desire to afford a school of probation for the educated classes of India. It follows that the departments chosen to begin with must be comparatively unimportant, so that, even if they were mismanaged, the harm to the general administration might not be great. It is often true that a great reform has a better chance of success than a small one. This is the case in the region of self-government. Improvement in administration, to be real and lasting, would require increased expenditure. Where should the apprentice cabinet find the additional money? Whether it is to be by retrenchment in other departments or by fresh taxation, they will have to convince the general executive as well as the legislative council. If they failed, would it be just to send them out for what might have been the perversity of the general executive? As has been said in an earlier section, successful administration without control of finance is impossible. Then, why is this process of experiment and trial considered necessary in the case of Indians? There is not a single instance in th

wide world of a people having acquired] autonomy by compartments. And who is to judge whether the experiment in a province has been successful and when the next step may be taken? One party is anxious to advance, the other party is anxious to hold it back. To suppose that the latter is like a teacher proud of his pupil and desirous to help him from stage to stage is to ignore the history of political reform in India and the tremendous difficulty that has attended every step of it. Again, where there are two compartments of government, one in which the exciting game of making and unmaking Governments is constantly going on and the other of the humdrum sort where the executive sits tight on the legislative body, it is apparent that the former will engross the attention of the public and draw to itself all the ambition and talent in the community. If the legislative council be identical for both the compartments, as it will probably be, would not the greater part of its functions, and by our supposition the more important part, suffer from neglect? Moreover, there is the head of the Government who has to be the real head of one compartment and the figure-head of the other. The habits, modes of thought and temperament that conduce to success in the two compartments are very different, perhaps incompatible. We know that one who is successful as the Governor of a crown colony will not necessarily be successful as the head of a self-governing Dominion. Is it reasonable to expect that the same man can play every day of his life parts so wholly unlike each other? It is to be hoped that this plan of compartmental autonomy, with its tempta-

tion of a higher form of government though in a greatly restricted sphere, will not prove more attractive to the Indian politician than the all-round and substantial self-government embodied in the Congress-League scheme, in which the executive is in a real manner subordinate to the legislative council, although not technically responsible to it. In the former case the first step is in itself of slight value unless it is followed by several other steps, each of which will probably be as difficult as this one. In the second case the first step is a big one and likely to bring great benefits to the people, even if it was not followed by other steps, and perhaps for that very reason these other steps will be found easy. Responsible government, as has been already pointed out, cannot be successful where there are not two and only two great political parties wedded to distinct principles. To foist it on India at present is no sign of political sagacity. Our scheme does not by any means preclude it, if in the future conditions favourable to it arise, and then it will be a natural and healthy development. An able writer on the "Political Development of Japan," Mr. Uyehara, tries to make out that the defects in the present working of the Japanese constitution can be remedied only by the adoption of the practice of full responsibility of the cabinet to the Diet. Ito himself tried something like it and failed. As it was more than a decade ago it is probable that conditions have ripened in the direction desired by Mr. Uyehara. The lesson for us in India is that it is best not to pluck the fruit before its time.

COMMITTEES OF THE LEGISLATURE.

A few words may be said here of Lord Islington's suggestion that we may introduce into the governance of India the plan adopted in France of appointing committees of the legislative council for particular branches or departments of administration. The instancing of France was rather unfortunate, for the committees in that country, or commissions as they are called, are notorious failures. Some of these committees are dissolved every month and reconstituted; important ones have a longer tenure. All alike have acquired an inordinate amount of importance, overshadowing the executive on the one hand and the parent house on the other. They take charge of bills, whether introduced by Government or private members, and may report them or not at their pleasure. They often change them out of shape altogether. The budget commission especially takes great liberties with the proposals of the finance minister, who, it is said, cannot sometimes recognise them. In the United States too the interposition of committees has not been a blessing. The principal evil is that in the privacy of their proceedings the larger issues are burked, principles are forgotten, small expediencies prevail and petty bargains are struck. When the measures come up before the house, they excite little interest, and the public who are most concerned cannot know the grounds on which they were defended and opposed and receive little political education from a perusal of the debates. Bills in India are already referred to select committees. Power may be taken to appoint committees for considering any parti-

cular matter of importance. But standing committees in charge of special departments will tend to impair the responsibility of the executive who may be tempted to take shelter behind them. Lord Islington's plan is to enable members of the legislative council to acquire knowledge of administrative details by association with the executive, and thus to widen the circle of those from whom ministers may be chosen. This object will doubtless be attained in some measure by the appointment of committees. But there is grave risk of the legislative council weakening its control over the executive Government, owing to the dispersion of responsibility. Individual members of committees may also utilise their opportunities for acquiring undue importance or gaining private ends through the friendship of ministers.

SECRETARY OF STATE AND HIS COUNCIL.

Almost from the start the Indian National Congress has been demanding the abolition of the council of the Secretary of State. The changes made by Lord Morley were not accepted in India as great improvements. The introduction of two (and now three) Indians has no doubt caused some mild satisfaction, but it is only a palliative. Even the recommendation of Sir William Wedderburn, whose name is cherished with the greatest affection by the educated classes, was not sufficient to induce the Indian National Congress or the public generally to welcome with a full heart the considerable reforms recently proposed by the Marquis of Crewe. The councils are looked upon as an expensive burden, inimical to the political advance of Indians and unable to fulfil the

principal object of its existence, namely, to guard the finances of the country from the extravagant tendencies of the Government of India or the Secretary of State. The condemnation is thorough, and whatever force it had in the past would be multiplied a hundredfold under the Congress-League scheme, which substitutes the control of a locally elected parliament for outside control so far as internal matters are concerned. There remain military matters and foreign relations, in respect of which the Army Council and the cabinet of Great Britain are the final arbiters, and the Secretary of State's council is of comparative unimportance. The case for its abolition is thus almost unanswerable.

The proposal to place the salary of the Secretary of State on the British estimates is equally old. It has been often brought to the notice of Parliament and supported with weighty arguments by influential politicians. The opposition of the India Office has prevailed every time, although backed by flimsy pleas.

The recommendation that the position of the Secretary of State himself should be approximated to that of the Secretary of State for the colonies is not absolute ; it contains the saving clause 'as far as possible.' He will still have very important functions left to him. Besides control of military matters and foreign relations he has to conduct large financial transactions in England on behalf of the Government of India, make a great number of high appointments, and exercise final authority in the delicate matters connected with Native States. The desired approximation therefore to the colonial pattern can take place only gradually, and even when the pro-

cess has been pushed as far as it can be, there will still remain striking differences between the position of the Secretaries of State for India and the Colonies, and that is only as it should be.

THE FRANCHISE.

The supremacy of the legislative councils, and the elective majority therein, on which the Congress-League scheme lays so much emphasis, cannot be fully vindicated unless those who claim to represent the people are sent to the councils by electorates of respectable size and quality. The franchise question is for this reason of very great importance, and the scheme gives it due attention. It requires that the people should vote directly for the members, and that the qualifications of voters should be high enough to ensure a certain degree of intelligence and weight, and at the same time not so high as to make the electorates too small and select. In the case of the Indian legislative council the present indirect election by the non-official members of the provincial legislative councils is to be retained, while at the same time direct election by the people is provided for. It is defensible as a reflection of the idea that in the constitution of federal Governments the component parts should be represented as such. There is to be no more election to the provincial councils through the medium of urban and rural boards. It is hoped that candidates will in future seek the suffrages of their constituencies by expounding their plans and programmes of work, for the political instruction of the people can in this way be most quickly and efficaciously promoted. With this object electorates should be so formed as not

to be too large or heterogeneous. The present revenue districts are generally favoured as electoral units. Anyhow, it is necessary that the boundaries of electoral areas should coincide with the boundaries of districts. The division of the country into areas having equal population is a luxury which need not be thought of for some time. If proportional representation be decided on, two or three districts may have to be grouped together. The franchise may have to be different in different provinces. It is desirable that it should be uniform in the same province. A possible exception is the case of what are known as the depressed classes, amongst whom, if it be decided to give them representation through separate electorates, it may be difficult to find men possessing even moderately high property and educational qualifications. The franchise should be of various forms; payment of income tax and of land tax above a certain figure, and house tax or rent above a certain limit, the receipt of a Government pension above a certain figure, the possession of an educational qualification like the degree of a university, the possession of a title conferred by Government, etc. Even with such a manifold and liberal franchise, the number of electors will not bear more than a small proportion to the total population of the country, but we must be content with very small beginnings; a wide extension of the suffrage is of comparatively recent growth even in advanced countries. The electorates will probably comprise from 5,000 to 15,000 voters, according as the unit is the district or a group of districts. With such numbers the arts of electioneering will come into vogue, and a machinery for settling disputes and

putting down corrupt practices may have to be created. The more simple and summary it is the better. The executive, whether in the upper or lower ranks, should not have anything to do with election inquiries, lest they be suspected of favouring those candidates from whom they expect support in the legislature. Cities having populations of a lakh and over may have a member each to itself. The scheme bars Mahomedans from participation in the general elections to the councils, but not from participation in those which are for the benefit of special interests like commerce or the university, for example. Such a bar will also apply in the case of all communities who may be allowed special electorates. There are many aristocratic-minded people who dread any extension of the franchise on a large scale, not only because it will deter men of fine sensibilities from the worries of canvassing, but also because it will tend to deterioration in the quality and character of the members who are returned to the council. In other countries the same fear was expressed every time the electorates were enlarged. In England there are many who bemoan the decay of the House of Commons. John Stuart Mill pointed out that it was not due to the reform bills but to what he called the 'progress of national prosperity,' which is a euphemism for the levelling influence of a general diffusion of wealth owing to the great advance of commerce. The highest theory in western countries takes it for granted that the electorates know their own interests best and should be allowed perfect freedom to choose any man they like. Qualifications are therefore not fixed for candidates. In India the practice may be

given up of requiring higher qualifications for candidates than for voters. Some would insist on residence within the electorate; others on sufficient knowledge of English to follow intelligently the proceedings of the council. The local patriotism of voters and their desire to have effective representation may be trusted to bring about the results intended by prescribing these qualifications. Government should be deprived of the power they now have of debarring any political worker who has rendered himself disagreeable to them by declaring him "to be of such reputation and antecedents that his election would, in the opinion of the Governor in council (Governor-General in council), be contrary to the public interest."

An important matter that must not be lost sight of is that power should be given to each Government to alter the rules regarding the franchise, electorates, methods of voting, and so on, and likewise to redistribute the seats and electoral areas.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

President to be elected.—The provision that each legislative council should elect its own president has met with some opposition, but wherever representative institutions prevail, the head of the Government does not take part in the proceedings of the legislature. The scheme makes no provision for a premier or prime minister, so that the Governor-General or the Governor will be not only the titular but the real head of the executive. Experience has given overwhelming proof that, when he or the vice-president appointed by him conducts the proceedings, the selection and arrange-

ment of business, the distribution of time and the rulings are all made so as to exalt the executive at the expense of the private members. Besides, the great dignity of his position and the power and patronage that he wields have a somewhat oppressive effect on most members, and the discussion is apt to lose in freedom and reality. If the legislature is to do its duty fearlessly and on the highest level, it is necessary that its president should be placed in a position of perfect indifference to the favours or frowns of Government and be always ready to uphold its dignity and tradition and administer the rules with strict impartiality.

Indian Executive to be elected.—Strong and even contemptuous criticism has been levelled against the suggestion that the Indian half of the executive councils should be elected by the elected portion of the legislatures concerned. Lord Islington has said that it is quite unknown to British practice. The remark is too sweeping. His Lordship apparently forgets that in the new constitution of the Union of South Africa the 'administrators' of provincial Governments are assisted by executive councillors who are elected by the legislative councils. The labour party in Australia has now and then tried to get the executive council made elective, but in vain. It is well-known that the Swiss executive are elected, and their efficiency is unquestioned. The main ground of objection is that the head of a Government would find it difficult to work with a council, one half of whom derive from him and look up to him, while the other half will derive from the legislative council and look up to it. The idea that the executive should be composed of men belonging to one

party and of one way of thinking is applicable only to the cabinet system of government, where the party which is in the majority of the House of Commons must supply the whole body of ministers, who are collectively responsible to it. In India there is to be neither collective nor individual responsibility in the parliamentary sense. As to the difficulty of men of different ways of thinking working together amicably, experience shows that it is exaggerated. The stress of common duties and common conditions of work has great effect in producing harmony. At the risk of overdoing the Swiss analogy, we will quote the authority of Lowell on the subject. After saying that the Swiss federal council includes men of different opinions, he proceeds: "A coalition ministry is always weak, because it is composed of men who, under the pretence of harmony, are continually trying to get the better of each other, and would not hold together if any part of them alone could control a majority in parliament. But as the federal council is not the organ of a majority in the Assembly, the representation of divergent views is frankly acknowledged. Instead of involving a state of smothered hostility, it arises from a real wish to give to openly different opinions a share of influence in the conduct of public affairs. Hence it strengthens the council by broadening its basis, disarming the enmity of the only elements that could form a serious opposition, and enabling it to represent the whole community." Lord Islington recognises the necessity of the executive maintaining smooth relations with the legislative council and trusts that the Viceroy and Governors will choose the Indian members with this object in

view. The authors of the scheme have the identical object in view, and have hit upon the only sure means of attaining it. The heads of Governments are strangers in this country; the men of local experience on whom they depend for guidance have usually acquired prejudices and partialities which taint their advice. Why not allow the legislative council to choose its own men? The risk feared by the critics is imaginary; the real risk is the amount of canvassing and the consequent demoralisation to which the plan of election may lead. Is this the worse evil? or the suppleteness and sycophancy to which the alternative plan may lead? Experience will show. If its verdict goes against election, it may be dropped.

No Second Chamber.—Within the British empire some provinces of Canada and the provinces of South Africa have the uni-cameral system; the rest have copied the English model of two houses. Indian opinion, coloured by the radicalism of the west, has set its face against a second chamber. In consequence it is found necessary to introduce the landlord element, the commercial element and a certain proportion of nominated members into the single house of legislature. The popular element is thus clogged and impeded and cannot be sure that it will carry the day on any particular occasion, while the other section must always labour under the consciousness of numerical weakness and unpopularity. Neither has free and full play. It may be contended that, as the legislation of the provinces is subject to a second veto, viz., that of the Governor-General, the delaying and revising action of a second chamber is not an imperative need. This

consideration, however, loses most of its force when applied to the Viceroy's legislature, which is of the nature of a federal government, and there is no example of a federal government which works only with one house. A chamber with about 100 members, 40 of whom may be nominated by the Governor-General for seven years and the remaining 60 elected for the same term so as to represent zemindars with permanently settled estates, other big landlords, the provincial legislatures, chambers of commerce, planting associations, railway companies and other such interests, would add greatly to the efficiency of a central Government which deals with provinces and populations, not only of great magnitude but of great diversity. If such a house be devised, the present one should represent the people directly, of course with special arrangements for Mahomedans and important minorities, and be made wholly elective. The Irish people, who have suffered greatly from the House of Lords in England, have been willing to accept a second chamber as part of their home rule scheme. The *New Statesman*, which cannot be accused of any infatuation for aristocracy or old-world ideas, has an article on the subject of a second chamber, which is full of suggestion. We must find space for a few extracts from it.

“ The essential function of a second chamber, it may be suggested, and the only one for which such a body is required, or can be permanently useful, is that of revision in its largest sense. The legislature proper will always be passing bills which ought not to pass into law in the form in which they leave the popular assembly. There will be, in the first place, errors

drafting, and palpable mistakes and omissions. In the second place, there will not infrequently be a lack of consistency, either of legislation or of policy, in relation to other matters, which the whole community would wish to see righted. Finally, there is, on some measures, the contingency of doubt as to whether the decision of the House of Commons would be upheld by public opinion. The particular measure may have been finally carried only by one vote. It may enact an indefinite prolongation of the life of the legislature. It may have been carried by a moribund house. It may have been rushed through all its stages in a few days, without public opinion becoming aware of what is happening. It may be of a nature to arouse irresistible popular opposition, only that opposition will not instantly manifest itself. British democracy will be in full agreement with the most timid of property owners in not desiring to erect even its elected House of Commons into a position of supreme dictatorship. The case for a second chamber, confined to the proper functions of a second chamber, is irresistible. What is required for a second chamber is a position of independence of the popular Assembly, well-defined functions of its own which it cannot extend, and sufficient power to "hold up" the popular Assembly, without opportunity to compete with it. The second chamber needs to be composed of persons of ripe wisdom and judgment; known to and respected by the public for their personal qualities; not representative of any one class or interest, not even of age or of property in general; and widely inclusive of legal and administrative training and experience. It must not be merely an 'Order of Merit' and assembly

of old men; least of all exclusively a gathering of 'ex's. Popular election does not produce such an assembly as is required. Appointment by the King (that is, by the prime minister for the time being) has proved a failure in Canada and New Zealand, and is obviously unsuited; there is no case for selection from the peerage any more than from the herbage; moreover, its members must not oppress us for life, but must be continually renewed, so as to keep the second chamber always in touch with the opinions of the current generation."

Native States Excluded.—Readers of the scheme are naturally astonished that it ignores Native States altogether, and critics have magnified the effect of the omission by citing their aggregate area, population and political and economic importance. It is not due to oversight or wilful neglect on the part of the political leaders; they have only followed the settled policy of a generation. It would have been suicidal to depart from it on this occasion. Congressmen and Muslim Leaguers are sensible of the great place that Native States occupy in the Indian polity, and some eminent men among these have striven in the past for greater independence of action to their Durbars and better recognition of the personal status of their rulers. The opportunities that they give for the administrative capacity of Indians and the meritorious use to which those opportunities have been put are the theme of universal admiration in India. Every patriotic Indian views with pride the initiative and originality now and then displayed by ruling chiefs and looks to them to give the lead to British India in measures of social amelioration. But beyond

watching them with sympathetic interest from outside, the leaders of large movements in British India have abstained from promoting similar movements within their territories, or allowing their subjects to mix in any all-India organization. Differences of allegiance, of constitutional status and of legal systems, are sufficient to account for the separate channels in which have flowed the political lives of people in British India and Native State India, between whom however there is a community of civilization, tradition, language and material interest. The wisdom of this separateness in matters of citizenship was recognised by the Maharaja of Baroda last year and more recently by the Maharaja of Bikaner, when they declared that no interference on one side or the other was desirable. It is only the Dewan of Mysore who struck a different note the other day and demanded a place for Native States in the councils of the Government of India, which would settle vast issues in which many interests belonging to Native States were deeply involved. Salt, customs, post and télégraph, currency are only a few of the great subjects in which common action for the whole of India is essential. Sir M. Visvesvarayya showed the sagacity of a statesman who breaks new ground when he suggested that the representatives of Native States should speak and vote in the imperial legislature only on the occasions when questions of common concern were under discussion. If this suggestion could be adopted and worked into the all-India scheme of reforms, it would give the utmost satisfaction to the leaders of thought in British India; and Sir M. Visvesvarayya would render a great service to

the country if he could persuade Native States generally and the final authorities in British India to agree on a workable plan for the purpose. It is not, however, for Congressmen or Muslim Leaguers to push on with the idea actively. As Lord Islington pointed out, Native States must move in such matters of their own free will and accord. Next to the army, Native States are regarded in English political and diplomatic circles as a bulwark of empire, a sensitive and delicate part of a wonderful mechanism, from which the rough and disturbing hand of the politician must be kept at a safe distance. The ways of diplomacy are not open. The position and influence of Residents and Political Agents in respect of Native States defies definition, and there is a wall of diplomatic reserve drawn round the Native States which must be broken down before the promoters of the Congress-League scheme can try to find room in it for their representatives. They have difficulties enough already; it will not be wise to add to them by incurring the suspicion of interfering with the allegiance of ruling chiefs to the British throne or with that of the people of Native States to their ruling chiefs. The political advance of people in British India cannot but exert a stimulating influence on their brethren of the Native States. This indirect influence must tell in the long run and lead to an approximation, which may be long in coming but which can be hastened only by action from within the States and not from without.

Appendix

Resolution of the Congress

(a) That having regard to the fact that the great communities of India are the inheritors of ancient civilizations and have shown great capacity for government and administration, and to the progress in education and public spirit made by them during a century of British rule, and further having regard to the fact that the present system of government does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and has become unsuited to existing conditions and requirements, the Congress is of opinion that the time has come when His Majesty the King-Emperor should be pleased to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer Self-Government on India at an early date.

(b) That this Congress demands that a definite step should be taken towards Self-Government by granting the reforms contained in the scheme prepared by the All-India Congress Committee in concert with the Reform Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim League (detailed below).

(c) That in the reconstruction of the Empire, India shall be lifted from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the self-governing Dominions.

Resolution of the Muslim League

That the All-India Muslim League, while adopting the scheme of reforms prepared by the Reform Committee of the League and approved by its Council, submits it in conjunction with the Indian National Congress

to the Government for its introduction after the war as the first necessary step towards the establishment of complete Self-Government in India.

The Reform Scheme

I. PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

1. Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated members.

2. Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major provinces and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.

3. The members of Councils should be elected directly by the people on as broad a franchise as possible.

4. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and the Mahomedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions:—

Punjab—One-half of the elected Indian members.		
United Provinces—30 per cent.	"	"
Bengal —40 per cent.	"	"
Behar —25 per cent.	"	"
Central Provinces—15 per cent.	"	"
Madras —15 per cent.	"	"
Bombay — One-third	"	"

Provided that no Mahomedan shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils, save and except those by electorates representing special interests.

Provided further that no bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member

affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the bill or any clause thereof or the resolution.

5. The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council, but the Council should have the right of electing its President.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. (a) Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy, and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be Provincial.

(b) There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.

(c) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the province, including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation, and to vote on the budget. All items of expenditure and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue, should be embodied in bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption.

(d) Resolutions on all matters within the purview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself.

(e) A resolution passed by the Provincial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government unless vetoed by the Governor in Council, provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

(f) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

8. A special meeting of the Provincial Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

9. A bill, other than a money bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor.

10. All bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become law but may be vetoed by the Governor-General.

11. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

II. PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

1. The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.

2. There shall be in every province an Executive Council which, with the Governor, shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.

3. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils.

4. Not less than one-half of the members of the Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

5. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

III. IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

1. The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be 150.

2. Four-fifths of the members shall be elected.

3. The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible, on the lines of the electorates for Mahomedans for the Provincial Legislative Councils and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils should also form an electorate for the return of members to the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. One-third of the Indian elected members should be Mahomedans elected by separate Mahomedan electorates in the several provinces in the proportion, as nearly as may be, in which they are represented on the Provincial Legislative Councils by separate Mahomedan electorates.

Vide provisos to section I, clause 4.

5. The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions shall not be restricted to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. A special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

8. A bill, other than a money bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefor.

9. All bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor-General before they become law.

10. All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in bills. Every such bill and the budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council.

11. The term of office of members shall be five years.

12. The matters mentioned hereinbelow shall be exclusively under the control of the Imperial Legislative Council:—

(a) Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable.

(b) Provincial legislation in so far as it may affect inter-provincial fiscal relations.

(c) Questions affecting purely Imperial revenue, excepting tributes from Indian States.

(d) Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure, except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor-General in Council in respect of military charges for the defence of the country.

(e) The right of revising Indian tariffs and customs duties, of imposing, altering or removing any tax or

cess, modifying the existing system of currency and banking, and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country.

(f) Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole.

13. A resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government unless vetoed by the Governor-General in Council, provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

14. A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

15. When the Crown chooses to exercise its power of veto in regard to a bill passed by a Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Legislative Council, it should be exercised within twelve months from the date on which it is passed, and the bill shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned.

16. The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign and political relations of India including the declaration of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties.

IV. THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

1. The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.

2. He will have an Executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.

3. The Indian members should be elected by the members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

5. The power of making all appointments in the Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, due regard being paid to existing interests, subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council.

6. The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of a province, and powers not specifically given to a Provincial Government shall be deemed to be vested in the former. The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Governments.

7. In legislative and administrative matters the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, shall, as far as possible, be independent of the Secretary of State.

8. A system of independent audit of the accounts of the Government of India should be instituted.

V. THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN COUNCIL.

1. The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.

2. The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates.

3. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India, as the Secretary of State for the Colonies does

in relation to the Governments of the self-governing Dominions.

4. The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

VI. INDIA AND THE EMPIRE.

1. In any Council or other body which may be constituted or convened for the settlement or control of Imperial affairs, India shall be adequately represented in like manner with the Dominions and with equal rights.

2. Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire.

VII. MILITARY AND OTHER MATTERS.

1. The military and naval services of His Majesty, both in their commissioned and non-commissioned ranks, should be thrown open to Indians and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and instruction in India.

2. Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers.

3. Executive Officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them, and the judiciary in every province shall be placed under the highest Court of that province.

The Andhra Province.



(For & Against)



Price 6 as.

FOREWORD.

The following pages embody the discussion that has taken place so far mainly in the press on the question of an Andhra Province. Of the several questions considered at the first Andhra Conference held at Bapatla in May 1913, the greatest measure of interest and the utmost difference of opinion centred round the one relating to the province. The proposition as amended and finally passed at the Conference embodied a single request to the standing committee of the Conference to focus public opinion regarding the question and the standing committee have taken the first step in the direction by an honest attempt to collect the somewhat large volume of literature that has come into being during the last two years and present to the public the numerous opinions expressed for and against the province in a handy form. A few articles chiefly for the province could not be secured and therefore could not be published. The committee trust that this fairly full and thoroughly honest collection of views will help to develop public opinion on the question and facilitate the deliberations thereon at the ensuing sessions of the Andhra Conference.

Dec. 1913.

The Standing Committee.

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An Andhra Province.

I

WE are all grateful to the King - Emperor for the liberal announcement He made on the occasion of His coronation. It surely touched the chords of the nation. After all, as the Patrica puts it, 'the settled fact has been unsettled' and all the Bengalee speaking people have been brought under one Government.

The creation of the new province of Behar, Chota Nagapur and Orissa is significant. The Secretary of state, in his despatch to the Viceroy, gave out the reasons that actuated him in creating the new province, namely, that the language, customs and habits of the people are quite distinct from those of the Bengalees.

The self-same reason may be brought forward for the desirability of the creation of a new province in Madras. The Telugus inhabiting the twelve districts in the Madras Presidency have had in times past a brilliant history of their own. The Andhras had the privilege of ruling over India. They were very pliable. It was they who were the great promoters of Buddhism. In the Madras presidency they are still the pioneers of reform, religious as well as social.

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At Amaravti, in the Guntur District, there flourished in ancient times for a long time a university. When Europe was in the earliest stages of civilization the Andhras were enjoying the highest renown in every branch of science. With such a brilliant history behind, it is unfortunate that they are now comparatively unknown. The Editors of the Encyclopedia Britannica could not secure more than a few lines about the Andhras and their history, while their neighbours the Tamils, could furnish a great deal of information. Their languages, customs, habits and sentiments differ a good deal from those of others.

It, therefore, naturally follows on the reasoning suggested by Lord Crewe that the Telugu speaking people should be brought under a separate Government like the Beharees.

N. NARAYANAROW

(Dec. 1911.)

II

At this time, in the hey day of modern civilisation, when competition for self existence not only among individuals but also among nations is becoming keener and keener ; when man has at last learnt to his heart's content that his liberty and safety are preserved and maintained only when he attaches an equal regard to the liberty and safety of others; when man has realised that sword is not the arbiter of nation's

destinies but a high regard for justice, quality and humanity; when the highest human ideal "The Parliament of man and the Federation of the world" has spontaneously found its way to reach the common run of mankind through the inspirations of the greatest poet of the last century, the poet Laureate of the great Queen Mother; it is no "dream" nor an Utopia, nor "an impracticable ideal," that the Andhras can have a separate province, nor is it strange that an Andhra entertains and cherishes such ideas. In considering one after another the different aspects—the political, sociological, economical and religious,—in which the question of an Andhra Province is to be viewed, the political comes foremost to my view.

Why is Greece famous in the history of the world? Why is Italy called the mother of modern Europe? Every student of history knows that the history of Greece is preeminently the history of the town of Athens and the history of Italy is nothing but the history of the single town of Rome. There is no country or province in the world which has not a preeminent town of its own, to which the activity of the people may be traced. Sadly to the Andhras the capital of the Province a portion of which they occupy is almost entirely occupied by their more fortunate brothers, the people in the other portion of the province. In fact, there is no harboured city not even a port-town—any where in the Andhras-Desa. The irregular

and naturally uncared-for trade of the fishing village towns on the coramandel coast of Andhradesa can never lead to the prosperity and well-being of an ever-increasing population of the Andhras whose limited territory cannot yield sufficient food-material to meet the needs of the growing multitudes. To save the teeming millions of Andhradesa from the jaws of starvation, commerce should be developed as the handmaid of agriculture. To develop the commercial life of the Andhras a harboured city in some such place as Vizag in the Andhradesa is a need of the hour. The two primeval cities of the Province, Madras and Madura are entirely beyond the reach of Andhra influence. To support a third city in the northern half of the province at the expense of the people of the south is as much an unjust administrative policy as it is to have the northern half with no city at all. The entire resources of Andhradesa must be utilised for the benefit of the Andhras. The creation of a capital city in Andhra desa will enhance the growth of the Andhras in much the same way as the making of Delhi the capital of India will help the progress and prosperity of the Punjab. The capital is the primordial centre of activity in a province which rouses the slumbering powers in man lying hidden in the soft bed of village life which is summed up as the gratification of animal instincts, the down floor in the grand edifice of modern civilisation.

A number of officials come from the south. From this it is irrational to say that Tanjore & Kumbhakonam are the seed bed of genius while the rest of the Madrases are unitelligent. It is for the restoration of the health of this provincial organism that the circulation of the blood—the loaves and fishes of Government service—should be regular, uniform and uninterrupted. It is to the interests of the people of the South as well as those in the North that Andhradesa should be separated from the South. It should be the cherished ambition at present and the accomplished desire in future of the people in the South that Andhradesa is as well made an active unit in the United States of India as Dravida shall be. The strengthening of the unit cell is the strengthening of the national organism. It should be the aspiration of every right minded Indian that in fulness of time, and under the paternal care of the benign British Raj India shall be made a progressive country with these small states linguistically demarkated and all united under the mighty banner of England. Does this creation of Andhradesa strengthen the British Raj? The strength of a Government depends on the efficiency of its administration. The Government will be in close touch with the people and there is no special reason to say that a Lieutenant Governor of Andhradesa will prove more unpopular than the Governors of other provinces and thereby alienate the sympathies of the people. It is in the best interests of the Government that they

should have a separate administration in close touch with the people. Such a benevolent and large-hearted Viceroy as Lord Hardinge is not the man to miss this opportunity to make the administration in Andhradesa as efficient as possible. The name of Lord Hardinge cannot but be cherished as a household name by the people of India as are the names of Ripon and Canning. Thus it is clear in the interests of Andhras, the people of the South and the Government, that Andhradesa should be made a separate province.

Turn we from the political to the Sociological aspect of the question. The Andhras as they are, are scattered in different places, in different groups and under different Governments, everywhere being maltreated by others of their own province or other provinces. There is in fact no apparent identity of interest among them. Their interest is so atomically divided that when it comes into practical life it is invisible and inoperative. The feeling that the interests of all these Andhras are identical can be felt only by the existence of a common province, Andhradesa. The development of Andhradesa and its accompaniment, the awakening of intellect and the stimulus for higher culture can take place only when the identity of interest is felt and people have greater facilities of association, discussion and deliberation. Frequent association smoothens the angularities in pronunciation, idiom and grammar.

The third great aspect of the question is the economical aspect. Andhradesa is one of the most fertile tracts in India. The most fertile areas, the deltas of the Kistna and the Godavari, the largest rivers in the Madras Presidency are found in Andhradesa. Most of the raw material that is produced is either shipped to foreign countries or exported to Bombay. The creation of a trading centre at Vizag which is midway between Central Provinces and the Ceded Districts which are large cotton growing places, cannot but stimulate the idea of having cotton mills in its vicinity and the building of a harbour and opening facilities for sea communication will do much for the economic development of Andhradesa. Much can be said in volumes about the economic development of Andhradesa if it is to be made a province but I shall satisfy myself with the illustration already given. The situation of Vizag on the Coromandel coast closely resembles the situation of Bombay on the West coast. If Bombay can become a commercial centre why not Vizag ?

So it should be the foremost desire in the minds of all Indians to see that Andhradesa is made a separate province with an efficient administration strengthening the British Raj under whose benevolent care the United states of India may develop.

K. RAJESWARARAO,

(Jan. 1912.)

III

While there is enormous scope for public activity of a beneficial kind in various directions in the country, it is regrettable that some persons employ their energies in doing things which are the reverse of useful to the community at large. We read in a Telugu contemporary the following statements: "For the last two years, Andhras eagerly desirous of keeping pace with the other races in point of political, social and educational growth have started a serious agitation both in the Press and in District Conferences, for the establishment of an Andhra University and for the formation of an Andhra Province as a means of reaching the end. These two ideals are in consonance with the aim of the Government." In order to consummate the goal of an Andhra Province and an Andhra University, an Andhra Conference is suggested to be formed, and the establishment of "an English Daily under the control of the Andhras to guard the Andhra interests and resuscitate the glory of the Andhras." It is stated that "as the Madras Presidency has many races the progress of Dravidians who have stepped forward has eclipsed the greatness of the Andhras." These sentiments are contained in an article published by the *Kistna Patrika*. A separate Province for the Andhras is also advocated by a paper called the *Andhra Patrika*, published in Bombay. The same tune is taken up by the *Desabhimani* of Guntur which

says that "the Andhra province will become a realised fact if the leaders of the Andhra country heartily co-operate with the Press and the people to make the scheme a grand success." This paper after referring to the small number of Indians who have been appointed on the Public Service Commission, and to the keen disappointment felt at the Hon'ble Mr. N. Subba Row not having been appointed a member of the same notwithstanding his labours which have resulted in the establishment of the commission, writes as follows: "So our wonder increases not on account of the attitude of the Government, but the attitude of the Madrases whom Mr. Subba Row Pantulu is representing worthily in the Imperial Council. The Madras Dailies had not the grace to refer to this aspect of the question in their adverse comments upon the constitution of the Commission. Is it because the Hon. Mr. Subba Row Pantulu is an Andhra? We hope not." On the question of founding an English Daily to promote the interests of the Telugu population, we publish a letter from a correspondent to-day who strongly advocates it. It seems superfluous to point out that the interests of people as a class cannot vary by reason of their speaking different languages or living in different places. There are already too many walls of separation forbidding unification among the Indian peoples for the right-minded among them to think of devising fresh ones. We trust that the idea of agita-

ting for an Andhra Province, an Andhra University and an English Daily paper for the special benefit of Andhras, will not recommend itself for acceptance to all thoughtful Andhras, at the present stage of our country's progress.

(*The Hindu* 22-8-12)

IV

I rise from my sick bed to bless a movement, not only because a curse upon it has come from a strange quarter, but that the heart-infusing cry of "Andhra for the Andhras" is not so often heard as it ought to be. That cry is grounded on the highest kind of patriotism, and scoffers can scoff it away. Every individual who has had education to advantage and has a knowledge of Telugu literature will join in the noble cry and bear aloft the banner. I remember the smile of derision which greeted the first whisper of this strange expression. "Andhra for the Andhras! What are they at? Have they no useful deed to do that they should go in search of phantoms? Because the King's visit has changed the map of India and dotted a first province of Behar and placed another Governor, do these dreamy children hope for another province, another capital for themselves and another Governor? As well let them hope for the moon to come down to play with their children." And those

who were not Andhras laughed also, and every time the voice whispered louder and louder "Andhra for the Andhras," a selfish population that exploded Andhra laughed all the more, so as to drown the cry.

THE SPREAD.

But it was not to be drowned. Like diamond, the claim of reason, of history, of justice, sparkled on the garland of arguments. The *Indian Patriot* was the first to hoist high their diamond, and mount it in the gold of a serious, highminded, statesmanlike utterance. It gave a throb of hope and joy. Honest and truthful youths from Andhra found a golden chain in this new agitation to bind and to lift them. Rapidly, very rapidly indeed, has "Andhra for Andhras" cut itself through the icy regions of suspicions and mockery. History spread its treasures in the path of the heroes that resolved to pursue the thorny paths of early agitation. And to-day the cry is a reality. It is a real plank in the political platform of an honest and earnest race of men in the Madras Presidency, for I have ever pointed to the brave and simple Telugu, whenever I have been asked to point to the best human material in the Southern Presidency. Into this vast and silent mass of honest simplicity and courageous truthfulness, this current has spread and is spreading of an electric awakening. "Andhra for Andhras" is no dreamer's exclamation. Every day brings forth evidence of its strong base in the minds of such a sincere race of men. Remember that

the lamp of history, dim in other places, is still fresh enough in Andhra. You tread on historical ground there. The dust of an empire and the spoils of a nation are sepulchred there.

Educated men have taken up the cry. The '*Indian Patriot*' published a week ago the proceedings of a meeting held at Guntur of wealthy and influential and learned men, intent upon feeding the agitation of "Andhra for the Andhras." I prophesy that the work of agitation will be smooth. India will be surprised at the rapid yet peaceful, yet calm spread of the agitation. The sympathy of every European official who knows the Andhra and the Andhras will flow for them. Honesty is loved by honest men, and no one likes to see sharpness and cunningness by tyrannising over honesty and courageous simplicity. A good people have awakened. Education has borne the best fruit among the Andhras because it started this cry, and in this cry is deep wisdom and undying patriotism. Education has opened the eyes to the work of spoil going on under their nose. They do not want that others should rob them while they sleep, and that when they wake they find nothing. The *Indian Patriot* some time ago detailed the disadvantages under which new Andhra has developed.

THE FUTURE.

The future is full of hope. Behar is now for the Beharees. In spite of a section of selfish Bengal, Behar

will be for the Beharees, and the work of nation-building in India will progress all the more instead of being obstructed. They want Beharees in public service in Behar. They will succeed. Their protest will be heard. What is true of Behar is true of Andhra, and what has happened to Behar must happen to Andhra. Let the cry spread. Let the inner meaning live in every heart. Men, women and children will join the cry and hug the banner to their heart. Young Andhra, budding within college walls, must come to the rescue of new Andhra. Inspiration, like a spring, will spout from history. Officials will help them instead of hindering them, especially influential Europeans who have always loved that honesty should go pure and undefiled. Irresponsible lectures about there being already too many walls of separation forbidding unification among the Indian peoples for the right-minded among them to think of devising fresh ones, will have no other effect than to animate the animated hero.

THE PATH.

Let new Andhra flourish. Let there be no abuse, no acrimony in its path. Let them not spend their strength in exposing and vilifying cunning, and when cunning abuses or mocks their honesty, not pause to abuse and mock again. Theirs is a higher mission. They know their goal. Let them go straight to it. They know the shoals of selfishness that lie ambushed

across the way. They will beware. They already know how selfishness can clothe itself in high-mindedness and give lectures on nation building. Let them work, let them not return abuse. Let them not shoot sharpness as it flies. Amidst scorns and allurements and difficulties, let the stout heart beat among them. When they have reached a certain point, they can afford to turn back and scare away the wolves that follow yelling at their heels. Not until that point is reached should they waste their strength in angry words or passions. All theirs must be given to the cause. The yell of carrions will only goad them to the goal. They can inwardly laugh at the meanness that they know, lies at the bottom of the obstructing cry. To young Andhra, who in their honest indignation would scorch humbug where it lies, my special appeal; is to preserve their enthusiasm for the cause. The cause requires all. When it is attained they will be on an eminence, and the dogs will bark in vain.

No people in India are in a more favoured position than the Andhras in starting a noble agitation and gaining a noble end. They have wealth. They have sincerity. They have honesty. When honesty, earnestness and resources combine, their success must perforce follow. Their Zamindars can to-day start a dailly newspaper in English and another in Telugu. One of them the Raja of Pittapur has already done much for Telugu literature by his magnificent do-

nation, and by his great interest in the Telugu Academy. The Maharajah of Bobbili has been crying for a College for Zamindars which will be a nursing ground for the highest and noblest aspirations. In the Maharajahs of Vizayanagaram and Venkatagiri the Andhras have a reserve force which can take them up to any height. My hearty blessings on the cry of "Andhra for the Andhras." Put that cry must be unpolluted by any abuse. It must be as high, as unselfish, as noble, as patriotic as can be imagined. Otherwise the Zamindars will not join. They must join. They are the bulwarks of the country, and in the roll of landed proprietors in Madras, Andhras alone can show mighty Zamindars. They can help. They must help. They will help only when there is nothing about the cry but peace and noble ends.

ERASEN.

(*The Indian Patriot* 26-8-12)

V

In restoring the racial unity of the Bengalis and recognizing the integrity of Behar, H. M. King George and Lord Hardinge recognised the principle that language is the greatest bond of union for a compact race. Religion no doubt is a binding force. But language is the greatest tie that evokes feelings of sympathy and love. Language is the index of thought

and is the best means of communicating thought. A common language helps the free flow of ideals among men and unites them in a common bond of attachment. At present the various races of India are best differentiated by the different languages spoken by them. Each race developed its own culture, literature, civilisation and tradition peculiar to themselves according to the languages spoken by them. This peculiar growth is clearly perceptible to any student of ancient Indian history. The British Government have recognised the truth of this feature and they dealt full justice not only to the Bengali race by the removal of partition but also to the Beharees by granting them a separate province. The Beharees were different from Bengalees in racial characteristics and they did not like the grouping of the advanced Bengalis and the less advanced Beharees under one administration. They agitated for a free growth under a separate administration and the Government satisfied both the Bengalis and the Beharees by their liberal grant of separate provinces to each of them. The Behar province will shortly be equipped with all the requisites necessary for a self-sufficient, independent province. What is true of Behar is, of course, true of the other races inhabiting India. The provinces in India were not formed with any forethought. As the British conquered the various parts of India, provinces were formed according to the succession of annexation, and

not on any principle or other distinction. This haphazard grouping of different races in one province has not conduced to the full and unhampered growth of each race. The Bengali race has all along developed on its own lines under a separate administration and has proved the most advanced race in India. The only way in which the country may be divided into provinces must be on the basis of language so as to guard the interests of the rulers and ruled alike. Such an arrangement has been admitted as essential to the welfare of the country by responsible statesmen who were conversant with Indian conditions. Wrote the late Sir John Strachey the greatest Anglo-Indian official of the last century:— “A glance at the map of India will show that the political limits of the provinces have little connection with any physical characteristics. They have been fixed from time to time as the British power advanced or as the necessities of the moment required.” On the same subject Sir Bampfylde Fuller writes in his “Indian Life and Sentiment.”— “The nearest approach to the national sentiment in India is that which springs from language. It would have been well for the country had its division into provinces, for purposes of Government, followed the lines marked by race and language so as to re-inforce the sympathy which arises from similarity, by feelings of pride in the local Government. The existing administrative divisions are so

heterogenous as to have a directly contrary effect. Provinces were formed as chance befell of areas unassorted." Lord Curzon's Government in a despatch to the Secretary of State dated the 3rd December 1902, wrote that "the question of territorial redistribution in India is, indeed, in our judgment one of the most urgent and vital of the many problems for which we are at present endeavouring to find a solution." The principle underlying the territorial redistribution from the administrative point of view is well brought out in a leading article of the Times of India:—

"Take the Bombay Presidency for example. The young British officer is on arrival posted, say, to a Karnatic District. He employs a Munshi and takes considerable pains to learn Kanerese. He goes to Guzerat and as he is to remain there only for a few months, does not care to begin the study of Guzarathi which is entirely different in structure and idiom from Kanerese. In the meantime he forgets what he had learnt of the latter language. On the expiry of the six months, he is very likely assigned to a Deccan District, where the language spoken is neither Guzarathi nor Kanerese, but Marathi. Frequent transfers to places where different vernaculars are spoken are a very strong impediment in the way of acquiring a working knowledge of any one of them, let alone a scholarly mastery of its literature and history. The exigencies of the service require such transfers though

of late years every endeavour has been made to reduce them to a minimum. More than the actual transfers, the feeling that a man may be called at any moment to serve in a District where some other language may be spoken acts as a check on linguistic aspirations of the average official. A few determined men succeeded in overcoming the feeling but, for the majority it serves as a sufficient excuse to avoid an uninteresting task. The constitution of the Bengal Presidency from this point of view is an interesting experiment. It is devised on a purely linguistic basis. In all the Districts of the new Presidency the Bengali language alone is spoken. The disadvantage pointed out above will not exist in the case of officers serving in Bengal. They will have to learn only one language which will serve them during their whole official career." The famous despatch of Lord Hordinge on Provincial Autonomy enunciates the principle and gives us the ideal of self-contained administrative units autonomous in all provincial affairs, "with the Government of India above them all and possessing power to interfere in case of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern." In accordance with this ideal, Bengal and Behar have been reconstituted into separate provinces on ethnic and linguistic basis.

I have stated the principle underlying the territorial re-distribution on the basis of common language

and how it conduces to the welfare of the separate races and also efficient administration and how responsible statesmen have viewed the question. Viewing the question from the ethnic and linguistic standpoints the formation of a separate province of Andhra must appear essential and sound to any unprejudiced mind. Considering the historic importance of the Andhras as a race, the cold neglect which they receive at present is highly deplorable. The Andhras were for ages a compact, homogenous and imperial race. Their history shows that they had a brilliant career comparable with any of the modern civilised races. Their martial valour eclipsed in the past that of the other races in India, so much so, they conquered Magadha kingdom in 25 B. C. and by the end of the 2nd Century A. D. Gautamiputra Satakarni ruled the whole country between the Ganges and Kistna including the whole of Western India with Amaravathy in the Guntur District as the capital of the Andhra Empire. This all-Indian Empire lasted till the end of 5th century, a period of full four centuries— a very long period, indeed, for any of the great empires of yore, either Roman, Babylonian or Assyrian. Even after the Andhras lost their hold in Northern India, the fire of nationalism was kept up by rulers like Rudrama Devi and Pratapa Rudra Deva, who brought all the Andhras under one rule with Warangal as the capital. The heroic deeds of Palnad heroes

are themselves sufficient to rouse the imagination and the self-respect of the present-day Andhras. The later history of Vizianagar Empire, as a glance at Sowell's *Forgotten Empire* will show, was remarkable for the spread of Andhra rule and Andhra civilisation in the whole of Southern India and the splendour of the capital, as described by foreigners who visited the place under the reigns of Andhra kings, will eclipse that of the modern Babylon. The ruins of Hampi and the architectural beauty of Tirumala Naick's palace in Madura cannot but bring grief to the Andhras of the present day. Unfortunately for us, the deeds of our ancients had not been preserved in the excellent poetry that adorns the Telugu literature and our poets busied themselves with the development of some Puranic story into Prabandhams. Still, while many races of India forgot a sense of their historic individuality the Andhras have even today preserved their ancient name and feel a certain unity and distinct entity and the word 'Andhra' is not coined at present to give a dignity or novelty to the present movement. With this distinct sense of separate entity the Andhras live amidst three different nationalities in the Madras Presidency. This union of heterogenous races in one province is injurious to the free and unhampered growth of each race.

INFLUENCE OF THE CAPITAL.

Madras, the capital of the Presidency is situated outside the skirts of the Telugu country and the language which has greater currency there is Tamil. The capital is the place which sends out rays of influence to the mofussil and the progress of the latter often depends upon the nature of metropolitan influence. The southern country had long ago been connected with Madras by railway and a net work of schools and colleges spread English education and culture far sooner than in the northern portion of the presidency. The alliance of language and culture naturally gave a preponderating influence to southerners at Madras and the position was taken advantage of to spread into every place and position in the Andhra country. The Andhras were slow to feel a sense of their low position and when they really felt their subordinate position in their own country, matters became hard to rectify. The Telugu literature received very little recognition from the mixed syndicate of the Madras University and the composition of Telugu Text-Books Committee will bear out the truth of my contention. The Indian dailies at Madras are conducted by non-Telugu gentlemen and they naturally bring to the forefront the claims and grievances of their respective races. When any high post, carrying with it the administrative ability of Indians, falls vacant, the eyes of the English press at Madras fall

upon some one of their own race and; naturally the claims of the Andhras are ignored by the Government, because they base public opinion on the views of the English press. It may be unpleasant here to note in detail, when and how the claims of capable Andhras were ignored for want of proper representation. One cannot boldly say that there are not capable Andhras deserving the high recognition. The Maha Raja of Bobbili as the first executive council member at Madras discharged his onerous duty with credit and satisfaction. The Hon. N. Subba Rao Pantulu garu ably represents Madras in the Imperial Legislative Council and was instrumental in bringing about the Public Service Commission for doing justice to the claims of Indians in the higher grades of public service and the Madras dailies did not notice the omission of this Madras representative from the Commission with regret in their comments on the constitution of the Commission. The representatives from the Andhra country Hon. Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao Pantulu and Hon. Mr. Kesava Pillai are the foremost in the Madras Legislative Council in fighting for the people's rights. These instances show that talent is not wanting in the Andhra country but it requires favourable conditions for bringing out the latent faculties and inner capacity of the Andhras. It is opportunities that contribute to the progress of any nation and sufficient opportunities cannot present themselves for the Andhras, so

long as the capital is situated outside the skirts of the Telugu country and so long as the Telugus are one in many as they are at present in the presidency. The location of the capital town in the midst of the Andhra country will create such opportunities for the onward march of the Andhra race. An instance or two may illustrate the present position. The M. A. class was opened in the Rajahmundry College while Mr. Mark Hunter was the principal of the College. A number of Telugu M. A.'s came into existence and after his transfer to the Presidency College the number has diminished. The Training College at Rajahmundry produced a number of Telugu L. Ts and nearly all the Sub-Assistant Inspectors of Schools in the Telugu Districts are now Telugus. Now that the College is abolished the chances of Telugus to become trained graduates in future are indeed few and far between. The Andhra press was unrepresented in the Delhi Durbar and the matter did not receive the notice of the Government then.

LEGISLATIVE POINT OF VIEW

The disadvantage of a want of a separate province will be more apparent in matters of legislation. The *Indian Patriot* tersely puts the matter thus:— "In an administrative arrangement wherein the local point of view is subordinated to other conceptions and views where sympathy is sought at the expense of the

smaller interest, it is certainly to the interests of the latter to be treated separately. This is more so in matters of legislation than administration." For example, the Raja of Kollengode brought a bill with the sincere desire to reform the law relating to the Malabar Inheritance in the Madras Legislative Council but the representatives of the other races knew very little of the peculiar social laws of Malabar and did not help the honourable member much in his sincere attempts at progress. Likewise any legislative measure pertaining specially to the Andhras will receive the same fate at the hands of the mixed representatives and progress will thus be marred. Large undertakings in the Andhra country did not receive much support from the Madras Government. The Vizagapatam Harbour-scheme which may convert Vizagapatam into another Bombay and which will converge all the trade from the Central Provinces, Bengal and Andhra country to that spot and will eventually make the Andhra Desa a great trading centre, is being thrown into the background, while less important schemes in the south are gaining fruition. The fact of the matter is that the influence of the south prevails at Madras in all-branches of life, so that the questions relating to the northern part of the Presidency receive no due recognition.

Granting that the Andhra Province is necessary for the full development of the Andhra race, is the

vinces. There are 175 large Native States and 600 small. All these have no comparison with one another in extent and population. The extent of Burma is 2,37,000 miles. population is 10,490,6. The extent of Bengal is 84,728⁰⁴² square miles. population is 46,000,000. The extent of Nizam's dominions is 82,698, population is 12,500,000 income Rs 17,000,000 ; while the extent of Travancore is 700 Sq miles, population 3,500,000 income Rs. 2,000,000. When separate rights are to be maintained, it is evident that provinces are formed without considering population extent, or income. The provinces in existence during the times of Hindu Kings did not last in the reign of Mahomedans. The provinces in the reign of Mahomedans considerably changed in the British rule. Under the British rule, provinces were changed twice within ten years. Even districts are reorganised for the sake of efficient administration. The Twenty-one Districts of the Madras Presidency were increased to 25 and the provinces were changed into 12 and in course of time the provinces may be divided into many more provinces. Ireland has long been a part and parcel of Grand Britain and enjoys the full benefits British citizenship. She sends 103 members to the British Parliament. Yet it is deemed fit in the interests of good administration that Ireland must be a separate entity, with a separate Parliament. The Telugu speaking population is about 25,000,000 ac-

present area peopled by Andhras sufficient for a separate administration in point of extent, population, and revenue? Judging from the provinces in all civilised countries, the formation of a province does not necessarily depend upon the extent, population or financial condition. Switzerland for example is 15,951 square miles in extent with a population of 3,315,343 and with an income of Rs. 86,250,000. The country is divided into 22 cantons according to the different races and languages. Every canton has an Independent administration of its own. All the cantons are equally responsible for the good administration of the Republic. In the country German, French, Italian and Roman languages are spoken. Switzerland is an example where different races speaking different languages live in one country and co-operate in the administration of the country, though they belong to different provinces and the Swiss are a nation in the accepted sense of the term. The United States of America is divided into 45 different independent states which are dissimilar in extent. Columbia the smallest of the states is 70 square miles in area. There are not more than 7 states altogether whose area exceeds 1,00,000 square miles each. In Australia Tasmania is 26,215 miles in extent and yet it is a separate province. Nova Scotia in Canada although it is 25,218 miles in extent and 4,59,574 in population is a separate province. British India is divided into 12 pro-

cording to the census of 1911. According to the Census of 1901, the Telugus in the Madras Presidency were 14,276,509 in number. In 1903, 04, the land cess collected in the Madras Presidency was Rs. 60,000,000 and in that amount Rs. 35,000,000 were collected from the Andhra Country. This amount comes to more than half of the total amount. The extent of the Madras Presidency is 1,91,705 square miles. The extent of Telugu country is 91,516 square miles. The Telugu speaking area comprises 11 Districts, the Northern Circars, the Ceded Districts, Nellore and Chittore Districts. If this area be added to the Telugu-speaking area in Central Provinces, it will be as large as the present Bombay Presidency. According to the Census of 1901, the Telugu-speaking population in the Central Provinces was 1,29,287. With the present revenue it yields, the extent and population it has, the Andhra country will surely be a big enough province for a Governor and an Executive Council and will be self-supporting. If the Vizagapatam Harbour Scheme should succeed Madras Presidency cannot in the nature of things be ruled under one administration. Barring Burma, Madras Presidency is the biggest province in India, and there is no reason why for general convenience and administrative efficiency it should not be divided into two or more. The new province will be as big as if not bigger than many of the independent countries and

States of Europe or America and provincial autonomy can best be secured by having small provinces each having self sufficient administrative autonomy and the formation of a separate Andhra Province is in consonance with the ideal of provincial autonomy as set forth in the famous despatch of the Government. Even supposing that the new province cannot be a major province and have all the rights of one, the bringing of all the Andhras under one administration is itself a great step forward from the present state of things and it will help the compact, harmonious, free and full growth of the Andhras and will contribute to the formation of an advanced and efficient Andhra race. But even in the case of Minor Provinces the policy of Government is to confer the Legislative Council, Executive Council and even a High Court and University. The new province of Bihar will have all these requisites and even Central Provinces Governed by a commissioner has a Legislative Council and is going to have an Executive Council. So there is no fear that the rights to the people will be curtailed by having a small province in place of the unwieldy one.

In enunciating the policy of Government in the matter of University education, Mr. Montagu said in the recent Indian Budget debate in the House of Commons! "After the step taken in 1904, when the area within which each University could exercise the

power of affiliation was demarcated, the next step will be to reduce the area over which each University exercises jurisdiction."

Granting then that the Andhra Movement will aid the rapid progress of the Andhras, the opponents of the Andhra Movement naturally ask 'Does not the movement retard the formation and unity of Indian Nationality and set back the tide of progress, which the Indian National Congress has been striving to attain for these long years?' The answer to this depends upon the view one takes of Indian Nationality. Indian Nationality consists not of one homogeneous race with one religion, a common language and a common tradition, culture and civilisation. India consists of various races with peculiar culture, language and tradition and with unequal degrees of development in civilisation. The Telugu, the Tamil, the Bengalee and the Maharata have different lines of progress, though fortunately they have come under one rule, that of Britain. The British rule no doubt removed many racial angularities and peculiarities and the educated amongst these different races in India are given a common culture. But the special peculiarities which mark one race from the other cannot be entirely wiped away by the stroke of the pen. The idea of introducing Hindi as the universal language in India is chimerical in the extreme and even if it were possible it cannot of itself wipe away the distinctions and

fuse all the races into one homogenous Indian nationality and such a consummation is not even desirable. Better remain as we are than attain the Indian Nationality by such a heavy sacrifice of our mother-tongue and the beautiful Andhra literature which is the treasure of hoary ages, and by the adoption of a language with a second rate literature in place of the Italian of the East. The Bharata of Tikkana, the works of Potana or of Pingala Surana cannot be effaced from the memory of the Andhras as long as Telugu literature lasts. The future politician has to recognise these features of the several races, before raising the cry of Indian Nationality and before decrying the racial and provincial consciousness of the several races. India is a continent in itself. Each race in India is a unit in the Indian Nationality. The efficiency of units conduces to the efficiency of the whole. The mingling of unequally developed units does not and cannot constitute an efficient whole. A weak Andhra race means a weak Indian Nationality. Unless the parts of a whole are fully developed the whole cannot have harmonious growth. The comparative growth of one part at the expense of the other leads to deterioration and brings about disease in the organism. Likewise the free and full growth of several Indian races on their own lines contributes to the solid growth of the Indian Nationality as a whole. The ultimate aim of all Indians is the formation of an Indian Nationality.

Consistent with that ideal, let the several Indian races progress and contribute their fair share in the formation of the Indian Nationality. Let none be envious of the progress of others. Develop yourselves. Let not hatred, jealousy, and ill-feeling come in the way of your conscientious work for the development of your own race and let your work harmonise with the ultimate ideal of Indian nationality. The future Indian nation, will not be one homogenous nation, where all the races are fused into one even mass. But it will be a federated Indian Nationality, where each race having to play its own part without detriment to the Indian Nation and having developed equally successfully, co-operates with each other for the good of India. That is the ideal of nationality throughout the modern world. Switzerland is a parallel to India and the Swiss are one nation. The United States of future India under the ægis of Great Britain will have to work on the same lines as the United States of America and must have the American nation as an example to imitate consisting as it does of heterogeneous races like India. This division of India into small self-contained administrative units will promote the efficiency as a united Indian Nationality instead of marring the unity of the Indian nation as some anticipate.

Sir,— This movement has assumed special significance in view of the line adopted by Mr. Sly, I.C.S., of the Royal Commission in cross examining witnesses. He tried to establish that there was a public agitation in favour of “Travancore for the Travancoreans,” “Mysore for the Mysoreans” and “the Andhra country for the Telugus.” It is, therefore, time to understand clearly what the Andhra movement stands for. The question is whether it connotes the same idea as “the Andhra country for Telugus,” at any rate, whether the “agitation in favour of the Andhra country for the Telugus” is an integral part of the Andhra movement. Mr. Sly elicited from the Dewan of Travancore that a rule was recently passed by the Travancore Government prohibiting the employment of outsiders except under special circumstances and that too, with the sanction of His Highness the Maharajah. It appears that the Mysore Government recently passed a rule restricting competition for the Mysore Civil Service to the natives of Mysore alone, though during these many years Madrases found entrance into the Mysore Service. I was not aware of this rule at the time of my examination before the Commission. Mr. Sly apparently wanted to make out that this feeling of excluding outsiders was not confined to those two Native States alone, but extended to British India as well. He cross-examined me about a “public agitation” in favour of “the

Andhra country for Telugus." He evidently wished to prove from these circumstances that simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service would be unsuitable, as people belonging to one part of this country would resent being governed by those of other parts and that the institution of "Simultaneous Examinations" would cause deep discontent and would be a danger to the good Government of the country. To emphasize this point, he laid stress upon the result of the all-India competitive examinations held to recruit officers to the Finance Department of the Government of India. He pointed out that out of 35 successful candidates during these years there were so many as 17 "who were residents of Southern India" that found entrance into the Finance Department. His attitude on the subject would be clear from the following questions:—

"Do you think that it would be acceptable to Northern India that a large proportion of successful candidates in the service should be Madrasees?"

"If there was a large proportion of Madrasees, do you think it would be really for the good of the country?"

"You think it would?"

He thus seemed to argue that if simultaneous examinations were held for the Indian Civil Service, there would be a large number of Madrasees who

would come out successful, that it would not be "really to the good of the country", that a large number of them should find entrance into the Indian Civil Service, and that they would not be "acceptable" to the people of Northern India.

Hence it would be clear that the "agitation" in favour of "the Andhra country for Telugus," as interpreted by Mr. Sly, has special reference to employment in the Public Service and to the alleged feeling on the part of the Telugus that the Andhra country should be made a preserve for them only, and that outsiders should not find entrance to the Public Service in the Telugu Districts. When, therefore, after examining me about the agitation in favour of "Travancore for the Travancoreans" and "Mysore for the Mysoreans" Mr. Sly asked me whether there had been "another agitation in favour of the Andhra country for the Telugus," I replied that it was not supported by a large class of people or shared by any responsible (representative) persons or leaders of the community and that I for one had not joined such an agitation. I further stated that I had (recently) expressed my opinion that the Telugu community "ought not to hanker after offices and after political privileges," "otherwise they will be creating bickerings, jealousies and discord and retard the healthy progress of the community." I am afraid my answer did not satisfy him, and he seemed to challenge the correct-

ness of my statement that the agitation was not shared by a large class of people or by the leaders of the community. The information on which he relied might be gathered from his further questions on the subject; "That is your own opinion?"

"At the same time, there has been a public agitation in favour of 'Mysore for the Mysoreans' and 'the Andhra country for the Telugus and others?'" You will see how the Andhra movement has apparently been construed by gentlemen of the standing of Mr. Sly as one directed to getting offices and emoluments and placed on the same footing as the cry of "Travancore for the Travancoreans" and "Mysore for the Mysoreans."

In my next article, I shall deal with the Andhra movement and the question of constituting the Telugu Districts into a separate Province.

Rajahmundry, }
30th January 1913. }

N. SUBBARAU.

Sir,— Having disposed of the question of 'the Andhra country for the Telugus,' as interpreted by Mr. Sly, I shall now proceed to consider whether the proposal made for constituting the Telugu Districts into a separate province is an integral part of the movement. In dealing with this question, I feel that I am at a disadvantage, as I have not had the benefit

of discussing it with those who have organized the Andhra Conference or who favour the creation of an Andhra province. As my information on the subject is entirely derived from what has appeared in the Press, I hope I shall be pardoned if I may not have fully grasped the different bearings of the question. The proposal has found warm advocates in some quarters and it has formed the subject of much correspondence and comment in the Press. Opinion is naturally divided on such an important question. Even its most ardent advocates, I believe, do not urge that the public service in the new province should be shut against all those belonging to other parts of India. In fact it would be impossible to do so in a British province where the highest service is, under the statute, open to all natural born subjects of His Majesty. In the Teluga Districts, there are now as many communities, races and creeds in the public service, such as Mahommadans, Christians, Tamils, Cananese, Mahrattas etc, as there are in the rest of the Presidency and it would make very little difference hereafter whether they are recruited from the new or the neighbouring province. The question of recruitment for the public service, therefore, is of little importance. As Dr. B. Pattabhi Saramayya of Masulipatam said in a recent communication it is "to vulgarize the Andhra movement by equating it to a desire for posts."

The main argument which is urged in favour of the proposal is that at present Telugu people are handicapped in the race of life, that the Government having to deal with diverse communities speaking different languages cannot be expected to adjust its machinery and its policy to suit the peculiarities and needs of the Andhras ; whereas if the Telugu Districts were separated and constituted into a new province, more care and attention would naturally be given for the development of the province and the advancement of the Telugus in harmony with their traditions, environment and genius. It would then be more easy to have a separate University established for the Telugu Districts and the Telugu language and literature would then receive proper encouragement and make rapid progress. It is pointed out that the Andhras are a historic race numbering about 15 millions in this Presidency alone and that their ancestors sat on the throne of Magadha and their conquests extended at one time as far as Cape Comorin. They are a gifted race as well, susceptible to new ideas and they would have a great future before them, if sufficient facilities for their development were provided, which could best be done by creating an Andhra province. In fact it is urged that the demand for a separate province is on the same footing as the recent agitation for the separation of "the over-weighted and neglected." Behar from Bengal, her more prosperous and influ-

ential neighbour. The case for constituting Telugu Districts into a separate province has not been better put than by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Who can resist being attracted by the fascinating picture of an Andhra province presided over by a Governor and an Executive Council, composed partly of Andhra members, with an Andhra University and an Andhra High Court, whose proceedings are duly chronicled in the Andhra dailies eagerly read by hundreds of Andhras in remote villages? Can we blame some of our young men who, fascinated by such a picture, indulge in language in no way complimentary to those who may not be enchanted by this vision (vide the Madras correpondent's letter to the 'Andhra, of Guntur' dated 24th January 1913.)

After all that is said in favour of the proposal it must be conceded that the arguments put forward in favour of a new province would apply with equal cogency to the different communities inhabiting this continent. The disabilities and disadvantages to which Telugas are subject are common to several other communities in different provinces. In fact it may well be argued that the more backward a community is, the greater the need for placing it under a separate administration. But one thing is clear. Whether the Andhra province comes into existence, or not, if this agitation is continued, it would certainly strengthen the hands of the Oriyas who have been persistently

agitating that the Oria portion of the Ganjam District should be cut off from the Madras Presidency and added on to Orissa,— an agitation against which the Telugus of Ganjam have been as vigorously protesting. According to the census of 1911 there are in the Ganjam District, Telugus numbering 839,449 in the plains and 6,000 in the Agency, total 843,449 as against Oriyas numbering 958,661 in the plains and 132,392 in the Agency, total, 1,091,053, leaving out of account 275,329 persons speaking other languages. I am sure that the Andhras of Ganjam would not be grateful to their brethern of these parts if the result of the agitation should be that a portion of the Ganjam District is added on to Orissa without the creation of an Andhra Province.

I may say that I am of opinion that it would be to the good of each community, at any rate, each important community, and helpful to their rapid and healthy advancement, if they could be placed under a separate administration. But the proposal to constitute provinces as far as possible according to languages, involves administrative changes of such a far reaching character that I shall be glad to see a practical scheme worked out, at least for the proposed Andhra province with its summer and winter capitals, with its University and its chief or High Court, if any. I have no fear that the establishment of a new province would, as is imagined by some create

n ew walls of separation and further retard the growth and formation of an Indian nationality. To my mind the problem of the Indian nationality has to be solved in each home, in each caste, in each village and in each town and when that is done, the constitution of provinces according to languages would not stand in the way. On the other hand, if such a scheme could be devised it would facilitate the fusion of people in each Province and pave the way for the speedier realization of the Indian nationality.

N. SUBBARAU.

Date:— Feb. 4. 1913.

Sir,— I have been trying to work out this problem of constituting the Telugu Districts into ^a separate Province. As far as I can see portions of the plains in the Ganjam District as well as the whole of the Agency of the Ganjam District and a greater portion of the Agency of the Vizagapatam District shall have to go to Orissa, the Telugu speaking people in the Ganjam Agency being only 6,000 against 1,32,392 Oriya-speaking people and in the Vizagapatam Agency the Telugu-speaking people being 1,70,626 against 4,73,437 Oriya-speaking people. A portion of the Bellary District would have to be added to the Bombay Presidency, as there are only 320,693 Telugu-speaking people as against 5,34,479 Canarese-

speaking people in that District, perhaps some portions of the Chittore District as well which has officially been declared to be bilingual, might have to be added to the neighbouring Tamil district as there are 2,68,821 Tamil-speaking people, being between a third and a fourth of the Telugu-speaking people therein. The real Telugu Districts with the feudatory state of Banginapalli would then contain a Telugu-speaking population of nearly 15 millions with another million speaking Tamil, Hindustani, Mahrattee, Canarese and other languages.

Under these circumstances, I do not know whether the head of the administration of the proposed Andhra Province would be only a Chief Commissioner as in the Central Provinces which has a population of about 15 millions. I for my part would not care to have the new Andhra Province under a chief Commissioner and I should prefer to be under the present form of Government with a Governor in Council.

Apparently, the difficulties I have had in dealing with this question have not been lost sight of by those responsible for organising the Andhra Conference who are no doubt cognisant of differences of opinion on the subject "among the members of the committee and also amongst those outside it" For in the notice issued on the 13th October last by Messrs.

K. Venkatappayya and V. Bhavanachary, as Secretaries of the Andhra Conference, convening the First Andhra Conference in the ensuing summer and suggesting subjects for consideration, no reference was made to any proposal for constituting the Telugu Districts into a separate Province. Again, the carefully drawn-up letter published by them in the Press on the 23rd January last explaining the scope of the Andhra movement, no mention whatever was made of this proposal for the creation of a new province nor was it even hinted at in the pamphlet published a few days ago on "the Andhra movement" under the authority of the Conference Committee at Guntur. It is stated therein that the chief work of the movement will be—

1. Creating among the people a greater love for education, culture and high ideal and making provision for their special educational needs by representation to the Government and by other means ;
2. Studying the agricultural and commercial conditions of the country and concerting measures for their progress by creating a spirit of Co-operation, and by developing mutual trust and confidence ;
3. Stimulating interest in sanitation, health and physical culture and suggesting the means of promoting the physique of the present generation ;
4. Promoting the development of Telugu

Literature by encouraging the publication of books in the Vernacular, which are intended to convey the principles of modern culture and enlightenment to the matter ;

5. Securing the advancement of the claims of the Telugus in Public Service."

In view of these facts, I believe, I am not wrong in concluding that the proposal to constitute the Telugu Districts into a separate province is not an integral part of the Andhra movement. In my opinion the Andhra Conference Committee have done well in not making the question of an Andhra Province—a plank in the Andhra movement. It is not right to raise unnecessary hopes and expectations of an Andhra Province, which would divert attention from the real and substantial work before us, requiring the untiring energy, the unbounded enthusiasm and the whole hearted sacrifice of all the workers available in the country. Besides it would cause friction interfering with the "chief work" of the movement as defined by the Secretaries—work, the first four items of which, I am sure, ought to satisfy the aspirations of the most ambitious patriot in the Telugu Districts which could not be hoped to be completed till after the most strenuous endeavour of some generations.

As Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya pointed out in

his communication published in the Press on the 30th August last, "if the needs of the Government should ever decide upon a division of the Madras Presidency there would be nothing unseemly in the Andhras desiring a separate Andhra Province." No doubt the Dravidian races like brothers of one family have till now been living in amity and good-will under one (British) administration, though they had their quarrels in the past. The Tamils had a good start in the race of life and claim superiority by reason of their enterprise and intellectuality. They, like other communities, are proud of their past and the predominant position they occupy at present in almost all walks of life. Treating of Ceylon, Bishop Caldwell writes "wherever money is to be made, wherever a more apathetic or a more aristocratic people is waiting to be pushed aside, thither swarm the Tamilians, the Greeks or the Scotch of the East, the least superstitious and the most enterprising and persevering race of Hindus." The Tamil country can point to their three cities with a population of more than a lakh and seven cities with a population of more than half a lakh, whereas all the eleven Telugu Districts put together had not a single city at the Census of 1901 and have been able at the recent census to enter one city just over half a lakh. The architectural edifices on the banks of the Cauvery, the Vagai and the Tambraparni attract visitors from foreign shores, not to speak of thousands

from different parts of India. The Tamils claim that they have produced an indigenous literature second only in importance and antiquity to Sanskrit in the literatures of India. They are proud that theirs is the only Vernacular literature in India which has not been content with imitating Sanskrit but has honourably attempted to emulate and outshine it. The Tamil country has produced the great Ramanuja and a galaxy of Alvars of varied castes who have found an honoured place in the temples of Southern India. The Tamils have developed a religion and philosophy on their own lives, known as *Saiva Siddhanta* which Dr. Pope regards as the "most influential and undoubtedly the most intrinsically valuable of the religions of India" and whose orthodox Vellala followers have adopted a strictly vegetarian diet, eschewing all liquor and claim to rank as high as the Brahmins in their intellectuality and purity of life. The Tamils are proud of their distinguished statesmen, administrators, judges, jurists, lawyers, and educationists and who adorn the modern annals of Southern India. A merchantile section of the Tamil community has established business centres in Rangoon, Singapur, Siam and far off Shanghai and are beginning to open branches even in England and their enterprise, organization and charities are the envy of their neighbours. Though the other Dravidian races like some younger brothers have lagged behind, they are strenuously endeavouring

to make up lost ground and become effective units in the building of the Indian nationality. There is no cause for despair. On their part the Telugus spread themselves over the South to such an extent that even to-day there are more than two and half millions of Telugu-speaking people in different Tamil Districts whereas the Tamils in all the Telugu Districts including Chittore do not number more than half a lakh. The time must come when this family of Dravidian races would become too large to commodiously live under one roof and when such a day comes the creation of an Andhra Province would be found to be an imperious necessity and it would certainly give a powerful impetus to the growing public spirit of the Telugu people and the rapid development of the Andhra country in all directions.

Rajahmundry,

N. SUBBA RAU.

Date:— Feb. 6. 1913.

VII

Sir,— The Andhra country, and likewise the rest of the province, is greatly obliged to Mr. Subbarao Pantulu for his articles regarding the Andhra movement. It is to be wished that all the past, present and future leaders of the community, the honourables, ex-honourables, the would-be-honourables, the 'responsibles' and the representatives had expressed their views and opinions regarding the Andhra

movement in the same manner as Mr. Subbarow has done, but in a more clinching and less non-committal fashion. Mr. Subbarow's articles have not covered what he would regard as the constructive phases of the movement (phases other than the cry for a province) and it is likely either that he will take them up later on or not take them up at all, as they are more or less of a non-contentious character, relating as they do to the moral and material, mental and physical, religious and social, economic and industrial, educational and archæological, literary, scientific and technical, cultural and agri (horti, seri—, pisi—) cultural, indeed anything but political aspects of communal development. We look to them in vain for any definite declaration of opinions, any over-powering statement of facts or any convincing presentation of arguments, or perhaps these were not necessary as any particular conclusions do not seem to have been either or aimed or arrived at and therefore did not require to be buttressed up by an array of facts, arguments and opinions. What we rather find in the articles is what John Morley calls "a wise sense in forming opinions, a wise reserve in expressing them, and a wise tardiness in realizing them."

What he grants in theory he denies in practice. What he admits in principle, he condemns on grounds of expediency. A high and uplifting ideal

recognized and recommended by him as such is surrendered on account of the friction that may be involved in working it out. He is "of opinion that it would be to the good of each community, at any rate each important community, and helpful to their rapid and healthy advancement if they could be placed under a separate administration. But he fears it may not be easy to fix the summer and winter capitals and the seats of a University and a High (Chief) Court. He has "no fear that the establishment of a new province would, as is imagined by some, create new walls of separation and further retard the growth of an Indian Nationality," but he avers that the proposal of a separate province would cause friction interfering with the chief work of the movement as defined by the Secretaries of the Andhra Conference Committee." (Friction- how and why, he does not tell.) The population of the Telugus and the extent of land occupied by them may justify the demand for a separate province, but how would Ganjam, he asks, manage Oriya problem there? A province may be granted, but shall we submit to the rule of a Chief Commissioner? To put the whole thing briefly "the creation of an Andhra Province would one day be considered to be an imperious necessity, but (such a day is not yet and) the time must come when this family of Dravidian races would become too large to commodiously live under one roof." The Telugus may

be granted a province, but would not the Malayalees ask for one? Caldwell is quoted to support the superiority of the Tamils, but the Telugus are told there is no cause for despair. All these fears, doubts, difficulties and antitheses require close and careful examination. When once the theory of a separate province is granted, and the principle of a separate administration admitted, there can be no difficulty which will prove insurmountable, no power on earth that can stay the progress of events. Far off Ganjam, distant Bellary and borderland Chittore will have to be prepared to forego a portion of their respective territories and even then to remain bilingual. That cannot be helped. We may on the contrary snatch a portion of the Central Provinces (to which, by the way, Mr. Subbarow Pantulu makes no reference) and thus increase our extent as well as our population to the respectable proportions of a Governorate (or at least a Lieut-Governorate), so that if even if we lose all the Oryas of Ganjam and Vizag, Kanarese of Bellary and Tamils of Chittore, numbering according to Mr. Subbarow 1,409,129 from out of the 17,240,578 population of the Telugu Districts, we may hope to add at least a sixth of the 15 million population of the Central Provinces and thus attain to the responsibility of Bombay which had only a population of 18,559,561 in 1901 and must have had a considerably smaller population than is represented by the

Telugus now when first it was constituted a regulation province. We must confess we cannot snatch any slices from Hyderabad or Mysore. Difficulties altogether insuperable lie that way. If the Telugus are granted a province it is feared the Malayalces will put forward their claims for separate recognition. We welcome such a demand and I for one would give priority to their claims recognizing as we all must that they are 4½ millions and are quite numerous enough for a divisional Commissionership, that they have laws of tenure and inheritance so wholly peculiar that it is nothing short of absurdity to yoke them to the Tamils or the Telugus or to both. The future map of India will have indeed to be recast in a measure which may very soon confound us and the geography we have learnt. The Malayalces may have to stand apart, portions of the Madras Presidency may have to be given to Bombay, the Central Provinces may have to be considerably dwarfed, portions being given over to Bombay and to Madras. Guzerat and the Guzeratis may claim separate entity leaving the Maharattas of Bombay and C. P. as one unit. Behar already stands apart and the Uriyas may one day have their own integrity recognized. It was by the operation of no natural laws that the present provinces came into existence. Later conquests were super-added to pre-existing possessions and a rough demarkation was made out between huge tracts of

country. Nor need we bemoan that the existing forms of administration, jurisdiction and rulership will remain perpetuated for ever. Fifteen millions need not always be equated to Chief Commissioner-ship. And after all a Chief Commissioner is not one always to be feared nor a Governor one to be enamoured of. If Mr. Subbarow Pantulu for one would not care to be under a Chief Commissioner, I for one would immensely prefer to be under a Chief Commissioner like Sir Henry Cotton, a Lieut. Governor like Sir John Hewett, Sir Antony Mac Donell or Sir James Meston as against a Governor like Lord Sandhurst or Sir Arthur Lawley. After all two factors must be recognized, one is that civilian antecedents do not *ipso facto* destroy human sympathies nor does the absence of them always breed a democratic instinct. Individuals have to be judged on their own merits as the truism goes. The second is that the days of bureaucracy itself are numbered. As Mr. V. P. Madhava Row said the other day, 'the bureaucracy has failed to understand the needs of the people and the requirements of the time. Rule by the servants of the company, which at one time became transferred to the servants of the Crown, will very soon have to be transferred from the servants to the subjects of the Crown themselves. The civil servants will then as Mr. Madhava Row said, and as their name implies, be the servants of the public. Under these circumst-

ances shall we still cling to the delusion that conditions of administration and appointment, of power and authority will remain at the end of a decade or two much the same as they were a decade or two ago? Chief Commissioners have been saddled with Legislative Assemblies and Lieutenant Governors with Executive Councils. A Chief Commissioner may one day become a Commissioner in council. The day is not far off when the Indians themselves will be responsibly associated with the full work of administration. This is the significance, if not the actual meaning, of the recent reforms, and until lately it formed the burden of all the speeches and the counsels by which the elders sought to restrain the unbridled enthusiasm of the youngsters. It is the irony of fate and time that the youngsters have now to repeat it in order to widen the outlook of the elders.

When a new scheme is set on foot, all that we are privileged to do is to examine whether it is inherently sound in principle, and fairly workable in practice. The best of schemes in the world have numerous defects and drawbacks in them and it is not the part of statesmanship to pause to scan them and to condemn the scheme itself on account of them. We have set forth the merits of the scheme, we have sketched the claims advanced on behalf of it, and so long as the demerits and disqualifications do not outweigh the former, so long should the scheme be

admitted to be proper and valid and workable. Mr. Subbarow Pantulu speaks of friction. Whether he means thereby conflict between the problem of a province and the several problems of moral and material progress regarded as the legitimate factors of the Andhra movement or whether he speaks of real ill-will and ill-feelings between communities, it is not clear. That probably he does not mean the latter is suggested by a quotation already made that he does not apprehend the demand for a province as likely to create new walls of separation. If he meant the former, we cannot think of any conflict at all, for all that the cry for a province requires is a little crying, a little of cogent reasoning and a little more of courageous presentation of facts and calm appreciation of arguments. A resolution, a few articles and a few more speeches, above all, honest convictions and conscientious expression of them— it is these that the problem of a province demands and they do not conflict with any labours, however strenuous, directed towards other aims and objects. The purpose of quoting Bishop Caldwell is not apparent, for it is easy to quote better evidences than those of a clergyman in support of Andhra traditions, but these Mr. Subbarow Pantulu does not dispute and it is unnecessary to pursue this aspect further. But there is the formidable fact of three municipalities in the south aspiring to be cities whereas in the north there is only

one. If Masulipatam had not been washed away twice by the tidal wave during the past century and a quarter, there would have been 60,000 people more to carry on this controversy *re* the Andhra movement. If the East Coast Railway had been constructed a couple of decades earlier, if the sea at Masulipatam had not receded and become shallow for 10 miles, if the scheme of a harbour for Vizagapatam had been accomplished, if Agricultural, Commercial, Forest and Training Colleges had been established in the north by a beneficent Government there would have been not three but thirteen cities here. It is fruitless to raise such trivial issues. It only leads to the bandying of words and arguments. A thousand and one natural causes operate in determining the centres of human activity and not all are under human control, many perhaps are not within the range of human ken.

Mr. Subbarow Pantulu speaks of the time yet to come when the Dravidian races cannot live commodiously under one roof. A fine phrase indeed and fine figure of speech! Sense of comfort and commodiousness depends entirely upon individual tastes, ambitions and spirit of adjustment, upon the sense of equity that prevails in the management of joint affairs, upon the control that the head of the house is able to exercise. When tastes develop, when ambitions multiply, when difficulties generate, when equity fails and control relaxes, separation becomes inevitable.

Above all when brothers choose to separate they do so. They are happier and their relations are more harmonious when they do separate. I am only elaborating Mr. Subbarow Pantulu's figure of speech and mean nothing else. In good cause agitation can never begin too soon. No amount of tarrying can exalt a bad cause. These are platitudes but they require to be uttered. Let me utter one more before closing. Statesmanship requires three qualities. They are imagination, sympathy and courage. It is these qualities that mark off the man of politics from the statesman. It is these qualities that have made a Lloyd George of the Welsh Lawyer. Indian politicians cannot perhaps become Lloyd Georges in the near future, but they can yet become statesmen. Mere tact and diplomacy are dangerous forces. They cut both ways and profit none. One must have the necessary imagination not to be satisfied 'with the service rendered to the objects of the present hour but to make one's contribution to growth, progress and the future.' He must have the sympathy to co-operate in endeavours in which the initiative may have been taken by others. He must above all have the courage to transcribe visions that he alone sees and proclaim ideals that are not clear to the commonplace mind. The day may be distant when these visions and these ideals will cease to be such and become realized as facts and phenomena of the work-a-day world. There was a states-

man in Behar who is now no more. Mahesth Narayan began his agitation sometime in 1896 for the separation of Behar. He saw, he spoke, he succeeded, but he did not live to see the day of success. To those having eyes and see not may we say, having tongues speak ye not too.

B. PATTABHISITARAMAYYA.

27-2-1913.

VIII

Mr. N. Subba Rao gave evidence which was of a different kind. He was against class representation in the public service, yet in reply to Sir Valentine Chirol, he admitted that efficiency was not the sole consideration. If he had said this in support of his opinion that simultaneous examinations would not produce much result as far as the natives of India were concerned it would have been all right. But he said it in a connection which would admit of no other conclusion than that he did not care what became of the opinions and feelings of the people so far as the efficiency of the Service was ensured. He deprecated the Andhra movement which he said arose from irresponsible people. But we know, as a matter of fact, that the movement which he deprecated has a deeper foundation than he imagines, and we think that the chances are that those who disown the

movement will be themselves disowned. The Andhra movement is based on something higher than a claim for appointments. It has its genesis in a love of Telugu literature and history, of its traditional greatness, and of self-development which it is not possible to attain under the existing circumstances. To disown such a movement is not surely to discredit it. The claim for appointments in the public service is only subsidiary to other ends. It is not an end in itself. If the Andhras had started a movement for such a purpose, it is not difficult to say that it would have been altogether wanting in our sympathy. But they place it far higher, and claim it as national movement, subsidiary only to the Indian national movement. Before the Indian national movement can really be capable of achieving great things, it is necessary that every unit that contributes to it should itself be efficient and up to the mark.

The Indian Patriot.

14-1-1913

IX

This topic leads me to offer some remarks on the Andhra Movement which is agitating the public mind very considerably not only in this part of the country but also elsewhere. Though the Andhra Movement has hardly taken shape, yet it has already

come in for a lot of adverse criticism. There has been a great divergence of opinion as to its aims and objects among those who are supposed to be responsible for it. It is a movement easily liable to be misunderstood and easily liable to be misused too if not kept under proper guidance. Since the movement attracted public notice, the Secretaries of the Andhra Conference Committee at Guntur have made a definite pronouncement as to how it has arisen, and what it seeks to achieve and this pronouncement coupled with the pamphlet on the Andhra Movement brought out by the same Committee have, I hope, allayed the apprehensions entertained in some quarters that it is clannish in character, conceived in a spirit of parochial patriotism, and cannot but be detrimental to our national interests. Whether the good flowing from it or the evil that it may bring in its train may preponderate, there seem to be indications that it is a movement that has come to be and is destined to play its part in the politics of the country. A sincere attempt must therefore be made to understand its real significance. As pointed out by the joint Secretaries in their communication published in the issue of the *Hindu* of the 23rd of January 1913, there is no doubt that the Andhra Movement is the result of an upheaval in the community brought about by various agencies, the most potent of them being the writings of Rao Bahadur Viresalingam Pantulu and others

that have followed in his wake spreading liberal ideas and pleading for freedom of action chiefly in matters social. The influence of these writings combined with the new aspirations that have been roused in the minds of educated Indians by their study of Western political institutions and the progress of the democratic movement in Europe and America has instilled into the minds of the Telugu patriots ideas of progress which have taken a more or less practical turn. It is remarkable to what extent old Telugu poets whom students never formerly cared to study even for examination purposes have now become popular among them. In recent years we have often heard of Vardhanti celebrations for Nannayya and Tikkana. Telugu literature as such has endeared itself to the community. Hence the disinterested attempts made in various quarters to expand its bounds and fill it with works in all departments of thought and knowledge. The establishment of the Telugu Academy at Madras and the fairly begun attempt of Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao for the compilation of an Encyclopædia in the Telugu language are other practical manifestations of the same desire to perfect the Telugu language and literature. The Telugus have been made to realise that they have had a past of which they may well feel proud and that therefore they may yet hope to have a future consistent with their worthy past, however backward they may be found to be just now in the

race of life. Notwithstanding this desire for progress and improvement, the numerous statistical tables appended to the pamphlet on the Andhra Movement already mentioned show how the Telugu community is behindhand the other communities of the Presidency in the matter of education, industries and in the public service. According to the latest census the population of the whole Presidency was 41,870,100 ; of which the population of the Telugu Districts amounted to 17,140,678. The population of the Telugu Districts is thus considerably over two-fifths of that of the whole Presidency and if such a large section of the total population of the Presidency should be roused to a sense of its own backwardness and put forth honest attempts for its healthy development in all directions, how is it possible to maintain that the movement is fraught with mischief? The goal of Indian Nationality cannot certainly be reached in the near future and many and varied will be the stages of development through which we should pass before reaching it. The process of evolution will undoubtedly be long and laborious. Each little section and community will have to develop and perfect itself with a view to become an efficient member of the body politic and when this process has been finished, there will emerge, as we all hope, the perfected Indian fitted to take his part as a unit of the Indian nation.

The real clue to the origin of the Andhra Movement has been suggested by Prof. Sundararaman in his letter to the *Hindu* on the subject. He says that the provincial sentiment—by which expression he apparently means the same thing as national feeling—has its origin really in language and culture and that it is not a thing peculiar to the racial subdivisions of India. No student of history will dispute that language and racial feeling are the most potent factors in the creation and development of the national sentiment. “To speak the same language,” says Prof. Max Muller, “constitutes a closer union than to have drunk the same milk.” I am aware that modern European history has proved the possibility of the national sentiment developing itself among people of divers tongues and races by reason of their being under the domination of the same sovereign power. But where the national sentiment arises out of a consciousness of allegiance to the same mother tongue and to the same social, intellectual and spiritual ideal, the foundations of it will be laid deep and the effects will be permanent and abiding. My own idea is that the perfected Indian nation cannot come into existence unless the whole Hindu community has not only been permeated by the political and democratic ideals of the West but also by the peculiar social and spiritual ideals of the East which have invested the Hindu civilization with its characteristic features and which

are reflected in the Sanskrit literature.

P. NAGABHUSHANAM, M. A., B. L.

22-3-13.

*Presidential speech 22nd
Kistna Dt. Conference.*

X

The Province question is of the most far-reaching importance to the Teluga Districts. I stand for it as the best of things to desire. It is not desiring without deserving. The desire has been there before, and if it has been only a spark, it is kindled into a flame by the redistribution of provinces in the north and the very sound principles it was based on. This is the first time we give expression to our old desire at a representative gathering, and we must discuss the problem taking care to do nothing the object of which is likely to be misunderstood anywhere and to keep out mere sentiment, though the Government of Lord Hardinge in their despatch proposing a modification of the Bengal Partition, said, "We by no means wish to underrate the importance which should be attached to sentiment even if it be exaggerated."

A good Government provides for the fullest possible development of every large community by placing each, so far as may be, under conditions which bring out what is best in it and by a due recognition of its talent. All races are not similarly conditioned

for it. Where two numerous races inhabit a province, and where one has over the other an advantage which proceeds more from adventitious circumstances than from anything which is intrinsically its own, the disabilities of the race less favourably conditioned, should be removed, and facilities for its development provided and its just aspirations realised. The presence of institutions to cultivate talent in many ways in the midst of a people or near them, gives them an advantage over a people who have not them or who have not the conveniences of the other to profit by those institutions to the extent that they would. If, added to this inequality, there is also inequality in State patronage, the consciousness of the less favourably situated race that it is as deserving as the other of having all those institutions and that its talent should have been better rewarded by the State, stirs its pulse and makes it sigh for these opportunities which have placed the other race at a considerable advantage over itself. It is in human nature that a race will do all it can to retain the influence and power under the State which it chanced upon, no matter how far in excess it may be of another; and when the story of that ascendancy continues, the merit baulked of its reward, would naturally strive for those conditions under which it hopes to be able to satisfy its own claims. It seeks no concessions: no self-respecting race which is conscious of its worth-

ness for higher things than have fallen to it, does it. Nor is it jealous of the rewards of superior individual worth in another people: it is as proud of the worthies in the other as in its own fold. All that the race wants is that its talent should have equal facilities with the rest for development and a recognition commensurate with its worth. Look at the aspirations of the India of to-day and the India of a decade or two ago. She now demands more loudly than before a complete effacement of racial considerations and an abstract recognition of merit.

Now judge the question of a Telugu Province in the light of these universal laws of races. Since the East Coast Railway connected those parts with the North and South, its advantages have been largely availed of, and there has been remarkable progress all over the Telugu Districts. There are two Telugu Civilians and a large number of Telugu Barristers. Of late there has been a steady increase of Telugu Vakils at the Madras Bar, and a good many of them promise a distinguished future. A young gentleman of my place has been for years leading a distinguished journalistic career in the North. Our districts have been producing more graduates than in the pre-railway days. While on the side of industries we are as active as any in the province. From the figures quoted last year by my distinguished predecessor in the chair, you have seen what a deplorable amount of general

illiteracy there is in our district ; but where there is progress in higher education, it is very encouraging ; and we naturally expect adequate recognition for our talent in branches where it has shown itself, and improved facilities for its development where it lacks them. But how do we stand before the rest in the services? A pamphlet published on "The Andhra Movement" gives that in the Revenue Department we get only 1/6th of the salary that the Tamils are getting, and only 1/7th in all other Departments. Writing to the Secretary of State for India, Lord Hardinge's Government said, "We are satisfied that it is in the highest degree desirable to give the Hindi speaking people now included within the province of Bengal, a separate administration. The people have hitherto been unequally yoked with the Bengalis and have never, therefore, had a fair opportunity for development. The cry of Behar for Beharis has frequently been raised in connection with the conferment of appointments ; an excessive number of offices in Behar have been held by Bengalis. In reply to this the Secretary of State for India wrote, "It is equally certain that the provincial centre of gravity was unduly diverted to the western portion of the area and to Calcutta itself with the result that the Mahomedan community of Eastern Bengal were unintentionally deprived of an adequate share of consideration and attention."

Now, gentlemen, we see how closely we resemble the Beharis [in being so unequally yoked with the Tamils, and when the Mahomedans are said to have been "deprived of an adequate share of consideration and attention," what should be said of the Telugus who are far more advanced than the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal? And how should we feel when the "provincial centre of gravity" has all along been diverted to the south, there being none or almost none of us in the provincial offices?

Having proved that the conditions we live under make it "in the highest degree desirable" to give us Telugu-speaking people a separate administration, let us consider another important point in the question. Have the Telugu districts a sufficiently large area to warrant their getting a separate administration? The area of Bengal as at present constituted into a province, is only 70,000 square miles while the Telugu districts measure a good 13,000 more square miles than Bengal. Bombay proper which is under a Governor-in-Council is only nearly 76,000 square miles.

It may however, be urged that the area is not all and that there is the population also to be considered. It is true that Bengal has a population of 42 millions while the Telugu districts have only 22 millions. The difference is, no doubt, enormous, but Bombay with only a population of 15 millions, enjoys the rule of a Governor-in-Council. Even with the population of

Sindh, it gets only 3 more millions aggregating far less than half the population of Bengal.

In tradition, instinct and language we are as different from the Tamils as the Beharis are from the Bengalis and we have the intellectual capacity that any other race in India has. These are our claims for a separate administration. When our claims were accepted in another people may we not hope they will be accepted in our case also? The supremely happy results which followed the redistribution of provinces in the north far outweigh the money spent and to be spent on it. May not the advancement of the Telugu race that had a part so ably described by Mr. B. N. Sarma at the Andhra Conference at Bapafla, be also found a sufficient compensation for the cost of a Telugu Province?

I have discussed the question with some friends of mine. While admitting the justice of the claims, they fear that a Telugu province would alienate us from our old brothers of the south and continuing as we are, we can develop a spirit of nationality with them. I confess my inability to see, how a desire in a class to advance in its own place could mean a spirit of exclusiveness from its neighbour. If in an unweildy and heterogenous class of a school, separating and grouping boys of similar tastes and capacity could be said to be done in an undesirable spirit, if it

were undesirable to group the plants in a garden according to their requirements of sun and shade and water, we might be charged with a spirit of exclusiveness in our desire to have a separate province for the Telugus. There are many Tamil *Sanghams* (associations) in Telugu districts. Are they organised and run in a spirit of exclusiveness from the Telugus they live among? As to the growth of a spirit of nationality between the Tamils and the Telugus, granting for the sake of argument that can be possible only under existing conditions, and that a different course would lead to different results, are we not, who are of the Indian National Congress, cutting the ground from under our feet? How could the Congress be *National* with the people under all Provincial Governments taking part in it? At this hour of the day is it necessary to remind or prove that, so long as there is the same Supreme Government to safe-guard the interests of all, so long as the Provincial Governments continue to be British in character, so long as there are the same Imperial conditions which operate on all alike, so long there can be nothing to weaken a spirit of nationality between province and province. When Bengal was passing through her worst trials were not the sympathies of the other provinces with that country? Do we not all rejoice with her now, in her hour of peace? Nothing can be a stronger bond of union than those which have brought the

millions of India together, one pulse of filial love to the paternal throne of England, one feeling of deep gratitude to England for all that she has done for us, one common hope of rising together materially, intellectually and morally, all animating us into concerted action for the common weal of our motherland, India. The spirit is fast growing in us of looking upon India as a city of which each province is but a street. The provinces may be marked off from one another even more distinctly than they are, by difference of language, custom, habit, tradition and instinct, but nothing shall prevent their working together in perfect harmony—thanks to the great Indian National Congress, “that Political Conference of India”—for the common Empire to which we are proud to belong any more than the organs, each with its own function, each with its sphere of enjoyment, each with a separate kind of treatment it requires when anything is wrong with it, working for the common happiness of the body. If by nationality anything else is meant the conditions extant would never change, and what is possible to-day will always be possible, Andhra Province or no. What a social intercourse of centuries has failed to effect between the Tamils and the Telugus may ever remain impossible, say intermarriages, when the fusion of the subjects of the same caste speaking the same language is yet as far as ever from our sight. A political nation,

all Indians are under the benign English Government and shall continue to be.

There is yet another objection taken to partition in our province. It is feared that, if there should be a Telugu province, it might be placed under a Lieutenant Governor and that would be the prize place of a civilian with all his deep-rooted prejudices and cast-iron views on Indian questions which show themselves even when those civilians after retirement have found their way into the British Parliament. If this was always the fear before, the evidence of the civilian witnesses before the recent Public Service Commission on the Indians' administrative capacity makes it most abundantly clear what to expect from a civilian ruler. But in the first place, why should we expect to come under a Lieutenant Governor when the United Bengal which is smaller in extent and Bombay which has a smaller population than the Telugu districts are under a Governor with Executive Councils? In the next place, granting we shall have only a Lieutenant-Governor, why should he be necessarily a civilian? The emoluments and position of a Lieutenant Governor may induce gentlemen straight from one of the political circles in England when advocates-General, Chief Justices and Finance Members are being recruited from England on lower salaries than that of a Lieutenant Governor.

Gentlemen, there is difference of opinion as to

the desirability of a separate administration for the Telugus. I have placed before you my views on the subject and shall be content if they stimulate thought in the Telugus on a subject of this importance to us.

Gentlemen, I have dwelt at some length on what strikes me as among the most important questions. After I wrote out my address, I learnt that there was a greater difference of opinion than it first appeared on the question of an Andhra Province. Still, from what I have read in the papers, I do not find any objection to the Province which I did not hear before. Any question newly brought before an assembly, will naturally be attacked from all sides. Exaggerated hopes and fears may find place in a first discussion of a new subject of all engrossing importance. In the wrestling, however, they will be rubbed off. It was suggested to me that the question might stand over till general opinion was gauged. I thought the best way to bring it out was to present the question to the public. The ball is set rolling and let the time come when it will, to find the goal. I have expressed my deliberate opinion as plainly as I could and you may or may not be inclined to commit yourself one way or the other at this Conference. It is enough, if it sets you after thinking on it. It is advised that what we should do first to gain influence in the Provincial offices is to get those institutions we want. But is not influence also required to get those institutions? What

influence could we bring to bear to get back the lost L. T. class at Rajahmundry, or, to get a more reassuring reply than we got to our memorial to the Government about our Medical School. The best, rather the only way to do it is not to wait for influence under the existing circumstances but to secure unanimity among the Telugu districts and press the question on the attention of the Government. If that is impossible of achievement it must be a thousand times more impossible to get any influence which we have not now, to advance our cause. I cannot conceive the possibility of the Government turning a deaf ear to the representation of more than half the Presidency. If it is said that the time is not yet ripe to press the question, I should like to know if the time is not ripe when we begin to feel our disabilities and the need of united action to rise us a class. Else, what is the significance of the Andhra Conference? I cannot bring myself to apprehend the slightest possibility of anybody's taking reasonable offence in our hoping to get what another Indian race, similarly conditioned as we are, have got from a Govt. which has enunciated principles of high-minded statesmanship. Let the question be discussed threadbare but, let no unnecessary fears or doubts dim our vision. Why should we speculate what attitude the Govt. may have to the question. What means would the Govt. give us of knowing their attitude towards any question without

our moving it and making it a case for what we want? If only you see the righteousness of your cause, if only you think with me that it is never too early to better a state of things which, we feel conscious, has long been far from what it ought to be, work out the question and represent it to the Government. Remember, Gentlemen, Behar is not a more highly educated Province than this and this fact must answer a number of unasked questions.

Mr. M. SURYANARAYANA, B. A.

Chodavaram, } *Presidential address:*
9th June 13. } 8th Vizagapatam District Conference-

XI

I feel it my duty to deal next with a subject which rightly or wrongly is associated in several quarters with the Andhra movement.

I allude to the discussion as to whether the Northern and Central groups of districts are not likely to be benefited by their formation into a separate province.

The subject is sure to be discussed from time to time and it is necessary that we should have clear ideas about it. Many thoughtful persons believe that the most stable form of Government likely to be

evolved out of the conditions Indian society presents would be the federation of a number of small states, homogeneous as far as possible, subject to the control of a Central Government, and autonomous as far as their provincial affairs are concerned, under the protection and sovereignty of Great Britain. It is also believed that in the solution of essentially domestic questions, the smaller and the more homogeneous the states are, the greater would be the advantage they possess and that the facilities for a rapid harmonious development would be decidedly superior than in the case of larger states. The autonomy proposed to be granted to Ireland, Scotland and Wales with a population each of less than 5 millions, the smaller states of Europe and America are cited as instances in point. It is argued therefore that inasmuch as the districts in question possess a population of 17 millions, nearly equal to that of Bombay or the Punjab and larger than that of the Central Provinces or Burma, inasmuch as 13 out of the 17 millions speak the same language with 9 millions more in the immediate neighbourhood with the same mother-tongue, the interests of the districts their educational and economic development would be better looked after by a Government exclusively devoted to the purpose than if they should continue to be component parts of a more heterogeneous body. The educational and economic difficulties I have stated above are cited in their

support ; the financial question, they dismiss with the remark that if they be allowed to retain a proper share of the revenue they raise, it would amply suffice for their requirements and even if more money be necessary it would be easier to raise it for purposes they understand and directly benefiting them. A cynic may remark that at the back of it all is the ambition for place and power and they dismiss him summarily with the statement, that even if it should be so it is perfectly legitimate, is sure to make them self-respecting and resourceful and that aspiration for higher things has never ruined a man. So much for theory, speculation and possibly good logic. It must be remembered that under some of the Chola Kings, under the sovereignty of the Vizianagaram Empire, under the Government of Fort Saint George, and possibly under the Ancient Andhra Emperors, almost the whole of the present territory, with some additions has been subject to a single Government ; and hence we find upwards of 2½ millions of Tēlugu people in the south and the west and a number of Tamilians in the north who have adopted the language of the country they settled in. It may be urged that during the rule of the Andhra Dynasty under the Pallavas, and eastern Chalukyas and later the boundaries of states have constantly changed, but historical continuity of over a century, nay even more is in favour of those who contend for the *status quo*.

It is under the Government of Fort Saint George that the Godaverri and Kistna deltas have been opened up, and large irrigation works have been constructed in numerous parts of the Telugu contry and the economic progress of the country can by no means be said to have been neglected. It may be said that no one denies the benefits conferred in the past but that the partition is sought with a view to the more rapid advancement of the divided units. The answer may be that a large province is likely to command credit while a smaller one cannot, and that by an agitation of the kind, more harm than good may be the result by the postponement of concerted action toward much-desired common ends. It should also be noted that the interests of the two northernmost districts as they are understood by the people therein at present, are opposed to a separation of the kind suggested, and that the Ceded Districts may not see eye to eye with those who believe in the advantages of a division into smaller groups for purposes of Government. It may be that some years hence, when either we or the Government discover that the Presidency is too large to be administered efficiently by a single central power, or we find that our educational and economic interests do not receive the attention they deserve, the districts affected would have conjointly to consider the propriety of such a measure. It must be clearly understood, however, Gentlemen, that the Andhra.

Conference as such can have nothing to do with the discussion of such a proposition, except by leave of all concerned.

The Andhra movement and conferences are not confined to any particular province but propose to embrace within the sphere of their beneficent activity all Telugu-speaking people wherever they may be living, and whatever may be their domicile. It seems to my mind to be incongruous to invite the representatives of the 2½ millions of Andhras living in the southern districts to a conference to discuss as to whether they and we cannot be separated with advantage to each other. I know that minorities have to give way for the benefit or protection of majorities; a proposed measure conceived for the benefit of the majority may prove to be useful to all, and it may be that at some indefinite future time a step of the kind suggested may be brought up for discussion with the leave of all as to whether it would not be conducive to the benefit of the whole community but to my mind it would seem proper that those who believe in it should consider it in the District Conferences, and when there is a fair consensus of opinion it would be time enough to think as to whether the leave I suggested should be asked for. I am unhesitatingly of opinion that in the interests of the movement and of its harmonious working for the progress of the Andhra country as a whole, the subject should not be con-

sidered as being with in the scope of its activities.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur,

Bapatla, }
May 1913. }

B. NARASIMHESWARA SARMA, B. L.
Presidential address: Andhra Confce.



XII

It is the opinion of some that we should work not only for the founding of an Andhra University but also for the ceration of an Andhra province. The difference of opinion is great on this point. Some people seem to think that by desiring a province we would limit the offices in the Andhradesa to Andhras alone, that ill-will and malice might increase towards members of other communities, and that an impediment might be created to the realization of the ideal that all the Indians constitute one nationality ; that a Lient Governor or a chief commissioner would be appointed as the head of the administration without a Legislative Council, and that for these reasons it would not be desirable to demand a separate province. When it is the progress of the Andhra country that is principally contemplated, only those would be deserving of posts and places who are qualified by culture, capacity and character to ensure that progress without distinctions of races religion or color. It is therefore not to be doubted that appointments will be

made only by judging of men's attainments and capabilities, and without regard to the distinction whether they are Andhras, Dravidas or Kannadas. Moreover, in the despatch drawn up by Lord Hardinge on the eve of the King's visit, it has been hinted that India must consist of separate provinces autonomous in all provincial affairs and subject to the control of the Government of India. The desire for an Andhra Province is doubtless in conformity with the ideal sketched by Lord Hardinge. The present distinction of Madras and Bombay as provinces has not in any way militated against the ideal of an Indian nationality. The consciousness of this nationality has been already generated, and numerous are the efforts made to propagate such a faith in the different parts of the country. The constitution of the Andhradesa into a separate province is therefore not likely to throw an obstacle in the way of realizing the national ideal. It is not mete either that such a step would breed bad blood between the Andhras and the Dravidas. Some say that Government is not likely to rearrange the provinces in the near future and that even if they did so, the appointment of a Lieut Governor or a chief commissioner, without a Legislative Council, would not be conducive to the country's progress and that under the circumstances it would not be proper to press the demand of a province. Others hold that Government would not effect any changes

without ascertaining people's wishes, and that in case changes be determined upon, a Legislative Council would unhesitatingly be associated with the administrative head in accordance with popular tendencies, that the extra expenditure likely to be entailed by the creation of a new province would cheerfully be borne by those who were likely to profit by the arrangement and that it is necessary that people should work for this ideal and make it known to Government. We are all familiar with the discussion on the subject and every one in the country must arrive at a decision, considering the different aspects of the problem. However this be, it is idle to deprecate the Andhra movement or deny its existence.

S. HANUMANTHA RAO,

*in his address as Chairman, Reception
Committee, 22nd Kistna Dt. Confe.*

March, 1913.

XIII

Prof. K. Sundararama Aiyar, M. A., writes :—
It is never pleasant to me to have to differ from the *Hindu*. But I have long lived both among the Malayalis and the Telugus. I know well how strong is the provincial—or what may be called *Homo Rule*—sentiment among both these sections of the South Indian people. Nor is this provincial sentiment any thing

peculiar to the racial sub-divisions in India. We know how strong and enthusiastic is the feeling in favour of provincial self-Government or Home Rule not only in Ireland but also in Scotland, Wales, etc. Language and culture form the real basis of provincial feeling and the demand for Home Rule. At the same time, it does not mean that there is to be an absolute interdiction of free movement, from province to province, of individuals or families for the purpose of permanent or temporary settlement. Nor is the recognition of the demand of the provincial sentiment for Home Rule to be a bar to the warmth and depth of the feeling of National and Imperial Unity which animates ardent Home Rulers, wherever they are found, when they regard themselves as members of the larger whole to which the separate provinces belong. If the growth of the Home Rule sentiment in Great Britain, or the Colonial,—and even the State,—sentiment in Canada, South Africa or Australia, or the New National sentiment in India, cannot be a bar to the unity and strength of the British Isles or the British Empire, I do not see why the growth of the provincial sentiment in favour of Home Rule among the Telugu, Malayalam, or Canarese people in South India should be regarded as a sign of weakness, or stigmatised as the enemy of the new-born sentiment of Indian Nationality. I know that the Telugus and Malayalis have genuine feeling that the Tamil people encroach upon

their own preserves in various directions and to an undesirable extent. I know, also, from a long experience as a teacher both in the Telugu and Malayalam lands that the Telugu or Malayalam intellect has each its own peculiarities and excellences, and that each of them can have free scope when permitted to work itself out along its own lines of advance, instead of having itself set side by side and forced to move along with others in the Southern Presidency under the superstitious idea that all who speak a Dravidian language must have common or allied ethnological character. Ethnology—even if we suppose that its proportions are far more conclusively established than they really are—cannot be accepted as the determining factor in matters like these. Physical features, are more often than otherwise, calculated to mislead us when we are concerned with the settlement of social and political problems. Culture and civilisation, custom and character, language and literature should be allowed the prominence to which they are entitled in obtaining a solution. If we take our stand on these factors of the problem, I am sure that the special features in the social and cultural development of the Telugu people entitle them to demand that they should have fuller scope for advance along independent lines and ideals of development than they have now when they are forced to move along side by side with and in dependence on, their brethren in the south. As the

Bengalees have secured unity and strength for themselves by having full scope for independent movement along lines suited to their own racial and cultural development, so the Telugu people are entitled to agitate for those opportunities of advance which provincial independence and Home Rule are sure to bring in their train when they are freed from the necessity of having to win their prizes in a race in which they feel themselves handicapped by having to run alongside of their more assertive and noisy though not more capable or more self-reliant, brethren of the South.

The Hindu - 28-2-13.

XIV

The Hon'ble Justice Sir C. Sankaran Nair referring to the Andhra movement, said that the men competent to form an opinion as to whether such a movement was necessary or good, were their own elders. They no doubt were men who had taken part in the political and social struggles that had been going on. If they thought that such a movement was necessary in the interests of progress of their own Telugu community, they were quite right in inaugurating it. He took it that they did not and would not claim anything which would be to the injury of others. The Chairman then proceeded to say that the com-

munity, should show that by character they were fit for positions of trust. They should not be afraid to move if they once saw that a particular thing was in the interests of progress of their community, even though that thing might be opposed to old prejudices and though their opinions might be in conflict with those of others.

*Presiding over a meeting of the
N. C. P. Union, Madras on 10-3-13.*

XV

Sir,—It is a very legitimate and timely aspiration on the part of the Andhras to be a Province of British India. They are more numerous than Travancore with Cochin, but the Provinces and states should eschew exclusiveness in the services. All India is open to merit and competition for the residents of every Province and protected States and even for the European and Colonial British subjects. 25-4-1913.

Sir,—I have no doubt that the Telugus have compact homogeneity as Hindus and must soon have the autonomy of a sub-Kingdom like Travancore and Cochin. It was one under Hindu and Mohammadan Emperors, and the dissentients have no legs to stand upon, except perhaps their democratic hobbies and ambitions. Vizianagar is as good a capital as Benares.

In this spirit I was once for the union of the Travancore Royalty with Cochin.

A. SANKARIAH.
in the Indian Patriot.

XVI

The agitation for an Andhra Province is very much like the agitation against the partition of Bengal, with this difference, that in the latter case it is the exercise of the popular determination against an act of the Govt. which tended to disintegrate a homogeneous people, whereas, in the case of the Andhras, it is an effort of the people to get rid of a state of things which has been, I will not say killing, but keeping down their individuality by bracketing them with other races. The Andhra Movement being only a step in aid of the national movement aimed at the arrangement of the country into a number of well defined, self realized entities, with a view to their mutual federation, whatever helps to define and to develop the individuality of the Andhras as a race is desirable, and necessary. And there is not much doubt that the formation of a people having the same language and the same social customs into a province does help such a growth. But whether in the scheme of the British Government we can be given a separate province at all, and if so whether the province so

given would suit our growth are questions of practical politics well worthy of consideration.

That is a thing in the hands of others ; and we cannot pin our faith to it. We can only *hope* for a province, considering that the question of the province of Bengal has been for six long years tossed to and fro like a bad coin between Governors and Viceroys, but has met with the approval of none other than the most high in the state, His Majesty, the King Emperor. We can only hope for a province, and in that hope let us agitate. What if in spite of all our agitation we shall not be given what we ask? Then shall we have agitated in a vain? I think not. The consciousness that we have worked together in a common cause will have acted as a bond of union among us, and the agitation itself will strongly define our position and strengthen our determination to be one and we would be morally accomplishing what we might fail politically to achieve.

If on the other hand, the Government do give us a province, a separate province for the Andhras, what sort of a province would it be? It is greatly feared that we might be put under a chief Commissioner. It is all a matter of personality. Sir Arthus Lawley was a Governor. Sir Henry Cotton was a commissioner. So it is all a matter of personality. And considering that chief Commissioners also are given Legislative Councils, considering also that sympathy has become

the guiding principle of our rulers ever since His Majesty's Coronation, the difference will be practically little. Moreover we are a civilised and enlightened race, and the principles which guide the rulers in governing a race like ours are bound to be different from those that guide the rulers of backward and uncivilised parts, though the technical name and style may in both cases be the same. So I am not much afraid of a Commissioner though I would not like to loose the dignity of being the subjects of a Governor, provided in other respects the formation of a separate province for the Andhras is beneficial to the growth of the Indian nation.

Lastly I come to the fifth objection. How can you bring together the Telugu settler in Tinnevely, the Nizam's subject in Hyderabad, and the domiciled Andhra of Nagapur,—the questioner might as well have added South Africa and the Fizi islands. The Andhra province would naturally comprise only that portion of the country which lies between such geographical limits as between which without an intermediate gap the Telugu tongue is the prevailing language. It can't be helped. If the war in Europe could bring together the Mahomedans of Turkey and the Mahomedans of India, if the Home Rule agitation could bring together the Irish settler in America and the Irish fighter at home, why doubt whether the Andhra Movement can bring together the Telugu

settler in Tinnevely, the Telugu Settler in Nagapur, the Telugu subject of the Nizam, and the Telugu speaker in Kistna and Gantur.

S. KAMBHOTLU, B. A. B. L.

in the 'Andhra', april 1913.



XVII

Resolution proposed at the Andhra Conference held at Bapatla on 26th and 27th May 1913.

“This Conference (1) records its opinion:—

(a) That to ensure efficient administration and the promotion of the best interests of the people of India, the Government will have to make sooner or later language areas the territorial bases for provincial administration.

(b) That provincial administration on such a basis is necessary in order that self-Government on colonial lines pleaded for by the Indian National Congress and provincial autonomy approved by the Government of India may develop on natural and healthy lines.

(2) And urges upon the Andhra public the desirability of focussing public opinion on the question whether Government should be asked to constitute the Telugu districts as a separate province.”

Mr. V. Ramadas pantulu, B. A. B. L., of Madras commended the proposition to the Conference for its acceptance, in an able and exceedingly forcible speech in Telugu. He said that the aspirations of the Andhras were legitimate and the demand for a separate province was in consonance with the Viceroy's despatch relating to Provincial Autonomy and to the ideal of Self Government on Colonial lines which was the Chief plank of the Indian National Congress.

Mr. V. Suryanarayana Row, B. A. B. L. L. T. of Masula supported the proposition in Telugu, explicitly expounding the numerous benefits that would accrue from the formation of the Andhra province. Dewan Bahadar M. Audinarayaniab in opposing the proposition said:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, (Cries of 'speak in Telugu') I do not propose to speak in Telugu and I trust you will suffer me to speak in a language which is not our own but in which I feel constrained to address you for reasons of explicit exposition of my views.

Gentlemen, I occupy a position which gives me a slender and doubtful connection with this great movement of the Andhra Conference. (cries of No. no.) In the marvellous condition in which your Conference still exists, I do not know what position or connexion I can claim in relation to you. Further,

if I speak, I fully realise that I speak with your indulgence and with your sufferance and when I say I show to deference to all honest difference of opinion, I trust you will extend to me the same consideration and love. In my remarks, I am actuated by sincere and earnest desire for the welfare of the Andhra country. (Hear hear.) I will now proceed to lay my remarks in a few words only, for there are coming up behind me others, younger, and, no doubt, with more physical endurance, who can place before you the question in all its aspects. Gentlemen, there are two reasons why I desire to oppose this proposition. One is that I consider it, under the circumstances which have preceded the discussion of this proposition that it is superfluous. The second is, that it is premature, that the suggestion which it throws out is unauthorised and that it emanates from a body which has not taken the whole public of the Andhra country into its confidence (no, no.) These are the reasons, gentlemen, and believe me, I speak not for the purpose of speaking but because I feel that everyone who has right as an Andhra of this land, is entitled to be heard. Gentlemen, why do I say that this proposition is superfluous? Yesterday, it was remarked by one of the speakers here that those who have come to this Conference know full well that this proposition of the creation of an Andhra province is a forgone conclusion and that it would come before this Conference for discussion.

(No, no) I disclaim it and I have reason for disclaiming it because in the programme authorised to be placed before this Conference, this proposition has not found a place. I cannot adduce to you a more satisfactory reason for the statement made than that we have not had any authorised intimation that this Conference was bent upon bringing this proposition before it for our consideration. We started with the idea, an idea with which every one who has Andhra blood in him sympathises, that we should all work for the welfare, for the uplift of the Andhra people who, at present, have reason to occupy a somewhat backward position as compared with the other communities of the land. It is a noble endeavour. It is not only those who are Andhras that are bound to represent that movement but all others as well from a common humanitarian standpoint, that are bound to help it, because it is for the good of our country that our own neighbours should be as prosperous as you are yourselves. We approach these questions not from any narrow point, but from the ideal of working to a higher standard of human tolerance, prosperity cordiality and inter-racial conduct towards each other (Hear. hear.) Well, I have said that it is superflous. Having started with the idea that this Conference was mainly for the prosperity of the Telugu people, we thought that there were several means by which that prosperity can be pushed forward and furthered and it was only last

evening that we were told that this was the main object of the Conference. There was a great deal of trouble about it, but it was held that the creation of the Andhra province was only to uplift the Andhras. What is to be the ideal is a thing towards which we work. The means are those which we must plan and which we must use with reference to our condition, and with reference to the circumstances in which we find ourselves at the time. This morning, I believe, having expected that proposition as the ideal of this movement, we arranged that the means by which we should work was a matter on which we could not dogmatically lay any proposition but one which should be seriously deliberated and given earnest thought to by a committee representing all the leading men of the public of the several districts. Having done that, comes the necessity for us to indicate that the constitution of a Telugu province was the next thing which we must put forward in the fore front and represent as the thing that we have been working for. I myself think, gentlemen, that you are trying to force the opposition of those whose co-operation and cordial sympathy we desire to secure for ourselves. That is not a commendable procedure for us to adopt. Now, having demonstrated to you, gentlemen, as I honestly believe, that we started this conference with the idea of bettering the people and that we had not foregone conclusions as to what particular measures we should

dictate, I have honestly held the opinion that the embodiment or the inditing of a specific proposition pointing out that this is the goal, is undesirable. But having put our ideals as the betterment of the people, having entrusted the duty of devising a means to a special Committee, which, I believe, you all have confidence in, I think that this inditing of this proposition indicates what I cannot help believing was the main purpose hidden behind the minds of the people who were organising this Conference. (No, no) Well, I take that correction in a spirit of encouragement. It seems to me somewhat superfluous that you should be so doggedly persistent in framing a definite expression of that view. I have said that it is somewhat premature. Do you really know gentlemen, what is the form of Government we should follow for the constitution of a separate Andhra province. Do you really know what the size of the province is likely to be? We may have our imagination, you think old people have no imagination. Possibly our stock may be exhausted. Possibly it has become extinct now. Even if it be so why should you think gentlemen, that we cannot conceive that probably there may be danger lurking behind. We must know the importance and the magnitude of the province that we desire to have. People will get only that kind of Government which they deserve and which their interests call for. Are

you sure, gentlemen, you are starting this Conference to-day? Of course, I give credit to the fact that there was some kind of Conference held at Nidadavole, (Krishna District), where also this question probably had come up but pretty good care seems to have been taken not to have consulted many of the people whom you desire to call into your fold (No, no). Here is a friend of mine from Nellore from whom I learn that no such proposition was communicated to or placed for consideration before the district ; you can also infer that this question could not have received much consideration at the hands of those people also. I now believe that none have attended from the Ceded Districts and how sure are you that Ganjam and Vizagapatam will join you in the idea to which you give your preponderant sanction. Gentlemen, these are all questions affecting the welfare of the people each in his individual home, influence, citizenship and lights as members of a large Government and a powerful society. These questions cannot be decided simply by unreasonable enthusiasm. They require calm and patient deliberation. They require consideration in their many-sided aspects before you can arrive at a conclusion which is satisfactory to all. I do not conceive that such opportunity for the consideration of the question has been accorded to anybody whom you desire to draw into your fold and it was manifest from the very small margin of majority was carried or

at any rate from the very strong feeling that was expressed on several occasions during the course of the deliberations incidental to this Conference that the matter is still not past the stage of very keen, interesting, and specially objectionable controversy. In these circumstances I presume that you would do well to drop this proposition altogether.

As I have said just now, if you assume that all these districts will join you, you will perhaps present a fairly respectable front. But if they consider that they cannot join you, your magnitude will be reduced to insignificant proportions, (no, never.) Will you be satisfied, Gentlemen, if you find yourselves rejected by Ganjam and Vizagapatam on one side and Nellore and Ananthapoor on the other, your activities, your hopes, and excited imagination had to confine themselves to a portion of Godavari Krishna and Guntur Districts. Would you dream that you would be in a position to demand at the hands of the Government a form of Government favouring autonomy in any way more desirable than the one you enjoy. It is not well to count your chickens before the eggs are hatched, you would do well to thrash out this question. You have responsible men—men who would do yeoman service, men like Hon'ble Mr. M. Ramachandra Row, Hon'ble Mr. Kesava Pillai Hon'ble Mr. A. S. Krishna Row, and other gentlemen, not less honourable and not less interested in

the welfare of the Andhra country. Shall we gain much by setting aside deliberation with such people? If I ask you to drop this question till your Sub-Committee has reported on the matter, it is not from any want of sympathy with your aspirations for the uplift of the Andhra country, but because, I feel as much as any of you we may possibly be damaging, in directions more than one, the good purpose you have in view. (cries of 'no no')

This opposition was seconded by Rao. Saheb Ganti Venkata Ramiab, B. A. B. L. Mr. Konda Venkappayya Pantulu, B. A. B. L., of Guntur, in proposing an amendment to the original proposition said that in view of the difference of opinion, among the representatives of the Telugu districts and the opposition of a small but appreciable minority, it would be well, in the interests of the conference, to refer the matter to the Standing Committee and wait for one more year. He said he was one with those who thought that a separate province would accelerate the progress of the Andhra people, but as it was the stern duty of all to see no schisms among them and to form always an united front he would advise under the circumstances to respect the feeling of the minority and postpone the question for the next year. Mean-while he hoped that there would be a great opportunity to educate the Telugu country upon the question and convert the opponents to their view.

The following is the extract of the speech of Mr. V. Ramadas who in the end rose to give a reply to Mr. Audinarayaniah. Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, It is necessary for me to offer a few words in explanation in reply to what has been said against the proposition placed before you for your commendation. I yield to none in my admiration for the wisdom, statesmanship and patriotism of a veteran public worker like Dewan Bahadur M. Audinarayaniah. I am ready and willing to concede at once that none of us here ever cherish any doubt as to the sincerety of his motives and the honesty of his views.

Mr. Audinarayaniah raised two objections, namely, that the proposition is superfluous and premature. As regards the first objection I say not that the proposition is superfluous but that the conference is superfluous without it.

As for its being premature, I think, it is impossible to understand the criticism levelled by Mr. Audinarayaniah against this proposition and I think the criticism has no basis.

The Veteran public worker Mr. Audinarayaniah knows very well the basis of this organization and the way in which public opinion is fixed at such meetings. If 56 delegates in the name of the whole India, could meet at Bankipore to pass a resolution, I fail to see how an assembly of 800 delegates representing

a small territorial area like the twelve districts, can be said to be unauthorised.

Mr. Audinarayaniah says that there is no hurry for expressing the ideal or placing any such scheme before the Conference. My own humble opinion is that without it there is no motive, there is no driving power and there is no dominant passion that guides an assembly, like this.... ”

He concluded his speech by accepting the proposition as amended by Mr. M. Krishna Row, of Masula.

The proposition as amended embodied a single request to the Standing Committee of the Conference to focus public opinion regarding the question as some Andhras were of opinion that the formation of Telugu-speaking districts into a separate province was desirable.

XVIII

Resolution passed at the Vizag Dt. Conference held at Chodavaram, (16-6-13.)

(a) This Conference welcomes the Andhra movement, and exhorts the people of the District to endeavour for the uplift of the people of the Telugu Districts in particular and the Telugu-speaking people in general.

(b) This Conference views with satisfaction the recognition of the principle of provincial autonomy as an important step in the attainment by the people of this country of self-government within the British Empire, and appoints a Committee to focus public opinion in the District on the question of a separate Province for the eleven Telugu Districts, with Mr. Y. S. Narayana as a convener, and submit a report with regard to the consensus of opinion within the end of March next, to the District Association. 16-6-13.

XIX

'The young enthusiasts' for the separation of the Telugus from the Tamils, would have [only a politician from England for their Lieutenant-Governor! It indicates that the advocates of the separate province have a plan and a purpose. And they have no doubt calculated the cost of it also. The President * adds at the end, however, that "after I wrote out my address, I learnt that there was a greater difference of opinion than at first appeared on the question of an 'Andhra Province.'" It is creditable for him to state it. Yet, you || bless 'the young enthusiasts' with the choicest

* *Presidential speech of Mr. M. SURYANARAYANA, at the Vizag Dt. Conference.*

|| *refers to the Indian Patriot.*

of expressions, namely "the oldest fool who parades in the cowardly robes of moderation and weighty wisdom will not deny that real progress lies in the division of provinces according to language." I do not know whether my opinion will count for anything with our friends, when the mature and deliberate opinions of Andhra veterans like Mr. N. Subba Row Pantulu and Mr. M. Audinarayanayya, have not received due weight. The Andhra Conference itself, however, has put off its consideration of the subject for another year, and it may, therefore, be given to me to say a word, betimes. A Tamilian who has lived amidst the Telugus, deeply and for ever indebted to their love and sympathy, may also claim some voice on this sort of agitation, which will affect both the Telugus and the Tamilians.

According to your opinion and that of the 'enthusiasts,' the division of Provinces should be made according to language, to ensure real progress. Logically, then, you should carve out a province of each of the following, viz:— the Uriyas, Telugus, Tamilians, Malayalees, Canarese and for other communities of the Dravidian family. I hope the Telugus will not resent, if we would still count them as members of the Dravidian family, as an indignity cast upon the great 'Andhra, race.' The Uriyas were not far wrong, then, when they demanded to be separated from the Telugus and added to their brethern in Orissa ; and

yet the Telugus of the Northern Districts in the Circars have furiously protested against such a rendition.

When we speak of the division of provinces according to languages, we should not forget that most of the districts are inhabited by people talking different languages and professing different religions; and that the southernmost Tamil districts have a larger number of Telugus, Brahmins and non-Brahmins, deeply rooted on the soil, than the Tamilians you may find in all the Telugu districts put together. All the domiciled people who are not Telugus by language, will be placed on equal footing with the Telugus and given full rights, say they. But when the demand is based on the strength of the past greatness of the 'Andhra valour and the Andhra superiority' and so on, 'their differences from the Tamilians in tradition, instinct and language,' it is idle to expect that the promise held out to the domiciled people of different persuasions and traditions, and instincts, whatever that may mean, who speak Tamil, Canarese, Hindustani, Mahrathi, and other languages, will not be broken by the would-be-dominant or predominant 'Andhras,' while we have had occasions to complain of even the sacred and solemn Proclamation of our good Sovereign, Queen Victoria, being treated as a ceremonial paper, and never intended to be fulfilled to the spirit and letter of it. Even the highest Jurist and statesmen like Justice Stephen of the Criminal Procedure

Code fame, and Lord Curzon, were not immune from such an intellectual jugglery. How can we then hope that our Andhra brothers while in ascendancy will be more human than the Englishmen with their "British characteristics?"

This cry for separation, and for the better recognition of the claims of the Andhras to the loaves and fishes of public service, give rise to sad thoughts worse than those that have flown from the pretensions of Mussalamans and Eurasians, not to mention the very natural prejudices and claims of the Civilians who are so severely criticised by the President. The much talked of Indian nationality or even the unity of the Dravidian races bids fair to be as further off as the realisation of the Poet's dream of "the Parliament of Man," with such display of their so-called disabilities caused by being "unequally yoked," with their Tamil brethren. Men of the same faith, glorying in the old Hindu traditions, adhering to the same law of Manu, bound by the same social customs and divided and disabled by the same class and caste prejudices talk of possessing different 'instincts,' because they do not get equal opportunities to profit by office and emolument and to grow in their own way.

How can we object to others who do not share in the Andhra traditions and beliefs flaunting in our face their respective programmes.

We hear of the Asiatic races being despised. Even the Japanese, great as they have become, are to be turned out of California, because they are Asiatics. The story of the South African needs no telling. The Boers and the other whites are doing a service to us. Under their boot-heels, Asiatics (the Chinaman and the Indian, the Pariah, the Brahmin, the Parsee, and the Mussalman), are shaped into a people helping one another, loving one another, and suffering for one another. That is a great object-lesson, if you would learn it. It is no doubt very laudable that each village, each town, each taluk, each district, each group of districts, and each province should vie with one another in claiming preferment and consideration, where each may, in its own limited respective sphere, devote its attention and energies to promote the development, progress and welfare of all the people irrespective of their race, class, caste, religion, and language. That is civic life and true brotherhood. But the way in which this is done on the strength of a language and past deeds of those that talked the language, does not indicate that they reckon with other forces and sentiments.

Patriotism by religion a people profess, is pernicious enough to divide our villages, towns, provinces, and the country, in spite of a common language. We know that religious fanaticism, and the caste hatreds have culminated in sanguinary feuds and conflicts, which have so often disastrously disturbed the placid-

dity of our existence and retarded our progress. Love of one's language is one thing, and patriotism by language is another.

The disabilities of the Mahomedans, and their special claims for special representations and for lucrative posts, have attained statutory acknowledgments and we, Hindus, have complained of it.

Again, there is such a thing as the Brahmins vs. non-Brahmins in many a place, which no one can altogether ignore. Even the President of the Vizag District Conference had to expatiate on it to defend the Brahmin preponderance in service. Then there is the big problem of the horny-handed sons of India, slowly awakening to their rights and to a sense of the injuries inflicted on them by our social system. The Tamil Parian and the Telugu Mala and others of the kind talking other languages, who are educated enough to feel their 'disabilities' and degradation, are one in aim and objects. Their dim consciousness cries for justice, and will have it sooner or later. All the talk about the greatness of the Tamils, the Telugus, the Malayalees, the Canarese, the Mahomedans, the Kammalas, and other races, indulged in by the enthusiasts of the respective communities, will no more deceive these long-suffering millions, who have unmeritedly and voicelessly groaned under the weight of those that have squarely and unfeelingly sat upon them for centuries. They will all combine as they

should, though they may talk different languages, more easily than the socialists of different countries in Europe do combine at times. Those that are at the top, unless they mend their ways with love and sympathy, have a heavy reckoning to make. The victory will be for the horny-handed sons of the land—not necessarily of the Pariah class alone. That will be but the fulfilment of the prophesy of Swami Vivekananda.

It is more pleasant and grateful to one's feelings to acknowledge that it is inspiring to see the activities of our brothers in Circars in the yield of social reform, literary achievements, and national education. When a Veeresalingam is claimed for an Andhra, and that for the purpose of showing up the greatness of the Andhra race, to justify separation and for the Telugus being given preferential treatment to hold offices in Telugu Districts, one feels perplexed. Look at the picture of the 'Andhra Matha' in that valuable annual 'Andhra Patrica.' He has been honored as a hero throughout the Hindu world. And we feel that we have little claim on him now. We all loved and treated Raghunadha Row as a national hero, not as a Maharatta adventurer, settled among the Tamilians, to eat their substance.

'The Telugu districts for the Telugus' is a good cry, to catch the fancy of some people in the Telugu province. But what about the skeleton in the cupboard, the feeling of the Brahmins vs. non-Brahmans

and *vice versa* being exploited. It found an expression through an Andhra gentleman also in an exaggerated form before the Royal Commission ; and the same cry we had heard of during the last but one election in the Krishna-Guntur-Godavery group where the separation idea had originated. How is the appointment of an Andhra Brahmin of power and emolument in preference to a non-Brahmin Andhra aspirant liked by the non-Brahmin classes? I need not give a recent instance. Will the appointments of Telugus to the Telugu districts be preferable to the people that pay and endure, in preference to a man like the late Somasundara Suetry, a Tamilian, who administered so well the Pittapure Estate amidst the Telugu factions?

Well, have the Andhra separatists taken the trouble to ascertain whether all their enthusiastic ideas would commend themselves to the Telugus in Nellore, Chittore, and the four Ceded Districts? They are a less sentimental and emotional people, and will calculate before courting the luxury of being tacked as the tail of the new province. Fancy, their importance being enhanced and their interests better served by their Governor and the High Court being located at the far-off Rajahmundry. Even from the low point of view of obtaining official loaves and fishes, they may have more complaint to make than the Telugus have against the Tamils. As for the people that pay and are governed, do they care a courie whether an offici-

al is a Telugu, Tamil, or Canarese, Brahmin, Kammala, Lingayat, Sudra, Pariah, Hindu, Mahomedan, or European? What always they have prayed for is to be placed under the officials endowed with the milk of human sympathy, sense of justice and courage of conviction.

Speaking the same language does not imply necessarily that they do not differ in "instinct and tradition." The Telugu Brahmin is more in unison with the Tamil Brahmin, than he is with the Baligas and Valamas not to mention Dudekala Mussalmans in his own province. And there are so many classes of people within the province who differ radically from one another in their customs and habits. To create more solidarity of interest among them in each district, to safe-guard their communal welfare, is the best and hardest work on hand for all of us before thinking of safe-guarding all the Telugus against the Tamils.

It will be interesting to know what the Telugus in the south think of an Andhra Province. Will they be tolerated to share in all the offices and emoluments in the Andhra province?

We have heard and known of innumerable Telugu Brahmins and non-Brahmins doing immense good among the Tamils, as administrators, officials and pioneers of benevolent movements, both of a religious and secular nature. The Telugus who speak so

frankly, may remember, if they will only attempt it, what all good the advent of the Tamilians amidst them from the days of the great Chola Emperor, Kulatunga I, who ruled over all the Telugus up to the borders of Orissa to the days of the Tamil professors in their colleges, has wrought to the 'Andhras.'. Still one may think that the interchange of thoughts, and intermixture of Telugus and Tamils, as well as others, are necessary to broaden our outlook and save us from provincial and insular conceits.

Our European over-lords, are, no doubt, watching these symptoms of mutual jealousy with amusing interest. Some Anglo-Indian publicists and even administrators have not been slow to set the Hindus and the Mahomedans by the ear, and what was their chagrin only the other day when they found a few Mussalman leaders relenting and throwing in their lot with the Congresswalas! They have shed tears over their short-sightedness! And to such of them this open declaration of the heart-burning of the Telugu patriots against the Tamil ascendancy should be a wind-fall!

Look at it how you like, this cry for a separate Province is *premature*, and the open complaint of a few of a class on behalf of all the *Telugus* for preferment is a false and provocative step. It is more likely than not that the dying embers in other matters, will be stirred up, and the prospects of cordial co-

operation and common endeavour for the public good lost amidst the squabbles.

Enthusiasm of our Circar brothers which is always remarkable and nourishing in the service of their fellowmen, may degenerate into fury and passion when their cry for separation meets with indifference, lukewarm sympathies, and a sure opposition from both inside and outside. We have at the very outset, the earnest of what is to follow. All those that are against the enthusiasts are put down for fools and cowards.

Better they concentrate their thoughts and energies on the many beneficial and humanizing objects and institutions they have on hand, rather than worrying their brains and bruising their good hearts by ruminating over the so called aggressiveness and the preponderance of the Tamils, and the disabilities arising from a Lieutenant-Governor not being appointed to rule over all the Telugus. I for one may pray for and hope in trust for higher and immediate aims and purposes.

XX

Sir,—I have carefully read the letter of the Honorable Mr. Kesava Pillai in the Madras Indian Dailies of the 13th instant, and I am sorry to find that

most of his arguments against the present agitation for a separate Andhra province are altogether, beside the point, and ignore the main issue. He has lost sight of the political ideal that forms the basis of his movement. I believe he along with other Indians has faith and trust in the ideal placed before the Indian people by the National Congress — the attainment of Swaraj or self-Government such as obtains in the British Colonies. I also believe that he entertains a hope of getting provincial autonomy clearly set forth in a solemn State document. The ideal of a United States of India with free autonomous and self-contained provinces under the suzerainty of an Imperial Government at Delhi is one quite possible of attainment, though not in the immediate future. If it were at once or within measurable distance of time attainable it will be no longer an ideal. How does Mr. Kesava Pillai propose to attain this ideal? Does he ask us to wait till all the races in India are ‘shaped’ into one nation by the bootheels of foreigners? Is this commingling of races ever possible? If not both in the interests of good administration and for the fair development of the latent energies in each race what better distinctive landmarks for the proper division of India into provinces does he propose than the languages spoken by the majority of people therein?

The old division of India into presidencies and commissionership is a clumsy, out-of-date arrangement.

It is but an accident based on historical conquests, bargains and chicanery, and is really an antiquated one. It is like an ugly building whose small original structure has been gradually extended in all sorts of directions within the last 250 years with no definite ideas as to shape, form or symmetry of any part thereof, but only according to the exigencies of the times and to the whims of the successive architects. For instance, there is no sanctity attached to the present limits of the Madras Presidency, and surely there is no sanity in conglomerating around the little town of Fort St. George a number of districts inhabited by different races, speaking different languages and acquired at different times from different native rulers by different methods; but as regards these long-standing divisions at least in one case that of Bengal the settled fact has been unsettled, and Behar has been converted into a separate province though it is an anomaly that Orissa should have been tacked on to it. Three Telugu sections of the Central Provinces have been joined to the Godavary district. Our Government has lately divided North Arcot into two and annexed Chittoor to the Northern group, thus we see that even our rulers clearly recognise the advisability of dividing territories according to languages for their administrative convenience. Why should not such changes be made in regard to Uriya Taluqs in Vizagapatam and Ganjam district, to South Canara and the Canarese

Telugus in Bellary and to Malabar. There is no harm if a province be large or small. We have before us the clear example of the United States of America.

Now I shall deal seriatim with the chief arguments of the Hon'ble Mr. Kesava Pillai. The Tamils, the Telugus the Malayalees and the Canarese might or might not have belonged to one original Dravidian stock but at present we plainly see their dissimilarities in manners, customs, language and historic traditions. They differ as much if not more from one another as a German from an Englishman, or even a Scotchman from an Englishman, though all these originally belonged to Anglo Saxon stock. Ethnologically considered, there is a mixture of blood of various distinct nationalities in each and every caste and subcaste in India. Let no Indian pose himself as one of pure and unadulterated descent, but he cannot at the same time ignore the present wide gulfs between the various peoples inhabiting India and their distinctive national characteristics. We ask for a re-distribution of provinces according to the prevailing languages spoken thereon, as far as possible. In the Telugu province Mr. Kesava Pillai whom I am proud to call a domiciled Andhra will of course have the same privileges as the indigenous Andhra ; so also, a Tamilian a Mabaratta a Mahomedan or a Christian. All these are Andhras, no matter what religion they profess, provided they are domiciled in the Andhra Province. In the

same way there may be thousands of Andhras domiciled in other provinces and Native States of India. Mr. Kesava Pillai falls foul of Andhra patriots for their references to Andhra's past greatness and to Andhra valour, and suggests that such things create bad blood among other peoples in India, but let us not forget that every race and land has its own heroes. Is it a sin if an Andhra be specially proud of Mr. Veeresalingam, though he may be an all India hero? Do not the Maharattas feel a special pride in their Rarnade, Gokhale, Tukkarani, Ramadas, and Sivajee, though all these are revered throughout India?

The reference to loaves and fishes of office in Mr. Pillai's letter is most unfortunate. We entirely repudiate the suggestion that this agitation is primarily for getting a few more lucrative posts than now in the administration, though I admit it is an honourable ambition for anybody to bring about certain conditions wherein better opportunities may arise for his countrymen to efficiently serve the State. The creation of a separate Andhra province, will of course in its train bring a High Court, a University, a Governor nearer home to our people. It will have its own executive and legislative Councils, where the sons of the soil will have greater opportunities than now of distinguishing themselves. I do not minimise the importance of this aspect of the matter too, but the leaders in this agitation stand on a far higher ground—

the urgent necessity of creating strong, self-contained, provincial units throughout India for the development of a puissant Indian nation. All the past history of the European races has taught us one important lesson—how the long and wearisome political struggles have culminated in the realization of the idea of nationality and in the division of the continent according to race and language. In some countries like Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Hungary, where different races dwell provincial autonomy has been adopted, after dividing the countries into provinces according to race and language. We therefore believe that to attain the ideal of Colonial system of Government repeatedly and solemnly propounded by our Indian National Congress the division of India into smaller provinces according to language is the only practical and feasible method. Without this contrivance, an Indian Nation will ever remain a myth and an unreality.

Why should, then, this reasonable and sensible agitation create bad blood among other Indian races and why should our European landlords chuckle with glee at our petty squabbles? Neither of these two surmises is in fact true, and if the opposition to the creation of an Andhra Province is to be based on such flimsy grounds, {some uncharitable persons may be prone to ascribe it to the jealousy of other races lest they may lose their ascendancy in the administration

of the Telugu districts. Let us eschew all such things in this discussion. As regards false patriotism I think parochial and provincial patriotism within proper limits is greatly conducive to the development of individuals as well as communities and are but the necessary stepping-stones for true national patriotism.

Mr. Kesava Pillai raises the spectre of Brahmins versus non-Brahmins, but at the same time quietly ignores the existence of this and many other social problems in every province of India on whatever lines it may be constituted. I ask Mr. Pillai, in all sincerity how the dragging of this gaunt spectre into the present discussion is either pertinent to or useful in the selection of this political problem. The social problems, just as our poor, are always with us, to whatever Community or part of India we may belong. Why should the creation of separate provinces for political purposes be regarded as *premature* because certain social evils and disabilities are present in more or less aggravated form throughout India? These have to be gradually removed, not only by the Brahmins but also by the Vysyas and the high caste Sudras of each province. So far as I am aware, wealth and influence are with the non-Brahmins both in towns and villages though mere intellect of the Brahmin still reigns supreme at least in Southern India.

Let us turn to another spectre raised by Mr. Kesava Pillai—Ceded Districts and Nellore *versus*

Northern Circars. If the former unmistakably show their disapprobation of a separate Andhra Province, then farewell to all this agitation but why should they set their face against this movement, or granting for a moment that the official of the Northern Circars will swamp this district, why should their present dumping by other races be approved? We all know the saying that blood is thicker than water and in the present instance there can be no stronger tie for all the people living in the Telugu district than language. The mere thought that the descendants of the Telugu subjects of the Kings of Vijianagar will scout the idea of an Andhra province is ridiculous in the extreme and even if one here and one there, in ignorance of the past history and traditions of the Andhras tries to imagine that there is some barrier in the way of the fusion of all the Telugas the bulk of the people will be loyal to the cause. We of the Northern Circars have the highest reverence for the sacred land of Krishnadevaraya, Pothana, Sreenadha, Tikkana, Peddana, Ramaraja Bhushana, Dhujati and scores of our national bards and heroes. The past isolation must necessarily hereafter give place to greater coalescence and consolidation of all the Telugu speaking communities and sweeten all the more their renewed love towards one another. For my part, I should like to have our provincial capital on the ruins of Hampi in preference to any other flourishing town

in the Andhradesa. Who knows that after all, in the fulness of time, the Andhra Province itself may be still further subdivided into self-contained units, like the old 13 English Puritan States on the shores of the Atlantic for their administrative convenience.

As this agitation for a separate Andhra Province cannot be easily nipped in the bud by mere pooh poohing and mere expressions of contempt and as the movement has come to stay let the question of cost and other allied questions be calmly discussed and dispassionately considered without raising irrelevant issues and having recourse to flippant arguments. In the light of Mr. Kesava Pillai's remarks in his letter I humbly beg to inform him that though I am an enthusiast, I am an old and sober one, and that though I am not a veteran and an honourable, those that have known me do not include me among the irresponsibles.

15-6-'13, }
Masulipatam. } V. SURYANARAYANA RAU.

XXI

Sir,—I shall be much obliged if you kindly give space to the following few lines in reply to the Hon. Mr. Kesava Pillai's letter about the Andhra Province in your valuable paper. I was rather amused and surprised at the letter of Mr. Pillai. However, he deserves

the thanks of the Andhra world by his free expression of opinion on the subject.

The address of Mr. M. Suryanarayana, as President of the District Conference, Vizagapatam, has come down as a bolt from the blue and has stirred the Andhra and outside world to meditate about the Province question, which has taken firm hold of young Andhras and strongly appealed to their imagination. The question of a separate province is a simple one to my mind. You have already various provinces in India, both major and minor. It is settled that India cannot be one province, to ensure the much misunderstood national unity and consolidation. The formation of provinces on ethnic and linguistic basis has already been recognised in the case of Bengal, Behar and Assam. Our goal has been held out by our rulers. Each province would be an autonomous, administrative unit with the Imperial Government controlling all these units. What the Andhras desire is the formation of an Andhra Province on ethnic and linguistic basis basing their claim on the principle that India must sooner or later be divided into similar provinces on the language basis. Each province will develop without hindrance and at the same time contribute to the progress of Indian nationality. Where then is the obstacle to the unity of Indian races? The separation of Behar from Bengal has not prevented both the races from joining hands in the Bankipore Congress.

Though we were separated from Bengal, we sympathised with her national grievances and the separate development in different provinces has not created any ill-feeling as yet between Bengalees, or Panjabis on the one hand and the Madrasis on the other. Likewise even if India were ever to be divided on language basis, the same unity will surely prevail. Those who urge Scottish Home Rule and Irish Home Rule are not unmindful of their being Britishers. All the same, the modern tendency all over the world is to restrict the area of provinces and to unite in federation. This federal ideal has been promised to India also and India must move with the times. It is impossible to remove language differences and wisdom lies in recognising this difference and perceiving unity in diversity. Prof. Max Muller said, "To speak the same language constitutes a closer union than to have drunk the same milk." The main languages may be 17 or so in India and India is fit enough to be divided into 17 provinces. I do not care whether Andhra Province gets a Governor or a Lieutenant Governor. When once the Telugus are brought under one administration, they will get the administration that is suited to them. It is the look out of the rulers. In many instances a Chief Commissioner like Sir Henry Cotton may prove a better administrator than a Governor like Sir Arthur Lawley.

It seems to me that the letter of Mr Pillai re-

quires no reply, if it had not proceeded from him. His arguments against the separation are beside the point and in the judicial language irrelevant. I cannot for a moment understand what the Brahmin and non-Brahmin feeling has to do with the question of the Andhra Province. One thing is certain, such ill-feeling does not exist to such an extent as there is in the Southern country and is fast disappearing. Gradually sympathy is extending to the depressed classes and some of this class attended the Andhra Conference. The granting of a separate Province cannot of itself prevent the Brahmin extending his sympathy to the Pariah. The Brahmos of Andhra Desa have no caste distinction and they are trying for the elevation of the lower classes. But suppose a Province is granted. What prevents us from elevating the Panchamas then. This argument is beside the point and it is unfair to tack one thing to another to create class prejudice. Mr. Pillai knows full well the ancient Andhra history and does that not betoken a specific tradition for Andhras? If the Andhra is proud of his past, how does that obstruct his admitting the domiciled Tamilian to his fold? Suppose a Hindu gets the rights of a European citizen. Then does he expect the Englishman to forsake his past for the sake of the domiciled Hindu or the Chinaman? As for the question of appointments, the Andhra wants that only merit may be given its due. A Teluga official can better know and appre-

ciate the wants of his fellowmen better than a non-Telugu unacquainted with the genius of the language. Efficiency is not impaired thereby but the happiness of the people is sure to be promoted. I find a historical error. Kulatunga I, was an Andhra and not a Tamilian as was supposed by Mr. Pillai. In the past, the Provinces were based on language basis in India. Yet there was national sentiment and we will have that feeling all the more at present, living as the whole of India does under one British overlordship. We are all a political nation and we may become more advanced under the federal rule. When once we are convinced that Andhra Province is desirable, we do not care for what a few Anglo-Indians may do to create dissensions. When we rightly understand a certain problem, no-body can harm us, if we stand firm. If we are to cease our work, because somebody may sow dissensions, then we had better stop all public work. If a cause is righteous, its progress cannot be arrested by such trivial incidents. I have firm belief that our administrators will not do anything of the sort to sow dissensions between Tamilians and Telugus. Granting for the sake of argument that that will be the case, we are sensible enough not to unnecessarily retard the unity of Indian races. Our aim is our own progress with the goal of Indian Nationality before us and is not to come up at the expense of others. It appears to me that it is most insulting to

the Andhras to make them responsible for the words :
 " All those that are against the enthusiasts are put
 down for fools and cowards." No enthusiast amongst
 Andhras has ever said that.

I am only sorry that Mr. Pillai has not argued
 the question on its merits but has brought in alto-
 gether irrelevant matters to prejudice the Province-
 discussion. This letter may stimulate further discussion
 and give an opportunity to judge on what slender
 foundations the opponents of the Andhra Province base
 their reasons.

Guntur, *June 15.*

C. SESHAGIRI RAO

XXII

Sir,—The Hon'ble Mr. Kesava Pillai deserves
 well of the public of the Ceded Districts in particular,
 and of the presidency in general, for his fearless advo-
 cacy of the popular cause at the bar of the local legis-
 lature. But Mr. Pillai in the 13th June issue does not
 afford us any edifying reading, his contribution evin-
 cing neither good logic, nor sound reasoning, nor
 healthy patriotism. In the first place, let me assure him
 that I would prefer the company of that band of
 " youthful enthusiasts " who seeing things in the
 right perspective would lose no time and spare no
 effort to have the existing institutions assimilated to

a better standard furnished to the world by the working of the relentless laws of political evolution, to that of the 'Sun-dried fossils' who refuse to see anything good anywhere except in the four corners of their cast-iron compartments most often based on a misreading of the teachings of History, misappreciation of the force of current events and the but not least on the misconstruction of the aims of those who would have the misfortune to differ from them. Mr. Pillai's objections to the Andhra movement seem to me on a perusal of his article to be four-fold :—

Firstly, Mr. Pillai betrays an undue anxiety for the fate of the minor communities in case the Andhra movement is to materialise into an Andhra province. Secondly, he foresees in the movement, if it is to be turned out into an actuality, a necessary conflict with the ideal of national unity as set forth by the Indian National Congress during all these years of its work. Thirdly, Mr. Pillai seriously reckons with the jeerings of a certain section of the Anglo Indian Press at the fight of the Andhras for a Province of their own. Finally, Mr. Pillai enters in a plea of prematurity of the movement.

The first objection of Mr. Pillai very unhappily blends a question of pure social reform with one of political reconstruction which would afford equal opportunities for all who could lay any pretensions to

the same historic genius, instinct and language. It is not to see how the creation of an Andhra Province would help to solve or would not help to solve the vexed question of the amelioration of the 'horny-handed.' This is a question to which the best intelligence of India would have to address itself in right earnest in the near future, Andhra Province or no Andhra Province. On the other hand the creation of Andhra Province would lend powerful support to the effort at the elevation of the depressed classes as it would have the effect of circumscribing the activities of Andhra reformers to a smaller orbit, that is to the depressed classes in the Andhra Province, thus expediting the participation of this unit in the commingling of national harmony.

One would fail to see how Mr. Pillai apprehends the domination of one race in the Andhra province which implies nothing else than the mere adjustment of the Andhra country on ethnological lines. If it is the intelligence, talent and force of character that is brought to the top by the creation of a province, the mere accident that intelligence, talent and force of character happens to belong to a particular class would be no argument for anybody to vote against the operation of the law of the survival of the fittest because the fittest happen to belong to a particular community. If this part of Mr. Pillai's argument stands to reason one can vehemently cry with reason against the ar-

liamentary elections, simply because the Prime-Minister, who is the creature of the legislature happens to belong to a particular party which does not happen to be in the good graces of a particular person. This portion of Mr. Pillai's argument which is evidently intended to be his strongest is really his weakest ; it partakes more of the vague fear of the ascendancy of the Brahmin over the non-Brahmin than of any appreciation of any solid results that may eventuate by the creation of a province. If we are, as we are, domineered by the Brahmin intellect, the creation of the province would not affect the situation worse. If we are not under the ascendancy of the Brahmans, the creation of the province would not bring about the undesirable consummation of Brahman ascendancy. If at all the creation of the province would effect anything in the direction, it would improve the chances of the non-Brahmans in the country coming out prominent as these would have to brave competition only with the Brahmans in the Andhra country and not with those in the south who, according to the Hon'ble Mr. Cardew, are the keenest in intellect. Therefore, Mr. Pillai's invocation of the Brahman versus non-brahman, or the Brahman versus the depressed classes or of the minor communities is absolutely irrelevant to the question of a province and carries with it its own condemnation.

The second objection of Mr. Pillai's for an An-

Andhra province is no longer original. It has reached the domain of the state. It must be first understood (I am not writing an exposition of the Andhra movement or province which I mean reserving for an article in the *Modern Review* as an act of political hedonism which nobody would help otherwise. If a newborn child, unknown and untaught drawing itself to the breast of its mother by some mysterious force of Nature does not mean a necessary conflict with its growth to man-hood or woman-hood, if the training of a boy in a course of gymnastics under well disciplined teachers does not mean a conflict with the development to man-hood, if the starting of the river Amazon in a small stream at its source does not necessarily mean a conflict with its growth to a mighty volume at its entrance to the sea, if the rising of the morning Sun just after the twilight in an indefinite and vague form does not necessarily mean a conflict with its growing into power at mid day, the creation of an Andhra Province or the recognition of the Andhras as a political unit does not necessarily mean a conflict with the ideal of an Indian Nationality. It is the beginning of a great end. It is rendering perfect of a particular organ to play its destined part effectively and well in the economy of general organism, taking stock of the differences in the historical genius, traditional antecedents, physical formation and community of language of the different organs and pro-

viding suitable pabulum for the growth of each. If sanctions are at all necessary for the desirability of such a procedure, the wealth of History shall be our first sanction. Lord Hardinge in his State despatch standing for a separate administration for the Hindi-speaking population shall be our first witness. Our road shall be in essentials Unity, in non-essentials Liberty, and in all things Charity. Our activities for our own self-improvement on the lines of least resistance do not imply ill-will towards our Tamilian brethren or anybody else for that matter. Those who would urge the second objection of Mr. Pillai would seriously miss the goal at which India is proceeding or at any rate, the goal at which it sought to proceed if the recent despatch of Lord Hardinge is to be duly given effect to. The despatch strikes the note of heterogeneous Nationalism not homogeneous Nationalism. Heterogeneous Nationalism may mean one which would help us to view India in the words of the president of the 8th Vizagapatam District Conference "as a city of which each province is a street. The provinces may be marked off from one another even more distinctly than they are by differences of language, custom, habit, tradition and instinct, but nothing shall prevent their working together in perfect harmony, thanks to that great Indian National Congress, that political conscience of India for the common empire to which we are proud to belong to any more than the organs

each with its own functions, its own sphere of enjoyment and separate kind of treatment it requires when anything is wrong with it, working for the common-happiness of the body." What does the Hindu University Movement stand for? It stands for the drawing forth of all that is best in the Hindu youth so as to perfect him with all the necessary panoply for playing his part in the national economy. Is it viewed as a separatist move? The movement is on a par with the Hindu University movement, the one being territorial and the other educational. Some would have the Andhra movement divorced from the Andhra province. How human nature would vegetate if there is no powerful incentive to work, need hardly be expatiated upon.

The third objection is not worth any serious consideration.

Coming to the fourth of Mr. Pillai it reveals a serious self-contradiction. While fighting all the while against the movement and the province that he should in the end enter in the plea of prematurity reminds one of the legal defence set up by an ignorant client that the note on which he issued is both discharged and the time for its payment is not yet due. Prematurity is the argument of those who would admit the desirability of any movement. It is not too premature for any good cause to be initiated. Who can say or fix the limits of maturity? Was China mature for a

democracy at the time when democracy was really imposed on it?

So far I have only revealed the weakness of Mr. Pillai's position, while reserving the strength of the movement to a further article.

Ongole,	}	N. CHELAPATI ROW, B. A.
16th June 1913.	}	<i>First Grade Pleader Ongole.</i>

XXIII

The Hon'ble Mr. Kesava Pillai writes :—

When I said in my letter against the separation of the Andhras, advocated by some of them on the strength of "their language, traditions and instincts," that the agitation for a separate province was "premature" I should have made myself more clear. What I meant was that an agitation for a separate province even on administrative grounds, *not necessarily* of all the Telugu Districts, *was premature*. Commercial progress, trade interests development of industries and other circumstances may arise to necessitate such a course in the dim future. As for "the keenest in intellect" in Southern India, it will add to the glory of the Telugu Brahmins to come into conflict with them and win their spars. The Telugu intellect need not shrink from it. The non-Brahmin intellect too is in no way inferior to the Brahmin. It is want of

proper industry and application that is lacking to have each his share in the race.

 XXIV

SIR,— I may at once say that I am one of those, who are responsible for the drafting of the original proposition in regard to the Andhra Province and am neither afraid nor ashamed of it. This spirit *came over* me or it would be right to say, it has *evolved* in me after a very deliberate consideration for a year, fighting for and against within myself and with others. I confess that it may count for nothing. Having carefully studied the literature on the subject and Mr. Subba Rau Pantulu's answers to Mr. Sly, between the lines, and to crown all, the Presidential address of Mr. Sarma—containing a chain of incontrovertible arguments, I, with many others, became converted to that ideal, which inspiration proceeded from the heads of the Guntur moderates rather than from any so-called extremist-heads elsewhere. However, I think I am right in saying that one who held a more responsible position, that is to say, President of the Vizagapatam Conference, Mr. M. Suryanarayana Rao, cut the guardian knot, with an unflinching hand, though Mr. Sarma wanted to try to untie the knot with a quivering hand, and though he was *certainly*

aware that the knot should be disturbed any way! To my mind it appears to be only a difference in the *modus operandi*. One should have wit enough to appreciate both! From what I have gathered, from what occurred on the spot, it was understood that Messrs. Adinarayanayya, Krishna Row and Venkataramayya and other opposers *did not* oppose on the grounds stated by our friend Mr. Pillay, but entirely on one single ground, namely, that it was either premature or that the public mind was not prepared for it then. So there is no use of Mr. Pillay's trying to convince the world, that *he* is on the same platform with Messrs. Adinarayanayya and others. His grounds are quite different and they may be right or they may be wrong. I will tell you Sir, why Vizagapatam and Ganjam are supposed to be against an Andhra Province. Language division is in *their* way but not anything else. Nearly three fourths of Ganjam and Vizagapatam is Uriya country. The Andhras of those two Districts have acquired large properties in that part of the country. If necessary Uriya country will have to be separated from the Andhra country; then some Andhras undoubtedly suffer, but certainly not the Uriyas, as they have always been welcoming it and I think rightly too. If language is not the criterion, Mr. Pillai would be disappointed to know that Vizag and Ganjam will join hands with us as first participators in their weal or woe. Mr. Sarma and Mr. Surya-

narayana, the president of the District Conference, a responsible person, both say, but in different language. that a province is conducive to the welfare of the Andhras and it is good in the interests of the Empire itself. No dissentient voice was heard at the Conference nor any criticism of it after. Why, Mr. Sarma himself was present there probably to give his support. It is also a myth to say that Nellore is against it. We *must* remember that there is a vast deal of difference (and we must not confound one with the other,) between having a Province *at all* and a province *now*. So far as my intelligence permitted, I can only say, among the Andhras there is no serious difference of opinion as regards the establishment of a Province. But Mr. Kesava Pillay doubts whether the Ceded Districts would agree. I am not sure whether he himself consulted within this short time the 'Ceded Districts' men. At first we thought the people of Vizagapatam and Ganjam, would oppose *en masse* but we are agreeably disappointed by the speech of Mr. Suryanarayana, immediately after the Andhra Conference. In these matters it is nothing but boldness to assert one way or the other. Now we are not asking for the Province but only wished to know the public opinion on the matter because some important persons think that it would be for the good of the people. If public opinion is against us, certainly we would not be so foolhardy as to press the matter home. To ascertain

public opinion a very impartial committee has been appointed, of which the opposers like Mr. Pillay and others also are members. Knowing as I do most of them personally, I may venture to say that a fairer committee we had not had at any time previously in any public movement. There is not any harm done, yet. There is ample time before us.

We have no quarrel with any nor is the movement like some of the movements mentioned by our friend, which ask for special treatment. I appeal to Mr. Pillay and other impartial men of his stamp to read Mr. Sarma's address once more and twice and thrice if necessary and carefully ascertain intelligent public opinion on the matter and let them be ready with their best arguments and convincing facts at the next Conference. That to day all Tamilians will resent our conduct, is neither right nor charitable. At any rate that does not bespeak of their toleration and I dont think that any cultured Tamilian would resent as there is nothing in it to resent. Some facts are given and they are all true. Why should truth be resented? Comparisons are always odious to some. Since the birth of these new Legislative Councils, equal opportunities being given, it cannot be said the Andhra Councilors have fallen below the mark? All parts of the body should be strong, then only you call it a healthy body. Local ailments should first be cured by local applications and along with them tonics should be

given so that the body might keep on its strength.

My Honourable friend has been writing of some young "enthusiasts," and I am one of those "young enthusiasts" but only my age is *fifty two*. I am afraid that Mr. Kesava Pillay's age also is 50 but he is old he thinks.

One word more and I have done! There is no doubt whatever, that the question should be well threshed out in the public Press and on the platform and it is for giving us the opportunity to do so in the former way we are much obliged to you.

MITTADODDI VENKATASURBA RAU,
Ongole, June 15. *Pleader, Ongole.*

XXV

The Andhra Movement is still in its infancy; it is just beginning to assume shape. Any attempt at describing its nature and scope will therefore be necessarily imperfect. The immediate causes that led to the manifestation of the movement are many and varied. It may be that the Andhras are discontented with their backwardness in education. It may be that their self respect was wounded by the army regulations which prohibit their enlistment into His Majesty's Army. It may be that they find with humiliation that they are nowhere in the public services of the country

for causes for which they are not entirely to blame. It may be that the degenerate condition in which they find their language and literature to-day has opened their eyes to the deterioration that has come over their social and literary ideals. It may be that they have become alive to the sad fact that want of enterprise and co-operation amongst them has led to the failure of practically every attempt that has hitherto been made by them to develop their industrial life, notwithstanding the superior economic resources of the country inhabited by them. These and other causes for dissatisfaction with their present condition have doubtless stimulated the Andhras into activity and contributed to the hastening of the movement. But the movement itself is of a slow growth. It did not owe its origin to any sudden or stirring event in the political or social life of the Andhras even in the partial sense that the national movement in Bengal had its origin in the partition of that province. There has been a slow awakening among the Andhras for sometime past. Some young men by translating their zeal for reform into action imparted a new vigour to their social life. Genuine efforts are being put forth for the spread of education among the Andhras. There has already been a marked revival in the Telugu language and literature. Attempts at turning into account their economic resources, although very feeble, are not altogether absent. Feelings of patriotism and self-reliance are

germinating in the minds of the Andhras. These and other signs of activity among the Telugu speaking people have naturally inspired them with a desire to put forth their combined efforts to uplift themselves. The attempt to focus the apparently disconnected efforts that are now scattered in various directions into an organisation, the various parts of which so act and react on each other as to reveal its unity and gather round it the life that is so essential for its natural growth, is what is called *the Andhra movement*. Those that characterise the movement as a cry of "Andhra for Andhras" and those that condemn it as a communal movement which tends to foster exclusiveness are either absolutely ignorant of its true significance or are trying to give it a bad name in order to hang it. There is no trace of exclusivism in it. It is a movement that is inspired by ideals which are as universal in their application and catholic in their spirit as any which ever inspired a national movement.

The immediate and apparent causes that are believed to have given rise to the movement are only secondary. A desire to grasp a few more appointments in the public service, a desire to expand the usefulness of a Vernacular literature and a desire to take more largely to wealth-producing avocations, however stimulative in themselves, are wholly inadequate to sustain a movement for the regeneration of a people. Every great movement has a far-reaching and noble ideal

within it. So long as that ideal is not understood the true meaning of the movement itself remains unknown. While the movement itself undergoes various changes and assumes different forms at different times the ideal that lies behind it and supports it will remain constant for ever. Ours is a national ideal. It applies to all the peoples of India equally. It is not inconsistent with the ideals of the Indian National Congress. If the aim of the National Congress is the consolidation of the Indian Nation and the attainment of some form of self-Government within the British Empire and under the sway of Britain, the aim of the Andhra movement is precisely the same. The Andhra movement is but the form into which the national ideal has to be transformed when its actuality is to be realised. The Andhra movement is the resultant shape which the conception of the Indian nation assumes in its practical exemplification. The one aim of the Andhra movement is the helping forward of the process of national consolidation.

The idea of creating an Indian nation by so reforming the Bengalee, the Beharee, the Maharatta : the Guzarattæ the Punjabee, the Telugu and the Tamil, as to make them forget their well marked social, linguistic and other peculiarities and then welding them together into a homogeneous mass, is now generally believed to be altogether fanciful. The idea is opposed to all notions of history and social evolution.

There is already an Indian nation in the process of making. There are features, conditions and affinities common to the various peoples that now inhabit India. It is by developing these features, utilising these conditions, intensifying these affinities and at the same time helping forward to the fullest possible extent, the growth of the different peoples who are characterised by their peculiar and common linguistic and social features along modern lines, congenial to their past history, tradition, civilisation and culture, that we can ever hope to form an Indian nation. But it will be a process of federation and not of fusion. In harmonising the different civilisations and cultures of India and in determining the place of India in the British Empire federation is the only principle of nation-building that can be thought of. History furnishes us with striking examples of the working of this principle in modern times although it is true that new difficulties yet unsolved elsewhere arise in its application to India. The extension of the principle, to countries which present a variety of conditions, all the world over, inspires us with hope. The vision of a united and federated Indian nationality is drawn closer to us today by the spectacle of the unity of the South African Federation and the prospective view of Ireland with its Home Rule, Wales with its disestablished Church and Scotland with its separate Parliament. The Andhra Movement aims at making the ideal of a fede-

rated and perfected Indian Nation a reality. The problem of Indian Nationalism will find its solution in the Andhra Movement.

In my next letter I will deal with the means we have to adopt in solving this problem and in realising this vision.



XXVI .

It is proved by the deeper experience of every race that has known the fulness of life on earth, that every fresh movement of the people towards moral and spiritual freedom, has had to win its way through strong and persistent opposition. Some strange psychological law has always created a subtle social resistance to the passage of new ideas through human communities. Ethically perhaps this spirit of resistance holds as vital a place in nature's organisation as the impulse to unfold. But the pages of national experience bear it out abundantly that all such opposition exists only to be overpowered calling into play all the hidden energy and emotion of the communal soul. And indeed wherever a movement has represented primal human rights, the right of a people to be born as a nation, the demand for equal opportunity among the elements of a social order, the struggle of the individual for perfect freedom of growth and self-expression such a move-

ment, with the formative forces of life behind it, though frequently set back, has ultimately borne down all opposition, leaving a glow of joy, a flush of moral victory over a whole epoch of national existence. Among such stirrings of a people's soul pulsing with the passion of desire for a fuller life and individuality, the Andhra movement claims to be accorded a place, with what justness only the future can prove. But it is curious to note how swiftly the deadweight of social indifference has ranged itself on the side of active opposition. Many minor notes of feeling have doubtless helped to swell the seeming strength of it—subtle prejudices springing from long-standing associations, whispers of self-interest which half-unknowingly pervert human judgment, shallow concessions to old-time friendships, vague fears, needless apprehensions, and crude misgivings, all these have raised each a note of alarm against the Andhra movement. But far more than these petty prejudices or perverted sentiment a real ignorance of the essentials of it has been responsible for much of the vague suspicion which still clouds the minds of men. Through all the discursive criticism of it that has found its way into the public press one searches in vain for any clear comprehension of the true heart of the movement. The air is, however, thick with broken fragments of ideas which pretend to express the full purpose of the movement but emphasise particular aspects of it only.

Thus, there seems to be a notion that the aim of the Andhra movement is to help to multiply the numbers of Andhras in high places with the Government and to start and maintain an agitation to make the Andhra land a close preserve for the race. So also not a few seem to hold that the Andhra Conference would serve its highest purpose by functioning as a pure social gathering of the Andhra, and adjunct to the political, literary and other conferences already in existence. Finally, there seems to be a strong section of opinion which looks forward to the creation of Andhra province as the end and aim of all Andhra effort.

Let us discuss these ideas one by one, to show where each of them falls short of the highest ideals in National evolution. The question of racial preferment for high service and its emoluments is morally indistinguishable from that of racial exclusion such as the nations of Europe and their descendants in other colonies have been so unblushingly exercising both in the new and old worlds. In either aspect, the hardness and selfishness of the rule, though allowed by the code of western morals, is one utterly alien to and unknown in the wide empire of the east. Among all oriental people not only has there never been the least hindrance offered to the incomer, but the law of domicile has ever been of the slenderest, admitting a stranger almost immediately to equal rights of citizenship and the full protection and privileges of the law and custom of the

land. This is of the essence of the Eastern soul receptive, tolerant, magnanimous, so fearless of individual expansion and so assured of the infinite harmonies of life and being. Need we then add that the rule is equally opposed to the inherited temper and tradition of the Indian nation, and to the very constitution of the mother country that has left a clear gateway in an otherwise impregnable frontier wall of granite, bidding the world welcome into the rich plains of Hindoosthan. How then shall the Andhra movement be guilty of such a narrowing of imaginative vision, such a decline in purity and breadth of moral purpose as to desire to exclude any stranger from full participation in the privileges and blessings of his land? Further, it is evident that such a desire for self-protection in national life is a confession of moral and intellectual weakness and as an accepted principle in national life, bound to prove disastrous to any community of men by steadily and insidiously taking away from the strength of racial self-respect and racial dignity. While here, in India, where a culture must evolve out of a thousand harmonies of temper and character it would mean a serious spiritual loss which might frustrate the highest purpose of India Nationalism. If such and so serious be the objections to the doctrine of racial preference in the island, may one not emphatically declare in the name of the Andhra people that the new movement is utterly clear of all preference for any race or

community of men, and strongly condemnatory of every feeling which may harden into racial prejudice or foster class jealousy.

Now, taking the second of the misconceptions noticed above in regard to the significance of the Andhra Movement, it must be remembered that the most important feature of the movement is that it is not like the political, social, literary and other conferences sectional in its interests. It does not limit itself to any particular course of action, nor to the pursuit of any one specific line of inquiry. It is so, to speak, a whole-life movement embracing every aspect of a people's activities. In other words, it stands for the evolution of the race through all the complex phases of life in the modern. Even so in the new centuries, among the civilised nations of the world, great communal institutions tend steadily to draw into themselves all the varied tributaries of a people's life— political, social, and spiritual. Such a tendency is only in line with the deepening consciousness that human life is essentially and inextricably one and that it will be an unmeaning and infructuous artificiality to judge of its various phases apart from one another as if they did not reveal the workings of but one inner tendency. How, then, shall we conceive of an Andhra movement limited in the range of its application, unresponsive to certain sides of the National Life ?

But, there is another aspect to the situation from

which the plea of an all-round unity speaks even more powerfully. The dominant motive of an Andhra Conference is, strange as it might seem, less the achievement of any immediate end than the embodying of the idea of Andhra unity. It is the creation of a symbol which would adequately express the passion-laden story of centuries of varied racial experience. Speaking thus we conceive of the Andhra movement and conference not as an effort wedded to action but as an idea in repose idealising, so to speak, the fulness of a racial life. It is clear that any the least imperfection in the symbol so sought would dull the fine point of its symbolic character and may even tend to take away from its influence on the popular mind. Thus arises the clear necessity of leaving the scope and significance of the Andhra Conference as wide as the life and interests of the Andhra people, nay perhaps wider, so as to endow it with the needed power to lead every line of social activity into the fuller circle of National existence.

Turning to the third of the misconceptions noticed above which interprets the movement as an agitation for the securing of an Andhra Province, a mere glance at the conditions of the Andhra land and people would suffice to show that it but imperfectly renders the nature and scope of the movement. It is too narrow in that it confines itself to a mere political demand. And there the object of desire is such that, under pres-

sent political conditions, it finds no legitimate place for a substantial section of the Andhras who live under the Nizam. But this is not the only objection to receiving a purely political object as the end and aim of the movement and conference. The Andhra movement is primarily a people's movement, its full purpose being the awakening of those emotions and the creation of such political, social, literary, and other institutions as would enable the Andhras to realise and achieve their essential unity. For the greater portion of this ideal can be realised only through a people's self-effort and even such political institutions as powerfully subserve racial unity would remain of no value if they be not informed with a sense of their ultimate bearing on the inner struggles of a people's soul.

But it is undoubted that the conception of one integral province for the Andhras is a fundamental, if not the most important item, in the programme of the Andhra movement. For nothing gathers to ahead the whole sphere of a people's activities as a common political life. And under right conditions the unity of common political institutions may be and often is the strongest expression of a sense of national unity. But while the Andhras openly strive to secure such political integrity even in the measure in which it is now practicable, they cannot afford to ignore a wider unity which enfolds all the Andhras into a single clearly

outlined race. That under present conditions on the political side such an integration is well-nigh impossible need not detract from the strength of common feeling nay rather it may add a zest to the desire for the realisation of oneness through all the arbitrary lines of an accidental division, and be an ever living stimulus to that finer self-discipline of emotions which would learn to regard the Andhra movement as an essentially spiritual and self-educative effort.

If the object of the Andhra movement be wider and purer than any of these ideas would suffice to indicate, how then shall we define it so as to bring out its full and living significance. In a manner a good definition is easily framed by referring only to the far ideal in the distance. And certainly and irrefutably the Andhra Ideal is and will be so to sustain and advance the conception of Andhra Unity that in preserving its own clear individuality, it shall seem only to enrich the Ideal of Indian Nationalism. Implied in such a definition are two fundamental notions that, within the fulness of national unity, there may be many component races and that these latter may develop clear and firm outlines of their own without interfering with the harmony and singleness of National whole. This is not the place to attempt a vindication of the ethical soundness or spiritual sufficiency of such a statement, but it must be unequivocally told that at the very root of this Andhra claim for

recognition is the conception of an Andhra Race, delicately formed and delicately distinguished from the National portrait, with a full, clear, living individuality of its own. To explain the fundamental points of this individuality or to strive to account for them would be a task, subtle, difficult, perhaps illusive and indeterminate. But the essential truth of such a race-personality is among the unquestionable verities of human experience proved by the spontaneous love and veneration of an ancient people. This must be believed in wholly, for, in the last analysis, the surest and deepest justification of the Andhra movement is here, bottomed in the conception of an Andhra Desā and Race as a great and wonderful unity, a pure and living fountain of life and culture. To embody this unity, to deepen and strengthen the emotion which would nourish and sustain it, to uphold and advance the culture which is the blossom of it in that characteristic purity and loveliness which the spirit of human evolution has here chosen to wear, to preserve and enrich the peculiar strain of temper and manners in all of its delicate detail of picturesque variation on the national type—this must remain now and for ever the burden of the Andhra movement. While other things helping in the realisation of this central purpose,—a great university which incarnates the soul of national aspirations through a language and literature growing and mellowing in power and beauty

of self-expression, popular institutions, sabhas, parishads and other gatherings of the people, which with serious earnestness of intention, seek to recall and revive the spirit of an ancient civilisation through all the manifold concerns of the present, the creation of a central Government which will gather the political life of the people into one splendid centre of racial strength—all this would be proper matter for study and deliberation at the Andhra conference of every year. Details of such schemes must necessarily vary from epoch to epoch of racial life but can never affect the heart and motive of a movement. Such as are vital to the present will be in coming articles discussed and the bringing about of many changes in popular conceptions and the compassing of many new ideas advocated, such as will tend to foster and deepen a sense of unity among the Andhras and so help to build up an Andhra race strong, valiant, frank and free which shall know itself as a vital and competent element in the great ideal of an Indian Nationality. K. HANUMANATHA RAO M. A., B. L.

XXVII

II (V. RAMADAS GARU, B. A. B. L.)

The progress of a people lies mainly in their own hands. In every scheme for the amelioration of a nation or a race the exertions of the people themselves

occupy the first place. It may be that the scope for self-advancement is circumscribed within certain sharp limits by the political and the social environment in which those who struggle for advancement are placed. In our country both the administration and social machinery place peculiar limitations on our progress in several directions and guide very largely our attempt at the furtherance of our aims. But subject to these limitations the way to such progress as is possible lies along the path of self exertion. We should therefore recognise the supreme importance of self-reliance and embark upon a programme of work which is at once practical and useful. The educational problem, on the solution of which our destiny depends to a very great extent, should occupy the foremost place in our programme. Relatively speaking the Andhras are the most backward in education among the important communities that inhabit the Presidency of Madras. Only *eight* out of the *thirty* colleges in the province are in the Telugu districts. There is not a single college in the Andhra country where students are trained to any profession, engineering, medicine, teaching or the like. Out of the 756 secondary schools in the Presidency there are only 178 in the Telugu districts. The total number of technical, industrial and art schools in the Presidency is *fifty*; of these the Telugu speaking people have the benefit of only *nine*. The number of scholars and literates is correspondingly

small. Of the fourteen thousand and odd graduates manufactured by our University only two thousand four hundred are Andhras, whereas the figure should have been 5400 relatively to the population. The number of graduates in Medicine, Engineering and teaching can be counted on one's fingers. The most literate of the Telugu districts, Kistna with its percentage of 11-28 occupies the thirteenth place in the list of the districts in the Presidency arranged according to their literacy. A comparison based on the number of Elementary and Primary schools and the institutions under private management has its own story to tell but it is unnecessary to prolong the sad tale. Our efforts should therefore be mainly directed towards the spread of education in the Telugu districts. If Andhras are not able to start and maintain institutions that are intended for their benefit they will not be credited with the possession of patriotism and self-respect so essential for sustaining a national organisation like the Andhra movement. The question of our education is again inextricably mixed up with that of our language, The task of so enriching and developing our language as to make it the vehicle of modern thought and the medium for the spread of knowledge among the people speaking it, is one which demands all our energies and can no longer be neglected. It is a matter for regret that this problem to which the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma gave great prominence in

his presidential address should have been altogether left unnoticed in the public press. Notwithstanding the indifference it was treated with it is sure to force itself upon our attention constantly. The enthusiasm with which the Resolution regarding the founding of a separate University for the Andhra Desa was received at the first Andhra Conference shows the direction in which the current of our national aspiration is flowing and points to the object for the attainment which every Andhra should strive to do his best.

So far most people have no objection to go with us or to sympathise with us. But they advise us not to be very ambitious in constructing our programme and to begin our work with some object which is easy of accomplishment and carry it to a successful termination before we proceed with another. To me it seems that it is neither wise nor possible to confine our activities solely to progress in one particular direction, for the various parts of our national progress are not arranged for us in pigeon-holes to be pulled out at pleasure in such order as we please. It is no more possible for a nation to develop certain parts only of its life to the entire exclusion of its other parts than it is for an animal to grow only in one direction. That we should complete our programme of social or educational reform before we deserve a large measure of civic freedom and so forth are pieces of advice which are neither true nor sane and

people do not believe in them any longer. If social disorganisation and extravagance of caste-exclusiveness are impediments to the development of our political life the absence of institutions which are calculated to develop our faculty of self Government is even greater impediment to the reconstruction of our social fabric. Absence of education among the people may be a reasonable ground for excluding them from the control of the affairs of their own country, but unless a certain measure of effective control over their own affairs is vouchsafed to them they can never become really educated. Progress in one direction depends upon that in another and can never be unilateral. It is bound to be simultaneous though not equal in all directions. In order to draw out all the latent powers of a race and develop them it is necessary that it should be provided either by itself or by those who are placed in authority over it with institutions which afford facilities for its advancement all round. The establishment of a few more schools or colleges or even the founding of a separate University in the Andhra Desa will not enable the Andhras to solve effectively their educational problem. Nor does the establishment of a High Court in the midst of the Andhras enable them to produce jurists and Judges of eminence. Similarly, no other single institution by itself however beneficial may be its results so far as they go, will en-

able a people to construct their national life on solid foundation. The Andhras should not therefore be merely content with asking for this institution or that but strive to obtain a recognition of their claim to occupy an honoured place among the races of India. We should however never attempt to obtain this recognition by seeking protection or preference, not because such a course is morally indefensible as Mr. K. Hanumantharao thinks, but on account of its political inexpediency under present conditions. I fail to see why the correction of the inequality of adjustment in the elements of a social order which is not always or necessarily the result of moral and intellectual weakness of one or other of the elements is morally unjustifiable under all conditions. In my opinion it bears no analogy whatever to the racial exclusion pursued by some of the powerful nations of the west to the detriment of the weaker races. But for a wholly different reason namely the extreme undesirability of racial considerations shaping the policy of British administration in India I am strongly opposed to the idea of Andhras ever claiming any preferment in any matter by reason of finding themselves handicapped in the race of life. It speaks volumes for the wisdom and foresight of the organisers of the Andhras Conference and of its first President that no question relating to a claim by the Andhra for preferential treatment was permitted to be brought

forward for discussion before that assembly. This decision of the organisers was in complete accord with the unanimous wish of those who assembled in the Conference. This fact had probably escaped the notice of the Hon'ble Mr. Kesava Pillai who evidently took it for granted that the movement was the product of the brains of those men who "talk of Andhras possessing different instincts because they did not get equal opportunity to profit by office and emolument." Otherwise it is difficult to understand his condemnation of the "cry for separation and for the better recognition of the claims of the Andhras to the loaves and fishes of public service, a cry even a whisper of which was heard nowhere within the sacred precincts of the first great assembly of the Andhras.

If not by protection or preference, how are the Andhras to obtain a recognition of their claim to occupy their legitimate place among the people of India and to make their contribution to the upbuilding of the Indian nation? The best means by which this can be accomplished is to constitute the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency into a separate administrative unit so that the civic life of the Andhras may receive its fullest expansion. The constitution of an Andhra province is thus the means to an end and not the end in itself. Like many other means which are devised for the accomplishment of an end, it may fail to produce the anticipated results. No one be-

believes that with the creation of an Andhra Province the progress of the Andhras will be complete. On the other hand, those who favour the creation of a Province believe that with its creation their progress will commence. How long the process is to go on and what form it is to take can only be determined by time and experience. Judging from present conditions it seems to me that identity of political interest in the various people of India can be best promoted by grouping them into separate administrative units and that such identity of interest is conducive to their individual growth. The bureaucratic Government of India is essentially British in its conception. In the modern civilised world the State stands for much more than what was understood by the word Government in olden times. The State now not only governs the people but also looks after their educational, commercial, economic and other affairs. In the west by social reform they mean what we in India generally call political reform. With the growth of democracy the people are voluntarily resigning their power more and more into the hands of State which stands for the collective will of the people. England is a thoroughly democratic country in which all the affairs of the people are in the hands of the State. The range of the control of the Government of India over the affairs of its subjects is much the same as that of the Government in England. The Governmen

of India make laws for us in social matters. They govern our Universities. They control and guide the education that we receive in schools and colleges. They direct our commerce. They superintend our factories. They supervise our industries. They initiate and nourish our co-operative movement. So the administration in India enters into every detail of the people's civic life. It follows that the development or expansion of that life is identical with the development or expansion of the administration which sustains it. If an administration is to serve its purpose effectively and usefully it should adjust itself to the needs and conditions of the people placed under its fostering care. Such an adjustment as that, seems to be well nigh impossible when people speaking different languages, having different cultures and traditions and possessing different standards of efficiency and attainments are grouped together in one province for purposes of administration not with any deliberation or purpose but by mere historical or political accident. The British administration will therefore be in an infinitely better position to develop the national life of the people committed to its care if its efforts at their uplifting are not hampered by a conflict of its duties towards them. The conflict can be avoided, so far as it is possible under present conditions, by so grouping the peoples of India for purposes of Provincial Government as to foster their

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racial unity and political integrity, in other words, by the creation of separate provinces consistently with the administrative exigencies of the country and needs of its people.

The idea of a separate province for Andhras has evoked much adverse criticism from some of our prominent contrymen like the Hon'ble Mr. Kesava Pillai and Dewan Bahadur M. Audinarayanayya. I will try to answer in my next letter some of the objections urged against it.

XXVIII

The Andhra movement, which had its birth not long ago, has already made such wonderful progress that it has come to be recognised and accepted by all Andhras. The movement is the result of the general awakening in the East and in India in particular. Ever since the new spirit pervaded the country *i. e.*, during the last half a dozen years, the Andhras have been making rapid progress in the various walks of progressive life and activity in literature and education, in foreign travel and social reform, journalism and public work. The Andhra Conference held at Bapatla was the result of the movement itself and was convened with the object of giving a public, and responsible statement and definition of its aims, ideals

and aspirations. The Conference was of a thoroughly representative character, as all the leading public men in the Andhra country were either present at its sittings or sent messages expressing sympathy with the objects of and wishing success to the Conference. Over 800 delegates were present from all parts of the Andhra country and interest or enthusiasm displayed by these delegates and about 2 thousand visitors in the proceedings was so keen that one of your local daily contemporaries was constrained to observe that "it could not be found even at the Indian National Congress." The various Resolutions have been accepted unanimously by all; but the Resolution around which the keenest interest and enthusiasm were displayed, on which a wide difference or division of opinion was felt, which formed the very crux and essence of the movement itself, which created the same feelings and roused similar passions as the Boycott Resolution did at the Calcutta Congress in 1906, which it was feared would, if carried, create a split and a secession in the very first session—which, however, was approved in the heart of hearts by almost every delegate present, but was considered by some as premature and hasty at the present juncture and under the existing conditions which young Andhras the delegates from the Krishna and Guntur districts almost in a body favoured and supported, which was passed by a narrow majority in the subjects Committee and would, if put

to vote, have been carried by a decidedly overwhelming majority by the House—dealt about the Andhra Province. It is significant to note that no one actually opposed the principle underlying the Resolution, but what some elderly leaders considered was that it was premature and that public opinion about the question might be gathered and gauged before it is passed.

From certain quarters the charge has been brought forward that the Andhra movement and the agitation for an Andhra Province are opposed to the national ideal and in conflict with the spirit and principle of Indian Nationality. I shall in this letter attempt to examine a little this aspect of the question.

The ideal of the Indian Nation is swaraj or Self Government within the British Empire-Colonial, as defined in the creed of the Indian National Congress and suited to conditions and requirements of the country, according to the All-India Muslim League. This ideal is admitted by all to be a far-off, distant and ultimate goal for the attainment of which the country should pass through various phases of progress and improvement and wait for several generations more. However, as practical politicians, the Indian public would do well to place before themselves for immediate achievement the goal of provincial autonomy, described by Lord Hardinge in his famous Despatch to the Secretary of State for India. We must, if we wish to achieve any progress, proceed.

with our work from the bottom to the top, from the village to the country through various intermediate steps and stages in order that a strong nation and a healthy national spirit may be created. As the Hon^r Mr. Gokhale observed last August at a meeting held in his honor in London under the presidentship of Sir M. M. Bhownagree; we must in spite of Lord Crewe's interpretation, put forth our efforts, muster our forces and direct our agitation for the rapid attainment of provincial autonomy, of course without losing sight of the higher national ideal. The very fact that non-official majorities have been granted in the various Provincial Legislative Councils shows that the Government itself is not opposed to any such consummation.

Let us examine on what basis and under what conditions this provincial autonomy can be attained if it is conducive to the rapid achievement ultimately of the national ideal itself. India consists of various important races with different traditions, history and languages and in varying degrees and standards of progress and capacity. Each race should be allowed to progress and work out its own salvation independently and untrammelled by its neighbouring races, so that it might develop according to its own latent capacity and inherent strength and on lines best suited for its uplift. As Sir. H. Cotton sketched out in 1904 at the Congress held at Bombay, the

ultimate form of Government in India would be a United States of India under the aegis of Great Britain. We have to see whether the present grouping of the country into provinces is conducive to the easy and rapid progress of the provinces themselves and for the attainment of the national ideal. The formation of modern provinces is based on no intelligible principle, but is the result purely of accidental acquisitions and additions. The present map of India is heterogeneous and irregular and a new map has to be constructed on some scientific basis and intelligent principle. In India we have several large and distinct races, each of which is bound together by unity of language, origin, nationality, traditions and history; and a division of India into provinces on this ethnological and linguistic basis would seem best suited for the rapid achievement of provincial autonomy and ultimately for the Indian nation. As has been pointed out by an English writer the modern tendency of all races "as they advance in civilisation, stability and self-reliance is not to coalesce and fuse and form self-contained new races, but, on the contrary, to diverge from each other and assert their own individuality as separate peoples." The truth of this statement is illustrated by such glaring examples in Europe as the division of the Empire of Turkey in Europe into the separate independent States of Turkey proper, Bosnia, Servia, Montenegro, Bulgaria and Rumania, the political

bifurcation of Scandinavia into Norway and Sweden, and the proposed division of the British Isles themselves—as propounded by Mr. W. Churchill in a detailed and well-thought-out scheme, into different provincial states like Ireland, Scotland, Wales etc, and by the agitation that is made almost successfully as evidenced by the Irish and Scotch Home Rule Bills—by these countries for distinct self-Government of their separate races. All these examples and the principle illustrated by them yield lessons to the Government and the people of India and teach them that the classification or division of the country into provinces should be based as far as possible on unity of race and language.

In support of the above contentions I shall quote here at some length from the book. "The Political future of India" published in 1908 by Hodder and Stoughton, London. It contains three select and best essays contributed to the Laidlaw competition, which offered a prize of Rs, 2000 for the best essay on the aspirations of educated Indians. I take the extracts from the second essay written evidently by an English-man with vast Indian official experience under the non-de-plume of Action Front. The essayist treats the subject and examines the regeneration of the country on a racial basis and shows therein great scientific, political and philosophic knowledge.

From the following extract (Chp VI, p. 223-224)

we gather how our political agitation is viewed by an Englishman and the necessity for agitating for autonomy of provinces based on racial and linguistic unity:—

“If I were an irresponsible despot with absolute sovereignty over all India, I would to maintain my absolutism, consistently encourage the propagation of the one-nation idea. For so long as the misguided Indians pursued this phantasm I would feel sure in my power, as the stupid would always be dragging down the intelligent, the backward would retard the progress of the more advanced, and the pace of the whole movement would be that of the slowest and least developed race. Aeons of ages would elapse before even a semblance of union emerged from such chaotic elements. The very futility of such unpractical efforts would be the mainstay of my despotism for an indefinitely remote period.

“But, on the other hand, if the day dawned when each one of my subject races started a propaganda for separate racial self-development, apart and distinct from each other, I would have to recognise that the beginning of the end of my despotic rule had come. This conclusion would be forced on me for the following reasons:—(a) As each separate race advanced independently in civilisation it would gradually become self-contained, and would strongly resent being dragged down, or even retarded in its progress, by its other less enterprising neighbours.

(b) as a practical man, though a despotic ruler, it would be to my interest and advantage to placate and help on the development of the inherent good qualities of such a progressive race till it could, metaphorically speaking, stand on its own feet; (c) the same procedure would be followed with successive races as they showed tendencies towards self-improvement, till at last a time would come when all the races in India would form separate self-governed states, acknowledging one suzerain power over the Indian continent.

“It is possible in the far dim future, when all the Indian races have separately developed a high state of civilisation and self-government, that they may for purposes of defence against foreign aggression form themselves into the confederated states of India, and so in an indirect way eventually become a community internally dissimilar, but one in union against the outside world.”

The author, Action Front devotes a whole chapter to the examination of the subject of ethnological Provinces wherein he says (pages 238-129):—

“I propose that a new map of India be constructed on an ethnological and linguistic basis. Boundaries have to be demarcated round the habitat of each race. For instance the Sindhi-Speaking people should be separated from the Punjabis on the north and the Rajputs and Cutchis on the west and south. There should be a Punjabi province, a Maharatta

province, a Tamil province, a Telugu province, and so on throughout India. The above are only a few of the leading divisions, but they will serve to explain my meaning...when a division was composed of entirely one race, there would be no difficulty of forming a simple system of self Government on a national basis.

The writer goes on to explain at great length and in detail his thesis by taking into consideration the suppositious land of Rishiwara and formulates his scheme of self-contained and autonomous provincial administration of a land with people speaking the same language, derived of the same race and nourished upon the same traditions. Action Front clearly shows how under such an administration primary education would be made compulsory for both men and women and imparted entirely in the Rishi language, how steps would be taken to develop the industries, commerce, agriculture and science and how education would become really national by being made practical instead of theoretical etc. The writer concludes.

“Rishiwara would in fact be practically self-governing and quite independent of all other such States in India. Its internal administration would not be directly interfered with by the Supreme Government except in matters of Imperial policy, and the inhabitants would be left to progress in civilisation at their own pace. There would be no hustling and

no maudlin philanthropy. If they had any virility and capacity for advancement it would come out under such conditions, and if they had not, they would be allowed to go their own pace without any sentimental anxiety on our part. In either case they would be happy in their own way, and would have nobody but themselves to blame if other Indian nations went ahead of them towards the goal of independence.

“All the various nationalities in India would thus be simultaneously started on the road to self development and ultimate self-Government. Those which advanced rapidly would be given greater facilities and would necessarily be more independent than those that lagged behind. No greater facilities could be given to the peoples of India than the fostering of local patriotism and the consequent friendly inter-racial competition for civilised progress and ultimate autonomy.”

In this racial progress and development Action-Front discovers the solution of the Partition of Bengal, which has come to be proven true by the Durbar changes. He says:—

In this mental affinity lies the hope of a future solution to the partition question in Bengal. If, for instance, Bengal proper (excluding Oryas, Nagpuris Beharis, Assamis and all other border races) could be constituted into a new state on an ethnological basis, with a Governor of its own, it is quite possible

that a real Bengali nation might eventually be evolved comprising both Hindus and Mahommadans of Eastern and Western Bengal. Such a union of Bengali-speaking people is very desirable, and devoutly to be wished." The wish enunciated and ideal prophesied in the above words have been fulfilled within 4 years after they have been penned. Bengal, which has through her persistency been able to achieve the object upon which she set her heart has many lessons to teach the Andhras in their present position. There are besides many points of resemblance between the Bengalees and the Andhras. Both share in an emotional temperament and have a fine and rich language and are forward in all reforms, social, religious and political. It is invidious on my part to enlarge on the merits of the Andhras.

It is not impossible for a race with a notable past history to achieve anything upon which they rightly set their heart. But before approaching Government with the plea for a separate province, the duty devolves upon the Andhra patriots to convince their more backward brethren in the Ceded and other districts upon the necessity and desirability of a separate provincial unit for their general uplift and ultimately for the realisation of the national ideal itself.

G. RAMACHANDRA RAO, M. A.

Rajahmundry, June 28.

XXIX

Mr. G. Lakshman Reddy B. A. First Grade Pleader, Gooty, writes:—

Mr. N. K. Ramaswamy is an erudite expounder of Herbert Spencer and a Vedantist. We have been accustomed from our younger days to his philosophical and political disquisitions and we are not surprised that he should be the philosophical exponent of the Andhra movement for a separate Province. But it is not possible for a younger man like me to follow such a master in his flights on general principles.

Now, we have 1,870,925 persons in Ganjam of whom 958,661 are Oriyas, 839,449, Telugus and in Agency Ganjam out of 350,446, 132,392, are Oriyas and 6,000 are Telugus; Vizagapatam - agency 473,439 Oriyas and Telugus, leaving other languages. These tracts are far away from the seat of Government, I can quite understand the desire of the Oriyas in these parts to be added to Orissa.

Well, about the Telugu aspirations for a separate Province. The Northern Districts in the Circars may have a Province, if the British Government would give them. The people in those parts differ from the Telugus in Nellore, Chittore, Cudpha, Kurnool, Bellary, as much as they differ from the Telugus in the Tamil, Canarese, and Malayalam Districts who

number 3,403,389; and the Telugus in the six Southern Districts of the Northern Group have more in common with the Telugus and Tamils, the people of Madras, Chinglepet North Arcot, South Arcot and Coimbatore, than with the Telugus especially in the Northern Districts. The Telugus in Coimbatore, Madura. N. Arcot, Trichinopoly, Salem, South Arcot, Ramnad and Tinnevely are respectively 446,134,131,694, 322,859, 273833, 259,336, 207,800, 192,527, 168031, and 73221. Whereas all the Tamils are not more than 321,645 in all the Telugu Districts while Chittor alone has 268,211. The Telugu Districts in the Northern Circars have amidst them about in all 10,795 Tamilians, which is less than the Telugus in Malabar alone which has 19,675 Telugus-

In the Northern Circars, we shall take it, that all the people call for a separate Province. They have no reason to complain of the Tamil inundation. They are unequally yoked with the Tamils, say they, and they are not able to beat them. Now the Colleges are open to them, the High Court does not exclude them, and the Legislative Council is not shut against them. South Canara is further off from Madras than Vizag and Ganjam. Why should the taxation be increased to maintain a High Court, a College, a Government House, a summer residence, and a winter quarter and all that. certainly not to experiment on the lines of Mr. N. K. Ramaswamy Iyer?

As for the Ceded Districts, Chittore, and Nellore what madness should possess them to wish to get themselves severed from the near Madras where they have trade connections, command credit system, easily educate their children, possess facilities to carry on their appeals and litigation and what not. How will the 107561 Telugu traders and south Telugu professionals in the town of Madras like a patriotic self-sacrifice, so that the Telugus in the Northern Circars may have their hobby; with a separate university for the Telugus Madras will not spend enough of money for Telugus living in and South of Madras to go to the Telugu Colleges of the Telugu University.

Bellary which has a Canarese population of 534 479 out of 969,228 and only 320, 693 Telugus will for the very sentiment of the language which is the accredited basis of this agitation oppose it. And Anantapur which has 91,804 Canarese who are as a class richer and more powerful would find it hard to make up its mind, even for the love of the tongue.

By all means let the Northern Circars, if the tax paying communities agree to the proposal of Mr Suryanarayana Row, have a separate province. The Tamils we have seen will not suffer very much if they lose offices and emoluments. The Telugus who go now to the south will not go there mutatis mutandis but both the Tamils and the Telugus who do not think of these offices and emoluments will have to bear the burden.

If the prophets and the apostles should have their dreams realised, it will be really grand to bring all the Telugus in the Mysore and Hyderabad Dominions as well as in the British Provinces under one Governor, all the Canarese speaking-people in Mysore, Bombay Presidency as well as in this Presidency one Governor, all the Malayalis under one ruler, and the Tamils under one Governor. Of course we do not take the Mahommadans into account though they do not share in our "Traditions and Instincts", of course philosophy does not allow consideration [to practical difficulties.

I have consulted many leading gentlemen of the Ceded Districts and I have known so far none who would like to be tied to the Northern Circars to the exclusion of Madras and the adjoining Districts of South Arcot, North Arcot etc. At Chaddaappah when people were asked what they thought of the Andhra movement for a separate Province, they opened their eyes and said what was that for. So the people in these parts are not likely to be influenced to join this cry.

I do not like to refer to the smaller sentiments which are potent factors in the life of our society, such as Bramhins non-Brahmins, Neogis vaidyis, right hand castes left hand castes, or Hindus and Mahomedans. One only thinks we have more than enough to bring about harmony among these before contem-

plating on the divine vision of "Andhra for Andhras."

We are proud of our Telugu country and of our Telugu literature, and we will co-operate with our Circars brethren in all their endeavours to uplift and glorify them. But we must part company with them when they talk of a separate Province which if we shortsightedly accept their leadership, will be suicidal to the interests of the people.

These are but a few out of many practical difficulties and impediments that bristle in our way.

The Indians may now work shoulder to shoulder and strive by their character, education and industry to attain the rights of citizenship. We are sharply reminded of our impotence and helplessness by the recent message from South Africa, and it is but meet and proper that we should rest our thoughts on the problem involved, rather than devote the little energy and capacity we may possess for public work, on quixotic notions.

Therefore, we are thankful that the Honble Mr. P. Kesava Pillai has echoed our feeling in this respect.



XXX

(2) PROVINCIAL AND NATIONAL IDEALS.

Mr. K. Hanumanta Rao. M. A., B. L. writes from Masulipatam:— It has been urged with a brave show

of argument in it that all effort to build a provincial unity must necessarily cut short the subtle currents of feeling which go to sustain the further idea of Nationalism among a people. Strange as it ought to seem, an exactly similar argument was very recently used against Nationalism itself possibly by these same modern advocates of it, as taking away from the strength and influence of the ideal of Humanity. Whatever the inner truth and sincerity of these varying moods of reasoning, it is certain that all such notions of antagonism between Nationalism and provincial unity on the one hand, and Nationalism and the ideal of Humanity on the other, proceed in the first instance out of narrow, unreal, and merely mechanical views of life and Nature, as if Man's spirit were not a spring eternal in its flow, yielding the more, the more it is drawn upon, unrestricted in its measure of response, infinite in its power of unfoldment. But other and graver misconceptions are also there confusing the very principles involved in the upbuilding of a free and pure nationality. Thus, there seems to be an idea that a higher integration of life must necessarily empty of their vitality all simpler groupings of the national life and that these, in later stages of evolution, must slowly be absorbed into one wide clarity of communal existence. Such a conception of nationality, void of all picturesque variety and undistinguished by any differences in temper or char-

acter, is perhaps theoretically possible, but would certainly be out of tune with the great scheme of Nature, which through every moment of her being, shows not dull sameness but subtle wealth of individuality, an endless variety in self-expression. It is perhaps among the deeper secrets of Nature's life and art that an impression of true grandeur is everywhere sought to be realised not merely by an enlargement of proportions but through an infinite enrichment of detail. Thus, for instance, in all noble mountain and river scenery the sense of the sublime is the result not only of great sweeping lines which the eye follows with joy but also of a wonderful detail from and a delicate gradation of colour, lost to view in a first unity of impression. Similarly through the height and depth of national existence may be found an equally delicate and wonderful detail of manners and characteristics, all outwardly but at the right perspective of imaginative vision gathering readily and spontaneously into the well remembered national expression of countenance. And as the world's civilisation advances and human culture grows deeper and richer in undertones of melody, that Nationalism would surely be accounted highest which is compounded of the finest contrasts and the most delicate harmonies of temper and character within the unity of one culture-type.

If then the highest nationalism is most strongly

of argument in it that all effort to build a provincial unity must necessarily cut short the subtle currents of feeling which go to sustain the further idea of Nationalism among a people. Strange as it ought to seem, an exactly similar argument was very recently used against Nationalism itself possibly by these same modern advocates of it, as taking away from the strength and influence of the ideal of Humanity. Whatever the inner truth and sincerity of these varying moods of reasoning, it is certain that all such notions of antagonism between Nationalism and provincial unity on the one hand, and Nationalism and the ideal of Humanity on the other, proceed in the first instance out of narrow, unreal, and merely mechanical views of life and Nature, as if Man's spirit were not a spring eternal in its flow, yielding the more, the more it is drawn upon, unrestricted in its measure of response, infinite in its power of unfoldment. But other and graver misconceptions are also there confusing the very principles involved in the upbuilding of free and pure nationality. Thus, there seems to be an idea that a higher integration of life must necessarily empty of their vitality all simpler groupings of the national life and that these, in later stages of evolution, must slowly be absorbed into one wide clarity of communal existence. Such a conception of nationality, void of all picturesque variety and undistinguished by any differences in temper or char-

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If then the highest nationalism is most strongly

characterised by subordinate groupings of national life into provinces and races, how shall these be distinguished among themselves and from out of the fundamental unity of a composite national existence? A closer analysis on these same lines would readily reveal the fact that such component races would be marked by the possession of certain specific points in physical and mental characteristics. In a manner all such distinguishing elements would be akin to those wider unities which sustain the plea of Nationalism for a people—a natural basis of contiguous country, a common language, a distinctive culture, and a peculiar strain of temper and manners which would follow, though not without a lively change, the broad lines of national character. All these or less than these with just that undefinable something which would suffice to stamp the impress of individuality and uphold the title to a specific name, like and yet unlike the national ideal, clear, personal, characteristic but only in a minor, subdued, and subordinate way, self-contained but with a strange sense of imperfection in it and full of a haunting suggestion of a wider life and a larger personality.

Such grouping of communal life seems inevitable in the evolution of a great and well-organised nationality. Not however that it forms a natural and necessary stage in the process of an unfolding civilisation for always the just original limit of such differentia-

tion must come straight from the heart of nature herself. But where the primal necessity of such inner variegation is inherent in a land, the physical feature and outline of it, it must from epoch to epoch of racial history grow in intensity of human and cultural characteristics until various subordinate centres of self-consciousness come into existence around which National Life groups itself into clear and distinct unities. And as the world's life and culture progress on lines that already seem well-established and unchangeable, it must become more and more evident that the only possible solution of a well organised communal life among nations must lie in a happy reconciliation between the increasing insistence of the individual type and the mystery of power and passion hid in the Nationalistic ideal.

The reason for such a statement of nature's law as governing national evolution lies hidden in the spiritual meaning of the relationship between the individual Life and the Eternal Essence but without taking the argument down to its fountain-springs in Vedantic thought we might content ourselves with the idea, clear and incontestable that all nationalism is of significance only insofar as it helps the Individual soul in the realisation of a Life larger and diviner than its own. So that, the true end of Nationalism is not to create a nation great in aims, renowned for power of mind, and strong in civil gover-

rnment, but to so sustain and unfold itself that every component individual thereof shall know himself as the emblem and representative of the Race. Something of the nation's past, the tendencies of spirit, and the impulses of character must under Nature's established Law re-appear as unseen instincts and intuitions, but the full import of its spiritual evolution may be felt and expressed only through the self-experience of each individual soul. In the developing of this new range of consciousness this sense of identity with the great, the immense conclusion of National evolution many and various factors of individual and social life are of value and significance. Pride of birth, love of family, reverence for the great and good of one's own Desa—all these are powerful aids to individual self-realisation as the vehicle of the National Spirit. And in this widening circle of experiences the sense of oneness with a race must surely find a place as nearest allied to National self-consciousness, especially where such a race owns a clear and a distinct individuality of its own. Nor need we regard the result of these broadening emotions as preparation for the sense of Nationality only. For, they may and under right natural conditions surely will grow upward into an enthusiasm for all humanity. Otherwise, even as the purest love of one's own nearest and dearest without reference to the Universal Soul, which there has found a partial expression, is

but vain expense of spirit, so the profoundest love of country and nation would remain fruitless and futile if it do not broaden into sympathy with the wider vicissitudes of life on earth. And though it is possible and has sometimes occurred in the history of rare human souls that the higher stages in evolution are reached without the earlier experiences of heart, still the law of spiritual growth is clear and would remain true to the end of time that all right emotion must widen from a sense of self outward to the infinities of Life and Personality which constitute God's self-revelation to the human spirit.

If any illustrations be needed of such a tendency in National life what better can be found than are evidenced by the long-resounding cry of Ireland for a separate existence from England, the already insistent demand of Scotland for a similar recognition of her integrity, and the quick birth of self-consciousness in mountainous Wales, all instances from out of the very home of purple Imperialism? And if the need of self-variegation be inherent in the constitution of even compact and close-knit nations of the modern day, why should it be wondered at that here in India, the home of divers races and civilisations, of long-unfolding thought and ancient growth of spirit the need for a surer and sounder organisation of national should express itself as a distinct sense [of provincial autonomy and under the stress of this new feeling

should arise re-vivified the idea of Andhra unity. Nor would this new idea be found lacking even when judged by the strictest canons of racial idealism. A clear stretch of contiguous territory, a common language and literature which have found reverence of twenty million souls, common traditions of heroes, poets, warriors and Kings, and deep down a strong similarity of temper and character, these constitute the full and just title of the Andhras to be outlined into a single race and accorded all those accessories of communal and political institutions which illustrate and feed that unity.

But, be it remembered that in the recognition of this unity there is no fragmentation of the higher idea of Indian Nationalism. The spirit indeed may never be divided, for it concentrates in equal fulness into every fragment. But even on the ethical and intellectual planes there is here no fragmentation. For the Andhra entity holds within itself almost every characteristic of feature and element of contrast which give such striking picturesqueness, such spiritual richness to the Ideal of Indian Nationality. The three great cultures that have during these centuries found their way into the country are here also represented and in no insufficient measure. All that variety of human elements, the castes, guilds, persuasions and professions which have so long lent such a warm depth of colour to the fabric of Indian Society forms

as marked a feature of Andhra Life, calling out as insistently for a re-adjustment with the fundamental issues of modern existence. While it is truly fortunate that amidst such profound variousness in contents the spiritual setting of the Andhra Movement is as noble and inspiring as that for the national ideal. Far back to the fountain-springs of Aryan life the Andhras may trace their course and at every turn in national fortunes be found pouring their contribution into the stream of national culture. Through the long and picturesque story of Andhra evolution the pure Aryan temper is ever in evidence sanctifying the whole range of national emotion and spiritualising the very mountains and rivers and all holy places into harmony with that noble tradition which makes of all Aryavārtha one great and golden unity. While for the deeper culture of spirit nothing has ever more truly expressed the oriental soul with its yearning for the infinite, its passion of self-forgetting devotion than those ecstatic harmonies of melody in which Andhra sages and bhāktas have poured out the pure devotion of their hearts. Thus is the conception of Andhra unity one with the National Ideal, one in its human bearings, one in the richness of its intellectual and ethical contents and one also in the ultimate harmony of the spiritual life. How then shall hesitation, doubt or discord lie on its daily broadening path?

XXXI

Prof. K. B. RAMANADHAM, M. A., B. L., L. T.,

The lecturer who rose amidst cheers said that each people had its language and the genius of the people was enshrined in their language and literature. The acquisition of the language and the literature in such a language would be helpful in understanding the different people speaking different languages. Such an enrichment of individual experience would be a very necessary thing. The world is found to be full of interest, because of the different ways in which men developed, and the division of languages must also contribute to something of the manifoldness of the interest of the world. If that was admitted, they should get a knowledge of as many languages as they could. They must have at least the minimum kind of language equipment. They must know which language they could and must effectively study. Cultivation of language and literature was part of the wide nationality movement and it was characteristic of the latter part of the 19th century, The Welsh and Irish people cultivated their own languages with great assiduity. In India also the echoes of that movement were found after an appreciable interval. The movements in Bengal and Poona and the Andhra movement in Madras Presidency were such echoes. They were not inconsistent with the ultimate union of the Indian nation.

XXXII

Leaving the question of Provincial autonomy aside for the present, I think that, as far as Local Self Government in rural tracts is concerned, we may assert with confidence that Madras may safely be granted this privilege. If our Rulers are serious about introducing it throughout the Presidency it may first be tried in the Tamil portion of the Province.

We have here one common language and ethnologically the people of the Tamil Districts belong to the same group. The districts are continuous and are marked off from the Malayalam, Canarese and Telugu speaking tracts by a well defined boundary.

We have a history and traditions of our own and the Tamils have all along been characterised as an intellectual and enterprising race. In spite of waves of conquest that have passed over the country,— the Telugus of Vijayanagar Empire, later on the Mahara-ttas and now the English,— the mental habit and outlook of the people and their culture is mainly Chola. Cholas were a powerful people who had at one time extended their conquests to Bengal and gave their name to the Coromandal Coast.

V. P. MADHAVA ROW AVGL.

Presidential address, Tanjore Dt. Confec. 1913.

XXXIII

The average educated Indian is still so little a political animal that he hardly cares to understand the movement and developments in provinces other than his own, unless they be on some such colossal a scale as those in connection with the partition of Bengal. For instance, in the United Provinces there were not even half a dozen publicists who had any definite knowledge of the great movement extending over twenty years, in the neighbouring province of Behar, for its constitution as a separate administrative unit, and one of our most capable and well-informed publicists declared from the platform of the Congress that Behar had come by a Lieutenant Governor in Council, as it were by a freak of fortune. Such being the case in even best-informed circles, it is not surprising that what is known at present as the Andhra movement in Southern India, has not attracted the attention it deserves outside the limits of the Madras Presidency. The Madras papers have been, of late, pretty full of it and of the various conferences and meetings held to carry on its propaganda, and their columns have been flooded with hundreds of letters from correspondents. Yet all this has practically passed unnoticed in Northern India and even the Bengalee press has had hardly anything to say about it. Our local contemporary, the Leader, has referred to it but sparingly and guardedly, and has failed to

sympathize with the full programme of the movement. For ourselves, we unhesitatingly endorse the justice of its demands and though the cloud may be no bigger at present than a man's hand, we are confident that the movement will grow and expand till its powerful voice shall be heard all over India and even across the seas, in Britian : for it is an essentially just and righteous movement, which seeks the amelioration of the lot of a large community, linked together by the bonds of common historic traditions, a common language, and common customs and manners. The *raison-d'être* of the movement is as follows. The Madras Presidency is inhabited principally by four races, speaking as many distinct languages,—namely the Telugus, the Tamils, the Canarese and the Malayalis. Of these it is the first who having resurrected the old obsolete but historic name of Andhras, have organized the new movement. Its ultimate object is the constitution of the Telugus into a self-contained provincial administration like that of Behar, and in the meantime the recognition of their claims to public offices and educational aids to a much larger extent than has hitherto been the case in fact, on the basis of their being a distinct political unit as a people in the presidency. There can be no doubt that the movement has been largely moulded in its inception by the "Beharee" movement and that it is the result of the reflex influence of the success of the latter. This

is actually admitted by Mr. Suryanarayana, one of the most capable leaders of the movement in his recent presidential address at the eighth Vizagapatam District Conference in which he says: "We see how closely we resemble the Beharees." True the first Andhra Conference, recently held, avoided raising the question of a separate province and some leading Telugus are opposed to the idea at present, but we may safely venture upon the rising tide in favour of a self-contained provincial administration, for the Telugus will in due course, carry all before it. Both the less forward and more forward sections are agreed that those people have not had fair play in the past and though the former yet hope great things from the Madras Government the latter are likely to carry the day in the long run, as their conception of a provincial administration based upon common traditions and language is the only feasible solution of the problem of making India a self-Governing country and is the one that is clearly foreshadowed if not styled in so many words, in the memorable despatch of the Government of India, of August 1911. It is in this view of the matter that we gave our unqualified support to the Behar movement since the Hindustan Review came into existence and for the same reason extend now our support to those who desire an Andhara province. It is a pity that Mr. Suryanarayana's able and, to us, convincing arguments leave the Lea-

der "unconvinced," in favour of a Telugu province. The talented editor of our local contemporary is himself an Andhra-not, of course in its Hindustani sense of "blind," for he is much too wide-awake a journalist-which gave an opening to a junior Civilian of these provinces to refer to him in his evidence before the Public Service Commission as a foreign editor: His full support of the great movement inaugurated by his people would have been therefore, invaluable to them. His non-adhesion to their cause should however, enable them to realize the difficulties they have yet to contend against and the perseverance still required of them in converting even some prominent men in their own community. But they have well begun real work, they have already made themselves heard in their own Presidency, and if they will put forth a dogged persistence and agitate constitutionally for their just dues, they will carry with them the sympathy of all their Indian fellow-countrymen and their labours will, beyond the shade of a shadow of doubt, be crowned with the success, they well deserve.—

Hindustan Review.

XXXIV

(1) B. PATTABHISITARAMAYYA,

The new spirit in the country which has, for over 7 years agitated men's minds and convulsed men's feelings, has found its true reflex amongst the An-

dhra who, by the wide and ready receptivity of the hearts and the emotional character of their temperament have responded more especially than others, to the chastening influences of the new ideals by which it has transfigured national life and activity. How else should we understand this new movement in the Andhra land which has rapidly gained both volume and strength, which has afforded a fresh stimulus to national endeavours and supplied a new key to the solution of national problems? Not a little waste of the energy spent in belittling and besmirching the movement by processes which continue to operate despite the most assiduous efforts to present it in its true bearings. Some would fondly call it sectional or sectarian; not a few would jeeringly describe it as a protectionist movement. Many piously hope it were only social or educational. 'What is the nature of the Andhra movement' asked one Andhra Honorable "Is it political, or is it social and educational?" "It is neither social nor Educational, nor even political; it is a national movement or if you please, it is a sub-national movement" was the reply. And how much would the progress of this national or sub-national movement have been accelerated if instead of seeking to compartmentalize life people had only cared to grasp its comprehensive character and how much again would the march of national progress have been quickened if our Dravidian brothers had set on foot a sympathetic movement amongst the members of the

own community instead of watching its vicissitudes in a spirit of apathy, contempt or condescension.

For some time previous to the first manifestation of the movement, there had been a slow concentration of thought at various centres and in varying ways tending to culminate in the new and full formed idea. It was no sudden or profound event in history nor any stirring convulsion of social conditions that sowed the seed of this new birth. The unifying and uplifting thought of the motherland which a cruel wrong has kindled and resuscitated elsewhere has brought back to the popular mind memories of the neglected and forgotten integrity of the Andhras and when once popular feelings were awakened and popular imagination was roused, men gloried in their past traditions and sought to quicken their culture by permeating it with them. Men sought to stimulate their national life by reviving memories of their heroes, Martyrs and Saints, men drew their inspiration from their ancient painters, poets and musicians. Here was an Andhra National College, there was an Andhra Bhashabhi Varthani Sangham. Elsewhere was the celebration of the national festivals in special relation to the Valahalla of Andhra Mahathmas. Krishnadeva Raya Reading Room, Tikkana Literary Society, Veerasaligam Young Men's Library—these were some of the institutions through which the new feeling sought expression. The one thought was of the Andhra language and Andhra Literature. Andhra journals and An-

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dhra Societies; Everywhere it was Andhra. Was this then a sectional or sectarian or an antagonistic Movement, was it a social or a religious movement, was it a deliberating, conscious or calculating movement? It was a mass movement progressing under impulsive, automatic and unconscious cerebration, limiting its operation to no single sphere of endeavour but embracing within its compass every legitimate ambition and end which a rapid and spontaneous unfolding of self-consciousness would silently reveal to the foremost men of society. Activities may be many but life is one; means and methods may vary but the ideal is single. Social regeneration and Educational advancement may be essential handmaids to progress but they are not "Progress" itself. They are but parts of a whole: they are only accessories to an end. They are worthy factors of the Andhra movement but do not constitute the movement in its entirety. Some people have the knack of thinking and working in compartments or departments and little realize the need and the value of the "full" life, the many-sided life, the all-comprehending life. "Departmentalism may not be moral delinquency; but it is an intellectual hiatus." Individual working in departments may in a measure be allowed in individuals, but not in movements especially communal movements, race movements, sub-national or national movements. They cannot be designed to serve the passing needs of the hour, to gratify the fleeting fancies of a few.

They have their being in eternity and are answerable to the universe for their conduct. They cannot be delimited in time or scope. They must serve their purpose in the economy of national destiny and help in the fulfilment of national ends, such an end is national self-government. The powers that hold sway over this country have acknowledged this new aspect of the problem. Not good government but self-government is the ideal granted alike by the rulers and the ruled: To think of social reconstruction in precedence of political, to yield place, to educational problems in supercession of administrative are methods of work suited to an earlier era and ill-suited to the changed conditions of a new age. The new ideal demands concurrent progress in all directions, uniform allegiance from all men. Self-government is not an event subject to limitations of time and scope. It cannot have definite beginning and welldefined end. It implies a march already in progress which will continue for ever. Self-government is no mean political ideal. If that were so, the social or economic problem would be far more important, because it would be both more fundamental and more far-reaching. The question of self-government goes much deeper and is synonymous with the question of National self-fulfilment. The unrestricted opportunity for self-development and for the service of country and humanity, which it would necessarily bring in its train, requiring to be evolved through processes of time and cir-

circumstance, would transform all branches of National life and activity, would bring social and Economic reform on a plane such as occupied by similar problems in other countries, would afford a stimulus to Art, science and literature as nothing else could, and one would heighten the stature alike of the individual and the nation." Between the nation and the individual stands and must continue to stand the community the political equivalent of which is the province requiring its integrity to be recognized and its resources to be developed.

It is only then that the different provinces composing this vast Empire would by years of effort and training and by processes both long and weary, be fitted to hasten the realization of the ideal sketched in the Government of India Despatch of 24th August, 1911. Times without number, both in the press and from platform, in private discourses and at conferences, has been pointed out by a responsible and thoughtful public, that if India is destined to work her way to self-government, it must be by processes not medieval and antiquated but by those which are thoroughly consistent with modern life and modern conditions.

What are these processes and what are those units whose integration will lead to the fulfilment of the national destiny and the realization of the ideal of self-governments based on the principle of local aut-

onomy clearly set forth in the Hardinge Despatch?

II

That in the interests of national destiny the country should be re-mapped out and demarkated into units whose integration will serve to facilitate and hasten its fulfilment is the idea underlying the scheme of an Andhra province and stimulating the volume of public opinion that is working it out. Even in the interests of good administration-which is a small matter altogether compared to the larger idea already set forth- such a demarkation would become necessary for administration too must have its ideals leading to uplift of humanity and not contenting itself with making men mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. We have survived the mediæval notions of Government which obviously regarded the collection of taxes and the maintenance of law and order as its highest achievements. We know on the contrary that these former are but elementary factors in the modern conception of the state and have learnt to regard government as a living, ever changing instrument of human progress made by man for man's advancement and not for mere maintenance of any political creed, yet none the less cautious in experiment and change. We have ourselves witnessed the stages and steps through which the country has passed. Codes of law, courts of justice, police and prisons, post and telegraph, roads and railways-all these had to be slowly

established. Then the great rivers were taken in hand. "But" says Sir Thomas Holderness "as an Explorer may climb a hill only to find the prospect blocked by higher summits, so the Indian Government, as the results of its labours is faced by new demands and problems." Much water has flowed under the bridge since the partition agitation was set on foot. That was an agitation rooted in sentiment offended by irritating measures; Ours is one rooted likewise in sentiment but kindled into activity by a new vision and a new hope. That was a movement contenting itself with good government, this is one that is struggling for self-government. That sought and found its culmination in the Hardinge despatch; this found its birth in it. The Andhra movement constitutes but one of the several "new problems and demands by which the political explorer of Sir. T. Holderness finds the prospect blocked. What these new demands and these new problems are and to what extent they are legitimate are the questions we have to consider.

It might be mentioned that amongst the numerous items comprised by the Andhra movement is the question of a separate province which has given birth to a strong controversy. While some have frankly arrayed themselves against every demand embraced by the movement, some have taken exception only to the question of a province. The first thought that strikes the onlooker is the fact that the creation

of the Madras presidency was based on the operation of no natural laws, the influence of no historical events the observation of no Geographical limits, the recognition of no linguistic considerations, in fact on the exercise of no logical principles. It was a pure chronological growth. The process of acquiring territory extended from 1611 when a Trading settlement was established at Masulipatam to 1825 when Tranquebar was ceded by the Danes; 1639, 1683, and 1690 serve as landmarks on account of the construction of Forts in Madras, Tellicheri and Tevanapatnam (St. David, in those years. The area was little more than these 4 dots till 1749 when the first footing was gained in Tanjore. In 1767 the Padsha of Delhi and in 1768 the Nizam ceded the five circars of Ellore, Chicacole, Rajamundry, Mustufanagar and Murtuzanagar. A treaty in 1795 finally ceded Pulicut, Sadras and Nagapatam. Three years earlier Malabar, Salem and Dindigul division of Madura were acquired while in 1799 in the partition of Tippu's territories Canara and Coimbatore fell to the British share and the Raja of Tanjore resigned the administration of the kingdom into the hands of the British. The titular dignity became extinct in 1855 through failure of male heirs. In 1800 the Nizam ceded the districts of Bellary, Anantapur, and Kadapa. The help given by the English to Mahamad Ali, navab of Karnatic, the war expenses he had to pay, and a treaty

to allow the British to manage certain specified areas brought in 1795 Tinneveli, Madura, Ramnad and Chingalput districts under the English, and a dispute in regard to succession ended in Azimudoulah being declared by the British the successor, in return for an arrangement by which he resigned the Government of the Karnatic into the hands of the British. In 1833 an armed force occupied the Kingdom of the navab of Kurnool and annexed it on account of mal-administration and intrigue.

These facts may serve to remind that Madras province was not found to exist as one unit of administration by the British at any time. Indeed in 1839 it was a common topic of conversation in the London East India Circles that the Madras Presidency was to be abolished and apportioned between Bengal and Bombay and that the seat of the supreme Government was to be transferred to the Bombay presidency and in consequence one Mr. Melville had his two sons who were writers in Bengal, transferred to Bombay. If such a thing happened would people have fondly clung to it because it was so? It may be interesting to mention here, that North Canara belonged to us till 1862 when it was transferred to Bombay. Sir Bamfylde Fuller wrote "It would have been well for the Country had its division into provinces for purposes of Government, followed the lines marked by race and language so as to reinforce the

sympathy which arises from similarity by feelings of pride in the Local Government. The existing administrative divisions are so heterogeneous as to have a directly contrary effect (to the growth of national sentiment)". Sir John Stratchey has pointed out that "the political limits of the provinces have little connection with any physical characteristics" and Sir Thomas Holderness draws attention to the fact that "with the exception of Burma no province represents a natural unit; that is to say, they do not stand for differences of race or language or geographical distinctions. They are purely administrative divisions of territory. An Indian province is not what we mean by a nation though it tends to create a provincial spirit which is not far removed from the beginning of national life." Sir Thomas himself grants and we shall have presently occasion to show that the provincial spirit rightly understood and properly cultivated is not only not far removed from but proves positively helpful in the growth of national life and the development of the nation idea. How then is this spirit to be fostered, how then is this idea to be cultivated. As Sir Bamfylde Fuller said "the nearest approach to national sentiment in India is that which springs from language. This is the keynote of the whole movement. Cultivate the culture it embodies; cultivate the sentiment it generates; cultivate the self-consciousness that it justifies. Then

you are true to your history, and to your traditions, then you love your country, then you know your needs and realize your aspirations. The Andhra language is to the patriotic Andhra not merely an alphabet, a stringing of letters, or a conglomeration of words, but it is the embodiment of the national thoughts, traditions, history and aspirations. In a word it is the vital point of a community's Life, seeking manifestation and requiring an organism through which to manifest itself. The organism must be such as while able to nourish itself is also capable of furnishing a stimulus to the growth of the national life that it represents and helping it to keep pace with the progress of life and character elsewhere. Such a possibility is attained only through a province delimited by language and to ask for it is true patriotism, while to get it, marks the first step in the up-building of the national Edifice.

III

A true sense of responsibility and a generous spirit of Tolerance are only promoted when local autonomy is granted to provinces which become fit for this great fulfilment only when they are handy, compact and homogeneous, when all the binding forces of society such as language and literature, custom and tradition, culture and sentiment operate in equal measure upon the different factors of the community, that is, in brief, to say, when the divisions are based upon the difference of language. It was

John Bright that originally foreshadowed the destiny of India in which "the different provinces shall ultimately form locally autonomous states, with separate Governments, separate armies and so on, based upon a policy of a sort of Home rule all round" And it was Macaulay that predicted the advent of the proud day when India would be fit for self-government. In our own generation Sir Henry Cotton depicted in 1904 the ideal inspired by Bright and Macaulay and in our own day Lord Hardinge as Governor-General in Council, discussing the question of development of devolution has definitely declared that the only possible solution would appear to be gradually to give the provinces a large measure of self-government until at last India would consist of a number of administrations autonomous in all the provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all and possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern.' The day of realization of the ideal herein set forth may be distant but it is the duty of each province to qualify and prepare itself for the day. And what are the essential conditions that Lord Hardinge would lay down as necessary for a settlement (of boundaries) to be satisfactory and conclusive?" " It must (1) provide convenient administrative units, (2) satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the (Bengalis) people and (3) be clearly based upon broad grounds of political and

administrative expediency" and how has Lord Hardinge carried these into effect? He details "scheme to satisfy all these conditions" and begins by speaking "to reunite the five Bengali speaking divisions and form them into a presidency to be administered by a Governor-in-Council". In para 19 he proceeds to say of the Beharees "We are satisfied that it is in the highest degree desirable to give the Hindi-speaking people now included within the province of Bengal a separate administration. These people have hitherto been unequally yoked with the Bengalees and have never, therefore, had a fair opportunity for development. There has, moreover, been a very marked awakening in Behar in recent years and a strong belief has grown up among Beharis that Behar will never develop until it is dissociated from Bengal. That belief will, unless a remedy be found, give rise to agitation in the near future and the present is an admirable opportunity to carry out on our own initiative a thoroughly sound and much deserved change." Judged from the standpoint of "broad grounds of political and administrative expediency" the third of the conditions laid down by the Viceroy in the settlement of provinces, few will deny the legitimacy and appropriateness of the demand of an Andhra province. Not to demand it would be unfair and unjust. The "grounds of political expediency" have been set forth at some length in the foregoing paragraphs. The chief amongst them

is to satisfy the growing sentiment in favour of the change, amongst the people. If the sentiment is not universal, two things have to be remembered, first that it shows how tardy and apathetic and even suspicious people are re the in-receiving of a new idea and should only stimulate activity in the matter of popularizing it; secondly it must be remembered that in India "influence is not a question of numbers as Lord Curzon said, "It is a question of ability and character and organization." and we shall succeed according to the measure in which we can enlist these three assets in our cause. and thereby intensify the sentiment in favour of it. What is the force of this sentiment in life or politics? Is it a factor worth reckoning? Let Lord Hardinge answer: Para 12:— "No doubt sentiment has played a considerable part in the opposition offered by the Bengalis and in saying this, we by no means underrate the importance which should be attached to sentiment, even if it be exaggerated." Nor is 'sentiment' a commodity that we can afford to ignore or neglect. It must be distinguished from its base and purposeless counterfeit—Sentimentality. It implies the "readiness to react against the despotism of fact." It is not so much "the vulgar satisfaction of sense" that it implies as a ready susceptibility to the stimulus of emotion and excitement. It alone helps to make an organization quick to feel impressions and feel them very strongly and "invests it with a lively personality keenly

sensitive to joy and sorrow.”

Let us now consider the grounds of administrative expediency upon which, according to the Viceroy, the settlement of boundaries must be based. In order to comprehend the full administrative benefit that may accrue to the people of a tract by constituting that tract as an administrative unit, we must recall the results of the division of East Bengal into a separate province. “The new province advanced in education, in good government, in every kind of prosperity”. These words of Lord Curzon’s need not be viewed with suspicion for few, even the worst opponents of the Partition had questioned the benefits of the arrangements to the people in the new province. The despatch itself says (para 12) it relieved the overburdened administration of Bengal and gave the Mahamaden population of Eastern Bengal advantages, and opportunities of which they had perhaps hitherto not had their fair share. Speaking of the progress of Education in E. Bengal Lord Hardinge says, “I need only point out that when the new province was formed not a single College was in receipt of Govt. aid while the Govt. were spending less than 1½ lacs in aiding private institutions. In 1910 there were 4 aided Colleges and the Govt. spent over 3½ lacs in aiding private institutions. E. Bengal was very backward in Education before partition, since 1906 College students increased from 1698 to 2560 and expenditure

from Rs. 1½ lacs to Rs. 3½. Pupils in public institutions increased from 7 lacs to 9½ lacs and the provincial contributions were doubled, as well as expenditure. (1) Of all the possible benefits that an Andhra province may bring in its train, the spread of education would be the most outstanding. A new era has begun in Education. On every side we are confronted with a struggle directed to reestablish the ascendancy of the Vernaculars as media of instruction. Those who ardently ask for their inclusion as subjects of compulsory study in the College course only shift the centre of gravity of the problem from the right spot. What promotes the cultivation of the vernacular languages, what enhances popular regard for them is not a cursory study of a couple of text books in the F. A. or B. A. classes, but the adoption of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction at the Indian Universities and as the court language in courts of justice. It is Sir Theodore Morrison, member of the India Council that has recently opened a debate at the East and West society in London on the question of vernaculars being made the media of instruction and expressed himself as follows, "Indeed I claim to be as keen an advocate as ever of the continuation of Western ideas and Western learning through the universities, only I think, now the mother tongue of the people would be the most useful channel for the purpose. Mr. K. S. Sambasiva Iyer, a

frank and genuine Tamil friend of Trichinopoly, while emphasizing this very idea draws pointed attention to the deplorable habit of people's rights being asserted and argued in a foreign language even in courts presided over by Indians. The day is not far off when the majority of civil and Revenue courts in the mofussil would be manned by Indians leaving the fullest scope for the adoption of vernaculars as the court language. These arguments would amply justify the demand of an Andhra University and afford full facilities for the rapid spread of mass education and the promotion of people's happiness. In this way the wide estrangement which has come between the classes and the masses in the present system of education and administration would become gradually annihilated and both become many times more popular than they are at present.

(ii) "Advance in good government" as the result of a separate province is so palpable a truth that no arguments are necessary to prove it. A small province with the head of its administration ready to meet people, receive deputations and study grievances first hand, with all its resources spent within a short radius and with the principles of civic representation and social progress keenly appreciated and carefully fostered is bound to bring to the people all the privileges of a well-ordered and beneficent administration in the path of self-government. A particular advantage that may be singled

out is that the frequent transfer of officers from one quarter to another of the province does not entail that hardship arising from a difference in vernacular which now besets the administration in our presidency.

(iii) Advance in every kind of prosperity always follows in the wake of advance in education and good government. An educated people know their needs and make their demands discriminately and with a single eye to popular happiness and good Government, while a good Government readily recognizes its functions and exercises them to the internal advantages, alike of the rulers and the ruled. Thus an educated subject population and a well intentioned and good government exercise unlimited influence over each other so as to cause an advance in every kind of prosperity. How and when are these influences best exercised? The metropolis in any province is the centre of culture and enlightenment, the source of all influence, the fountain-head of healthy ideas and beneficent schemes. The large aggregation of courts, Colleges and public offices leads to the concentration alike of wealth and intellect and there is no mark of prosperity which is not traceable to either of these ruling factors of society. A tract of country or community of men that cannot boast of such a city in their midst must be content to forego the numerous advantages that culture and opulence can bring to the door of the populace. One reason why in Bengal

there are two seats of Government-Calcutta and Dacca, and in Bombay there are three including the summer capital is that it is intended to equalise the mutual influences which the rulers and the ruled exercise over each other. In Madras the absence of such facilities justifies the complaint of the Andhras which may be described in the very words which the Viceroy has adopted in his despatch in relation to the Bengalis. Para 12:— As matters now stand the Bengalis can never exercise in either province that influence to which they consider themselves entitled by reason of their numbers, wealth and culture. This is a substantial grievance which will be all the more keenly felt in the course of time as the representative character of Legislative councils increases, and with it the influence which these assemblies exercise upon the conduct of public affairs. There is therefore, only too much reason to fear that, instead of dying down, the bitterness of feeling will become more and more acute." To comment on this would be to mar its effect, but one observation may be permitted: If this could be said of the Bengalis who had a province and a capital in which they were not altogether negligible how much more appropriately would it be applicable to the Andhras whose present position would fully justify their craving for a separate province and a separate capital. To ask for two capitals is only second best and would involve an amount of expenditure with-

out corresponding and commensurate advantages. The medical school at Vizagpatam is about to be crippled. The second grade Colleges at Ongole and Bellary fell a prey to the new University regulations which made exorbitant demands upon their limited resources. Bellary, Cuddapa Kurnool, Anantapur, Chittur and Nellore have not all of them a College amongst themselves. Young men have to go to far off Calicut and Coimbatour for commercial and agricultural studies. North of Madras there is not a single technical institution. And yet when the Andhra conference asked for these institutions the demand made some ask whether it was seriously meant to be urged. We are serious, we are solemn. Patna asked for a first grade college in every District. The spectacle of boys hunting about the country for a place in the college classes is most demoralizing. There is not an increase in Educational institutions proportionate to the growing numbers that seek entrance into the University Course. In the ceded Districts and Nellore there is a considerable fall in the number of secondary schools since 1906. The feeling of degradation and disgust is so intense that the idea of a voluntary cess of 3 pies in the rupee may not be unwelcome provided it is devoted exclusively to higher secondary Education. With a capital in the Andhra country it should never have been subjected to such a degree of disgrace. The long neglect which the scheme of a

harbour at Vizagapatam has been allowed to suffer furnishes ground for another just complaint. A part of this neglect may not incorrectly, be attributed, to the natural feeling between two rival cities, of jealousy which may develop to a measure to which as Lord Curzon says, "rival lovers and even rival politicians seldom attain." It is well-known that Glasgow and Edinburgh, Manchester and Liverpool, Milan and Turin, Petersburg and Moscow, and we may add Bombay and Karachee, Calcutta and Dacca, these cities exchange no great warmth of affection between themselves and it is impossible to believe that Madras would be too ready to forego her commerce in favour of Vizag.

IV

Let us for one moment imagine that the English have come into possession of India for the first time in the month of September of the year of our Lord 1913. Would British statesmanship content itself with the pell mell admixture of the Telugus, the Tamils and the Malayalies with a few Konkans into the Madras presidency, with a conglomerate of Telugu, Hindi, and Mahrathi speaking people into the central provinces, with Bombay having in a corner a Canara district and the rest divided between two rival communities—the Gujarathis and the Maharattas, and a small sprinkling of Parsis all over, with Sindh kicked about like a foot-ball between Bombay

and the Panjab, with the Orias scattered between Madras and Orissa? Since Sir Thomas Holderness pronounced his verdict on the character of the existing provinces, the map of India has been recast by wise and far-seeing statesmanship and the ugly dismemberment of Bengal has been set right by a revision of Boundaries on principles the application of which we are seeking to extend to other tracts of the country. The problem of the readjustment of Indian provinces has not been now raised for the first time. So early as in 1902 Lord Curzon complainingly wrote ' Secretaries and Deputy secretaries have been calmly carving out and re-arranging provinces on paper, coloring and recoloring the map of India.' and in the same year the Government of India wrote to the secretary of State in the despatch dated 3rd December " The question of territorial and administrative redistribution in India, is, indeed, in our judgment one of the most urgent and vital of the many problems for which we are at present endeavouring to find a solution." And in the solution of these problems the views, opinions and sentiments of the people concerned are of overwhelming importance and come only next to the broad and basal principles upon which such a redistribution should depend. Various plans have been discussed in the past. At one time the formation of a chief commissionership of Behar including the Patna division, the Hindi speaking districts of Chota Nagpur, the Bena-

res division of the United Provinces, was under contemplation. Another scheme was to transfer Orissa to Central Provinces and convert it into a Lieut-Governorship.

In amending the partition of Bengal, the Government of Lord Hardinge considered various alternatives such as the making over of Chota Nagapur and of Orissa to the Central provinces and the creation of a chief commissionership instead of Lieu-Governorship for Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa. It was only 6 or 7 years ago that the three sections, Nagur and Serrvancha and Albaka were transferred from the Central provinces to the Godavari District in order to set the balance even in the redistribution of the Godavary, Kistna, Guntur and Nellore districts. We have already drawn attention to the transference of North Canara from Madras to Bombay in the sixties of the last century and to an earlier effort in the thirties to abolish the Madras presidency and distribute it between Bengal and Bombay. Only recently the Berars were snatched from the Nizam's dominions and superadded to the Central provinces.

All these incidents show that the last word has not been said on the problem of the redistribution of the existing twelve provinces of India, and to ask for a separate Andhra province at this stage and under the conditions detailed in the foregoing paragraphs,

would be the most natural, the most legitimate and the most justifiable demand. Our attitude towards our opponents would be exactly and entirely analogous to that of Sir Edward Grey to Mr. Asquith in the matter of votes for women. When Mr. Asquith complained in the Commons that no adequate case had been made out for votes for women, Sir Edward Grey retorted by saying that to ask for votes for women was the most natural and legitimate demand and that the burden of setting forth the opposition lay on those who opposed the idea. Likewise we hold that if there is a body of intelligent, reasonable and foresighted individuals who are bold enough to oppose a demand so natural, so legitimate and so just, then we say with Sir Edward Grey that it is for the opponents to point out the dangers, and defects that may underlie such an innovation. Said Sir Edward, "the prime minister based a great deal of his argument upon the fact that there was not a strong enough case for giving women the vote. It seems to me that what you have to do is to make out an exceedingly strong case for not giving women the vote." For our part we content ourselves with emphasizing the propriety of our demand, describing the numerous advantages that may flow from it and quoting the authority of eminent men and journals in favour of our position. The view of Sir Thomas Holderness, the present permanent Under-Secretary of State for India, Sir John Stratchey,

an eminent Anglo Indian, and Sir Bamfylde Fuller a scholar of great repute, have been quoted here and elsewhere and the opinion of Action Front also has been quoted in the volume of literature that has sprung up on the subject. In our own presidency and in contemporary life Devan Sankarayya, Prof. K. Sundararamen and K. B. Ramanatham, have blessed the movement from the bottom of their hearts. Justices Sadasivayer and Sankar nair see nothing preposterous or objectionable in the idea. The latest accession of strength has been derived from an unexpected and unsuspected source. Mr. V. P. Madhavarao in his presidential address at the Tanjore District conference (held at Shiyali, August 1913) has elaborated a position for the Tamilians which is exceedingly interesting and suggestive. (vide extract on p. 183)

Mr. V. P. Madhavarao adds:

“How are these first essentials (bases of physical comfort and decency) in the construction of a national life with a character, a dignity and an outlook of its own, according with national sentiment and being distinctly national, and a system of education with a national basis and founded on the history and literature of the country, of the sound building up of a new rural civilization on which the success of the whole movement depends, to be secured without grouping the people according to their language and adopting with regard to each group methods suited to

their history and tradition.”

These words indicate a position the obverse of which is represented by the Andhra movement. And we must consider ourselves singularly fortunate that the regret expressed in the opening paragraphs of this series of articles, regarding the apathy of Tamil friends has been in some measure obviated by the unequivocal utterance of a responsible and representative statesman who had presided over the destinies of the two premier native states of our province.

Mr. M. Suryanarayana empathically supports the scheme of an Andhra province in his presidential address at the Vizag Dt. Conference (Chodavaram 1913) and Mr. P. Nagabhusanam at the Kistna Dt. Conference in March 1913.

Then amongst the journals of the day, the Modern review, the Indian World and the Hindustan Review, the Indian Social Reformer, the Madras Standard, and the Indian Patriot have recorded their approval of the scheme of an Andhra Province in terms at once emphatic and unmistakable. The question of a province is not the be-all and end-all of the Andhra movement, but only an incident in the march of Andhra progress, an event in the realization of Andhra unity, a unit in the accomplishment of the Andhra solidarity. The question which has caused the greatest perturbation in the minds of some is of no greater significance than that is regarded as a fac-

tor of the utmost value "in getting to a head the whole sphere of a people's activities and that under right conditions the unity of common political institutions may be and is the strongest expression of the sense of National unity." The question of a province is but one out of a group of items that comprise the Andhra movement. Though it is not put forward by the Andhra conference as a specific demand or proposition, still the very recognition, granted on all hands, of the necessity for the Andhras to gather together and deliberate on their common needs carries with it the concurrent recognition of the necessity of a province. Those needs relate to the economic and social, the moral and material progress of the community and can be satisfactorily met only by a Government that can comprehend a wider range of functions and discharge them with a sole eye to the happiness of the people whom it governs. It is at any rate within the experience of people elsewhere in our country that new Universities have been sanctioned as at Dacca and Patna or are about to be established as at Nagpur and Rangoon only after the constitution of new provinces and though we may not on that account have to postpone our demand for an Andhra University till after we get an Andhra province, still the fact remains that each leads to the other, whichever be the earlier. The two aspects are so closely connected with each other that any body ostensibly organized

for one purpose gradually transforms itself into one wedded to more comprehensive aims and objects. The Muslim leaders who scrupulously avoided politics and agitated for educational reform have ended in asking for a form of self-Government suited to India.

V

One evening a somewhat astounding dictum was laid down in political science that the creation of a new province would only devise fresh walls of separation and forbid unification amongst the Indian peoples. This has raised the question of provincial and national ideals, of the character of Indian nationalism, and the helps and hindrances to it and above all of the type of self-Government in India and of the principle of Federation on which it must be based. These and other aspects have been discussed at length, the Home Rule spirit of Ireland, Wales and Scotland has been instanced, and the authorities of eminent statesmen like Lord Acton, Mr. Balfour and Mr. Squith have been quoted to show that "growth and development are possible only with the maintenance of the harmony of different nations within a single Federation, so as to enrich the central stream of national life through the confluence of its several tributaries, each carrying its own waters kept clean and pure and undefiled." It is time indeed that we survived the silly and mechanical notions that the capacity of the human heart is

fixed and the objects on which it can lavish its affection are limited. "All right emotion must widen from a sense of Self outward to the Infinities of life and personality" and the man who loves his country need not for that reason despise his family. "Man's spirit is a spring eternal in its flow yielding the more it is drawn upon, unrestricted in its measure of response and infinite in its power of unfoldment." The love of one's own province is not therefore inconsistent with the love of one's country. Says Balfour, "We Scotsmen have seen how absolutely to reconcile the principle of nationality, the feeling of nationality, the consciousness of a separate history in many respects during many formative and important centuries, and yet to be able to do this without feeling that there is in it any antagonism whatever to that patriotism not more ardent indeed but larger in its scope which includes not Great Britain only, but the whole Empire of which we are citizens. Do not let us discourage the feeling of Local patriotism of Canada, Australia, South Africa, Newzealand. Let us only ask them to follow the example of Scotland and to cultivate that feeling of Nationality for themselves, the Canadians for Canada, the Australian for the Australians, but all for the British empire. It is because this conception so new in the history of the world, was not understood and let us, in fairness say, could not be understood by our forefathers 150 years ago that the great and unhappy division between us and our

American colonies took place. It perhaps required that great lesson and the British empire is seeing how to work these two apparently antagonistic principles so that even those who profess them both never even see that there can possibly be any inconsistency between them." It is false and futile to say that a higher integration should destroy the integrity of smaller groupings and in the recognition of the latter there is "no fragmentation of the higher idea of Indian Nationalism. The spirit indeed may never be divided, for (amaeba like) it concentrates in equal measure in every fragment."

Says Mr. Asquith "the great virtue which we call patriotism and which cements the unity of a people comes from many sources as it assumes many different shapes. No one ventures in these days to think-still less to speak disrespectfully of the smaller nations which are the members of our imperial partnership. Praise of the Scotch is and has been long in men's minds, and under impulse of a strong sense of nationality, our Irish and our Welsh fellow-subjects do not fail to remind us of the glories of their past and of the debt that we owe to their distinctive qualities. In England we, Yorkshire men, are found to think that we belong to the premier country and speaking to-day, as a son of Morley, though one who left it early, I should be sorry to see it lose its individuality."

The excuse for quoting the following lengthy

speech of Lloyd George's which he addressed to a Welsh organization some twenty years ago is that it applies with equal force to this day, not only to Wales but *mutatis mutandis* to the Andhra country.

"The formation of such a society as this is an earnest of your desire and intention to labour for Wales. The exuberance and sanguine temperament of youth is inclined to chafe against any limits placed upon the range of its usefulness. Youth is just the season when one is apt to imagine that it would be an easy task to turn the world upside down and afterwards have energy and power enough to spare for the accomplishment of a few necessary reforms in the other planets. but as we grow older-at any rate this is my experience - you find that to effect anything at all you must confine your energies to the bringing about of much less drastic changes in a comparatively small area of the world's superficies. The men who have attained the most lasting and worldwide reputation as benefactors of the human race have all laboured in spheres more limited than even Wales-the intellectual giants of Greece and Judaea the greatest of them fall. So to my mind it is a compliment to your sound sense and appreciation of the great difficulties obstructing the path of every great onward movement that you should not despise the task of improving the political and social conditions of your native country because it is small. And Wales is not so small after all, I have travelled Wales to

preach the gospel of national unity and national hope and addressed hundreds of audiences but I have not met a 1/100 th of my countrymen. Wales is too large for my compass, at any rate. But there are some men who disdain its insignificance. It is too microscopical to engage their concern. Their eye sweeps over empires and continents and Wales is but a speck in their mental landscape. Their lofty soul declines to be cribbed within the confines of its narrow valleys.

Their ideas soar high above its mountains and sail far beyond its seas. Such colossal intellects would be lost upon so modest a programme as that of your society, heaven preserve you from such superior persons!

In determining to associate yourselves for the purpose of assisting in schemes for the amelioration and elevation of Wales, you have proceeded wisely in calling the spirit of nationality to your aid. In endeavouring to operate on a community for good or evil you must discover first the elements which exercise the greatest influence upon its life and character. You are true to the highest scientific instincts in recognising that there is nothing deeper or more permanent than race. Now there are men in high positions who deny the fact of our national existence. But you will find that those who most angrily repudiate the idea of racial difference in Britain are also the very men who scorn the assumption that the Welsh and

Irish people are equal in any respect to the race they belong to. If Englishmen are so superior a race to Wales or Ireland it must follow that the latter are a different race and thus stand in need of different treatment. So some politicians handle facts to fit into the superstructure of their political action.

Our separate nationality ought to be the starting point in the study of every Welsh question. It is true that the human nature is the same all the world over. One man possesses every quality which his neighbour enjoys, but you will find that Nature has endowed one man with certain qualities to such an extent as to give tone and bent to his whole temperament. It is that predominance that constitutes character and any one possessing the least tact must take this balance of qualities into account if he wishes successfully to deal with that individual. It is equally true of nations. We do not claim to monopolize any national gifts nor do the English. Nevertheless in its distribution of mental and moral gifts nature has been more prodigal of certain faculties in endowing our nation, and of different qualities in its equipment of the other, and the politician must be tactless indeed who overlooks the fact in appealing to a nation. By the formation of this organization, you show that you fully appreciate the importance of recognizing it as a basis of political action.

But you have to contend with another objection

that is, that while the existence of Welsh nationality may be admitted, it is said, the sooner it disappears the better it will be for the country. But is that so? I have a superstitious confidence in the prescience of Providence in these matters. Welsh nationality has survived 2000 years in spite of every human effort to crush out its vitality. The strongest Government forces in the world have successfully attempted to crush it, to coax it and even prey it out of existence. After centuries of effort this way, we are still forming Welsh nationalist societies, establishing Welsh Universities and claiming the same measure of Welsh national self-Government as our forefathers fought and died for, hundreds of years ago. The strength of our nationality shows no sign of any decay or any symptom of senility and I will continue to believe that its vigour has been fostered for the purpose of serving some beneficent purpose in the elevation of the race which it inspires by its influence. In forming this organization you are indicating your shrewdness as men of the world by recognizing the most patent and potent agency in Welsh life. Above all on higher grounds, you are doing well to tread the path to which the finger of providence unmistakably points.

Now, admitting our separate Nationality, it may be asked, what has that to do with politics? My first answer is this, Racial... characteristics affect, even

if they do not determine the social condition of a people. Racial characteristics have a large share in the moulding of the political opinion of a people. The Welsh fringe is deeply Liberal, the English is stolidly conservative. And just look at their respective attitudes towards suggested Reform. Politics are very much a matter of temperment. You can bring enough logic to satisfy any ordinary mind of the reasonableness of any side of political argument. It is the temperament of men that determines the issue for them. That is why racial characteristics possess such an influence upon the predominant political opinion of the Nationality and they have a still greater indirect influence. They fashion the habits, the pastimes and the moral discipline of a people. Whatever the man of the Metropolis may think of himself, the peasant with his vivid imagination sees more of heaven and earth from his hillsides than the shrewdest man of the world from his fog-enveloped clubwindows. What is more, he possesses a more favourable environment and temper for reflection upon what he observes.

My third answer is this:- that patriotism is the powerful incentive to unselfish action and that in an age when every motive power is pressed into the service of humanity, we ought not to neglect such a beneficent agent for good. We have already seen what it can do for the cause of education. It has built and endowed colleges, the pride of the land. It has... If

it can achieve so much in these branches of national endeavour, why not in others? You have but to harness it to the political slow coach and it will soon run up the hill. Military men are, I suppose, the most imperialist, as far as their views are concerned and yet there is no class that so thoroughly recognizes the importance of local patriotism as an incentive to noble deeds. Sir Collin Campbell when he wished his Scotsmen to storm a dangerous position, never appealed to those Imperial instincts which are supposed by Unionist politicians to be the only safe and sure incentive to right political execution. He simply said, 'Highlanders, remember your hills', and they faced death with shouts of triumph, all for the honour of those beloved hills."

If therefore, we seek to reestablish the integrity of the Andhra country it is because, we claim to have a true conception of patriotism and of Nationalism whose best manifestation lies in service of the country and of the nation. and while a beginning cannot be made too soon in this direction, we would urge upon the attention of all patriotic men in the country that the present is the most opportune time for taking on hand the solution of questions in relation to which our duty lies in taking the initiative and sustaining the work, leaving the fruition to the Future and to Destiny.

VI

In this the closing section other objections and other difficulties will be met. These are 'indeed of diverse types. (1) One leading member of the country has viewed the movement as anti-Tamilian, as anti-Ceded Districts, as anti non-brahman, as anti-himself. This kind of antithetic analysis and negative interpretation is not calculated to unfold the inner meaning of a constructive endeavour. People that see in it only a 'separation' and array themselves 'against' it are respectfully requested to treat it as a positive, affirming and synthetic movement. Again to say that (2) the whole cry is for posts and (3) to urge that one group of districts may have the capital in their midst to the detriment of the interests of the rest of the Telugus are palpably silly and vulgar imputations and argue a studied desire to burk the real issues of the problem. As a matter of fact an analysis of facts and figures has revealed the remarkable circumstance that for no appreciable fault of theirs the Telugus are consigned to a subordinate place in the ranks of officialdom. Whatever that be no one claims a privilege to which the community is not entitled by culture and by character. (4) Some have denied that the Telugus have any traditions and history markedly different from those of the Tamilians. To them we make a present of the pregnant observation on the question by Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao in August last at the Tanjore District conference held

at Sheyali. (5) Others assert that "the Telugus of the Circars differ from those of the ceded Districts as much as they differ from the Telugus in the Tamil, Canarese, and Malayalam Districts; and that the Telugus in the six southern Districts of the northern group have more in common with the Telugus and Tamils, the people of Madras, Chingelput, North Arcot, South Arcot and Coimbatore." This is a most astounding statement and may well be read side by side with Dewan Madhavarao's observations. It is unnecessary to deal with this argument at any great length for the same writer (Mr. G. Lakshmanreddi. B. A. of Gooty) has fortunately pointed out elsewhere that "we are proud of our Telugu country and our Telugu Literature and we will cooperate with our Circars brethren in all their endeavours to uplift and glorify them. But we must part company with them when they talk of a separate province." By all means let independent views be entertained on the question of a province; but let not our judgment in regard to history and traditions be vitiated by prejudices relating to other subjects.

The pride which all Telugus, it is admitted, feel for their country and their literature is the only thing that is sought of our brethren. That being granted, it readily follows that all of them have equal attachment to their motherland, cherish with equal regard the memory of the long and illustrious roll of its kings, warriors, poets, statesman,

philosophers, saints, martyrs and heroes, derive equal inspiration from its temples, palaces, battlefields and places of pilgrimage, and pay equal homage to Krishnadevaraya, Yugaudhara, Prataparudra. Venkata-dri Nayana, Potana, Nannaya, Tikkana. Vidyaranya, Ramadasa, Tyagaraya. Apastambha, Kulramadevi, Rukmini, Sasibiudu, Chakravarti, Damayanti, Molla, Vemana, Raja Narandra, Salivahan, Alivishu, Timmarasa, Anegondi, Kondavidu. Dhanaakataka, Bobbili. When people say that "the affinity between the people of the Ceded and of other districts lies in language" they grant all that has been described in the foregoing lines, they grant all that is made the common basis of our organization and thereafter the question of province may be considered on its own merits according to individual lights. (6) Others there be who grant all the charms of a common language and all the influence of a literature but deplore that it is not possible to have a province because all the Telugus cannot be grouped into that province. We deplore the fact ourselves but the principle to be recognized is that practical efforts should not be overawed by theoretical imperfections. It is possible to get a slice from Central provinces (indeed 3 sections have already been added to the Godavary district) but we cannot make the Nizam digorge a portion of his country as Curzon had made him the Berars, nor can we disturb the Mysore provinces. In the words of an eminent Bengali Mahomaden, "In

all parts of the world, in Europe, America, Australasia and Africa there is a strong tendency to unite peoples belonging to a common race or having a common history, but in India and in India alone, the Government keeps disunited people who possessed a common history and a common ancestry and keeps peoples joined together whose descent and history are absolutely dissimilar." The Government has obviated this reproach since these words were written in 1904 and there is little doubt that the errors of division hitherto in vogue will be repaired as sentiment grows amongst the people against the error. It may be mentioned incidentally that the Benares division (a Hindi speaking area) was at one time tried to be added to Behar and that Behar and United Provinces are two separate provinces though both are Hindi speaking. (7) The difficulty of bilingual population in border areas cannot be helped. Laws and administration cannot suit every single individual's convenience or comfort. They are designed to subserve the happiness of the largest majority possible. The inconvenience must be put up with and yield place to larger principles. A portion of Ganjam will probably be sliced off from Andhra and have to be added to the Uria country. It is thus that vested interests come into operation and warp judgement on the question of the province. But Patriotism and statesmanship must rise above self-interest (8) Some are so much taken aback by the de-

mand of an Andhra province that they ask "shall Kannada, and Malayalam too have separate provinces?" If a volume of sentiment and public opinion grow in these tracts which will not be content with any thing short of the recognition of their integrity, then their wishes must be gratified. If, however, they are apathetic or they be considered too small in area and population, they will have to share the fate of border districts in the Tamil or Telugu or Behar provinces. In any case it serves no purpose to embarrass us by raising such issues for they are best dealt with by the Government who alone are competent to settle and unsettle the boundaries. We are agitated because our agitation is just. Would it have been right to meet the demands of the Beharis for a separate province between 16-10-1905 and 12-12-1911 by the question "shall the Andhras also have a separate province?" Of course they shall have, if they demand it. At present Coorg forms a chief commissionership subject to the Resident of Mysore and why not Malabar or South Canara And Coorg has an area of 1600 sq. miles and a population of 2 lacs. 9. Some doubting believers ask the question whether Government will accede to our request. We have certainly an excellent prospect of being placated much earlier than the Indian national congress may hope to have 1. the repeal of the Arms Act, 2. the holding of Simultaneous, exns: 3. the abolition of the Secretary of state's council, 4. the complete separation of the judi-

cial and the executive, 5. the curtailment of military expenditure, 6. the obliteration of the race factor in the Government of the Empire. Our duty is to ask: It is for the Government to give. If we cannot exactly succeed, we shall at any rate have bestirred the dormant element of self-consciousness in ourselves and disciplined our life and character in a manner in which no other stimulus could operate. The agitation for a separate Bihar province evoked in 1896 the reply from Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the lieutenant Governor of the Lower provinces of Bengal, that the agitation was "a mere balloon without any substance whatever in it", that it was like a purely "newspaper agitation at home in what is called the silly season, when Parliament is not sitting and newspapers start some such discussion "Is marriage a failure?" or describe the proportions of some portentous gooseberry. The Lieutenant Governor ended by saying "It is the last thing likely to happen within our time. Neither the Government of India nor the secretary of state is likely to propose the creation of another Local Government in Upper India." Let facts belie prophecies. 10. A few wise men have asked us to fix the summer and winter capitals. We shall not be so presumptuous or so silly as to discuss the question at length. Suffice it to say that in the thousand and one difficulties discussed in connection with the redistribution of Bengal, the question of capitals was never considered to be a bar to the creation of new

provinces. Truth to speak, every question has its place and time and we need not stake the solution of the larger problem on trivial issues. 11. There remains the difficulty of expenditure. The creation of a new capital involves according to the despatch an initial nonrecurring outlay of 50 to 60 lacs and the new province will feel itself entitled to half the estimated value of the metropolitan assets and attributes of the Madras presidency. Is not the Government of India driving a bargain with Bengal in the disposal of the buildings of Calcutta? The remaining amount is a paltry sum and can be raised as a 3½ o/o loan or otherwise secured.

The creation of a new Metropolis involves a reduplication of the administrative machinery in the Metropolis which at present consumes annually 69½ lacs. Out of this (1) Revenue survey, Revenue Settlement, Land Records, stamps and registration cost Rs. 1,94,999. (2) Law and justice including the High court, Law officers, administrator-general, City civil court Presidency magistrate's courts, cost Rs. 13,92,400. (3) Police training school and Railway police cost Rs. 46,411. (4) Education including Director and University cost Rs. 2,12,600. Government colleges (Law, Teaching, Engineering and Medical) cost Rs. 4,72,300. (5) (a) Medical superintendence, General Hospital, Maternity) Ophthalmic and Voluntary venereal hospitals cost

Rs. 6,27,280. (b) Malaria, sanitary, vaccination and preventive medicine cost Rs. 2,74,000. (c) scientific and other minor departments cost Rs. 17,54,000. (6) stationery and printing costs Rs. 71,300 and (7) P. W. D. Direction costs Rs. 2,68,697. (8) The Legislative council costs Rs. 17,700. (9) Board of Revenue costs Rs. 5,52,100. (10). Financial commissioner and establishment Rs. 1,85,700. (11). Civil offices of account and audit Rs. 1,12,700. (12). Under general administration in addition to (8), (9), (10) and (11) we get His Excellency costing Rs. 1,20,000; staff and house hold 65,400; Expenditure for contract allowance including band, private secretary and surgeon, 94,000; Tour expenses 5,300 and Executive council 2,13,000 making a total under this head alone of 5,47,700. Now out of the total annual recurring expenditure of nearly 70 lacs, Andhra country is contributing a half. A smaller presidency does not require courts and offices and equipment exactly on the scale that is necessary for the present presidency. It is possible to cut down the establishment to about 50 lacs a year including the Governor's expenses. Out of this we have already been finding 35 lacs. An annual recurring extra expenditure of 15 lacs is not too high a price for all the advantages destined to flow from a separate province. What Sir Harvey Adamson said in regard to Judicial and the executive we are disposed to repeat to our 'economic' friends, viz

“The experiment may be costly, but the object is a worthy one.” Lord Curzon wrote on 2-2-05, “The formation of a new province will necessarily involve a substantial increase of expenditure, but need not involve additional taxation on the people. Part of the surplus revenue under the control of the Government of India will be applied for the purpose. So far from Bengal paying for its reforms, it will get it largely from the rest of the Empire”. (12) Some fear the advent of a Lieutenant Governor. Our reply is that Bombay with a larger population has a Governor. There is no doubt that sometimes we would prefer a Lieutenant Governor. Every thing depends on the personality of the individual. If Lord Morley’s prophecy proves true and India’s rule continues to be personal and absolute ‘so far as his imagination could peer’ then we are only concerned with the personality of our ruler. If however democratic spirit and representative institutions come into being, then it is of little consequence, whether we get a Governor or Lieutenant Governor. In any case we must admit that Sir Antony m. c. Donell, Sir Henry Cotton, Sir John Hewett and Sir James Meiston have given as good an account of themselves as Sir Arthur Lawley; Sir George Clarke or Lord Sandhurst. and executive and legislative councils are slowly coming to be associated with Lieut governors and commissioners as well. The despatch says that financially a Lieutenant Governor’s pay and allowances

come to a little more than a Governor's. 13. Lastly like the man in the proverb, after hearing all this story there are some who ask 'who are Andhras'? To those who put such a question whether sincerely, foolishly or scoffingly, the only reply is that whoso calls himself an Andhra is that. Anybody may claim the privileges of Andhra citizenship provided he accepts the law and the constitution:

These form the bulk of the objections advanced to the scheme of an Andhra province. He who opposes it perversely will be hoist on his own petard. So were the Bengalis, They would not for a long time accede to the proposal of separating Behar. They pinned their faith to the scheme of a Governor-in-council and it was not until they were themselves sought to be divided that they recognized the wisdom underlying the suggestions of Mahesh Narayan and Sreehidananda Sinha. Mr. Ghokale in his presidential address in 1905 distinctly suggested the "formation into a province of Behar as an ideally perfect plan of partition and pleaded for the separation of Behar, Chota Nagapur and Orissa from Bengal." The congress, recognized the principles upon which the Hindi-speaking populace of Behar sought to integrate themselves. Though not in so many words, it is evident that there has been an unconscious and impulsive struggle seeking to base divisions upon natural delimitations. There is little doubt that as years roll by the Congress will

“The experiment may be costly, but the object is a worthy one.” Lord Curzon wrote on 2-2-05; “The formation of a new province will necessarily involve a substantial increase of expenditure, but need not involve additional taxation on the people. Part of the surplus revenue under the control of the Government of India will be applied for the purpose. So far from Bengal paying for its reforms, it will get it largely from the rest of the Empire”. (12) Some fear the advent of a Lieutenant Governor. Our reply is that Bombay with no larger population has a Governor. There is no doubt that sometimes we would prefer a Lieutenant Governor. Every thing depends on the personality of the individual. If Lord Morley’s prophecy proves true and India’s rule continues to be personal and absolute ‘so far as his imagination could peer’ then we are only concerned with the personality of our ruler. If however democratic spirit and representative institutions come into being, then it is of little consequence, whether we get a Governor or Lieutenant Governor. In any case we must admit that Sir Antony m. c. Donell, Sir Henry Cotton, Sir John Hewett and Sir James Meston have given us good an account of themselves as Sir Arthur Lawley, Sir George Clarke or Lord Sandhurst. and executive and legislative councils are slowly coming to be associated with Lieut governors and commissioners as well. The despatch says that financially a Lieutenant Governor’s pay and allowances

comes to a little more than a Governor's. 13. Lastly like the man in the proverb, after hearing all this story there are some who ask 'who are Andhras'? To those who put such a question whether sincerely, foolishly or scoffingly, the only reply is that whoso calls himself an Andhra is that. Anybody may claim the privileges of Andhra citizenship provided he accepts the law and the constitution:

These form the bulk of the objections advanced to the scheme of an Andhra province. He who opposes it perversedly will be hoist on his own petard. So were the Bengalis. They would not for a long time accede to the proposal of separating Behar. They pinned their faith to the scheme of a Governor-in-council and it was not until they were themselves sought to be divided that they recognized the wisdom underlying the suggestions of Mahesh Narayan and Saechidananda Sinha. Mr. Ghokale in his presidential address in 1905 distinctly suggested the "formation into a province of Behar as an ideally perfect plan of partition and pleaded for the separation of Behar, Chota Nagapur and Orissa from Bengal." The congress, recognizing the principles upon which the Hindi-speaking populace of Behar sought to integrate themselves. Though not in so many words, it is evident that there has been an unconscious and impulsive struggle seeking to base divisions upon natural delimitations. There is little doubt that as years roll by the Congress will

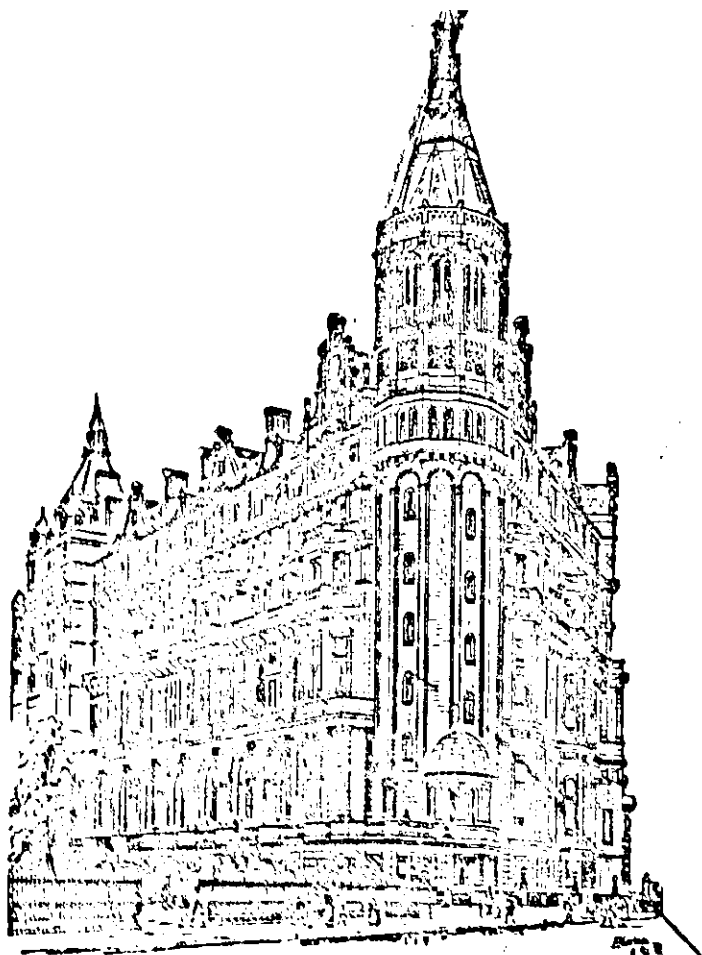
recognize the inner meaning of this new struggle and accord its sanction to the ideal by which it is sustained. Every day brings new votaries of the Andhra movement and the most encouraging circumstance is the support that is more readily and more ungrudgingly given by eminent men in the South while those of the North are nervous, vacillating and pusillanimous.

The Andhra province will have a population of over 17 millions, a figure which approaches the population of Bombay which has been a province ever since the Regulations. In extent it will be about 70,000 sq miles and will nearly equal the Bengal province, or the Behar province. The United States with an area more than twice that of India, but with a population of about one fourth of that of our country, comprise 45 States of which the smallest in area is Columbia covering 70 sq. miles, and the smallest in population is Nevada with 45000 people. There are not more than 7 states whose area exceeds 100,000 sq. miles each. They form integral states each with its laws and administration, but all forming the great American nation. Other examples may be quoted such as Switzerland with 1/9 th of the area of the Madras presidency and yet divided into 22 Cantons, each with an independent administration, and of Tasmania and Nova scotia. The future Andhra province will be more than twice the size of Scotland, Ireland, Bulgaria

or Greece, more than five times the size of Belgium, Holland or Denmark, more than four times the size of Switzerland or Servia, a little larger than Turkey and a little smaller than Italy. It will develop the economic and moral resources of the people. It will promote education, good government and every mark of prosperity amongst the Andhras. It will facilitate and hasten the realization of the ideal of self government. It will enrich, strengthen and invigorate the future Indian nationality.



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NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB.

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NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB.

- Formation of the Club, and Election
of the Right Hon. W. E.
Gladstone, M.P., as President - 16th November, 1882.*
- Inaugural Banquet, at which 2,000
Members were present - - 2nd May, 1883.*
- Laying of Foundation Stone of New
Club House - - - - 4th November, 1884.*
- Opening of New Club House - 20th June, 1887.*
- Opening of the Gladstone Library
by the Right Hon. W. E.
Gladstone, M.P. - - - - 2nd May, 1888.*
- Celebration of the Golden Wedding
of Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone - 26th July, 1889.*
- Death of the First President of the
Club - - - - - 19th May, 1898.*
- Election of the Right Hon. Earl
Carrington, K.G., G.C.M.G.
(now the Marquess of Lincoln-
shire), as President - - - 4th February, 1903.*
-

NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB.

FORM OF BEQUEST.

I bequeath to the Trustees for the time being of the National Liberal Club, to be applied by them for the general purposes of that Club, the sum of £ _____, and I declare that the receipt of any one of the said Trustees for the time being shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB.

OFFICERS,
COMMITTEES,
RULES,
LIST OF MEMBERS,
ETC.

JULY,
1914.

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 O Country Member.
 H Honorary Member.

L Life Member.
 O Original Member.
 T Town Member.

Date indicates Year of Election as a Member of the Club.

NOTE.—The figures 1, 2, and 3 indicate respectively the first, second, and third year of service, except such as are marked † who have been elected to fill vacancies and have consequently served for less than the number of years indicated. Members with the figure 3 before their names will retire in May, 1915.

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 1 T 1904 ANDERSON, JOHN ALEX-
 ANDER
 1 A 1905 ANDREWS, WILLIAM
 HENRY
 1 T 1887 ASTLE, W. G. DEVON
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 (St. Leonards)
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 2 T 1883 CLEATON, EDMUND R.
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1 T 1883 DEACON, THOMAS MARK,
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* Ex-officio Member of Committee.

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HARDCASTLE, F. H. A., F.S.I.	RUTHERFORD, V. H., M.A., M.B.
HOCKING, SILAS K.	SHARP, Rev. C. J., M.A.
JONES, HARRY	STAPLEY, SIR RICHARD, J.P.
JONES, T. ARTEMUS	STRAUS, B. S., J.P.
LEDGER, GEORGE	WOODCOCK, H. B. DRYSDALE.

POLITICAL COMMITTEE.

DAVID S. WATERLOW, *Chairman.*

THOMAS COOTE, J.P.,	} <i>Vice-Chairmen.</i>
SILAS K. HOCKING,	

ALFRED MOORE, *Honorary Secretary.*

BERNACCHI, L. C., F.R.G.S.	LLOYD-TAYLOR, WILLIAM, J.P.
CLEATON, EDMUND R.	MCCORMACK, T. W.
COTTON, SIR HENRY J. S., K.C.S.I.	MACDONALD, JAMES
EDGCUMBE, SIR ROBERT	MUNDELLA, A. J.
GARDINER, A. G.	NATHAN, M. H., J.P.
GLYN-JONES, W. S., M.P.	RADFORD, G. H., LL.B., J.P., M.P.
HAMMOND, ROBERT, M.Inst.C.E.	ROWLANDS, JAMES, M.P.
HARDCASTLE, F. H. A., F.S.I.	SCOTT, A. MACCALLUM, M.P.
HARDY, GEORGE A., J.P., L.C.C.	SEAGER, J. RENWICK, J.P.
HEFFER, PERCY HOLT	SMITH, EDWARD, J.P., L.C.C.
HOLDING, HENRY B., J.P.	SPENDER, E. HAROLD, M.A.
LEDGER, GEORGE	STAPLEY, SIR RICHARD, J.P.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CIRCLE COMMITTEE.

GEORGE LEDGER, *Chairman.*T. FISHER UNWIN, *Vice-Chairman.*

BLACKWELL, P. T.	RICHARDS, R. C.
DAVIS, W. E.	RUTHERFORD, V. H., M.A., M.B.
GRIGSBY, T. E.	

MANAGING COMMITTEE.*JAMES A. SINCLAIR, *Chairman.*

*CAVE, ALBERT E.

†HARDING, JOHN S.

†HARDY, GEORGE A. J.P., L.C.C.

*MYERS, J. EDWARD, F.C.A.

†NAPIER, The Hon. MARK F., J.P.

†WATERLOW, DAVID S.

* Appointed by General Committee.

† Appointed by N. L. C. Buildings Co., Ltd.

SERVANTS' CHRISTMAS FUND JOINT COMMITTEE.*ROBERT HAMMOND, M.Inst.C.E., *Chairman.*

†CAVE, ALBERT E.

*DEACON, THOMAS MARK, F.S.I.

*GLYN-JONES, W. S., M.P.

†HARDING, JOHN S.

*WATSON, Lieut.-Col. J. STANLEY,
J.P.

* Appointed by General Committee.

† Appointed by Managing Committee.

**SPECIAL COMMITTEE FOR THE CONTROL OF THE
SUPPLY OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS.**JAMES A. SINCLAIR, *Chairman.*

CAVE, ALBERT E.

HARDING, JOHN S.

HARDY, GEORGE, A. J.P., L.C.C.

MYERS, J. EDWARD, F.C.A.

NAPIER, The Hon. MARK F., J.P.

WATERLOW, DAVID S.

WINE AND CIGARS ADVISORY COMMITTEE.LIEUT.-COL. J. STANLEY WATSON, J.P., *Chairman.*

REED, G. MARLOW, J.P.

ROPER, F. W.

| STRACHIE, THE RIGHT HON. LORD

| STRAUS, BERTRAM S., J.P.

MANAGER.

L. MANTELL.

ASSISTANT MANAGER.

E. J. SAYLE.

BANKERS.

BARCLAY & Co., LTD., 1, Pall Mall East, S.W.

HONORARY AUDITORS.

SIR RICHARD STAPLEY, J.P.

|

ALBERT W. WYON, F.C.A.

AUDITORS.

WESTCOTT, MASKALL & Co., 29 & 30, Broad Street Avenue, E.C.

SOLICITORS.

WATERHOUSE & Co.,

1, New Court, Carey Street, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.

SECRETARY.

JOHN HENDERSON.

ASSISTANT SECRETARIES.

W. M. H. HOW.

|

SYDNEY C. COLLINS.

NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB.

OBJECTS AND RULES.

OBJECTS.

The objects of the National Liberal Club are :—

1. To provide a central, convenient, and inexpensive Club in London for Liberals throughout the kingdom, at which they may obtain every comfort and Club advantage, and where they may meet in friendly intercourse and interchange information and views.

2. To further the interests of the Liberal cause.

3. To found, in connection with the Club, a Political and Historical Library, to be called the Gladstone Library, as a permanent memorial of the services which the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone has rendered to his country.

RULES.

MEMBERS.

1. The Club shall consist of Life, Town, Country, Junior, Supernumerary, Honorary, and Temporary Members, and every Member, except Temporary Members, must be a subject of the British Crown.

LIFE MEMBERS.

2. The payment of One Hundred Guineas shall entitle a Member to all the privileges of Membership of the Club during his lifetime.

TOWN MEMBERS.

3. A Candidate who has a permanent residence within a radius of twelve miles, or whose place of business, whether as principal or employee, is within a radius of four miles from Charing Cross, is eligible for election as a Town Member. Every Town Member elected on or before 1st December, 1886, shall pay an annual subscription of Four Guineas. Every Town Member elected after 1st December, 1886, shall pay an annual subscription of Six Guineas. Any question as to what constitutes a permanent residence or place of business shall be decided by the General Committee. Town Members elected after the 30th June in any year shall pay a subscription of Three Guineas for the year in which they are elected, and Six Guineas for each subsequent year.

COUNTRY MEMBERS.

4. A Candidate whose permanent residence or whose place of business, whether as principal or employee, is not within the limits defined by Rule 3, is eligible for election as a Country Member. Every Country Member elected on or before 1st December, 1886, shall pay an

annual subscription of Two Guineas. Every Country Member elected after 1st December, 1886, shall pay an annual subscription of Three Guineas. Country Members elected after the 30th June in any year shall pay a subscription of One Guinea and a Half for the year in which they are elected, and Three Guineas for each subsequent year. A Country Member who shall have resided within a radius of twelve miles from Charing Cross, or whose place of business shall have been within a radius of four miles from Charing Cross, for ninety days, shall thereupon become a Town Member. It shall be obligatory on a Country Member to give notice to the Secretary on his taking up residence or occupation of a place of business within the limits above stated.

JUNIOR MEMBERS.

4a. A Candidate who is not less than seventeen or more than twenty-three years of age, and is the son of a Member, or is an Undergraduate Student at any University or University College in England, Scotland, Ireland, or Wales, shall be eligible as a Junior Member. Every Junior Member, who would if an Ordinary Member be a Town Member, shall pay an Annual Subscription of Two Guineas ; every Junior Member, who would if an Ordinary Member be a Country Member, shall pay an Annual Subscription of One Guinea. A Member elected under this Rule shall pay the subscription of an Ordinary Member of the Club upon attaining the age of twenty-five years.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

5. A Country Member who, as a Member of the House of Commons, resides at any time within the limits defined by Rule 3, shall not by such residence become a Town Member.

CHANGE OF MEMBERSHIP.

6. A Town Member who, by change of residence or place of business, becomes a Country Member shall for subsequent years pay the same subscription as a Country Member ; and a Country Member who, by change of residence or place of business, becomes a Town Member before the 30th day of June in any year shall pay the same subscription as a Town Member for the current and subsequent years. Should a Country Member become a Town Member after the 30th day of June in any year, he shall pay an additional subscription of half the sum required to complete a Town Member's subscription for the current year, and in subsequent years a Town Member's subscription.

TEMPORARY MEMBERS.

7. Any person usually domiciled abroad may be elected by the Election and Membership Committee as a Temporary Member for a period not exceeding one month (without entrance fee or subscription) during his temporary residence in England, with the privileges of an ordinary Member, other than the right of bedroom-accommodation during the months of February, March, April, May, June, July, and August, except on Saturdays and Sundays, and other than the right of voting or nominating Candidates for Membership.

A Temporary Member must be recommended for admission by at least three Members of the Club, one of whom must have a personal knowledge of him, or, if he be not personally known to any Member of the Club, he must be recommended by at least six Members of the Club, three being Members of the General Committee ; and his name, profession, and address must be given in full. No Member

shall recommend for admission to the Club more than six Temporary Members in any one year, unless under exceptional circumstances, to be approved by the Election and Membership Committee.

Except as an Extended Temporary Member or under special circumstances to be approved by the Election and Membership Committee, the same person shall not be eligible for any further term or terms of Temporary Membership until a period of six months shall have elapsed since the date of his last admission, and for such further term or terms the Election and Membership Committee may impose a subscription not exceeding One Guinea per month.

The names of all persons proposed for election as Temporary Members under this Rule must be sent to the Secretary so as to reach him not later than the first post on the Friday previous to the Monday on which the Election and Membership Committee meet; provided always that the Election and Membership Committee shall have power to consider and deal as they think fit with any application for Temporary Membership, but in such manner that there shall be an interval of at least forty-eight hours between the nomination and the admission of any Temporary Member.

If a Temporary Member desires an extension of his Membership, such Membership may be extended by the General Committee for a period not exceeding one year. The applicant must state in writing that he is in general sympathy with the Liberal Party, he must be proposed and seconded by Members of the Club, who shall state in writing that they know the applicant to be in general sympathy

with the Liberal Party and personally and socially desirable as a Member of the Club. Letters from the Proposer and Secunder must accompany the nomination. Such Extended Temporary Member shall pay the ordinary Town Member's subscription if he be elected for a year, or if he be elected for less than a year he shall pay such subscription as the Committee consider reasonable.

On the application of an Extended Temporary Member the General Committee may further extend and re-extend his Membership for a period not exceeding a year at any one time.

Applications for Extended Temporary Membership shall be recommended to the General Committee by the Election and Membership Committee in the same manner as those for ordinary Membership.

The Election and Membership Committee may also, under special circumstances, and subject to such regulations as may be made from time to time, elect as Temporary Members, without subscription, Members of other Clubs and Associations, for any period not exceeding one week, on the recommendation of the Chairman or Secretary of such Club or Association. The Election and Membership Committee may also elect for such longer period as they consider reasonable Members of a Club whose premises are under repair or for any reason not fully available for use.

PARLIAMENTARY TEMPORARY MEMBERS.

7a. The General Committee shall have power, whenever in their opinion special circumstances render such action desirable, and on the nomination in writing of not

less than ten members of the Committee, to elect as a Parliamentary Temporary Member of the Club any Member of the House of Commons.

A Parliamentary Temporary Membership shall (subject to the provisions of Rule 37) continue for a period of one year from the date of election, and may upon application be renewed by the General Committee from year to year.

Parliamentary Temporary Members shall have the privileges of Temporary Membership as defined by Rule 7, and shall pay no Entrance Fee or Subscription. The number of Parliamentary Temporary Members shall not at any time exceed twenty.

TEMPORARY FOREIGN MEMBERS.

7b. Non-British subjects resident in the United Kingdom or abroad may be elected Temporary Foreign Members on the same terms of subscription as permanent Town Members; such Temporary Foreign Members shall have the same status as Extended Temporary Members and preliminary Temporary Membership shall not be necessary.

SUPERNUMERARY MEMBERS.

8. Any Member who leaves the United Kingdom for a period of more than one year shall be placed upon the Supernumerary List on his giving written notice to the Secretary, and his subscription during his residence abroad shall be 10s. 6d. per annum.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

9. The General Committee may elect as Honorary Members persons who have rendered distinguished service in the spread of Liberal opinions. Candidates for Honorary Membership must be nominated by at least ten members of

the General Committee. Nominations under this rule must be sent to the Secretary not later than fourteen days previous to the ordinary Meetings of the General Committee, and shall appear on the agenda.

The name or names of persons elected under this rule shall be reported to the next General Meeting; and the election of any person as an Honorary Member shall be subject to confirmation by a majority of the Members present at such meeting.

Not more than three persons shall be elected under this rule in any one year. An Honorary Member shall pay no entrance fee or subscription.

EX-OFFICIO HONORARY MEMBERS.

- 9a. (a) If, in the opinion of the General Committee, any Association or Club having for its object the promotion of the Liberal Cause has rendered distinguished services in the spread of Liberal opinion, the General Committee may, on the nomination in writing of not less than ten Members of the General Committee, elect as a Member of this Club during his term of office, or for any less period, the Secretary or other principal officer of any such Association or Club whose Membership is calculated to further the well-being and objects of this Club and any person so elected shall, without payment of any entrance fee or subscription, be entitled to all the privileges of Membership of this Club.

- (b) Members elected under this rule shall be designated "ex-officio Honorary Members."

- (c) Not more than two persons shall be elected "ex-officio Honorary Members" in any one year, and there shall not be more than five such Members at any one time.
- (d) Nominations under this rule must be sent to the Secretary not later than fourteen days previous to the ordinary meetings of the General Committee and shall appear on the Agenda.

TRUSTEES.

10. The property of the Club shall be vested in five Trustees, who shall remain in office until death or resignation, or until removal by a majority of two-thirds of those voting at a General Meeting. Vacancies shall be filled up by the General Committee, subject to confirmation by the next Annual Meeting.

GOVERNING BODY.

11. The Governing Body of the Club shall be :—

A PRESIDENT ;

NOT MORE THAN TWENTY VICE-PRESIDENTS ;

A GENERAL COMMITTEE ;

A MANAGING COMMITTEE.

PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

11a. The President and Vice-Presidents shall remain in office until death or resignation, or until removal by a majority of two-thirds of those voting at a General Meeting. Vacancies in any of these offices shall be filled up by the General Committee ; but each such appointment shall be submitted for confirmation at the next ensuing Annual Meeting.

THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

12. The entire financial and business management of the Club shall be vested in a special Committee of seven

Members of the Club, to be called the Managing Committee. Four of these Members shall be appointed by the Board of Directors of the National Liberal Club Buildings Company, Limited, and the other three by the General Committee. The Manager and (save as provided by Rule 18) all other officers and servants of the Club shall be appointed and removed by the Managing Committee.

The Managing Committee shall have power to deal with and make all such contracts with respect to the property of the Club as may be necessary or desirable in the management of the business of the Club, and for that purpose may sell any movable property of the Club; but no contract for the raising of money upon the security of the Club property, or for acquiring land by purchase or lease, or for the sale of land or lease of land, shall be made except subject to the approval of the General Committee, and no sale or lease of land shall be made except with a view to the development of the Club unless it be made on the dissolution of the Club.

Notwithstanding the provisions of Rule 45, or anything in these Rules contained, this Rule shall not be capable of being altered otherwise than by agreement between the National Liberal Club Buildings Company, Limited, and the Club until the 31st December, 1901, and only after that date if and when all liabilities of the Club to the Company shall have been discharged.

THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

12a. Save as provided in the last preceding rule, the Club shall be managed by a General Committee, consisting of the President and Vice-Presidents of the Club for the time being, of not more than ninety Members

elected in the manner provided by Rule 14, and of not more than nine Members elected in the manner provided by Rule 15.

The General Committee shall elect annually, at its meeting in June, a Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen.

The General Committee shall also elect, at its first meeting after the 20th of January, 1897, and after the year 1897 annually at its meeting in June, three Members of the Managing Committee. Casual vacancies in any of these offices shall be filled up at the first meeting of the General Committee after the happening of such vacancies.

13. One-third of the Members of the General Committee shall retire annually by rotation, and shall be eligible for re-election.

14 The mode of electing the ninety Members of the General Committee referred to in Rule 12a shall be as follows :--

Four weeks at least before the Annual General Meeting the Secretary shall cause to be placed in some conspicuous position in the Club a printed form of notice of the Annual General Meeting, together with the names of the retiring Members of the General Committee. The Notice shall state that if any two Members of the Club wish to nominate any one or more Members to fill the vacancies, they must, within seven days after the date of the notice, send the name of each person so nominated to the Secretary. A copy of this notice and list shall also be sent by post—with a request that it may be placed in some conspicuous position—to the Secretary of every Association affiliated with the Club.

Fourteen clear days at least before the Annual General Meeting the Secretary shall cause to be placed in some conspicuous position in the Club a list of the retiring Members of the General Committee, and of any Members who have been nominated to fill the vacancies as well as a notice of every special resolution to be moved at such meeting. He shall also, fourteen clear days at least before the Annual General Meeting, send a copy of such list and notice, by post, to each Member of the Club, together with a Voting Paper containing clear directions as to the way in which it is to be filled up and signed. No second Voting Paper will be issued. Voting Papers, when filled up, may be deposited by Members in a receiver, which shall be under the charge of the Chairman, or, if sent by post to the Secretary, he shall deposit them in the receiver. The meeting shall appoint two scrutineers, who shall examine the lists in the receiver, and shall announce, as the new Members of the General Committee, those who have received the greatest number of votes. If any Member elected decline to serve, the Member who has the next largest number of votes shall be elected.

15. The mode of electing the nine Members of the General Committee referred to in Rule 12*a* shall be as follows :—Every year the General Committee shall, as soon as conveniently may be after the Annual General Meeting, elect three Members of the Club to be Members of its own body. The General Committee shall make such regulations as it may think fit for the nomination and election of these members. Members of the General Committee elected under this Rule shall be eligible to act for three years.

NOTE.—The following resolution was passed at the Annual General Meeting of the Members, held on May 6th, 1890 :—

“That it be an instruction to the General Committee, in electing Members under Rule 15, to have regard primarily to the internal management of the Club and to the fitness of Candidates for maintaining and improving its social and domestic efficiency.”

CASUAL VACANCIES ON THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

16. Casual vacancies on the General Committee shall be filled up at the next ensuing Annual Meeting. A Member elected to fill a casual vacancy shall serve for the unfinished term of the Member whose place he has taken. If there is more than one such vacancy, the Member elected by the greater number of votes shall serve for the longer unfinished term. In case of equality of votes between two or more such Members the order of precedence shall be determined alphabetically according to their names.

MEETINGS AND PROCEDURE OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

17 The General Committee shall meet on the first Wednesday of each month, unless otherwise ordered by the Chairman. Ten Members shall form a quorum. In the case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a casting or second vote. Minutes of the Committee's proceedings shall be duly kept and signed ; and all acts done in pursuance of anything appearing by such minutes to be resolved upon or authorised by the General Committee, shall be deemed to be acts of the General Committee, within the meaning of the Rules.

POWERS OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

18. The General Committee shall, from time to time, appoint and remove the Bankers, Solicitors, Secretary, Auditors, and Librarian, but no such appointment or removal shall take effect until approved by the Managing Committee.

If it shall pass from time to time such resolutions and regulations consistent with the Rules of the Club as shall from time to time be necessary for the better management of the financial or business management of the Club and such other and approved by the Managing Committee.

21. It is the duty of the General Committee and also have the following powers —

- (a) Subject to the consent of the Managing Committee to lease and contracts with reference to the raising of money upon the security of the Club property for borrowing and by purchase or lease and for the sale of land or lease of land as it may think necessary or desirable—provided that in case of land or lease of land shall be made except with a view to the development of the Club unless it be made on the dissolution of the Club.
- (b) To dispose in the event of the dissolution of the Club of the property of the Club which may remain after payment and satisfaction of all the debts and liabilities of the Club in such manner as in the absolute discretion of the majority of a meeting specially called for the purpose shall be considered best for the interests of the Liberal cause.
- (c) To alter any existing Rules or to make any new Rules of the Club provided such alteration or addition does not relate to the objects of the Club, or to the financial or business management of the Club, or to the constitution or election of the Managing or General Committees, or to the powers given to them by these Rules.

- (d) To reinstate any Member who has resigned. To suspend, and after any suspension resume, the election of any class of Members, and to make any alteration it may, from time to time, consider desirable in the Rules relating to terms of Membership, provided that nothing herein contained shall give the Committee power to raise existing subscriptions without the previous sanction of a General Meeting of the Club, or to raise or reduce existing subscriptions without the consent of the Managing Committee.

ALTERATION OF RULES BY THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

21. Every alteration of, or addition to, the Rules, and every suspension, or resumption of the election of any class of Members, shall be by resolution passed by not less than two-thirds of those voting at a meeting where not less than twenty vote in the majority. No alteration of the Rules relating to the terms of Membership of Country Members as a special class shall be carried, unless it shall have been supported by a majority of Country Members of the Committee present and voting at the meeting, as well as by a two-thirds majority of all the Members present and voting as herein-before provided.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE FOR THE CONTROL OF THE SUPPLY OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS.

21a. Notwithstanding anything in these Rules relating to the powers of the Managing Committee, the supply of intoxicating liquors to the Club and its Members, and all

questions relating to that supply, and the making and altering of all bye-laws and regulations relating thereto, shall be under the control of a Special Committee of seven Members of the Club, who shall be appointed by the General Committee.

NOTE.—In framing Rule 21A, appointing the Special Committee for the Control of the Supply of Intoxicating Liquors, as required by the Licensing Act, 1902, it was mutually agreed between the General Committee and the Directors of the National Liberal Club Buildings Co., Ltd., that the Members comprising the Managing Committee should be appointed.

NOTICES OF MOTIONS FOR THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

22. Notice shall be given of the following motions to be proposed at Meetings of the General Committee :—

1. To elect Vice-Presidents, giving the name, address, and occupation of each person to be proposed.
2. To alter the terms of Membership, or to alter existing Rules, or to make new Rules of the Club.
3. To elect Honorary Members, giving the name, address, and occupation of each person proposed.
4. To affiliate Associations.
5. To cancel the Membership of any Member, and dissolve the affiliation of any Association.

SPECIAL AND EMERGENCY MEETINGS OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

23 On receipt of a request, signed by ten or more Members of the General Committee, requesting that a

Special Meeting of that Committee shall be summoned, stating the nature of the business for which it is to be called, the Secretary shall forthwith issue notices summoning such Meeting, on a day and at an hour to be fixed by the Chairman of the General Committee. But such Meeting shall not be summoned under five days' notice, nor be held before Four p.m.

24. In case of any political or other emergency the Chairman, or any three Members of the General Committee, may convene an Emergency Meeting of the General Committee by such notice, in such manner, and at such time and place as may be deemed expedient.

SUB-COMMITTEES.

25. The General Committee shall, in the manner prescribed by Rule 26, appoint from its own Members the following and such other Sub-Committees as it may consider expedient, and with such of its powers as it may think desirable, except—

- To elect Members (except Temporary Members) ;
- To elect a President, Vice-Presidents, Members of the Managing Committee, and Trustees ;
- To alter existing Rules, or make new Rules of the Club ;
- To affiliate Associations ;
- To cancel the Membership of any Member or dissolve the affiliation of any Association—

viz. :—

1. A Political Committee not exceeding 28 Members
2. An Election
& Membership „ „ 16 „
3. A Library „ „ 16 „

questions relating to that supply, and the making and altering of all bye-laws and regulations relating thereto, shall be under the control of a Special Committee of seven Members of the Club, who shall be appointed by the General Committee.

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- To elect Members (except Temporary Members) ;
- To elect a President, Vice-Presidents, Members of the Managing Committee, and Trustees ;
- To alter existing Rules, or make new Rules of the Club ;
- To affiliate Associations ;
- To cancel the Membership of any Member or dissolve the affiliation of any Association—

viz. :—

1. A Political Committee not exceeding 28 Members
2. An Election
& Membership 16 ..
3. A Library 16 ..

26. The election of Members of Sub-Committees appointed by the General Committee shall be as follows :—

The Members of all Sub-Committees shall retire annually, and the new Sub-Committees shall be elected from the General Committee at its June Meeting in each year, and the voting shall be by ballot. A copy of the list of Members of the General Committee, in the form of a voting-paper, together with a list of retiring Committees and statement of attendances of each Member, shall be sent to each Member of the General Committee seven clear days before the date of the Meeting. Such voting-papers, when filled up, must be deposited by the respective voters (present at the Meeting) in a receiver, which shall be under the charge of the Chairman of the Meeting. The meeting shall appoint two scrutineers, who shall announce as the new Members of the various Sub-Committees those who have received the greatest number of votes. If any Member so elected decline to serve, the Member who shall have the next largest number of votes shall be elected. Any casual vacancies that may occur up to the last day of February in each year shall be filled up by the General Committee.

NOTE.—The following resolution was passed at the meeting of the General Committee held on January 9th, 1907 :—

“That it be a Standing Order of this Committee that no Member shall be eligible to be elected for more than three Standing Committees, viz. :—

The Committees referred to in Rule 25, as follows :—
The Political Committee,

The Election and Membership Committee,
The Library Committee,

also

The Art Committee,
The Managing Committee,
The Wine and Cigars Advisory Committee,
The Games Committee, and
The Servants' Christmas Fund Joint Committee."

27. Each Sub-Committee of the General Committee, at its first Meeting after being appointed, shall elect a Chairman, and shall fix a regular day and hour of meeting.

28. The Chairman of the General Committee shall be *ex-officio* a Member of all Sub-Committees.

29. All acts done by any Meeting of the General Committee, or of a Sub-Committee of the General Committee, or by any person acting as a Member of the General Committee or Sub-Committee, shall, notwithstanding that it be afterwards discovered that there was some defect in the appointment of any such Members or persons acting as aforesaid, or that they, or any of them, were disqualified, be as valid as if every such person had been duly appointed, and was qualified to be a Member.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

30. Each Candidate for Membership, other than Honorary and Temporary Membership, shall be nominated by two Members of the Club, or by the Committee of any of the following Clubs, viz. :—

26. The election of Members of Sub-Committees appointed by the General Committee shall be as follows :—

The Members of all Sub-Committees shall retire annually, and the new Sub-Committees shall be elected from the General Committee at its June Meeting in each year, and the voting shall be by ballot. A copy of the list of Members of the General Committee, in the form of a voting-paper, together with a list of retiring Committees and statement of attendances of each Member, shall be sent to each Member of the General Committee seven clear days before the date of the Meeting. Such voting-papers, when filled up, must be deposited by the respective voters (present at the Meeting) in a receiver, which shall be under the charge of the Chairman of the Meeting. The meeting shall appoint two scrutineers, who shall announce as the new Members of the various Sub-Committees those who have received the greatest number of votes. If any Member so elected decline to serve, the Member who shall have the next largest number of votes shall be elected. Any casual vacancies that may occur up to the last day of February in each year shall be filled up by the General Committee.

NOTE.—The following resolution was passed at the meeting of the General Committee held on January 9th, 1907 :—

“ That it be a Standing Order of this Committee that no Member shall be eligible to be elected for more than three Standing Committees, viz. :—

The Committees referred to in Rule 25, as follows :—
The Political Committee,

The Election and Membership Committee,
The Library Committee,

also

The Art Committee,
The Managing Committee,
The Wine and Cigars Advisory Committee,
The Games Committee, and
The Servants' Christmas Fund Joint Committee."

27. Each Sub-Committee of the General Committee, at its first Meeting after being appointed, shall elect a Chairman, and shall fix a regular day and hour of meeting.

28. The Chairman of the General Committee shall be *ex-officio* a Member of all Sub-Committees.

29. All acts done by any Meeting of the General Committee, or of a Sub-Committee of the General Committee, or by any person acting as a Member of the General Committee or Sub-Committee, shall, notwithstanding that it be afterwards discovered that there was some defect in the appointment of any such Members or persons acting as aforesaid, or that they, or any of them, were disqualified, be as valid as if every such person had been duly appointed, and was qualified to be a Member.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

30 Each Candidate for Membership, other than Honorary and Temporary Membership, shall be nominated by two Members of the Club, or by the Committee of any of the following Clubs, viz. :—

Bradford Liberal Club.
 Bristol Liberal Club.
 Cambridge University Liberal Club.
 Glasgow Liberal Club.
 Leeds and County Liberal Club.
 Liverpool Junior Reform Club.
 Liverpool Reform Club.
 Manchester Reform Club.
 Newcastle-on-Tyne Liberal Club.
 Plymouth and Western Counties L.
 Scottish Liberal Club, Edinburgh.

- (a) The nomination form of each Club shall state his residence, occupation, and age, and if any, and those who propose him, and that they know him to be a Member of the Club, and that from his personal character and conduct he is a fit person to be a Member of the Club. The nominations shall be arranged alphabetically, and a list, copies of which shall be sent to the Secretary and Reading Room seven days before the date of election.
- (b) Each nomination, except nomination by the Committee of one of the above-named Clubs, shall be accompanied by letters from two Members or Seconders in support of the nomination.
- (c) The nomination by two Members of the Club, under the Terms of Membership, shall be as follows:—

NOTE.—The
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NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB.

FORM OF NOMINATION.

RULE 30, SECTION (b).—“ Each Nomination * * * shall be accompanied by letters from the Proposer and Seconder in support of their Candidate. [Letters should state that the Candidate is a Liberal, and personally known to the Writer.]

_____ 19
 *Candidate's name in full _____

‡Address _____

Profession or Occupation (if any) _____

being a Liberal and a subject of the British Crown, desires to be nominated as a Candidate for (state whether "Life," "Town," or "Country") _____ **Membership of the National Liberal Club.**

Candidate's Signature _____

We, being Members of the Club, nominate Mr. _____
 We know that he is a Liberal in Politics, that the above particulars are correct, and that he is personally and socially desirable as a Member of the Club.

‡Name of Proposer _____

Address _____

‡Name of Seconder _____

Address _____

BANKERS—Messrs. BARCLAY & CO., LTD., 1, PAUL MALL EAST, LONDON, S.W.

This Form, when filled up, should be addressed to

The Secretary, National Liberal Club,

Whitehall Place, London, S.W.

and should be received by him at least ten days before the first Wednesday in the month, that being the day on which the General Committee's Meetings are held.

¶ Please give name of Constituency _____

31. All elections of Members shall be by the General Committee, who shall hold not less than nine meetings in every year for such elections. No Candidate shall be elected unless he is voted for by at least two-thirds of those voting, but, unless he is unanimously rejected, his name shall remain on the list of Candidates, and shall be again considered at the two following meetings. If he is not then elected by the majority above-mentioned, his name shall be removed from the list of Candidates and he shall not be re-eligible for election for one year.

AFFILIATION OF ASSOCIATIONS AND CLUBS.

32. The General Committee may, in the same way, affiliate with this Club any Association or Club having for its object the promotion of the Liberal cause, upon the following terms, viz. :—

The Association or Club shall pay a yearly sum of not less than One Guinea to the funds of this Club. When two Members of the Association or Club are Members of this Club, the Secretary for the time being of such Association or Club shall, without any further subscription, be entitled to all the privileges of Membership of this Club, provided that he is duly nominated and elected in accordance with Rules 30 and 31.

PAYMENT OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

33. All subscriptions shall be payable in advance on the 1st of January in each year, after which day no notice of withdrawal (which must be in writing) shall exempt a Member or affiliated Association from the payment of the current year's subscription.

34. No Member or affiliated Association shall be admitted to any of the privileges of the Club until the entrance fee (if any) and subscription due on election or affiliation have been paid ; and if the amount due from any Member on election, or from any Association on affiliation, is not paid within one calendar month from the day on which notice thereof is posted, the General Committee may order the election or affiliation to be cancelled.

SUBSCRIPTIONS IN ARREAR.

35. Whenever an annual subscription, or the amount due from a Country Member on changing his class of Membership (see Rule 6), has not been paid on or before the last day of February, the name of the Member or Association in default shall be placed on the Notice Board of the Club, and notice thereof shall be posted to him of it. And if such subscription, or the amount due on change of Membership, still remains unpaid on the 31st day of March, the Member or Association in default shall thereupon and without further notice cease to be a Member of, or to be affiliated with, the Club. The General Committee may, upon satisfactory explanation being given, reinstate such Member or Association without entrance fee, on such terms as the Committee may consider desirable.

PROOF OF ACQUIESCENCE IN THE RULES.

36. The payment of an entrance fee or subscription, or the use of the Club, shall be taken as proof of acquiescence in the Rules of the Club.

CANCELLING OR SUSPENSION OF MEMBERSHIP AND AFFILIATION.

37. The General Committee may cancel or suspend the Membership of any Member of the Club, and the affiliation

of any Association, by resolution to be passed by not less than two-thirds of those voting at a meeting where not less than twenty vote in the majority. A motion to cancel or suspend the Membership of any Member of the Club or the affiliation of any Association shall be brought forward upon the written requisition of two Members of the General Committee, or of ten Members of the Club.

It shall be the duty of the General Committee to act under this Rule whenever it is satisfied that the conduct (whether political or social) of any Member, or the character of any affiliated Association, is inconsistent with the objects and well-being of the Club, or injurious to the interests of the Liberal cause.

BANKRUPTCY OF MEMBERS.

38. If a Receiving Order in Bankruptcy shall be made against any Member, he shall cease to be a Member of the Club, but the General Committee shall have power to reinstate him, without entrance fee, on such terms as it may consider desirable.

FORFEITURE OF MEMBERS' RIGHTS.

39. Any person on ceasing to be a Member of, and any Association ceasing to be affiliated with, the Club in accordance with these Rules shall forfeit all right to or claim upon the Club, or its property, or its funds.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

40. An Annual General Meeting of the Club shall be held at such time and place as shall be fixed by the General Committee; and, if no other time and place are so fixed, it shall be held at the Club on the first Tuesday in May in each year, at 2 p.m., for the following purposes:—

1. To receive from the General Committee—
 - (a) A Report on the general condition and progress of the Club during the preceding year ;
 - (b) An Abstract of the accounts for the preceding year.
2. To confirm, or otherwise, the election by the General Committee of President, Vice-Presidents, Trustees, and Honorary Members.
3. To decide on any resolution affecting the Club which may be duly submitted to the Meeting as hereinafter provided.

41. The report and abstract shall be printed for the use of the Members. Any Member can have a copy on application to the Secretary.

RESOLUTIONS AT GENERAL MEETING.

42. No resolution, other than those relating to the adoption of the report, shall be moved at an Annual General Meeting unless a notice signed by the person who proposes to move it, stating its terms, has been delivered or posted to the Secretary at least twenty-one days before the Meeting.

SPECIAL MEETINGS OF MEMBERS.

43. The following shall be the procedure with reference to the convening of Special Meetings of Members :—Upon receiving a notice requiring a Special General Meeting to be called, and stating the objects thereof, signed by not less than five per cent. of the Members of the Club (the last printed list of Members to be the basis of the calculation), the Secretary shall call a Special Meeting of the General Committee within fourteen days from the receipt of the

notice, to consider, in company with a Deputation from the Requisitionists, the subjects named in the notice. If after such Meeting the Members signing the notice are still desirous of having a Special General Meeting called, it shall be convened within twenty-one days from the Meeting of the General Committee, on such day and at such hour as the Chairman of the General Committee may appoint.

EMERGENCY MEETINGS OF MEMBERS.

44. In case of any political or other emergency the General Committee may summon an Emergency Meeting of the Members of the Club, in such manner and at such time and place as it may deem expedient.

NEW RULES AND ALTERATIONS OF RULES.

45. Except as herein provided no new Rule, or alteration of an existing Rule, and no Resolution having the effect of altering an existing Rule, shall be made or passed, unless it is made or passed by two-thirds of the Members voting at an Annual or Special General Meeting, at which not less than one hundred vote in the majority.

VOTING AT GENERAL MEETINGS.

46. No Member whose subscription is in arrear shall be entitled to vote at any General Meeting.

DISSOLUTION OF THE CLUB.

47. The Club may be dissolved by resolution passed by not less than two-thirds of those voting at a General Meeting to be specially called for the purpose, after not less than one calendar month's notice.

ADMISSION OF STRANGERS.

48. Each Member may introduce strangers in his company into such room or rooms as shall be from time to time made available for that purpose. He may also

introduce strangers to take refreshment in his company. The introduction of strangers shall be subject to such regulations as may be made by the General Committee, who may at any time suspend the Rule during such period as they may think necessary for the convenience of the Club, upon notice of such suspension being previously hung up in the public rooms of the Club.

A stranger shall not be supplied with any refreshments except on the order of the Member who introduces him, which Member must himself pay for the refreshment.

MISCELLANEOUS.

49. The Club House shall be open and ready for the reception of Members at 8.30 a.m., and shall continue open till 1 a.m., except on Sundays, when it shall close at midnight. No Member shall remain in the house more than half-an-hour beyond the time fixed for closing.

50. The General Committee shall have power to close the Club House one day in each year for special purposes.

51. All bills shall be paid at the time they are incurred, except Bedroom Bills, which shall be paid when a Member gives up his Bedroom, providing his occupation of it is under one week. When a member occupies a bedroom for more than a week, a weekly account shall be rendered to him, and shall be payable forthwith. In the event of the Managing Committee agreeing to a Member occupying a bedroom for an extended period, then the Member shall enter into an agreement to pay his bedroom account at the commencement of each month for the preceding month. When a Member has omitted to comply with the foregoing regulations as to payment, his attention shall be drawn to the fact by letter, and should such letter fail to produce a

prompt settlement, the Managing Committee shall refuse to provide the Member with further meals or bedroom accommodation until his outstanding account be paid.

52. No Member shall give any money or gratuity to a servant of the Club.

53. No provisions, or wines, or other liquors, shall be sent or taken out of the Club House on any pretence whatever, nor shall any wines or other liquors be brought into the Club by a Member without the previous consent of the Special Committee appointed under Rule 21a.

54. No Member shall take, or cause to be taken away from the Club, on any pretence whatever, or shall injure or destroy any newspaper, book, pamphlet, or other article the property of the Club.

55. No game of hazard, and no game of cards other than whist, cribbage, écarté, picquet, bridge whist, and auction bridge, shall be played, nor shall dice be used, in the Club House.

56. No higher stakes than 2s. 6d. points shall be played for at whist. Upon making up a whist table the original players shall decide by mutual consent what points not exceeding 2s. 6d. shall be played for, and the Waiter shall place on the table an indicator showing the amount of the points so fixed. No member cutting into a whist table shall have the right to play for stakes other than those shewn on the indicator. No higher stakes than 6d. points shall be played for at cribbage; at écarté no higher stakes than either 6d. points, or 1s. per game; at picquet and bridge whist no higher stakes than 10s. per hundred points, and at auction bridge no higher stakes than 2s. 6d. per hundred points. Players shall not be allowed to bet on cards.

57. No business prospectus, or advertisement in any form, coming from a Member of the Club, shall bear the Club address, and the Hall Porter is forbidden to take in any letters addressed to initials; and no circular shall bear the Club's address, unless its issue shall have been previously sanctioned by the General Committee.

58. A defect in anything served to a Member, if complained of on the back of the bill, and signed by the Member so complaining, shall be specially noticed by the Managing Committee in settling the weekly accounts; and any inattention or improper conduct of a servant shall be stated by a letter, and signed by the Member complaining, which letter, if put in the Secretary's box, shall be laid before the Managing Committee at their next Meeting.

59. Each Member of the Club shall, from time to time, give his address, or that of his Banker or Agent, to the Secretary, and all notices sent or posted to such address shall be considered as duly delivered. If a Member gives no private address he shall be considered a Town Member. No Member shall give the Club House address itself as his address under this Rule, unless he is permanently resident in the Club.

60. The Rules and Bye-laws of the Club shall be printed, and a copy of them, together with a list of the Committee, shall be delivered to every Member of the Club or transmitted to his address. No Member shall be absolved from the effect of the Rules and Bye-laws on any allegation of not having received them.

By Order,
JOHN HENDERSON,
Secretary.

REGULATIONS AND BYE-LAWS.

CLOAK ROOMS.

1. Cloak Rooms are provided on the ground floor, where overcoats and umbrellas can be placed. If any of these articles are found in the rooms of the Club they will be taken by the servants to the Cloak Rooms. Lockers have been provided, which are rented to Members at a moderate sum, at present fixed at 5s. per annum.

LUGGAGE.

2. No luggage shall be left in the hall. Small portmanteaux, bags, or parcels can be deposited in the Cloak Rooms in charge of the attendant. The luggage of any Member who has taken a bedroom shall be at once placed in his room.

HATS, COATS, &c.

3. The Committee cannot accept any responsibility for hats, coats, umbrellas, or other property, unless they are deposited in the Cloak Room, and a ticket obtained for them from the attendant in charge; and no responsibility can be accepted under any circumstances for money or valuables.

ADDRESSES OF MEMBERS.

4. Members can leave their addresses with the Hall Porter to be entered in a book for the purpose. Members only can obtain information as to the addresses of other Members.

BILLIARD AND CARD ROOMS.

(Hours of Closing.)

5. A waiter or the marker shall notify to all Members playing in the Billiard or Card Room the hour at which all

play must cease, fifteen clear minutes at least before the expiration of such time.

MESSENGER.

6. The services of a messenger are at the disposal of Members, at charges to be ascertained in the Hall.

DOGS.

7. No dog shall be brought into the Club House.

INTRODUCTION OF STRANGERS.

8. Ladies and strangers may be introduced by a Member to view the Club Rooms between 11 a.m. and 12.30 noon ; and they may also, under such arrangements as may be made by the General Committee from time to time, be admitted in the company of Members to view, from the Terrace, Processions and Pageants.

9. Each Member may, subject to any future orders of the Committee, invite friends to breakfast, lunch, dine, or sup with him. A stranger so invited may be taken by his host into the Dining Room, Lavatory, Strangers' Smoking Room, the Strangers' Billiard Room, and such other Rooms as may, from time to time, be designated for such purpose.

10. Any Member introducing a stranger shall inscribe his name and address in the Visitors' Book on entering the Club. All payments on behalf of a stranger shall be made by the Member who introduces him.

11. No stranger is allowed to play Billiards, unless he shall have previously and on the same day lunched or dined in the Club with the Member introducing him, who must himself be in the Billiard Room. No stranger shall be permitted to play Pool.

12. No stranger is allowed to use any Card Room unless he is admitted as one of a private dinner party given by a

Member of the Club, and on notice being given in writing to the Manager, stating the name or names of the strangers ; and such strangers shall not, under any circumstances, play with any other persons than those of the dinner party.

CARDS.

12a. Card-playing shall not be allowed in any room other than the authorised Card Room, save as follows :—

(1) Members lunching or dining together in a Private Room may play cards in the same room (in which they have lunched or dined), but no member of such party shall be allowed to take part in a similar function oftener than twice a week. Such party must be limited to six members, except on Saturday evenings.

(2) No more than one room may be occupied for Private Card Parties at the same time.

(3) The restriction as to numbers does not apply to Private Luncheon or Dinner Parties recognised as such by the Managing Committee.

(4) A party of six members, who have lunched or dined together in the Club, may have the exclusive use of a table in the Card Room for as long as the Party remains complete. No table may be reserved in advance.

BEDROOMS.

13. All applications for bedrooms, which require an answer by post, must be accompanied by a stamped envelope or post card for the reply. Except by the express permission of the Managing Committee, no bedroom can be retained for more than fourteen consecutive nights ; but if, at the expiration of that time, the room is not required by any other Member, it may be retained from day to day, on

the understanding that the Member so retaining it must be prepared to vacate it within six hours, provided notice be given him before noon that it is required for another Member. A Notice placed on the looking-glass shall be considered as having been delivered to the Member occupying the room.

14. All bedrooms ordered beforehand, and not occupied must be paid for until the order is countermanded. Bedrooms from 4s. 6d. per day upwards which are occupied for seven consecutive days will be charged as for six days only.

15. No meals are to be served in the bedrooms excepting plain breakfasts, consisting of tea, coffee, cocoa or chocolate, with eggs, bread and butter, or toast. Breakfasts so served shall be charged 6d. extra.

16. Rooms not vacated before noon must be paid for.

17. Bedroom accounts must be settled in accordance with the terms of Rule 51.

DESHABILLE.

18. No Member shall appear in any public room of the Club in a dressing-gown, slippers, or other deshabelle.

GRATUITIES, &c.

19. Members are requested to observe that, under Rule 52, "No Member shall give any money or gratuity to a servant of the Club." Any servant proved to have accepted a gratuity will be instantly dismissed. The honourable observance of Rule 52 is absolutely essential to the well-being of the Club; it is framed in the interest of all Members alike. The desire of Members to benefit the servants of the Club can be gratified by a donation to the Servants' Fund, which is distributed annually. Donations to this Fund may be made at any time at the Manager's Office.

COMMISSIONS, &c.

20. No officer or servant of the Club, on pain of dismissal, shall accept any commission, present, or gratuity in any shape or form, or any offer of the same from any purveyor or contractor to the Club, and any purveyor or contractor or person who may have tendered, or who may have been invited to tender, for the supply of goods or the execution of any work, offering or giving any such commission, present, or gratuity, shall be ineligible to supply goods to, or execute work for, the Club.

BETTING.

21. Neither betting nor card playing for money shall be allowed among the officers or servants of the Club, on pain of instant dismissal.

LIBRARY AND READING ROOM.

22. Silence is strictly enjoined in the Library, except with regard to the necessary communications with the Library Officials.

23. Conversation in quiet tones is permitted in the Reading Room.

24. Seats or Tables in the Library or Reading Room may not be unduly occupied or retained to the exclusion of other Members. Books, Papers, etc., left—with the apparent object of reserving Seats or Tables—for over an hour will be removed by the Attendants.

By Order,

JOHN HENDERSON,

Secretary.

MEMBERS.

A Signifies Secretary of Affiliated Association.

C Country Member.

E Extended Temporary Membership.

F Temporary Foreign Member.

H Honorary Member.

L Life Member.

O Original Member.

P Parliamentary Temporary Member.

S Supernumerary Member.

T Town Member.

Italics indicate Junior Membership.

Date indicates Year of Election.

A

- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>t</i> 1885 <i>a</i> Abubrelton, Robert, F.R.G.S.,
F.R.S.S., F.R.E.S. | <i>C</i> 1909 Adams, Ernest |
| <i>T</i> 1911 Anon, Norman H. | <i>T</i> 1914 Adams, Henry |
| <i>C</i> 1913 Abbott, Frederick Robert | <i>T</i> 1906 Adams, Percy Henry, A.R.I.B.A. |
| <i>C</i> 1913 Abbott, George Sutherland | <i>T</i> 1903 Adams, Thomas |
| <i>T</i> 1909 Abbott, Lawrence Frederick | <i>T</i> 1912 Adamson, Wallace Arthur |
| <i>C</i> 1901 Abbott, Thomas Charles | <i>C</i> 1886 Adamson, William Charles |
| <i>T</i> <i>O</i> Aberconway, Lord | <i>C</i> 1914 Adcock, Frank Ezra |
| <i>T</i> 1883 Aberdeen, The Earl of, K.T.,
G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O. | <i>T</i> 1907 Addinsell, William Arthur |
| <i>T</i> 1907 Abrahams, I. J. | <i>T</i> 1907 Addison, Christopher, M.D., M.P. |
| <i>T</i> 1907 Abrams, Edward Woolf | <i>C</i> 1903 Addison, James Flockhart |
| <i>C</i> 1911 Ackroyd, Verney Seymour | <i>C</i> 1906 Adey, William Stanley |
| <i>T</i> 1887 Adam, Sir Charles E., Bt. | <i>T</i> 1911 Adkins, Sir William Ryland
Dent, M.P. |
| <i>C</i> 1896 Adam, Edwin | <i>T</i> 1912 Agar - Robartes, The Hon.
Thomas, M.P. |
| <i>S</i> 1892 Adam, John, M.A. | <i>C</i> 1906 Aggs, William Hanbury |
| <i>C</i> 1891 Adam, Peter, J.P. | <i>C</i> 1885 Agnew, Sir George William, Bt.,
M.A., M.P. |
| <i>T</i> 1906 Adams, Alfred Adam, A.C.A.,
F.C.I.S. | <i>S</i> 1886 AHearne, Col. Joseph |
| | <i>C</i> 1902 Ainscow, John |
| | <i>C</i> 1906 Ainsworth, John Stirling, M.P. |
| | <i>L</i> 1887 Airedale, Lord |

- s 1901 Albertyn, Dr. Carl Friedrich
 Albert
 c 1910 Alden, Percy, M.P.
 T 1912 Aldrich, Charles Roper
 A 1913 Aldridge, Allen Garines
 T 1905 Aldridge, Henry Richard
 s 1903 Alexander, Adam
 c 1903 Alexander, Arnold J.
 T 1912 Alexander, Edward
 T 1911 Alexander, Frank Samuel
 c 1899 Alexander, Henry Sewell
 c 1914 Alexander, Horace Gundry, B.A.
 T 1883 Alexander, John
 c 1912 Alexander, Joseph Gundry
 T 1912 Alexander, Waldemar Joseph
 c 1893 Alexander, Rev. William Bernard
 c 1889 Alford, Robert
 T 1912 Alford, Robert Greenwood
 T 1914 Ali, Mohamed Asaf
 A 1912 Allan, Henry G.
 T 1885 Allbles, Nowrojee Dadabhoj,
 B.A., LL.B., J.P.
 T 1892 Allen, Arthur Acland, M.P.
 c 1911 Allen, Charles Herbert
 c 1885 Allen, The Right Hon. Charles
 Peter, M.P.
 c 1905 Allen, Edward, M.I.C.E.
 c 1892 Allen, Henry Robinson
 c 1890 Allen, Henry Seymour
 T 1894 Allen, J. Ernest
 T 1914 Allen, John Carlyle
 T 1892 Allen, John William
 c 1913 Allen, Leslie John Spencer
 c 1911 Allen, Thomas William
 T 1898 Allen, William
 c 1910 Allison, Sir Robert Andrew
 T 1897 Allpass, John Belcher
 T 1913 Alston, Sidney Herbert
 c 1913 Alward, George Lowe
 T 1897 Aman, Frank Gerard
 T 1914 Ambrose, Robert, L.R.C.P.,
 L.R.C.S.
 c 1914 Amos, Alfred
 c 1907 Anderson, The Hon. Lord
 c 1906 Anderson, Alexander
 c 1906 Anderson, Alexander Harvie
 T 1912 Anderson, David, F.C.I.S.
 L 1887 Anderson, Donald L.
 T 1910 Anderson, James Chapman
 T 1906 Anderson, James Ferrier
 T 1904 Anderson, John Alexander
 T 1907 Anderson, John George
 c 1906 Anderson, John Norrie, J.P.
 T 1902 Anderson, Malcolm George
 T 1886 Anderson, R. Wherry
 c 1913 Anderson, Samuel Alder
 L o Anderson, W. Charles
 c 1901 Andrew, Edwin James
 T 1913 Andrews, A. Newton
 c 1913 Andrews, Arthur, J.P.
 c 1910 Andrews, Frederick, B.A., J.P.
 s 1903 Andrews, Henry
 A 1905 Andrews, William Henry
 c 1914 Angus, Alfred Henry, B.Sc.
 T 1914 Angus, William Blackett
 T 1910 Anik, A. S. M.
 T 1910 Annand, George, M.D.
 c 1893 Annand, Robert Cumming
 T 1914 Anning, Henry Charles
 T 1908 Ansell, Henry Heasman
 T 1886 Ansell, John Evelyn
 c o Ansell, Joseph
 c 1909 Anthony, Ernest Frank
 L 1883 Antonini, Charles
 c 1914 Apperly, Charles Alfred, J.P.
 c 1906 Appleby, William
 T 1889 Applegarth, Robert
 c 1910 Appleton, Thomas Henry
 c 1908 Appleton, William Morten
 c 1906 Appleyard, Walter
 T 1908 Arathoon, Johannes Heraput
 Wise, B.A.
 T 1902 Arch, Frederick John Amos
 H 1883 Arch, Joseph
 c 1903 Archer, Edwin
 c 1891 Archer, Ernest Harry
 c 1908 Archer, James
 c 1910 Archer, Richard William

- o 1906 Archer, Thomas
 T 1900 Archer, William
 s 1891 Archibald, Robert Bruce
 s 1913 Argenti, John Pandely
 T 1907 Argenti, Leon P.
 o o Armitage, George Faulkner
 o 1906 Armitage, Robert, M.P.
 o 1886 Armitage, William
 o 1886 Armitage, Ziba, J.P.
 L o Armitstead, Lord
 o 1906 Armour, William Nicol
 o 1907 Armstrong, George Gilbert
 T 1911 Arnell, David Christopher
 o 1911 Arnold, Francis Sorell, M.B.,
 M.R.C.S., L.S.A.
 T 1886 Arnold, Henry Lewis
 T 1898 Arnold, Rev. Herbert
 o 1908 Arnold, Sydney, M.P.
 o 1887 Arnold, William A.
 o 1905 Aronson, Hugh
 o 1894 Aronson, Samuel Arthur
 T 1909 Aronson, Victor Rees, M.A.,
 B.C.L.
 o 1904 Arrowsmith, Thomas, J.P.
 T 1886 Asch, William
 o o Ash, Philip J.
 o 1896 Ashburn, William Dickson
 T 1885 Ashby, James W
 o 1883 Ashby, John, J.P.
 T 1913 Ashford, Henry Bright
 o o Ashton, Lord
 o 1896 Ashton of Hyde, Lord
 o 1913 Ashworth, Harold
 A 1906 Ashworth, Richard
 o 1905 Ashworth, William
 o 1910 Aske, Sir Robert William, LL.D.
 o 1903 Askow, John Bertram
 o 1884 Aslett, Alfred
 T 1908 Asplen, Hartley, J.P.
 T 1884 Asquith, The Right Hon. Herbert
 H., D.C.L., M.P.
 T 1885 Asquith, William Willans
 o 1886 Asser, Samuel B. V.
 T 1887 Astle, W. G. Devon
 o 1908 Aston, William Smedley, J.P.
 o 1893 Atkin, Edward
 o o Atkin, P. W.
 T 1892 Atkins, Frederick Anthony
 T 1896 Atkinson, Rev. Arthur George
 Breeks, M.A.
 o 1902 Atkinson, Charles Joshua Fearn-
 side, LL.B.
 o 1911 Atkinson, Edward Craston
 T 1908 Atkinson, George Arthur
 o o Atter, Edward
 o o Aubrey, W. H. S., LL.D.
 o 1902 Austin, Alexander Pratt
 o 1914 Aveling, Arthur Francis
 T 1913 Aveling, Rev. Frederic Wilkins,
 M.A., B.Sc.
 o 1887 Aveling, Thomas L.
 T 1907 Aylen, Henry
 T 1893 Ayres, William Henry
- ## B
- T 1904 Bach, Frederick
 E 1908 Bach, Dr. Maximilian Jacob
 o 1883 Backhouse, Robert Ormiston
 T 1909 Bacon, Frederick Joseph
 T 1911 Badcock, William
 T 1907 Baddeley, Mark
 T 1913 Baerlein, Arthur Adolph
 o 1898 Baerlein, Harold Augustus
 o 1890 Baerlein, Max
 o 1913 Baerlein, Oswald Felix
 T 1913 Bagster, William
 o 1912 Bahadurji, Dorabji Nusser-
 wanji
 o 1883 Bailey, Major George James, J.P.
 o 1895 Bailey, James
 o 1902 Bailey, John Mumford
 T 1913 Bailey, William
 o 1910 Bailey, William John Mumford

- T 1885 Bailhache, Sir Clement M., K.C.
 A 1901 Baily, Harold
 T 1908 Bainbridge, Andrew Ferguson
 T 1910 Bainbridge, Edgar Percy
 C 1912 Bainbridge, Francis Arthur, M.A.,
 M.D., F.R.C.P., D.Sc.
 C 1883 Bainbridge, George
 T 1913 Baines, Arthur Edmund
 T 1913 Baines, Bernard
 T 1909 Baines, John Sterry
 C 1913 Bajpai, Girija Shankar
 C 1912 Bajpai, Rama Shankar, B.A.,
 B.C.L.
 T 1898 Baker, Alfred
 T 1910 Baker, Allan Richard
 T 1909 Baker, Charles
 C 1883 Baker, Charles Montford
 C 1905 Baker, Frank Edwin
 T 1914 Baker, Harold Trevor, M.P.
 T 1906 Baker, Herbert Arthur
 T 1898 Baker, Joseph Allen, J.P., M.P.
 T 1903 Baker, Joseph S.
 L 1886 Baker, Lawrence Ingham
 L o Baker, Lawrence J., J.P.
 C 1905 Baker, Thomas
 T 1909 Baker, Thomas George, J.P.
 T 1908 Balbi, John Louis
 C 1910 Balding, Leonard Montague
 C 1910 Balfour, Alexander Gordon
 S 1903 Balfour, John Fordyce
 T 1906 Balfour, Sir Robert, Bt., M.P.
 T 1906 Ball, A. Wilson
 T 1912 Ball, Donald Stephen
 C 1914 Ball, Frederick William
 T 1914 Ball, James Benjamin
 T 1911 Ballantine, Edward James
 C 1906 Ballantyne, George Harrison
 C 1886 Ballantyne, Sir Henry
 C 1913 Ballantyne, John Murray
 C 1885 Ballantyne, Robert, J.P.
 C 1909 Ballard, Frederick
 T 1886 Bamberger, Louis
 T 1914 Bamborough, John George
 C 1908 Bampfyld, Edward, J.P.
 S 1910 Banatvala, Lieut.-Col. Hormasji
 Edalji, I.M.S.
 S 1912 Band, Robert Niven
 T 1884 Banga, Lemuel W.
 S 1909 Banks, Harry Kinners
 C 1911 Bantock, Granville
 C 1900 Barber, Edwin
 C 1883 Barclay, Hugh Gurney
 T 1902 Barclay, John M.
 C 1889 Barclay, Sir Thomas, J.P.
 (Bromsgrove)
 C 1905 Barclay, Sir Thomas (Paris)
 C 1900 Baring, Sir Godfrey, Bt., D.L.,
 J.P., M.P.
 T 1890 Barker, Frank Harrison
 C o Barker, Sir John, Bt., J.P.
 C 1913 Barker, John
 C 1909 Barker, John Henry
 C 1883 Barker, Joseph, J.P.
 C 1887 Barker, William Sayles
 T 1886 Barling, William E.
 C o Barlow, Sir John E., Bt., M.P.
 C o Barlow, John R., J.P.
 C 1909 Barlow, Joseph
 T 1898 Barlow, Percy, J.P.
 C 1902 Barnard, Edmund Broughton,
 D.L., J.P.
 C 1907 Barnard, Edmund Charles
 T 1910 Barnes, Alexander
 T 1911 Barnes, Alfred Edward
 A 1905 Barnes, Edwin
 L 1884 Barnes, R. L.
 T 1914 Barnett, Edward Watson
 T 1891 Barnett, William David, J.P.
 T 1912 Barnwell, Rev. George Ernest
 C 1897 Barraclough, Sydney
 C o Barran, Charles
 C 1909 Barran, Sir John Nicholson, Bt.,
 M.P.
 T 1907 Barrand, Arthur Rhys
 T 1906 Barratt, Albert
 T 1913 Barrett, Alfred W.
 T 1903 Barrett, Horace

- o 1883 Barrett, Prof. Sir W.F., F.R.S., J.P.
 o o Barrett, Sir W. S., J.P., D.L.
 o 1904 Barrie, Charles
 o 1906 Barrie, Charles Coupar
 T 1913 Barritt, Wesley, L.D.S.
 T 1883 Barron, E. C.
 o o Barrow, Samuel, J.P. (Dunsfold)
 o o Barrow, Samuel, Jun., J.P. (Carshalton)
 o 1907 Barry, Claude Francis
 o 1887 Barry, John
 T 1912 Barter, Frank
 T 1904 Bartholomew, Leonard Chaplin
 A 1905 Bartlett, Charles Thomas
 o 1880 Bartlett, Joseph Seymour
 o 1910 Barton, William, M.P.
 o 1911 Bartram, William Naizby
 o 1887 Barwick, Sir John Storey, Bt.
 A 1912 Baskerville, Harold James
 A 1910 Bass, Alfred
 T 1909 Bassett, Arthur Tilney
 T 1908 Batchelor, Richard David, J.P.
 T 1913 Bate, Col. Thomas Elwood Lindseyay
 T 1906 Bateman, Charles Thomas
 T 1914 Bateman, James
 o o Bath, Albert
 T 1914 Bath, Alfred
 o o Bath, Edwin
 o 1888 Bath, Richard H.
 s 1912 Batliwala, Hormusjee Dins-hawjee
 s 1910 Batliwala, Rustam D.
 o 1890 Batton, Herbert Cary G.
 o 1884 Battinson, George
 A 1912 Baum, Frederick Charles
 o 1904 Bawa, Benjamin William
 T 1889 Bax, E. Belfort
 T 1884 Baxter, Arthur L.
 T 1880 Baxter, George
 T 1913 Baxter, James Alexander
 o 1909 Baxter, Richard Walter
 L o Bayley, Edward Hobson, J.P.
 T 1913 Bayley, William Arthur
 L o Baynes, Alfred H., J.P.
 o 1906 Bazeley, Sydney Godolphin
 o 1905 Bazeley, William James, J.P.
 T 1913 Beadle, Arthur
 T 1889 Beal, Charles Edward
 T 1906 Beale, Sir William Phipson, Bt., K.C., M.P.
 T 1902 Beaton, Robert Milne, M.B., C.M., J.P.
 o 1910 Beattie, Andrew, J.P., D.L.
 T 1893 Beattie, William
 T 1903 Beauchamp, Earl, K.G., K.C.M.G.
 T 1885 Beaumont, Dudley
 A 1912 Beaumont, Capt. Henry George
 o 1906 Beaumont, The Hon. Hubert
 o 1883 Beaven, Edwin Charles
 o 1896 Beaven, Edwin Sloper
 o o Beaven, Frederick Thomas
 T 1906 Beck, Arthur
 T 1893 Beck, James Fenn
 E 1909 Becker, Louis
 T 1892 Beckett, Walter
 o 1908 Beckingham, James Horace, J.P.
 T 1914 Beddow, Percival Bonwick
 o 1896 Bedford, James Edward, F.G.S.
 o 1889 Bedwell, Capt. Edward P.
 T 1912 Beecroft, Frederic, J.P.
 o 1911 Beecroft, Walter Gordon
 o 1910 Beeley, Jabez Henry
 L 1887 Beeton, Mayson Moss
 o 1912 Beaver, George
 o o Behrens, Lt.-Col. Emil Alfred, V.D.
 A 1913 Belither, Sidney
 T 1903 Bell, Edward Albert
 o 1909 Bell, John Hart
 o o Bell, John Hyalop, J.P.
 o 1894 Bell, Joseph
 H 1902 Bell, Richard, J.P.
 T 1904 Bellfort, William D.
 o 1912 Bellingham, Edgar Silvanus
 T 1902 Bellord, John George
 o o Belson, Capt. Berkeley G.A., R.N.
 T 1903 Benjamin, Benjamin M.

- T 1889 Benn, Sir John Williams, Bt.,
 D.L., J.P., L.C.C.
 T 1913 Bennet, Charles, Jun.
 C 1909 Bennett, Arnold
 C 1913 Bennett, Ernest Grissell
 C 1909 Bennett, Ernest Nathaniel
 C 1898 Bennett, John
 C 1906 Bennett, John Rose, J.P.
 T 1907 Bennetts, Arthur Edward
 A 1908 Benson, Frederick Harry
 T O Benson, His Honour Judge
 William Denman
 C 1906 Bentham, Frank Holdsworth
 C 1905 Bentham, George Jackson, J.P.,
 M.P.
 T 1913 Bentliff, Walter David
 T 1909 *Benton, Frank Boyfield*
 C O Benton, John S., J.P.
 T 1900 Benton, Thomas Bidwell
 T 1889 Berendt, Alfred H.
 T 1910 *Berens, Herbert Arthur*
 T 1900 Bernacchi Louis Charles,
 F.R.G.S.
 T 1910 Bernheim, Barthold
 C 1905 Berridge, Thomas, J.P.,
 A.M.I.C.E.
 T 1883 Berridge, Sir Thomas Henry D.
 C 1891 Berry, Benjamin Gough, J.P.
 T 1900 Berry, James (Wimpole Street, W.)
 T 1910 Berry, James (Broad Street
 Place, E.C.)
 T 1908 Berry, James Gomer
 C 1894 Berry, Walter W.
 T 1903 Berry, William Ewert
 T 1913 Bertenshaw, Eric Strickland
 T 1902 Bethell, Sir John Henry, Bt., M.P.
 T 1902 Bethell, Sir Thomas Robert
 C 1902 Bettmann, Siegfried
 C 1905 Beveridge, James
 T 1883 Beyfus, Philip
 T 1913 Bhavsar, Gulabchand Alimal
 T 1912 Bhedwar, Palonji Pestonji,
 L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.I.
- T 1904 Bickersteth, Cecil Francis
 C 1913 Bickerton, Henry Nield, J.P.
 T 1896 Bickford, Thomas Tozer
 L 1887 Bicknell, A. Sidney
 C 1889 Bicknell, Clarence, M.A.
 T O Biggs, Major Sir Arthur W.
 C 1902 Bilsland, Sir William, Bt.
 T 1887 Binnie, Sir Alexander R., C.F.
 T 1895 Binning, James S.
 C 1911 Binns, Everett, J.P.
 C 1909 Binns, Joseph Frederick Wi
 J.P.
 C 1912 Bird, Charles Hayard
 T 1910 Birdseye, Sidney George
 S 1901 Birks, Charles
 T 1911 Birnage, Arthur George
 T 1890 Birrell, The Right Hon. Augu
 K.C., M.P.
 T O Bishop, E. F.
 T 1907 Bishop, Robert James
 S 1912 Bisney, Jehangir Eduljee
 E 1903 Bisschop, Willem Roosega
 LL.D.
 T 1910 Blaber, Walter
 C 1906 Black, Arthur William, M.P.
 T 1912 Blackburn, Edgar
 C 1907 Blackham, James, F.C.A.
 T 1905 Blackie, Robert
 T 1913 *Blackley, Armand*
 T 1912 Blackley, David, L.C.C.
 T 1898 Blackman, Arthur (London)
 C 1909 Blackman, Arthur (St. Leon
 T 1909 Blackwell, Cecil Patrick
 C 1907 Blackwell, John Duncan
 T 1909 Blackwell, Patrick Thomas
 C 1906 Blagdon-Richards, Henry E
 T 1914 Blair, John
 C 1890 Blair, William
 C 1885 Blake, Edward J.
 T 1894 Blake, Henry Daniel
 C O Blake, Col. M. Locke, J.P.
 C 1902 Blake, Robert, J.P.
 C 1903 Blakeney, Capt. Robert J
 Drury, D.S.O., R.E.

- o 112 Blamey, John Hitchens, J.P.
 o 87 Bleasby, Henry, J.P.
 o 180 Bleasac, Walter
 o 183 Blas, Marcus Samuel, J.P.
 T 107 Bliss, Joseph, J.P.
 T 106 Blizard, James Mortimer
 o 96 Blizard, John H., A.M.I.C.E.,
 o F.S.I.
 o 7 Blizard, William Ewart, B.Sc.
 o 108 Blomfield, Alfred, J.P.
 o 105 Blomfield, Frederick
 T 184 Blow, Thomas Bates, F.L.S.
 T 114 Blue, Archibald John
 A 113 Blunt, George Edward
 o 1 Blyth, Lord
 o 193 Boardman, Clement Odery
 o 101 Boardman, James Aspinall
 o 108 Böehme, Hermann
 A 105 Boman-Behram, Rustomji B.
 A 112 Bomanji, Dhunjibhoy
 T 102 Bonacini, Horace Darby
 T 109 Bond, Antonio Wolfe
 T 183 Bond, J. G.
 o 89 Bond, Walter
 T 902 Bonn, Philip Augustus
 T 1910 Bonnell, William Archibald
 1911 Bonner, Rev. Carey
 T 1912 Bonnerjee, Ratnakrishna Curran
 1885 Bonthron, Peter
 1908 Bonwick, Alfred James
 1893 Booker, Reginald Eric
 1914 Boon, James Ebenezer, F.R.C.P.,
 L.R.C.S.
 1888 Boon, John
 1885 Boor, Leonard G.
 1806 Boot, Sir Jesse
 o 199 Booth, Alfred
 T 184 Booth, Christopher Chomley
 T 180 Booth, Edgar
 T 187 Booth, Frederick Handel, M.P.
 T 194 Booth, George William
 o 19 Booth, Hesketh
 L 19 Booth, James Wilson
 T 19 Booth, Paul Malone
 o 1908 Boothroyd, Allen
 T 1914 Borley, George Colby Hawkins
 T 1886 Bott, William Gibson, L.R.C.P.,
 M.R.C.S., J.P.
 T 1902 Bottomley, Dr. William Beecroft,
 M.A.
 o 1907 Boucher, Charles Henry
 o 1907 Boulton, Adrian Cedric
 o o Boulton, Cedric R., J.P.
 T 1910 Boulton, Sidney Alexander
 o 1912 Bourke, Robert
 T 1913 Bourne, Horace
 T 1903 Bourne, Rowland Manlove
 T 1890 Bowden, James
 T 1914 Bowers, Angus Stewart Mac-
 diarmid
 T 1912 Bowers, Robert Woodger
 T 1896 Bowles, Francis Dominic, J.P.
 T 1908 Bowley, William K.
 o 1913 Bowman, Frederic Hungerford,
 D.Sc.
 s 1912 Bowman, John James
 T 1896 Bowman, Laurence G., M.A.,
 B.Sc.
 T 1912 Bowman, Thomas Alexander
 Sellar
 o 1905 Bowring, Frederick Charles
 T 1886 Bowring, Sir Thomas B.
 o 1883 Bowring, Sir W. B., Bt., J.P.
 T 1907 Boxsius, Harry James Philip
 T 1904 Boyce, James
 o 1883 Boyd, James
 o 1896 Boyd, Walter S.
 o 1909 Boyer, The Hon. Arthur
 T 1913 Bracher, Samuel Veale
 T 1905 Bradgate, Lionel
 o 1898 Bradley, Sir Augustus Montague
 o 1886 Bradley, John L., J.P.
 c 1898 Bradley, W. T. Henly., F.R.G.S.
 o 1886 Bradshaw, William
 T 1892 Brady, Alfred Flindell
 T 1892 Brady, George Flindell, Jun.

- c 1910 Brady, Patrick Joseph, M.P.
 E 1894 Brækstad, Hans Lien
 T 1894 Braithwaite, Joseph Bevan
 c 1900 Braithwaite, William
 T 1907 Braithwaite, William John
 T 1905 Bramall, Arthur Mellor
 c 1910 Brame, Edwin Singleton
 o 1904 Brampton, Arthur
 c 1885 Bramsdon, Sir Thomas Arthur
 T 1906 Bramwell, Samuel
 c 1910 Branch, Oliver John
 o 1907 Brandreth, J. Barrett
 T o Brassey, Earl, G.C.B.
 o o Brassey, Ernest
 o 1893 Bratt, Henry
 o 1910 Braun, Charles Emile William
 o 1907 Bray, Arthur
 T 1904 Bray, Reginald Arthur, L.C.C.
 T 1896 Breadalbane, The Marquess of,
 K.G.
 T 1897 Brenohley, Frederick E. C.
 T 1906 Brend, William Alfred, M.A.,
 M.B.
 T 1912 Brennan Edward Emmet.
 T 1913 Brentnall, Ernald James
 L 1885 Bretherton, Charles Edward
 o o Brett, Sir Charles H.
 T 1911 Brett, Samuel William
 T 1907 Brewer, Alfred
 T 1901 Brewer, Charles William Lowe
 T 1914 Brewer, Maurice
 T 1887 Brewster, James A.
 T 1914 Briant, Frank, J.P., L.C.C.
 A 1914 Bridges, Robert Charles
 o 1886 Brigg, Benjamin S., J.P.
 o 1894 Brigg, William A.
 o 1887 Bright, Allan H.
 o 1886 Bright, Frank J.
 A 1907 Bright, Frank Yarranton
 o 1908 Bright, Sir Joseph, J.P.
 o 1885 Brigstocke, H. M.
 c 1911 Brigstocke, Rev. William
 Osborne
- T 1913 Brimley, Harold John
 c 1913 Brine, Everard Linde, B.A.
 T 1886 Brine, Robert E.
 L o Brinton, John
 o 1909 Briscoe, Sir John James, Bt.
 J.P., D.L.
 c 1914 Brito, Ridley Maharaja
 T 1912 Brittain, George
 T 1890 Britten, James, F.L.S.
 s 1884 Broad, Charles, J.P.
 T 1894 Broad, Clement Burgess
 o o Broad, Harrington E.
 T 1897 Broadbridge, George Thomas
 o 1906 Brocklehurst, William Brockie
 hurst, M.P.
 o 1894 Brook, Arthur J
 o 1888 Brooke, Arthur
 c 1904 Brookes, Alfred (Lytham)
 T 1910 Brookes, Clifford Harold, M.D.
 T 1909 Brookes, Rev. Joshua Alfred
 Rowland
 o 1889 Brooks, Alfred (Grays)
 c 1904 Brooks, Harold
 c 1912 Brooks, Henry Reginald Fryer,
 J.P.
 c 1889 Brooks, Herbert E.
 c 1913 Brooks, Howard
 T 1898 Broquet, Eugene Cecil
 T 1884 Brough, James Rowland
 c o Brough, William S., J.P.
 T 1907 Bronger, Richard Ernest,
 M.I.C.E.
 c 1888 Brown, Alexander
 c 1886 Brown, Alexander L.
 T 1889 Brown, Alfred Long
 o 1901 Brown, Charles William
 E 1899 Brown, Curtis
 F 1914 Brown, Cyril
 c 1910 Brown, David Miller, J.P.
 T 1907 Brown, Edward
 c 1889 Brown, Sir Frank
 c 1913 Brown, Frank Dennison
 T 1913 Brown, Gavin
 o 1912 Brown, George Edward

- c 1900 Brown, George William
 c 1890 Brown, Henry (Leeds)
 T 1900 Brown, Henry (Wimbledon)
 c 1906 Brown, Henry (Edinburgh)
 T 1901 Brown, J. W. Ross
 c 1883 Brown, James, J.P. (Manchester)
 T 1911 Brown, James (London)
 c 1913 *Brown, James Cartmell Dennison*
 c 1913 Brown, James Douglas
 T 1896 Brown, James Finden
 c 1906 Brown, James Rae
 c 1893 Brown, John Armour, J.P.
 c 1910 Brown, John Cowling, J.P.
 T 1906 Brown, Matthew Taylor
 c 1909 Brown, Oscar Frank
 L o Brown, Robert Allen
 T 1909 Brown, Samuel, J.P.
 c 1883 Brown, Thomas (Bushey)
 T 1898 Brown, Thomas (Sutton)
 T 1906 Brown, Victor
 c 1913 Brown, Wilfred Marriage
 T 1911 *Brown, Wilfrid Stephenson*
 c 1886 Brown, William
 c o Brown, William Henry (Bristol)
 T 1910 Brown, William Henry (London)
 T 1907 Brown, William Moore, M.B.,
 C.M.
 c 1910 Brown, William Neilson
 T 1890 Browne, Edmond
 T 1910 Browne, Ernest Arthur
 T 1884 Browne, J. Stark, F.R.A.S.
 c 1914 Browning, Capt. Charles Hunter
 L 1884 Browning, E. Campbell, M.A.
 T 1910 Brownjohn, William Alfred
 c 1908 Bruce, The Hon. Alexander
 c 1904 Bruce, Edward Minter
 c 1909 Bruce, George Lewis
 c o Bruce, James A. R. B.
 T 1908 Bruce, Robert Greig
 T 1886 Brunner, John F. L., M.P.
 T 1884 Brunner, The Right Hon. Sir
 John Tomlinson, Bt.
 T 1913 Bryant, Rev. Dan, D.C.L.,
 M.A.
- c o Bryant, James
 T 1898 Bryant, John
 T 1891 Bryant, John Edward
 L 1886 Bryant, Oliver
 c o Bryce, Viscount, O.M.
 T 1889 Bryson, David D.
 T 1913 Buchanan, Charles
 T 1910 Buchanan, John Gray
 c 1887 Buck, Alfred
 c 1909 Buck, George Herbert
 c 1909 Buck, Joseph Pattinson
 c 1883 Buckell, Sir Robert, J.P.
 c o Buckland, Francis B.
 c 1899 Buckland, Frank Wood
 T 1903 Buckle, Vidal James
 c 1899 Buckley, M. P., J.P.
 c o Buckley, T. H. W.
 L 1884 Buckmaster, Charles Alexander,
 M.A., F.C.S.
 L 1884 Buckmaster, Sir Stanley Owen,
 K.C., M.P.
 T 1890 Buckton, Walter
 T 1905 Buloraig, Henry, J.P.
 T 1912 Bull, Jeffrey, B.A.
 c o Bullen, George
 A 1906 Bullivant, Thomas
 T 1910 Bullock, Ernest Henry
 c 1905 Bullock, John, M.A., F.R.A.S.
 c 1892 Bulmer, Edward Frederick,
 B.A.
 c 1904 Bulmer, George Robinson
 c 1902 Bulpitt, William
 T 1909 Buncombe, Walter Harry
 c 1912 Burditt, George Frederick
 T 1910 Burford, George Henry, M.B.,
 C.M.
 c o Burgess, Alfred Howard
 c 1906 Burgess, Henry George
 c 1891 Burke, John, J.P.
 c 1898 Burke, Thomas Fergus
 A 1904 Burn, Frederick
 T 1903 Burn, James
 T 1914 *Burn, Joshua Harold*
 c o Burnard, Robert, J.P.

- T 1914 Burnet, Edward, B.A., M.D.
 O 1883 Burnett, John James
 O O Burnett, John R.
 O 1894 Burnett, Norman
 T 1910 Burnett, Robert Harvey,
 M.I.C.E.
 H 1906 Burns, The Right Hon. John, M.P.
 O 1911 Burris, Frederick, J.P.
 O 1908 Burroughs, Capt. Arthur Davies
 O 1913 Burrows, John William, J.P.
 A 1914 Burt, David Owen
 T 1912 Burt, James Lyndon
 O 1911 Burt, Peter, J.P.
 H O Burt, The Right Hon. Thomas,
 M.P.
 O 1903 Burt, Thomas
 T 1908 Burton, George
 T 1903 Burton, John Lambert
 O 1906 Burton, William, F.C.S.
 O 1899 Burtt, Philip
 T 1906 Buscall, Robert Henley, J.P.
 T 1908 Bussey, John, J.P.
 T 1907 Butcher, Charles Downs
 T 1904 Butes, Ernest
 T 1908 Butler, Herbert William
 O 1901 Butler, Joseph
 T 1910 Butler, Richard Jago, C.B.
 O 1883 Butler, Thomas Harsant
 O 1897 Butler, Walter
 O 1903 Butt, William John
 O 1883 Buttomer, Alfred S. M.
 O 1903 Butterworth, Charles Edward
 O 1892 Butterworth, Richard Henry,
 J.P.
 O 1900 Butterworth, Walter, J.P.
 T 1903 Buxton, Charles Roden
 T 1913 Buxton, Dudley Wilmot, M.D.
 O 1883 Buxton, Geoffrey Fowell
 O 1890 Buxton, John Henry, Jun.
 T 1913 Buxton, Leland William Wilber-
 force, M.A.
 T 1900 Buxton, Noel Edward, M.P.
 J. 1884 Buxton, Viscount, K.C.M.G.
 T 1912 Buzzard, George James
 O 1883 Byles, Sir William Pollard, M.
 O 1898 Byng, Arthur Hervey
 T 1885 Byrne, Sir W. P., B.A., C.B.
 O 1913 Byrom, Thomas Emmett
- C
- O 1886 Cable, John, J.P.
 T 1907 Cadbury, Henry Tylor
 T 1906 Cadell, C. A. E., R.F.A.
 T 1891 Cadell, C. R. S.
 O 1914 Cain, Herbert Edmund
 O 1912 Caine, Derwent Hall
 T 1905 Caine, Gordon Ralph Hall
 T 1897 Caldecott, Rev. Alfred, D.D.
 O 1907 Caldwell, Francis Pasley
 T 1885 Caldwell, The Right Hon. James
 T 1895 Callard, Ralph, J.P.
 O 1896 Callard, Thomas B.
 O 1894 Callie, James W. S.
 O 1885 Calverley, James
 O 1903 Calvert, Joseph
 T 1909 Calvert, Wilkie
 S 1895 Calvert-Varty, William
 T 1896 Calvocoressi, Leonidas Matthe
 O 1910 Callway, Frank Hugh Ferguson
 S 1898 Cama, Hormusjee D.
 T 1911 Cama, Spittama K.R.
 O O Cameron, Sir Charles, Bt.
 O 1887 Cameron, W. H. L., J.P.
 T 1911 Cameron, William Scott
 T 1907 Camp, Llewellyn Edgar
 O 1896 Campbell, Capt. Alexander
 O 1912 Campbell, Allan
 O 1901 Campbell, George Leask
 O 1893 Campbell, John (Glasgow)

- C 1907 Campbell, John (Glasgow)
 T 1901 Campbell, John Alexander,
 F.C.A. (Finsbury)
 T 1911 Campbell, John Alexander
 (Sutton)
 C 1802 Campbell, Robert
 E 1908 Camus, Gaston
 T 1901 Cannon, Thomas Grotjan
 T 1887 Carew, Sydney
 C 1898 Carlyle, Edward Irving
 T 1899 Carmichael, James, J.P.
 C o Carmichael, Thomas, S.S.C.
 L 1883 Carnegie, Andrew, LL.D.
 T 1902 Carr, Edgar Wildon
 T 1903 Carr-Gomm, Hubert W., M.P.
 C 1887 Carrel, Frederic
 U o Carruthers, Andrew
 T 1900 Carson, Frank Murray
 T 1912 Carson, Murray
 T 1900 Carter, George Wallace
 T 1914 Carter, James
 C 1893 Carter, John
 T 1911 Carter, Joseph Robert
 C 1897 Carter, William
 T 1895 Carter, Rev. William S., D.D.
 T 1905 Cartwright, Albert
 C 1892 Cartwright, Joshua
 T o Casson, William A.
 T 1904 Catesby, William E., J.P.
 T 1911 Catford, Arthur
 L 1883 Catt, Charles William
 T 1902 Cave, Albert Ernest
 C 1911 Cave, Charles Henry
 T 1893 Cave, William John, J.P.
 C 1907 Caw, James L.
 C 1895 Cawley, Sir Frederick, Bt., M.P.
 C 1914 Cawley, Harold Thomas, M.P.
 C 1910 Cawood, Charles John, J.P.
 T 1895 Chadburn, Rev. James
 C 1913 Chadwick, Rev. Samuel
 C 1893 Chalmers, James R.
 T 1883 Chambers, Frank J.
 S 1906 Chambers, Walter Ashbridge,
 F.R.I.B.A.
- C 1901 Champion, Samuel Stewart, J.P.
 T 1911 Champion, Thomas Terry
 T 1906 Chance, Patrick Alexander
 T 1909 Chancellor, Henry George, M.P.
 T o Channing, Lord
 T 1895 Channing, Francis Chorley
 C 1900 Chapman, Edward Shirley, M.A.
 T 1903 Chapman, George Arthur
 T 1902 Chapman, Henry William
 C 1913 Chapman, Walter Hugh Granville
 T 1895 Chapman, Walter William, F.S.S.
 C 1912 Chapman, William (Manchester)
 T 1914 Chapman, William (Twickenham)
 C 1909 Chapple, William Allan, M.D., M.P.
 C 1911 Charleton, William Lancelot
 L 1887 Chatfield-Clarke, Stanley
 T 1913 Chaubal, The Hon. Mahadora
 Bhaskar, C.S.I.
 S 1907 Chaudhuri, Asutosh
 C 1910 Chaudhuri, Asvini Kumar
 S 1895 Chaudhuri, Kumud Nath
 C 1903 Cheetham, The Right Hon. John
 Frederick
 C 1896 Cheney, Alfred Gibson
 C 1899 Cherry, The Right Hon.
 Richard R., LL.D., K.C.
 A 1910 Cheshire, Arthur
 T 1911 Chessum, Jesse William
 C 1910 Chesterton, Gilbert Koith
 T 1885 Chetwynd, Eustace William
 F 1912 Chevassus, Henry
 T 1914 Cheyne, Alexander Duguid
 T 1907 Chiappini, C. du Plessis
 T 1883 Chick, Samuel
 T 1897 Child, Adolphus Ellison
 T 1913 Child, Henry William Robert
 A 1910 Childs, Richard James
 C 1913 Chismall, Richard
 C 1895 Chivers, Cedric
 C 1901 Chivers, John
 T 1913 Christie, William
 T 1897 Christy, Gerald
 S 1910 Chuharmal, Lalchand, M.A., LL.B.
 C 1888 Church, George

- c 1910 Church, Tom, J.P.
 T 1908 Churchill, Alfred
 T 1906 Churchill, Charles Edward
 T 1906 Churchill, The Right Hon. Win-
 ston Leonard Spencer, M.P.
 c 1910 Clabon, Arthur Bryant
 T 1912 Clague, William Lace, L.C.C.
 c 1901 Clanahan, Hugh Cumming
 c 1888 Clancy, John
 T 1899 Claremont, Albert William, J.P.,
 L.C.C.
 c 1899 Claridge, William, M.A.
 T 1911 Clark, Charles Heath
 c o Clark, Francis J.
 c 1886 Clark, G. B., M.D.
 c 1902 Clark, George Foster
 c o Clark, Harry
 T 1910 Clark, Henry Samson
 c 1888 Clark, James Smith, S.S.C.
 c 1899 Clark, Percy Edward
 c o Clark, Thomas
 c 1898 Clark, William Brown, M.B.,
 B.S.
 c o Clark, William S., J.P.
 c 1883 Clarke, Albert A., J.P.
 T 1889 Clarke, Alfred, J.P.
 T 1897 Clarke, Ambrose
 c o Clarke, Daniel
 c 1903 Clarke, Frederick Dawson
 T 1888 Clarke, Herbert
 s 1905 Clarke, James Bryce
 T 1906 Clarke, Joseph John, L.R.C.P.I.,
 L.S.A., J.P.
 T 1896 Clarke, Oakley
 c 1883 Clarke, Percy, J.P.
 T 1905 Clarke, Reuben, F.C.I.S.
 s 1905 Clarke, Robert L. H., I.C.S.
 c 1912 Clatworthy, Henry James
 c 1913 Clay, Harold Foster
 c 1911 Clay, Joseph
 E 1914 Cleary, Edwin
 T 1883 Cleaton, Edmund R.
 c 1912 Clegg, Robert Joseph
 c 1898 Clegg, Sir William Edwin, J.P.
 c 1906 Clement, Frank Bertram
 c 1897 Clement, Thomas
 s 1897 Clements, Frank
 T 1914 Clench, William Henry
 A 1913 Clennell, George Harold
 L 1883 Clifden, Viscount
 L 1883 Cliff, Joseph
 c 1884 Cliff, Walter
 T 1912 Clifford, Ernest Alfred
 H 1903 Clifford, Dr. John, M.A.
 c 1899 Clifford, Julian Seymour
 c 1894 Clinton, Norman
 L o Clode, Leslie
 L 1908 Clonmell, The Earl of
 c 1900 Clough, Henry Smith
 c 1905 Clough, William, M.P.
 T 1901 Clougher, Thomas Robert
 c 1883 Clulow, J. Walter
 c 1906 Coape-Arnold, Henry Fraser
 James
 T 1886 Coates, George
 T 1911 Coates, Walter
 c 1890 Coates, William H., M.A., M.I.
 M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., L.S.S.
 L.S.Sc., F.C.S.
 L 1884 Coats, Sir Thomas Glen, B.
 C.B.
 L 1884 Coats, William A.
 s 1898 Cobbett, Pitt, D.C.L.
 c 1906 Cockill, Harry
 c 1907 Cockrell, Harry
 T 1912 Cocks, Frederick Seymour
 T o Coffin, Walter H., F.L.S., F.C.S.
 F.R.S.M.
 c 1894 Coggin, Rev. Frederick E., M.
 c 1889 Cohan, Edward Asher
 T o Cohen, The Right Hon. Arthu
 K.C.
 T 1885 Cohen, Herman
 T 1904 Cohn, Adolph
 T 1904 Cohn, Alfred
 T 1903 Cohn, August Sylvester
 E 1913 Cohn, Samuel
 c 1885 Coldwells, Joseph G.

- F 1900 Cole, Edward George
 F 1899 Cole, Henry Albert Harold, F.C.A.
 O o Cole, John Francis, F.R.A.S.
 O 1893 Cole, William Henry, J.P.
 C 1913 Colebrook, Harry Merrill, J.P.
 F 1909 Colegate, William Arthur
 F 1887 Coleman, John
 F 1889 Coleridge, Lord
 O 1908 Coles, Albert Nicholas
 O 1912 Coles, John Wallace
 A 1913 Collar, Hubert
 C 1905 Collett, Henry John Richard, J.P.
 T 1911 Collier, Allan Percy
 T 1906 Collier, Henry Hewitt, F.S.I.
 T o Collings, John
 T 1895 Collingwood, John Henry
 L o Collins, Arthur Ross
 T 1897 Collins, Edward Treacher, F.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.
 T o Collins, Frank L. H.
 O 1910 Collins, Godfrey Pattison, M.P.
 O 1903 Collins, Patrick J.
 L 1885 Collins, Richard, Jun.
 T 1913 Collins, S. Walpole
 T 1893 Collins, Sir Stephen, J.P., M.P.
 T 1897 Collinson, William R., F.C.I.S.
 C 1914 Collison, Levi
 O 1912 Collmann, Charles
 L o Colman, Sir Jeremiah, Bt.
 O 1911 Colman, Robert Allen
 T 1910 Colsey, Thomas
 O 1911 Coltman, Walter William, J.P.
 T 1891 Comins, Charles, F.C.A.
 T 1895 Compton-Rickett, Arthur, M.A., LL.D.
 T 1896 Compton-Rickett, The Right Hon. Sir J., M.P.
 O 1908 Comyn, Michael
 O 1906 Condon, James E. S., LL.D.
 O 1911 Coney, Richard, J.P.
 T 1911 Connah, James, B.Sc., F.C.S., F.I.C.
 O 1911 Connell, David
 C 1906 Connolly, James
 T 1903 Constantino, Ezekiel Grayson, A.M.I.C.E., M.I.M.E.
 C 1885 Conybeare, C. A. V.
 C 1911 Conybeare, Frederick Cornwallis, M.A.
 C 1911 Conybeare, John Josias
 O 1896 Cook, Charles Henry
 T o Cook, Sir E. T., M.A.
 O 1905 Cook, Frederick William
 C 1885 Cook Thomas Henry
 C 1904 Cook, William, J.P.
 O 1884 Cooke, George
 L 1884 Cooke, Samuel, J.P.
 O 1914 Cooke, Sidney Russell
 T 1905 Cooke-Taylor, Charles Ralph
 C 1884 Cooke-Taylor, R. W., J.P.
 C 1901 Coombs, Tom
 T 1884 Cooper, Ernest
 T 1906 Cooper, George Beverley
 O 1903 Cooper, Howard Lister
 C 1913 Cooper, Rev. Reginald Denness
 O o Cooper, William
 C 1914 Coote, Colin Keith
 C 1914 Coote, Howard, J.P.
 T o Coote, Thomas, J.P.
 T 1905 Copchili, Alexis Anastasius
 C 1898 Coppen, Alfred James
 T 1905 Coppen, George Sydney
 T 1888 Coppen, Henry William
 O 1912 Corbett, Howard Newton
 T 1903 Corbett, William J., F.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., D.P.H.
 T 1911 Corby, Sydney Frederick
 F 1907 Cordley, Frank Rogers
 O 1896 Cormack, Robert
 C 1887 Cornett, James P.
 A 1907 Cornish, Albert Ernest
 T 1902 Cornish, Herbert
 T 1891 Cornwall, Sir Edwin, D.L., M.P.
 T 1906 Cornwall, Reginald Edwin
 A 1910 Corrie, James
 C 1885 Cory, Sir Clifford John, Bt., M.P.

- c 1909 Cossey, Rev. Francis Edward
 T 1913 Costello, Leonard Wilfred James
 A 1894 Cotchin, Charles C.
 A 1897 Cotton, David Nicholson, C.A.
 T 1890 Cotton, Harry E. A., L.C.C.
 T 1903 Cotton, Sir Henry John Stedman, K.C.S.I.
 s 1890 Cotton, Julian James, I.C.S.
 c 1913 Cotton, William F., J.P., D.L., M.P.
 T 1906 Coulter, George Gerald
 T 1911 Courtenay, Christopher White, J.P.
 c 1905 Coutts, Hubert, J.P.
 T 1913 Coutts-Trotter, Victor Murray
 c 1883 Coventry, Joseph
 c 1898 Cowan, John
 c 1892 Cowan, William Henry, M.P.
 c 1911 Cowap, Masterman Dalton
 T 1895 Cowdray, Lord
 T 1905 Cowen, Joseph
 o 1905 Cowie, Andrew
 c 1902 Cowlin, Charles Courtney, J.P.
 c 1885 Cox, George H.
 T 1912 Cox, Rev. John Charles, LL.D., F.S.A.
 c 1910 Cox, Ralph Bouverie
 T 1903 Coxwell, Charles Fillingham, M.D.
 c 1903 Cozens, Albert Edward
 c 1890 Cozens-Hardy, Archibald
 c 1883 Cozens-Hardy, Sydney
 A 1914 Crabb, Harry Bettinson
 c 1911 Crabbe, Herbert Ernest, F.R.G.S.
 c 1914 Craft, Frederick John
 T 1914 Crafter, Herbert George Edward
 c o Craggs, W. Colborne
 T 1886 Craig, Charles T.
 c 1901 Craig, John
 c 1912 Craig, Marshall Millar
 c 1889 Craig, Samuel Elliot
 c 1907 Craik, John George
 T 1906 Cranc, Raymond, A.C.A.
 c 1908 Crankshaw, John Prescott
 T 1908 Craven, The Earl of
 c 1900 Craven, James Henry
 T 1893 Crawford, William A. Francis
 c 1901 Crawshaw, Charles Brooke
 T 1892 Crawshay-Williams, Eliot
 c 1913 Crean, Joseph, M.B.
 c 1913 Crebbin, Alfred Hall
 T 1911 Creet, Simon Theodore
 c 1911 Cremer, Charles, J.P.
 T 1911 Cremer, Herbert William
 T 1892 Crewe, The Marquess of, K.G.
 T 1909 Crisp, Charles Doland
 L 1884 Crisp, Sir Frank, Bt., LL. J.P.
 c 1905 Critchley, Charles Frederick
 o 1905 Crittall, Francis Henry
 T 1906 Croal, David Octavius
 c 1908 Crockett, James Henry Clifder
 c 1900 Croft, John Edwin
 c 1910 Crofts, Robert
 c 1911 Crofts, William
 o 1910 Crofts, William Charles
 T 1899 Crole, Charles Stewart, C.L.E.
 T 1887 Crook, William M., B.A.
 c 1886 Crookston, Andrew White
 T 1896 Crosfield, Arthur Henry
 T 1907 Crosfield, Bertram Fothergill
 c o Crosfield, Herbert
 o 1908 Cross, Elihu Richard
 T 1911 Cross, Frank Salem
 c 1884 Cross, Samuel
 c 1909 Crossley, Arthur
 c 1904 Crossley, Richard Shaw
 c 1910 Crossley, Robert Shaw
 c 1887 Crossley, William Henry
 T 1912 Crotch, William Walter
 T 1910 Crow, Henry Went
 T 1895 Crowle-Smith, John, J.P.
 c 1911 Crowther, Alfred
 T 1909 Crowther, James S.
 c 1912 Crowther, Joseph Lord
 T 1899 Crowther, Richard William,
 c 1909 Crush, Sam T.

- 1908 Cumberland, Edward Boyce,
B.A., B.Sc.
1896 Cumming, William Alexander
1883 Cunningham, Dr. George, M.A.
1906 Curle, Richard Henry Parnell
1914 Currie, James
1905 Currie, Laurence
1913 Cursetjee, Jehanghir
1905 Cusaack-Smith, Lieut.-Col. Sir
Berry, K.C.M.G.
1900 Cuthbert-Gundry, Wilfrid George

D

- 1900 Dadachanji, R. Korshasp
1911 Dady, Cursetjee Dady
1889 Dady, Nasarvanji Jamshedji
1912 Dale, Wilfred Ernest
1902 Dalton, George Frederick
1910 Dalton, Hugh
1913 Dalton, James
1890 Dalziel, The Right Hon. Sir
James Henry, M.P.
1886 Dangerfield, James
1905 Daniel, Arthur
1908 Daniel, David R.
1909 Daniels, Harold Gruffydd
1910 Daniels, Sidney Reynold, I.C.S.
1890 Darby, William Evans, LL.D.
1908 Darch, Francis William
1912 Darnton, John Edward
1907 Darwon, Julian
1911 Darwon, Louis René
1900 Das, Satis Ranjan
1906 Dauncey, Charles
1899 Dauncey, Samuel Henry
1908 Davenport, William
1903 Davey, Arthur Christopher
1911 Davey, The Hon. Arthur J.
1906 Davey, William John
1886 David, Alexander J., K.C.
1900 David, Thomas Williams, J.P.
1900 Davidson, Alexander
1909 Davidson, James Orkney
1913 Davies, Arthur
1907 Davies, Arthur Owen
1909 Davies, Clement Edward, B.A.,
LL.B.
1914 Davies, David Dathl
1909 Davies, David James
1887 Davies, Dixon H.
1907 Davies, Ellis William, M.P.
1911 Davies, Evan
1914 Davies, Evan Robert
1890 Davies, Rev. George H. Dawson
1910 Davies, Henry George
1913 Davies, Herbert Barrs
1913 Davies, James Mair, Jun.
1909 Davies, John Bertie
1911 Davies, John Lloyd, M.R.C.S.,
L.R.C.P., J.P.
1911 Davies, Joseph
1903 Davies, Richard Humphrey
1897 Davies, Robert W.
1911 Davies, Thomas Morris
1901 Davies, Timothy, J.P., M.P.
1909 Davies, Walter Edward
1884 Davies, Sir William Howell, J.P.,
M.P.
1903 Davies, William Thomas
1904 Davis, Alfred
1911 Davis, Frank Auston
1904 Davis, George Herbert
1908 Davis, Harold
1902 Davis, Henry
1887 Davis, Henry J.
1913 Davis, Ivor, M.D.
1896 Davis, Montague Alexander
1891 Davis, Peter
1889 Davis, Samuel H.
1910 Davis, William Edward
1910 Davison, Edward James
1911 Davison, John
1913 Daw, Robert Whitfield Beaumont

- o o Dawbarn, Edmund, J.P.
 o o Dawbarn, Robert
 T 1910 Dawson, Charles Williamson
 o 1897 Dawson, Edward, J.P.
 T 1911 Dawson, Frederick Groombridge
 o 1908 Dawson, Harry
 L 1884 Dawson, Sydney Roger
 L 1884 Dawson, William Alfred
 o 1905 Dawson, William Clarke
 c 1914 Day, Alfred George
 o 1908 Day, George
 o 1912 Day, Herbert Allen
 T 1910 Day, John Thomas
 c 1906 Day, William
 s 1911 De, Kiran Chandra, I.C.S.
 T 1890 Deacon, Henry James
 c 1890 Deacon, Henry Wade, J.P.
 T 1913 Deacon, Stanley Marcus
 T 1883 Deacon, Thomas Mark, F.S.I.
 o o Deakin, Edward
 o 1886 Dean, Albert R., J.P.
 T 1911 *Dean, Charles Bradlaugh*
 T 1911 *Dean, Horace Gordon*
 T 1910 Dean, John
 o 1913 Dean, John Theodore
 o 1904 Deane, Herbert
 c 1895 Deas, James, J.P.
 L o Debenham, Frank, J.P.
 o 1883 Debnam, Alfred R.
 o o Decker, Hermann
 T 1912 *de Fonseca, Lionel Stanislas*
 William Edgar
 T 1907 de Forest, Baron, M.P.
 s 1904 De Frietas, The Hon. Domingo
 Sebastian
 E 1913 de Geus, Leonard
 E 1906 de Jong, Egbert Willem
 A 1914 De Lacy, John Walter
 T 1913 de Liebhaber, Baron Eric Daniel
 T 1890 de Lisle, Bernard C., M.A.
 c 1914 De Mel, Francis Benjamin
 s 1900 De Mel, V. Frederic Joseph,
 M.A., LL.B.
 c 1889 De Menasce, Baron Felix
 c 1913 de Meza, Maurice
 o 1889 Denby, John
 T 1912 Denham, Arthur Christopher
 s 1910 Denman, Lord, G.C.M.
 K.C.V.O.
 o 1906 Denny, Rev. Edward, M.A.
 o 1906 Densham, Henry Bryan, M
 J.P.
 T 1911 Dent, John James
 c 1913 Denton, Henry
 c 1883 Denton, William
 T 1887 de Pass, Horatio
 L o de Peyer, Everard C.
 o o Derham, Henry
 T 1903 Derry, Alfred E.
 c 1912 Derry, John, J.P.
 c 1913 Derwent, Henry Casaubon
 T 1913 Desai, Bhulabhai Jivanji, M
 LL.B.
 T 1912 Desai, Rustom R.
 E 1906 d'Escailles, Alfred Henri
 T 1907 de Selincourt, Martin
 c 1912 *de Silva, Lucien Marcell Dom.*
 s 1893 de Souza, Francis X., I.C.S.
 T 1896 Deutsch, Franz
 T 1911 Devas, Bertrand Ward
 T 1907 Devas, Gabriel Edward
 c 1913 Devereux, Ernest
 c 1912 Devlin, Joseph, M.P.
 c 1896 Dewar, Sir John A., Bt., M.P.
 c 1914 Dewar, Mungo Murray
 T 1908 Dhunjibhoy, Jewajee Shapoor
 T 1913 Dias, Reginald F.
 T 1912 *Dickenson, Frank Walton*
 o 1892 Dickinson, Alfred
 T 1889 Dickinson, The Right Hon.
 Hyett, D.L., M.P.
 E 1906 Didier, Edmond
 F 1913 Diez, Heinrich J.
 s 1903 Digby, Everard Tuxford
 T 1886 Digby, Samuel, C.I.E.
 T 1902 Digby, William Pollard,
 A.M.I.M.E., A.M.I.E.E.
 c 1914 Diggie, John Harber

- r 1911 Dillon, Charles Edward Maxwell
 c 1888 Dillon, Emil J. D., D.Ph.
 r 1907 Dillon, Henry Wentworth
 c 1896 Dimmer, George, J.P.
 c 1902 Dingle, Richard
 s 1904 Dinshaw, Framroz Eduljee
 c 1901 Dinwiddie, William A., J.P.
 r 1906 Direks, Will H.
 r 1900 Dixon, Frank Arthur
 c 1899 Dixon, George Sharp
 c o Dixon, William Henry
 r 1887 Douke, Richard B.
 c 1883 Dobson, Henry
 c 1913 Dobson, John
 c o Dobson, T. W.
 s 1889 Doctor, Framroze P., B.A.
 c 1897 Dodd, Frederick Lawson
 r 1906 Dodd, Gerald Sutton
 c 1886 Dodd, John Theodore, M.A.,
 J.P.
 c 1891 Dodd, Rev. Joseph Arthur, M.A.
 c 1883 Dodd, The Right Hon. William
 Hutton, K.C.
 c 1910 Dodds, John
 c 1910 Dodds, Thomas
 c 1909 Dodgshun, Frederick William
 r 1891 Doggett, Frederick William
 r A 1912 Doggett, John
 r T 1888 Doherty, John, J.P.
 r T o Dolbey, Thomas H.
 r T 1910 Dolman, Frederick
 r T 1892 Donald, Robert
 c 1883 Donaldson, Sir James, LL.D.
 c 1911 Donohoe, Martin Henry
 r T 1910 Dore, Harold
 r T 1907 Dorée, Herbert John
 r T 1906 Dorey, William Henry
 c 1889 Dorset, William
 r T 1889 Doubleday, William Bennett
 r T 1913 Doughty, Charles
 r T 1913 Douglas, Francis Campbell Ross,
 M.A.
 r T 1885 Douglas, James
 r T 1906 Douglas, John
 r A 1912 Douglas, Rev. John Albert, B.D.
 c 1890 Douglas, Loudon M., F.R.S.E.
 c 1883 Douglas, Robert R.
 c 1914 Douglas-Crompton, Sydney
 r A 1899 Douse, Robert Henry, F.C.L.A.
 c 1905 Dove, Edward John, J.P.
 r T 1885 Dow, Alexander
 r T 1899 Dow, John
 r T 1908 Dowding, William Edward
 r T 1914 Downes, Edward
 c 1912 Downes, Rev. Robert Percival,
 LL.D.
 r T 1889 Downing, Frederick
 c 1885 Downing, George Cottrill
 c 1896 Downs, James
 r T 1911 Dowson, Oscar Follett
 c 1902 Doyle, Charles Francis, K.C.
 s 1902 Doyle, Henry Martin, M.R.C.S.,
 L.R.C.P.
 c 1911 Dromgoole, Charles, K.C.
 c 1912 Drummond, Maurice
 c 1904 Drummond, Michael, K.C.
 r T 1898 Drysdale, James
 r T 1910 Drysdale, John William
 c 1914 Dubash, Cowasjee Rustomjee
 c 1912 *Dubash, Jamsctjee Kawasjee*
Dadabhoy
 r T 1913 Dubé, Bhugwandin
 r E 1910 Dubrulle, René
 r T 1905 Duckers, J. Scott
 c 1908 Duckworth, Walter
 c 1906 Dudgeon, Arthur
 c 1912 Dudgeon, Cecil Randolph
 c 1884 Dudley-Dickson, Cecil, J.P.
 r T 1912 Duff, Ernest Alexander Silas
 r T 1902 Duffus, John Coutts
 c 1909 Dummett, Robert Ernest
 c o Duncan, David, J.P.
 c 1903 Duncan, Sir James Hastings, M.P.
 r T 1910 Dunlop, Matthew
 r T 1910 Dunn, Hugh William
 r T 1909 Dunstan, Robert
 r T 1908 du Parcq, Herbert
 r T 1912 Dupuis, Alfred

- T 1905 Durell, Richard
 T 1912 Durell, Sydney L.
 A 1911 Durham, A. Keith
 T 1910 Durkin, Walter Francis
 T 1911 Durnford, Guy
 T 1911 Durnford, William
 C 1889 Durran, Rev. James, M.A.
 S 1901 Durrant, Harry
 A 1905 Durrant, Sydney
 C 1908 Dutton, George Henry John, J.P.
 E 1908 Dvorkovitz, Paul
 C 1898 Dyer, Arthur Rayner
 C o Dyer, Basil A.
 C 1889 Dymond, Arthur H.

E

- T 1895 Eagleston, Arthur John
 T 1910 Earle, Samuel Robert
 S 1907 Earp, Charles Anthony
 T 1914 Earp, John Rosslyn
 T 1911 Easdale, William Charles
 C 1894 Eason, Edward Adolph
 C 1912 Eason, James William
 C o East, Frank
 T 1911 Eastman, Ralph
 C 1883 Easton, Thomas J.
 C 1891 Eastwood, David Edwin
 C 1913 Eastwood, Donald Calverley
 C 1896 Eastwood, George Albert, J.P.
 C 1908 Eatough, Oliver
 C 1913 Eaude, Henry
 C 1914 Ebbutt, Norman
 E 1910 Eberstein, Carl
 E 1897 Eberstein, John
 C 1896 Eccles, Alexander Thomas
 L o Eccles, James
 C 1906 Eccles, William, J.P.
 T 1889 Eckenstein, Oscar
 C 1896 Eckersley, Peter
 C 1911 Edgar, George
 C 1910 Edgar, James, J.P.
 C 1913 Edgecombe, Lieut. Oliver P.
 C 1909 Edgecombe, Sir Robert
 C o Edge, J. Wilcox, J.P.
 C 1911 Edmonds, Ernest F., B.A.
 C 1891 Edmonds, Henry, J.P.
 C 1911 Edmonds, Henry F., B.A.
 C 1883 Edmondson, Robert H., J.I.
 C 1908 Edmunds, William Rees
 T 1903 Edwards, Allen Clement, M
 T 1910 Edwards, Bertie Charles
 T 1886 Edwards, Downes E.
 C 1888 Edwards, Sir Francis, Bt.,
 D.L., M.P.
 C 1910 Edwards, Isaac
 C 1905 Edwards, John Hugh, M.P.
 C 1910 Edwards, John Vaughan
 T 1913 Edwards, Neville
 L 1883 Edwards, William
 A 1912 Edwards, William A.
 C 1914 Edwards, Rev. William Alf
 C 1905 Edwards, William Saunders
 C 1890 Edwin, Henry Francis, J.P.
 T 1903 Elder, James
 T 1906 Elgin and Kincardine, The
 of, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.
 C 1912 Ellias, Saleh Mahomed
 C 1904 Elliot-Blake, Hubert, M.R.
 M.R.C.P.
 C 1914 Elliott, Douglas, J.P.
 T 1913 Elliott, Frank
 T 1902 Elliott, Frank H.
 C o Ellis, A. J.
 C 1883 Ellis, Francis Newman
 C 1912 Ellis, Geoffrey
 C o Ellis, Herbert
 T 1910 Ellis, Herbert Moates, F.S.I.
 C 1909 Ellis, John Stancliffe
 T 1887 Ellis, Col. Richard Sidney.
 C 1905 Ellis, Walter Baldwin
 T 1913 Elliston, Guy
 T 1897 Elmore, John Smith
 T 1914 Elnor, James

- T 1914 Elsdon, John Pascoe
 T 1901 Elsner, Albert
 C 1912 Elson, Robert
 C 1910 Elverston, Sir Harold, M.P.
 T 1914 Elvin, Joseph William
 T 1903 Emerson, Alfred Heslop Stamper,
 A.C.A.
 T 1907 Emery, Alfred
 T 1910 Emery, Joseph Nathaniel, J.P.
 C o Emmott, Lord, G.C.M.G.
 T 1913 Entfield, Ralph Roscoe
 C 1914 England, Abraham
 T 1902 Ennever, William J.
 L o Eno, James Crossley
 C 1910 Epps, Herbert Edward
 S 1910 Eranee, Byramjee Burjorjee
 C 1906 Ericsson, Axel Fredrik
 E 1908 Erikson, Robert
 E 1908 Errère, Damasc
 T 1908 Escott, John Clifton
 C 1912 Esmonde, Dr. John Joseph, M.P.
 C 1912 Esmonde, Sir Thomas Gratton,
 B.L., M.P.
 X 1912 Essery, Albert Golding
 T 1889 Essex, Sir Richard W., M.P.
 C 1907 Esslemont, George B., M.P.
 G 1890 Esslemont, James
 T 1890 Ettlinger, Joseph
 T 1906 Eustace, Alexander Anderson,
 B.A., LL.B.
 C 1901 Eustace, Norman Arthur
 T 1906 Evans, Benjamin Beardmore,
 J.P., L.C.C.
 C 1911 Evans, Charles Irwin, M.A.
 C 1908 Evans, Cyrus John
 T 1906 Evans, David Owen
 T 1886 Evans, Sir E. Vincent
 C o Evans, Sir Edward, J.P.,
 T 1908 Evans, Ernest
 C 1914 Evans, Frank Gwynne
 T 1914 Evans, Frank Noel, B.A.
 C 1905 Evans, Gwilym Arnold, J.P.
 C 1911 Evans, Herbert Raymond
 C 1903 Evans, John Owain
 T 1913 Evans, Lewis Noel Vincent
 T 1903 Evans, Sir Murland de Grasse,
 Bt.
 C 1907 Evans, Richard Stanley, M.A.
 C 1914 Evans, T. Lloyd
 T 1913 Evans, Thomas John
 C 1883 Evans, William, J.P. (Dorchester)
 T 1885 Evans, William, C.B.
 T 1899 Evans, William, M.R.C.S.,
 L.R.C.P. (Pimlico)
 C 1909 Evans, William (Porth, Glam.)
 T 1913 Evans, William George
 T 1913 Evans, Rev. William Justin
 C 1900 Evans, William Wynn
 T 1913 Eve, Frederick Ashford
 T 1893 Evers, Clement
 T 1907 Eves, Charles
 T 1907 Evison, William Roscoe
 T 1903 Ewart, James Archibald
 T 1914 Ewart, Samuel
 T 1911 Ewer, William Norman
 C 1910 Ewing, John
 L 1885 Eykyn, Arthur
 L 1886 Eykyn, Gilbert F.
 L 1886 Eykyn, T. Power
 T 1910 Eyre, Edward Edmund
 T 1907 Eyre, William Henry

F

- T 1910 Fairbairn, James
 C 1906 Fairbank, James
 C 1911 Fairhurst, William Ewart
 C 1889 Fairles-Humphreys, N. W., J.P.
 T 1913 Fairlie, James
 T 1912 Fairman, Henry
 C 1913 Fakira, Mehrali Mahomed, J.P.
 C o Falconer, James, W.S., M.P.
 C 1896 Falk, Herman John, M.A.
 L o Falk, Salis
 C 1913 Fallon, William G.

- T 1908 Farden, Herbert Edwin
 C 1913 Farley, Thomas
 T 1913 Farnol, Henry John
 C 1912 Farquharson, Alexander Charles,
 M.D.
 C 1902 Farr, William Edward
 T 1906 Farrar, Frederick Montague
 C 1891 Farrer, Lord
 C 1902 Farrow, Joseph
 C 1912 Farrow, Joseph Algernon
 T 1889 Faulkner, Arthur
 C 1905 Faulkner, Frank
 C 1908 Faux, Alfred
 C 1912 Fawcett, Frederick
 T 1910 Fay, Sir Samuel
 S 1911 Fazalbhoy, Dawoodbhoy
 C 1904 Fear, Harry, J.P.
 T 1909 Feather, Thomas
 T 1889 Fell, Albert
 T 1913 Fellheimer, Jacob
 T 1886 Fells, J. M., F.S.A.A.
 H 1893 Fenwick, The Right Hon. Charles
 M.P.
 E 1913 Ferenczy, Arpad, LL.D.
 C 1896 Ferens, The Right Hon. Thomas
 Robinson, J.P., M.P.
 C 1906 Ferguson, David H.
 C 1889 Ferguson, The Right Hon. Sir R.
 C. Munro, K.C.M.G.
 S 1912 *Fernando, Charles Hubert*
 Zaleski
 T 1912 Fernando, Hilarion Marcus, M.D.
 B.Sc., J.P.
 S 1912 Fernando, Lawrence Benedict
 C 1912 *Fernando, Reginald Marcus*
 C 1894 Ffrench, Peter, J.P., M.P.
 T 1903 Ffrench-Williams, Mostyn Evan
 T 1910 Field, Walter Stewart
 L o Figgis, Samuel, F.R.G.S.
 C 1905 Findlay, Alexander
 A 1911 Finnemore, William
 T 1908 Finucane, Morgan Ignatius,
 M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.
 C 1896 Firth, Cooper
 C 1886 Firth, Joseph Henry
 C 1911 Firth, Norman Kennedy
 C 1907 Fischer, Theodore
 C 1885 Fisher, Frederic H., B.A.
 T 1900 Fisher, Frederick Victor
 C 1884 Fisher, Richard Chester
 C 1910 Fisher, The Hon. Sydney Arth
 C 1885 Fisher, W. W., M.A.
 C 1910 Fisher, William Alexander
 L o Fitch, Edwin F.
 L 1884 Fitch, Herbert
 T 1886 Fithian, Sir Edward William, J.
 C 1910 Fitton, Hedley
 C 1900 Fitton, Thomas Cliff
 C 1912 Fitzgibbon, John, M.P.
 T 1900 Fitzmaurice, Lord
 C 1889 Fleming, Albert
 C 1884 Fleming, William Daniel
 H 1890 Fletcher, Alfred Ewen
 T 1906 Fletcher, Beaumont
 T 1886 Flood-Page, Major S.
 T 1908 Fluck, Arthur William
 T 1902 Flügel, John Carl
 C 1909 Flynn, John
 C 1889 Follows, Frederick W.
 T 1904 Foord, John Kilby, M.I.M.E.
 T 1906 Forbes, Robert Lindsay, F.C.I.
 L o Ford, J. Rawlinson
 T 1892 Ford, Thomas
 C 1883 Ford, Thomas Benson Pease
 C 1883 Fordham, Ernest Oswald
 T 1900 Foreman, John, F.R.G.S.
 C 1907 Forrest, James
 T 1900 Forrest, William
 C 1909 Forrester-Paton, Alexander
 Paton, J.F.
 C 1908 Forsdike, George Frederick
 C 1884 Forster, Charles Davison
 T 1909 Forster, John
 T 1910 Foss, William
 C 1910 Foster, Ernest Henry
 C 1908 Foster, George Carey, LL.B.
 D.Sc., F.C.S., F.R.S.
 S 1904 Foster, Robert Frederick

- 1888 Fottrell, John George
 1906 Fowler, Hollis B.
 1890 Fox, Charles
 1910 Fox, Charles Edward, J.P.
 o Fox, Edward
 1885 Fox, Francis Hugh
 1899 Fox, Howard Orme
 o Fox, Joseph Hoyland
 1887 Fox, William Shearburn
 o Fox, Wilson Lloyd, J.P.
 o Fox-Pitt, Major W. A. Lane
 1900 Foy, Hugh Victor
 1911 Foy, Mark
 1906 Framjee, Ardeshir Sorabjee
 1904 Framjee, Bapujee Sorabjee
 1886 Frampton, Edward
 1904 France, Gerald Ashburner, M.P.
 1886 Francko, Arnold F.R.S.L.
 1914 Franey, George Ernest
 1902 Frank, Charles
 1901 Frank, Leopold
 1888 Frankish, Dr. William John,
 L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S.
 1885 Franklin, Ernest L.
 1912 Franklin, John William
 1887 Franklin, Leonard B., J.P.
 1910 Franklin, Sydney Ernest
 1912 Franklyn, Francis Albert
 1904 Fraser, Andrew Brown
 1914 Fraser, Angus William, K.C.
 1904 Fraser, Cecil Edward Reginald
 1901 Fraser, Sir Edward Henry, J.P.,
 D.C.L.
 1912 Fraser, Galloway, J.P.
 1910 Fraser, Gordon Travers
 1908 Fraser, J. Scott
 1910 Fraser, Michie Forbes Anderson
 1891 Fraser, Robert Stevens
 1890 Fraser, Samuel Gordon, M.I.C.E.
 1889 Frauer, Max
 1886 Freeman, Charles Arthur
 1911 Freeman, David
 o Freeman, Percy Benjamin French
 1893 Freeston, Rev. Frank K.
 1905 Freeth, Francis Habgood
 1906 French, Stanley George
 1911 Frenchman, Lieut.-Col. Edulji
 Palanji, C.I.E., I.M.S.
 1908 Frew, Rev. Robert
 1885 Friedmann, Armin
 1900 Fry, Lewis
 1900 Fryer, Walter Bayfield
 1905 Fulford, Henry Edward
 1911 Fullarton, John Hamilton, M.A.,
 D.Sc., L.R.C.P.
 o Fuller, George Pargiter
 1900 Fuller, Sir John Michael Fleet-
 wood, Bt., K.C.M.G., J.P.
 1906 Fuller, William Fleetwood
 1900 Fullerton, Hugh, J.P.
 1912 Fulton, Ernest Alan
 1911 Furdoonji, Furdoonji Nowroji
 1898 Furness, Sir Stephen Wilson, Bt.,
 M.P.
- ## G
- 1883 Gale, Arthur J.
 1907 Gale, George Arthur
 1901 Gales, Edwin Lesley
 1909 Gallimore, Henry, J.P.
 1885 Galloway, Edward Napier
 1902 Galloway, James
 1903 Gallon, Frank Wallace
 1913 Gandar, Henry John
 1912 Gange, Edwin Stanley
 1911 Ganter, Thaddous
 1905 Gard, William Garrard Snowden,
 LL.B.
 1911 Garda, Framjee Merwanjee
 1902 Gardiner, Alfred George
 1899 Gardiner, Frederic J., J.P.,
 F.R.Hist.S.
 1909 Gardiner, Kenneth John Rattray

- c 1908 Gardiner, William Rattray
 c 1898 Gardner, Edmund
 c 1898 Gardner, Robert Marshall
 T 1909 Gardner, Thomas
 L 1886 Gardner, William Robert
 c 1908 Garfitt, Charles
 T 1907 Garland, Christopher James
 c 1889 Garman, Henry
 c 1905 Garnett, Frank W., J.P.,
 M.R.C.V.S.
 T 1913 Garrett, Stanley Thomas
 L 1905 Garrod-Thomas, Richard Noël
 T 1907 Garson, James William
 T 1902 Gartzke, G.
 c 1889 Gaskell, Frank
 c 1903 Gass, John Bradshaw, J.P.,
 F.R.I.B.A.
 c 1906 Gaunt, Edgar Lawson
 c 1911 Gaunt, Frederick William
 c o Gaunt, J. Shaw
 c 1909 Gaunt, John Charles
 c 1896 Gaunt, Leonard
 c 1913 Gaunt, Percy Reginald
 c 1912 Gaunt, Philip
 T 1904 Gautrey, Thomas, L.C.C.
 A 1913 Gay, Albert George
 T 1893 Geake, Charles
 c 1906 Geary, Sir William Nevill Mont-
 gomery, Bt.
 c 1885 Gee, Harry Simpson
 c 1896 Gee, William
 T 1908 Gee, William John
 c 1910 Gelder, Sir William Alfred, M.P.
 T 1890 George, The Right Hon. David
 Lloyd, M.P.
 T 1910 George, Capt. Francis Thomas
 s 1912 George, Richard Lloyd
 E 1912 Germann, Theodor
 F 1914 Geyl, Dr. Pieter
 s 1911 Ghosaul, Satya Dhan
 c 1913 Ghose, Chareo Chunder
 T 1912 Gibb, Robertson Fyffe
 T 1913 Gibbs, Percy Rawle
 c 1905 Gibbs, William Benjamin, J.P.
- A 1913 Gibbs, William Joseph
 c 1883 Gibson, Frederic George, J.P.
 c 1914 Gibson, Robert, M.A.
 T 1893 Gibson, Robinson Fooks
 c 1912 Gibson, William Ainsworth
 T 1902 Gibson, William Jenkins
 T 1911 Giddins, Charles Sydney, J.P.
 T 1900 Gidion, Arthur
 T 1907 Gilbert, Charles Humphrey,
 M.I.C.E., M.I.N.A.
 c 1899 Gilbert, Edward
 T 1889 Gilbert, Edwin
 T 1891 Gilbert, James Daniel, J.P., L.C.
 T 1883 Gilbey, Southard
 c o Gilbey, Tresham
 c 1913 Giles, Alfred
 T 1898 Giles, Arthur John
 T 1905 Giles, Frederick William
 T 1904 Gilfillan, Samuel
 c 1911 Gilkes, Gilbert, J.P.
 c 1911 Gill, Edward Cadar
 T 1893 Gill, Frederick William, F.R.G.
 c 1897 Gill, Thomas P.
 T 1907 Gill-Knight, John Albert,
 F.R.I.B.A., D.S.L.
 c 1910 Gillespie, Peter Gardiner, S.S.
 T 1909 Gillett, George Masterman, J.J.
 L.C.C.
 T 1898 Gillett, Joseph Rowntree
 c o Gilliat, Rev. Edward, M.A.
 T 1884 Gillig, Charles Alvin
 T 1900 Gilligan, Robert Louis John
 c 1913 Gillman, Frederick John
 c 1912 Gilmour, Archibald Kelite
 T 1908 Gilpin, Edmund Henry
 c o Gilston, Peter, J.P.
 c 1897 Gimson, Sydney A.
 T 1910 Gingell, John Henry
 c o Ginn, Samuel R.
 T 1910 Ginner, William Peter
 s 1913 Ginwala, Padam Pestanji
 T 1905 Gisburne, Robert Ernest, F.C.
 L o Gladstone, Viscount, G.C.I.
 G.C.M.G.

- o 1801 Gladstone, Capt. Charles Elsdon
 L 1884 Gladstone, H. Neville
 o 1907 Glantawe, Lord
 T 1904 Glanvill, Benjamin Andrew
 T 1906 Glanville, Henry James, J.P.
 T 1911 Glanville, James Pascoe
 T 1880 Glave, Nolan
 o 1912 Gleave, Samuel
 c 1913 Gledhill, Charles Vincent
 T 1912 Gledstone, Herbert Reginald
 T 1905 Glegg, Alexander, J.P.
 T o Glen, Alexander
 o 1912 Glondinning, George
 o 1906 Glendinning, The Right Hon.
 Robert Graham
 T 1911 Glendinning, William
 T 1910 Glover, Frederick Beaumont
 o 1911 Glover, James Mackey
 T 1905 Glyn-Jones, William Samuel, M.P.
 o 1912 Glynn, Joseph A.
 o 1891 Goadby, Allan Lindsay
 c 1905 Godber, Joseph
 T 1913 Goddard, Edmund
 o 1884 Goddard, Sir Daniel Ford,
 M.I.C.E., M.P.
 c 1912 Godden, Frederick John, J.P.
 c 1884 Godfrey, Charles Edward
 T 1902 Godfrey, Julian Louis
 c 1911 Godfrey, Louis Arnatt
 o 1902 Godwin, Sir John Arthur, J.P.
 E 1906 Goerg, Gustavo
 o 1887 Goggs, Edward H., M.A.
 c 1910 Goho, *Prish Chunder*
 o 1905 Gokhale, The Hon. Gopal Krishna,
 C.I.E.
 c 1913 Gokuldas, Narottam Murarji,
 J.P.
 T 1890 Goldberg, Leopold
 c 1913 *Goldberg, Stuart Victor*
 c 1894 Goldie, Major Allan Ross
 E 1900 Goldscheider, Max
 T 1899 Goldsmith, John Naish, Ph.D.,
 M.Sc., F.C.S.
 T 1911 Goldstein, Emil
 T 1894 Goldstein, Oscar
 o 1889 Gollin, Lionel
 T 1910 Golmick, Eugen
 T 1908 Golmick, Paul
 T 1913 Gomme, Arthur Allan
 T 1912 Gonsalves, Victor Pascal,
 L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.
 T 1900 Gooch, George Peabody
 T 1884 Good, Henry
 T 1893 Goodall, Frank Clement
 o 1896 Goodbehere, Frederick G.
 T 1899 Goodenough, Francis William
 T 1912 Goodman, Alexander
 c 1914 *Goodman, Benjamin Mark*
 o 1898 Goodman, John
 T 1912 Goodman, Sydney Charles
 Nichols, B.A.
 o 1880 Goodwin, Charles Cowan, J.P.
 T 1889 Goodwin, Charles Cowell
 T 1899 Goodyear, Thomas Edward
 o 1886 Goold, Ebenezer, M.A.
 T 1908 Gordon, Alexander, F.S.I.
 s 1913 Gordon, Francis Frederick, J.P.
 T 1914 Gordon, Henry Herman, L.C.C.
 c 1905 Gordon, John William
 T 1909 Gordon, Robert Abercromby,
 M.A., LL.M.
 o 1908 Gore, John
 c 1902 Gorevan, James
 c 1889 Gottschalk, Ferdinand
 o 1886 Goudy, Henry
 T 1913 Gough, George Woolley
 T 1911 Gould, Alfred Leslie Pearce,
 B.A.
 T 1911 Gould, Eric Lush Pearce, B.A.
 T 1884 Gould, Sir Francis Carruthers
 s 1909 Goulden, Algernon Arthur
 s 1910 Gour, Harry Singh, M.A., D.C.L.,
 LL.D.
 T 1897 Gow, Charles
 T 1885 Gow, Rev. Dr. James
 T 1889 Gowan, Robert A.
 A 1909 Gower, Thomas Silas

- c 1901 Graaff, Sir David Peter de Villiers, Bt.
s 1901 Graaff, Hon. Jacobus Arnuldes C., M.L.C.
c 1914 Grace, James Edward
T 1914 Grad, Benjamin
c 1909 Graham, Benjamin Mitchell
o 1902 Graham, Frank
o 1906 Graham, John Douglas
o 1908 Graham, Sir John Hatt Noble, Bt.
c 1908 Graham, John Taylor
o 1898 Graham, Norval Bantock
s 1912 Graham, Robert Mitchell
T 1906 Grainger, Arthur Claude
c 1905 Granard, The Earl of, K.P.
T 1901 Grant, Alexander, K.C. (Lincoln's Inn)
T 1911 Grant, Alexander (Honor Oak)
o 1906 Grant, Col. Alexander Brown, M.V.O., V.D.
T 1912 Grant, Alfred Alexander Cumming, M.B., C.M.
s 1906 Grant, Arthur William
o 1896 Grant, George Wilberforce
o 1909 Grant, James
c 1912 Grant, Col. John Peter
o 1914 Grant, William Henry
c 1896 Granville, Earl, G.C.V.O.
T 1906 Gray, Arthur
T 1913 Gray, Eric Vivian Granville
c 1913 Gray, Frank
o 1885 Gray, George Godfrey, LL.D., J.P.
o 1911 Gray, Milnor
o 1914 Gray, Robert
T 1888 Gray, Robert Kaye
o 1912 Gray, William Parker
o 1898 Greaves, Septimus Edwin
T 1912 Green, Alfred B.
o 1900 Green, Arthur
T 1906 Green, Charles Thomas, J.P.
s o Green, Edward
o o Green, Edward Unsworth
c 1906 Green, Sir George
T 1911 Green, Henry Charles
T 1906 Green, Howard
c 1912 Green, Neal
o 1884 Green, Reuben C.
o 1906 Green, Richard Braithwaite
T 1910 Green, William Stanley
c 1908 Greenberg, Israel Sigmund
c 1894 Greenhow, Joseph Henry
T 1906 Greenland, Rev. William Kingscote
o 1911 Greenwood, Conrad Varley
o 1910 Greenwood, Edwin
T 1884 Greenwood, Granville George, M.P.
T 1903 Greenwood, Hamar, M.P.
c 1912 Greg, Thomas Tylston
o 1908 Gregory, Edward William
c 1885 Gregory, Frederick
o 1906 Gregory, Theodore, F.C.A., J.P.
T 1913 Greig, David
c 1913 Greig, Robert Blyth
T 1899 Grein, Frederick Carl
T 1897 Greiner, Ernest
T 1883 Greiner, Gotthelf
T 1907 Grevener, Julius
T o Grewing, Henry
T 1884 Grey, The Right Hon. Sir Edward, Bt., K.G., M.P.
s 1900 Grey, Thomas Patrick
T 1909 Grey, William Ernest
c 1912 Grice, Tom Edmund
T 1912 Grierson, Walter
T 1912 Grieve, Angus MacLeod
c 1912 Griffin, Ernest Harrison, B.A. L.S.A.
T 1904 Griffin, Octavius
T 1898 Griffith, The Right Hon. Ellis J. K.C., M.P.
T 1913 Griffith, Robert Arthur
c 1893 Griffith, William Joseph Norris
T 1905 Griffiths, Henry Percival
o 1883 Griffiths, William
T 1901 Grigsby, Thomas Edward
T 1907 Grimmond, Joseph

- O O Grimwade, E. W., J.P.
 O 1903 Grimwade, Leonard Lumsden
 T 1904 Gripper, Louis May
 A 1910 Groom, William Thomas
 T 1907 Grose, Herbert
 T 1912 Grover, Harold Sheppard Mills
 T 1910 Grubb, George Henry
 O 1909 Grundy, Alfred Ernest
 T 1907 Grunoisen, Francis J.
 F 1912 Grusser, Josef Paul
 T 1910 Guest, Major the Hon. Christian
 Henry Charles, M.P.
 T 1906 Guest, Capt. The Hon. Frederick
 Edward, M.P.
 C 1907 Guest, The Hon. Oscar Montagu
 S 1909 Guilfoyle, John Herbert
 O 1883 Guiry, Patrick Valentine
 T 1910 Guiterman, Herbert Mortimer
 O 1906 Gulland, John William, M.P.
 S 1899 Gullett, Henry
 T 1912 Gullick, Francis George
 O O Gundry, William
 T 1913 *Gunsawardene, Hubert Oliver*
 O 1880 Gunton, Rev. Charles Forster,
 M.A.
 T 1891 Guppy, John
 O 1883 Guppy, William
 S 1911 Gupta, Juanendra Nath, I.C.S.
 T 1885 Gupta, Sir K. G., K.C.S.I.
 T 1912 Gurney, Thomas
 T 1901 Gurney-Smith, Evelyn Alfred
 O 1901 Gurteen, Daniel M.
 O 1911 Gurteen, Frank William
 O 1883 Gurteen, Jabez
 O 1901 Guthe, Julius Ernst
 O O Guthrie, Lord
 O 1888 Guthrie, Alexander
 O 1894 Gutteridge, Michael
 E 1908 Guttman, Bernhard, Ph.D.
 T 1914 Goymer, Frank
 C 1910 Gwynn, Stephen Lucius, M.P.

H

- T 1883 Haas, Maximilian
 C 1902 Hackett, Sir John Winthrop,
 M.L.C., LL.D.
 T 1912 Hackney, Rev. Prof. Walter,
 M.A.
 O 1907 Hadden, Archibald Robert
 O 1909 Hadden, Eustace Walter Russell
 T 1901 Haddo, Lord, D.L., L.C.C.
 T 1892 Hadfield, Sir Robert Abbott,
 F.R.S., D.Met. J.P.
 T 1911 Hadley, Hopton
 O 1910 Hadwen, Walter Robert, M.D.,
 J.P.
 L 1883 Haes, Andrew
 T 1910 Haig, Korest
 C 1909 Haighton, Edward S.
 S 1911 Hajeobhoy, Mahomed
 T 1880 Haldane, Viscount, K.T.
 O 1912 Halden, Archibald Weir
 T 1911 Hales, John Francis, M.A.
 T 1895 Halford, Major Frederick Ben
 jamin
 O 1914 Hall, Cornelius Dalrymple
 O 1908 Hall, Edward Benford
 C 1880 Hall, Edward William
 O 1913 Hall, John Edward
 T 1910 Hall, John Edward Percy
 T 1913 Hall, Thomas
 T 1909 Hall, William Clarke
 T 1903 Hall, William Douglas
 C 1901 Hallaghan, Patrick
 C 1901 Halliwell, William Pickup, B.A.
 O 1911 Hamel, Felix, J.P.
 T 1896 Hamer, Sam Hield
 S 1898 Hamer, William H., A.M.I.C.F.
 T 1912 Hamilton, Frederick H.
 C 1891 Hamilton, James Thomas
 O O Hamilton, John C.
 T 1910 Hamilton, John George
 T 1910 Hamilton, John Zachary Macau-
 lay

- T 1903 Hamilton, William Roberts
 C 1884 Hammond, John
 C 1910 Hammond, John Lawrence Le Breton
 T 1889 Hammond, Robert, M.I.C.E., M.I.E.E., M.I.M.E.
 C 1908 Hance, Edward W. B. Malkin
 C 1896 Hancock, Augustus Wyvill
 T 1911 Hancock, Charles Granville
 A 1911 Hancox, Joseph Henry
 T 1896 Hand, Rev. James Edward
 T 1894 Hands, Phin
 T 1912 Handschin, Emil
 C 1889 Hanger, Edward, J.P.
 S 1883 Hankin, Alfred
 C 1890 Hankin, Herbert Ingle
 A 1911 Hankins, Allan Ferrie
 C 1893 Hankinson, Francis H., P.A.S.I.
 T 1891 Hanlon, Patrick James
 C 1889 Hannay, Anthony Scott
 C o Hannay, Thomas S.
 C 1906 Hanson, David
 C 1910 Harbinson, William Dawson
 C 1892 Harbottle, John George, J.P.
 C 1913 Harbutt, William. A.R.C.A.
 T o Harcourt, The Right Hon. Lewis, M.P.
 T 1906 Harcourt, Robert Vernon, M.P.
 L o Hardcastle, F. H. A., F.S.I.
 L 1887 Hardcastle, Col. Wilfred J., V.D., F.R.I.B.A.
 C 1909 Hardie, John
 T 1906 Harding, John Seymour
 C 1910 Harding, Thomas Lethaby
 T 1911 Harding, William Percy
 T 1883 Hardingham, G.G.M.
 C 1892 Hardman, Samuel
 T 1895 Hardy, George Alexander, J.P., L.C.C.
 C 1910 Hardy, George Francis, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.
 T 1895 Hardy, Harold Hugh
 C 1883 Hargreaves, John E., J.P., D.L.
- T 1909 Harker, J. A., D.Sc., F.R.S.
 T 1900 Harmsworth, Cecil Bisshopp, M.P.
 T 1908 Harmsworth, Harry
 C 1913 Harper, John Henry
 C 1896 Harrington, Sydney W
 T 1909 Harris, Alfred
 T 1883 Harris, Alfred W., J.P.
 C 1894 Harris, Arnold Elsmere, J.P.
 T 1908 Harris, Arthur George, J.P.
 C 1912 Harris, Edward
 T 1904 Harris, Edward Henry
 T 1899 Harris, Ezra Edmund
 T 1910 Harris, George
 C 1905 Harris, George Robert, J.P.
 T 1908 Harris, H. Wilson
 T 1908 Harris, John Hobbs
 T 1897 Harris, The Hon. John William J.P.
 T 1907 Harris, Percy Alfred, L.C.C.
 T 1911 Harris, Samuel Louis
 C 1896 Harris, Simon
 C 1890 Harris, Walter Fred
 C 1910 Harrison, Rev. Alfred Samuel Cuthbert
 T o Harrison, Egerton B.
 C 1908 Harrison, Frank, J.P.
 C 1903 Harrison, Frederic, M.A., J.P. D.C.L.
 T 1905 Harrison, Robert Hichens Camden, J.P., D.L.
 T 1889 Harrison, Thomas
 C 1900 Harrop, John, J.P.
 T 1890 Hart, Heber L., LL.D., K.C.
 C 1888 Hart, Horace
 C o Hartland, Edwin S., F.S.A.
 C 1907 Hartley, Harold
 C 1897 Hartley, Harry Bark
 C 1898 Hartley, Samuel John Eyre
 T 1908 Harvey, Edward
 T 1912 Harvey, Percy Portway
 T 1908 Harvey, T. Edwin
 T 1913 Harvey, Thomas Edmund, M.P.

- O 1887 Harvey, William
 O 1906 Harvey, William Thomas
 O 1884 Harwood, John, J.P.
 O O Haslam, John Percival
 T 1887 Haslam, Lewis, M.P.
 L 1887 Haslam, Ralph E.
 O 1889 Hassó, Alexander
 T 1909 Hatch, George
 T 1893 Hatch, John Cosons, J.P.
 T 1913 Hatchwell, John, F.C.I.S.
 T 1907 Hatfield, John
 T 1904 Hatry, Leo
 T 1906 Hatzfeld, Emile
 T 1883 Haversham, Lord
 O 1906 Haward, Samuel Edwin
 T 1896 Haward, Thomas Gilbert, A.C.A.
 T 1906 Hawes, George William Spencer
 L 1887 Hawke, Frederick
 O O Hawke, John
 H 1903 Hawkin, R. C.
 T. 1911 Hawkins, Frederic Mortimer, M.D.
 O 1887 Hawkins, William
 T 1896 Hawksley, Bouchier Francis
 O 1901 Hawkyard, Arthur, M.D.,
 L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.
 O 1906 Haworth Sir Arthur Adlington,
 Bt.
 O 1902 Haworth, George Chester
 T 1913 Haworth, James Douglas
 O O Haworth, Jesse
 T O Hawa, E. Ashby
 O 1901 Hay, Robert Bruce
 O 1899 Haye, J. Johnstone
 S 1912 Hayes, Rev. Archibald Ormiston
 T 1914 Hayes, James G., M.D.
 O 1891 Hayes, William
 S 1886 Haylar, Thomas C., K.C.
 A 1912 Haynos, George
 S. 1903 Haynes, Dr. John Randolph
 O 1904 Hayton, Edward M.
 O 1910 Hayward, Evan, M.P.
 O 1898 Hazel, Alfred E. W., M.A.,
 B.C.L., LL.D.
 T 1900 Hazell, W. Howard
 O 1905 Head, Frank Dearden
 T 1883 Headlam, Rev. Stewart D., B.A.,
 L.C.C.
 O 1910 Headley, Lewis Percy
 T 1887 Healy, Timothy M., K.C., M.P.
 O 1893 Heap, Joseph
 C 1891 Heape, Robert Taylor
 T 1903 Heard, George Couch
 O 1914 Heard, Nigel
 T 1896 Hearn, Patrick
 T 1903 Heath, Capt. Thomas Arthur
 T 1909 Heaton, James Aspin
 E 1900 Hedeman, Jules
 T 1897 Heffer, Percy Holt
 T 1911 Heiron, John Abbott
 E 1914 Heitmann, Karl F.
 T 1890 Heldmann, Harry
 O 1885 Hellyer, Samuel Stevens
 O 1900 Helme, Sir Norval Watson,
 M.P.
 O 1889 Hemphill, Lord
 T 1900 Hemphill, Capt. The Hon.
 FitzRoy, J.P.
 O 1910 Henschley, Lieut.-Col. Albert
 Richard
 O 1899 Henderson, Alexander Davidson
 T 1889 Henderson, George Thompson
 O 1906 Henderson, John, J.P. (Pin-
 wherry, N.B.)
 T 1907 Henderson, John (Weybridge)
 C 1913 Henderson, Robert Lowe
 C 1913 Henderson, William Forbes
 C 1914 Hendry, Peter Donald
 O 1910 Hendry, Robert
 T 1913 Hennion, Charles
 T 1912 Henochsberg, Samuel Julius
 E 1905 Henriksson, Fritz
 L 1887 Henry, Arthur H.
 T 1885 Henry, Sir Charles S., Bt.,
 M.P.
 T 1904 Henry, John Sollie
 T 1914 Henwood, Frank Stanley, J.P.
 C 1898 Hepworth, Arthur
 O 1903 Hepworth, Frank Nutter

- T 1912 Hepworth, George Musgrave
 T 1910 Herbert, Rev. Charles
 A 1911 Herbert, Henry
 C 1906 Herbert, Major-Gen. Sir Ivor
 John Caradoc, Bt., C.B.,
 C.M.G., M.P.
 T 1901 Herbert, Sir Jesse
 T 1886 Herbert, Thomas Arnold, LL.B.,
 K.C.
 T 1890 Herman, Ernest
 T 1890 Herold, Conrad F.
 T 1903 Herrin, Edwin
 T 1907 Herring, Stephen
 T 1906 Herschell, Lord, M.V.O.
 T 1892 Hersey, Thomas Charles
 C 1905 Heselton, Robert Thomson
 S 1910 *Hethey, Benno*
 T 1910 Hethey, Gustav
 T 1892 Hewart, Gordon, K.C., M.P.
 S 1912 Hewavitarna, Charles Alwis,
 M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.
 A 1909 Hewitson, Joseph
 T 1883 Hewitt, Edwin Richard
 C 1897 Hewitt-Dean, Henry, J.P.
 T 1910 Hewkin, Edwin Percy
 F 1914 Heymer, Paul Müller
 C 1886 Heynes, James Baylis
 C 1890 Heys, Alfred John
 T 1900 Heys-Jones, Ernest
 T 1914 Hickman, W. R. J.
 T 1906 Higgs, Frederick
 C 1904 Higham, John Sharp, M.P.
 C 1911 Higman, Joseph Creswell
 T 1910 Hildesheimer, Albert
 C 1906 Hilditch, Robert
 C 1911 Hiley, Frank Stapledon
 C 1905 Hill, Arthur James
 C 1912 Hill, Edmund L.
 C 1886 Hill, Charles E.
 T 1885 Hill, Henry, Jun.
 T 1884 Hill, Henry Ellis, M.L.C.E.
 C 1898 Hill, James
 T 1883 Hill, Joseph
 C 1913 Hill, Wilfrid Lawson
 T 1886 Hill, William (London)
 T 1905 Hill, William, Jun., B.
 (London)
 T 1883 Hill, Woodman, C.E.
 T 1897 Hill-Jones, Thomas, F.C.S.,
 M.S.C.I.
 C o Hills, Capt. E. H., R.N.
 C 1902 Hillyard, James
 C 1892 Hinchliffe, Thomas Albert
 C 1912 Hind, Fred, J.P.
 C o Hind, Jesse
 C 1903 Hindle, Frederick George
 A 1909 Hindle, Robert Sidney
 T 1912 Hindley, Godfrey Charles, R.O.
 T o Hindmarsh, Charles
 T 1902 Hinds, John, M.P.
 T 1902 Hine, F. Carr
 C 1902 Hinners, Edward
 C 1904 Hinton, Amos, J.P.
 C 1910 Hird, James
 T 1889 Hirschfeld, Siegmund
 T 1897 Hirst, Francis W., B.A.
 C 1897 Hirst, George Edgar
 T 1912 Hitchcock, Ronald Alfred
 C 1912 Hitchens, Thomas John
 C 1912 Hobart, Arthur
 C 1904 Hobart, Lieut.-Col. Claude Ve
 Cavendish, D.S.O.
 C 1904 Hobart, Major-Gen. Sir Robt
 Henry, Bt., K.C.V.O., C.B.
 T 1908 Hobhouse, Arthur Lawrence
 T 1895 Hobhouse Leonard Trelawny
 C 1913 *Hobson, Frederick Greig*
 C 1903 Hobson, George Wentworth
 T 1910 *Hobson, Harold*
 T 1889 Hobson, John Atkinson
 T o Hobson, Thomas Frederick L.C.
 C 1912 Hocart, James Hamilton
 T 1908 *Hocking, Arthur Vivian*
 T 1899 Hocking, Rev. Joseph
 T 1896 Hocking, Silas K.
 C 1910 Hodges, Frank
 T 1906 Hodges, William Davies
 C 1907 Hodgkins, Edgar Ernest

- 1883 Hodgkinson, W. B.
 1902 Hodgson, George Bryan, J.P.
 1914 Hodgson, Jack Duckworth
 1896 Hodgson, James
 1914 Hodgson, Norman
 1905 Hodgson, William, J.P.,
 L.R.C.P.I., and L.M.
 1906 Hoffmann, Paul
 1903 Hogg, Charles
 1913 Hogg, Daniel Cleghorn, M.P.
 o Hogg, The Right Hon. Jonathan
 1904 Hogge, James Myles, M.P.
 1913 Hôk, Rolf
 1890 Holden, Sir Edward Hopkinson,
 Bt.
 o Holden, Sir Edward Thomas,
 J.P.
 r 1910 Holder, Henry
 r 1912 Holder, Stanley Roy
 A 1914 Holder, Stephen, F.R.C.A.
 r 1906 Holding, Henry Bond, J.P.
 r 1906 Holland, Henry Hardecastle
 r 1890 Holland, William T., M.A.
 r 1900 Hollander, Bernard, M.D.
 L o Hollenden, Lord
 D 1887 Hollins, Sir Frank, Bt., J.P.
 D 1905 Hollins, Henry Ernest
 D o Hollinshead, E. W.
 D 1902 Hollis, John
 r 1893 Holloway, Henry, J.P.
 r 1904 Holloway, Henry Thomas, Jun.
 r 1909 Holman, Henry
 r 1880 Holman, Herbert, J.P.
 r 1913 Holmes, Daniel Turner, M.P.
 D 1906 Holmes, Edward
 c 1907 Holmes, George John
 r 1903 Holmes, Horace George, F.C.A.,
 J.P.
 r 1907 Holmes, Joseph Stanley, F.C.A.,
 L.C.C.
 r 1890 Holmes, Montagu
 c 1894 Holmes, Samuel H., J.P.
 r 1914 Holt, David, J.P.
 c 1889 Holt, Edwin
 T 1912 Holt, Geoffrey Noel
 T 1902 Holt, Hillier
 c 1913 Holt, Reginald
 T 1895 Holt, Richard Durning, M.P.
 T 1910 Holt, William Ragg
 T 1892 Holzapfel, Albert Charles A.
 c 1891 Holzapfel, Max
 c 1893 Homer, John Twigg, J.P.
 r 1904 Honeyman, David Livingstone
 T 1912 Honour, Benjamin
 c 1906 Hooper, Arthur George
 T 1904 Hooper, Basil Montagu
 A 1914 Hooper, Bernard
 T 1909 Hooper, Bernard Leslie
 T 1893 Hooper, Charles
 c 1909 Hooper, Henry John
 T 1913 Hooper, Patrick Joseph
 c 1899 Hope, John Deans, M.P.
 L o Hopkins, A. Bassett, M.A.
 c 1909 Hopkinson, S. Ives
 L 1887 Hopwood, Frederick Flowers
 T 1914 Hore, Charles Fraser Adair
 s 1908 Hormarjee, Pestonji Ardeseer
 s 1911 Hormasji, Hormasji Jehangir
 s 1905 Hormusjee (Dubash), Kawasjee
 Dadabhoj
 s 1911 Hormusjee, Nowrosjee
 T 1889 Horne, Benjamin W.
 c 1906 Horne, Frederick
 T 1911 Horner, David Aitken
 c 1914 Horner, William John
 T 1898 Horniman, Emslie J., J.P.
 T 1908 Horniman, John Eric
 c 1885 Horsburgh, Edward Lee S.,
 B.A.
 c 1913 Horsfall, John Donald
 c 1904 Horsfall, Sir John Cousin, Bt.
 T 1911 Horsley, Sir Victor Alexander
 Hayden, M.B., B.S., F.R.C.S.,
 F.R.S.
 T 1912 Horwill, Herbert William
 c 1913 Hosegood, Henry
 s 1906 Hosken, Hubert
 s 1900 Hosken, William

- s 1906 Hosken, William Wesley
 T 1912 Hossain, Syud
 T 1898 Hough, John
 c 1903 Hough, Richard George
 c 1903 Houghton, Walter Valentine
 T 1911 Houlding, Henry Robert
 c 1912 Houlihan, John
 c 1894 Hounsom, William A., J.P.
 T o Howard, Ebenezer (Inverness Terrace, W.)
 T 1910 Howard, Ebenezer (New Court, W.C.)
 L o Howard, J. Harold
 L o Howard, John Howard
 T 1891 Howard, Walter, F.C.A.
 T 1908 Howard, Walter Liddon
 T 1907 Howard, William Newman
 c 1909 Howarth, Clement Young
 c 1910 Howarth, Hugh, J.P.
 c 1909 Howarth, William
 T 1913 Howden, John Ralph
 T 1914 Howe, Thomas
 T 1901 Howe, Thomas George
 T 1902 Howell, Robert Hubert
 T 1912 Howieson, Percy
 T 1914 Howitt, Arthur
 c 1912 Howlett, Arthur Godfery
 c 1898 Howson, James Taylor
 c 1899 Howson, Richard George
 T 1907 Hubbard, Chalton, J.P.
 T 1907 Hubbard, Frederick Henry
 T 1907 Hubbard, Nathaniel William, J.P.
 L 1903 Hudson, Ernest Walter
 T 1887 Hudson, Harry K.
 H 1886 Hudson, Sir Robert A., J.P.
 c 1885 Hudson, William
 c 1891 Huggan, Joseph
 A 1912 Hughes, Charles
 c 1905 Hughes, David Henry
 c 1903 Hughes, Edward J.P. (Wrexham)
 T 1910 Hughes, Edward (London)
 c 1891 Hughes, John Arthur
 c 1909 Hughes, John Rowland, J.P.
 T 1912 Hughes, Robert David
 T 1892 Hughes, Spencer Leigh, M.P.
 c 1885 Hughes, T. J.
 c 1910 Hughes, Thomas Smythe
 T 1898 Hughes, William
 c 1887 Hughes, Rev. William H., M.A.
 s 1911 Hughman, Ernest Montague
 T 1890 Hulbert, Maurice Charles, J.P.
 c 1883 Hull, Charles
 c 1913 Hull, Joseph
 c 1906 Hulme, Henry Scanlan
 T 1905 Humberstone, Thomas Lloyd
 L 1887 Hume, Alexander
 T 1903 Hummel, Maurice F.
 T 1896 Humphreys, Frederick George
 c 1889 Humphreys, George
 T 1909 Humphreys, John Henry
 c 1911 Humphreys-Owen, Arthur Erskine Owen, J.P.
 c 1896 Humphries, Edward Walter
 T 1906 Hunt, William
 c 1910 Huntbach, Alfred
 T 1914 Hunter, Arthur
 T 1911 Hunter, Arthur James
 T 1911 Hunter, George Edwin
 c 1889 Hunter, John A.
 c 1898 Hunter, Thomas
 c 1894 Hunter, William
 T 1909 Hunter, William Pettingell, J.P.
 c 1886 Hunting, Charles S.
 T 1906 Huntingdon, Sir Charles Philip, Bt.
 c 1909 Huntington, George
 c 1911 Hurrell, Henry
 T 1886 Hurst, James P.
 c 1912 Hurst, William Hutchinson
 T 1896 Husband, Thomas Fair, I.S.O., M.A.
 T 1906 Hussey, William
 c 1901 Hustler, William
 c 1903 Hutchings, Walter James, J.P.
 T 1910 Hutchings, William Wheeler
 T 1903 Hutchison, William Stewart
 s 1912 Hutheesing, Purushottambhai M.

- J 1892 Hutton, Alfred Eddison
 T 1913 Hutton, William
 r 1911 Hyams, Ralph Stanley
 r 1899 Hyde, Sir Clarendon Golding
 T 1913 Hyder, Joseph
 T 1905 Hyndman, Hugh Henry Francis

I

- T 1888 Idris, T. Howell Williams, F.C.S.,
 J.P.
 O 1886 Iliffe, William Isaac
 O 1914 Illingworth, Francis Holden, J.P.
 O 1911 *Illingworth, Leonard*
 O 1910 Illingworth, Percy Holden, M.P.
 O 1906 Illingworth, Walter
 O o Impey, Robert Levitt, J.P.
 T 1890 Incedon, Richard
 s 1907 Ingham, Norman Kirby
 O 1887 Innes, Arthur D.
 O 1914 Innes, Major William Anderson
 O 1910 Irvin, John Hannel
 s 1886 Irvine, David H.
 O 1895 Irving, Commander Charles
 Edward
 s 1906 Irving, Major John
 T 1900 Isaac, Walter, J.P.
 T 1914 *Isaacs, Denny Godfrey*
 T 1890 Isaacs, Godfrey Charles
 T 1903 Isaacs, Harry Michael
 O 1905 Isaacs, Isaac J.
 T 1896 Isaacs, Jacob
 T 1911 *Isaacs, Marcel Godfrey*
- O 1908 Jack, James Douglas
 O 1907 Jack, Thomas Chater
 O 1913 Jack, William Harris
 T 1893 Jackman, Marshall James
 O 1912 Jackson, Charles Arthur
 T 1912 Jackson, Charles Stennett
 O 1896 Jackson, James
 T 1913 Jackson, James Eustace,
 M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.
 T 1910 Jackson, John, F.R.G.S.
 T 1910 Jackson, Mark, M.D.
 O 1900 Jackson, Sydney Albert
 O 1883 Jackson, Thomas Hughes
 T 1911 Jackson, William Ewart
 T 1900 Jacob, Edwin S.
 T 1907 Jacob, George Grenville
 L 1885 Jacob, Michael
 T 1912 Jacobs, Arthur Lionel,
 T 1911 Jacobs, Daniel
 E 1913 Jacobs, Emanuel J.
 T 1911 Jacobs, Joshua Michael
 T 1911 Jacobs, Louis P.
 O 1891 Jacobs, Maurice, M.A.
 O o Jaffé, John
 O 1906 Jagger, J. W.
 L o James, Charles Russell
 T 1895 James, Dudley
 T 1903 James, George
 O o James, Gwilym C.
 O 1905 James, Gwilym Christopher
 Bowring
 L 1883 James, Robert Airey
 O 1899 James, William Warwick
 T 1897 Jarmain, Herbert James
 O 1900 Jarmain, Thomas Martin
 T 1909 Jarman, Henry J., F.C.I.S.
 T 1909 Jarratt, William Smith, B.A.
 T 1908 Jarrow, Harry Grant
 T 1908 Jarvis, Francis Charles
 s 1907 Jayewardene, Eugene Wilfred
 s 1911 Jayewardene, Major Theodore
 Godfred
 O 1884 Jeans, Alexander G.
 O o Jeans, William

J

- T 1913 Jack, Balfour Bowman
 O 1896 Jack, Edwin Chisholm
 T 1913 Jack, Frederic Barric, M.I.M.E.

- s 1911 Jeejeebhoy, Sir Jamsetjee, Bt.
s 1910 *Jeejeebhoy, Jeejeebhoy Piroshaw B.*
s 1904 Jeejeebhoy, Merwanjee D. M.
t 1898 Jeffrey, William, F.R.G.S.
c 1908 Jehu, Thomas John, M.D.,
F.R.S.E.
c 1906 Jelfs, George Watkin
c 1904 Jellicoe, George R.
d 1900 Jenkins, Alfred Thomas, J.P.
t 1909 Jenkins, Edwin Alfred
c 1886 Jenkins, George
c 1894 Jenkins, John
c 1913 Jenkins, Thomas David
s 1906 Jenkins, William
c 1910 Jenkinson, Arthur
t 1893 Jenkinson, Sir Edward G., K.C.B.
t 1907 Jenks, Edward
c 1904 Jenks, Harry Maze
t 1892 Jenks, John Henry
c 1910 Jennings, David
c 1887 Jephson, Rev. Canon Arthur W.,
M.A.
c 1902 Jerome, Jerome K.
c 1901 Jessop, Arthur
c 1912 Jevons, Herbert Stanley
c 1900 Jewson, George
c 1913 Jinnah, The Hon. Mahomed Ali
A 1910 John, Benjamin, J.P.
c 1902 John, Edward Thomas, J.P., M.P.
t 1899 Johnson, Arthur F. W., J.P.
c 1895 Johnson, Sir Benjamin Sands,
J.P.
c 1907 Johnson, F. H. Barton
c 1914 Johnson, Frederick Baldwin
t 1896 Johnson, George William, C.M.G.
t 1913 Johnson, Harry Bland
t 1906 Johnson, Rev. Joseph
c 1913 Johnson, Joseph
c 1883 Johnson, Joseph Fielding
c 1901 Johnson, William, M.P.
t 1902 Johnson, William Cowlshaw,
J.P., L.C.C.
c 1909 Johnston, William John, M.A.,
LL.B.
c 1905 Johnstone, William, B.L.
L o Joicey, Lord
t 1892 Jonas, Alfred
c 1891 Jonas, Sir Joseph, J.P.
t 1889 Jones, Albert Hugh
t 1906 Jones, Charles Henry
c 1907 Jones, Daniel William
t 1912 Jones, The Right Hon. Sir David
Brynmor, K.C., M.P.
c 1913 Jones, David Thomas
c 1905 Jones, E. Peter
c 1910 Jones, Edgar Rees, M.P.
c 1913 Jones, Edward Dukinfield
t 1909 Jones, Elias Wynne Cemlyn
c 1913 Jones, Ellis Llwyd
c 1903 Jones, Ernest
t 1909 Jones, Ernest Heber Landel,
LL.D.
s 1909 Jones, Evan Hopkin
c 1906 Jones, Frederick Arthur
c 1904 Jones, George Oliver, M.A.
t 1900 Jones, Harry
c 1910 Jones, Henry Haydn, M.P.
A 1914 Jones, Herbert Leonard Moreton
c 1910 Jones, James Pickering
c 1913 Jones, John
t 1912 Jones, John Charles Dwafydd,
A.M.I.C.E., M.I.E.E.
c 1913 Jones, Rev. John Daniel, M.A.,
B.D.
c 1906 Jones, John Frederick Augustus
c 1904 Jones, John Taylor
c 1883 Jones, Joseph Harrison
t 1913 Jones, Josiah Edward
c 1914 Jones, Josiah Towyn, M.P.
A 1913 Jones, Laurence Harry Duniam
c 1885 Jones, Leifchild, B.A., M.P.
t 1912 Jones, Lewis Edwin
c 1913 Jones, Morgan James
t 1904 Jones, Ormsby
c 1912 Jones, Owen Daniel
t 1913 Jones, Robert Owen
t 1904 Jones, Samuel Powell
c 1912 Jones, Thomas

- T 1898 Jones, Thomas Artemus
 T 1898 Jones, Thomas Davies
 C 1902 Jones, Thomas Humphreys
 C 1908 Jones, Thomas Lloyd
 T 1912 Jones, Walter Samuel
 T 1886 Jones, William, J.P. (Orpington)
 C 1913 Jones, William (Manchester)
 A 1912 Jones, William Herbert
 C 1886 Jones, William Lester
 C 1910 Jones, William Llewelyn, M.D.,
 F.R.C.S.
 C 1902 Jones-Hughes, Richard
 T 1913 Jones-Lewis, William
 C 1883 Jordan, James
 A 1900 Jordan, Leonard
 T 1900 Jordan, Willie
 C 1914 Joseph, David Campbell
 L 1883 Joshua, Samuel
 C 1892 Joyce, Edward, J.P.
 T 1906 Judd, Frederick Edgar
 L o Jukes, Edward C.
 T 1909 Julian, George Richards,
 A.R.I.B.A.
 T 1913 Junkin, James Frederick
 C 1900 Just, Berthold Wolfgang
 C 1880 Just, Conrad F.
 T 1892 Just, Sir Hartmann Wolfgang,
 K.C.M.G., C.B.
- ## K
- S 1909 Kaka, Dr. S. M.
 C 1899 Kane, Robert Joseph
 S 1911 Kanga, Fardunji Manockji
 S 1910 Kapadia, Pestonji Naoroji
 T 1912 Kapadia, Dr. Shaporji Aspani-
 arji
 T 1910 Karck, George Stirling
 T 1885 Karpeles, Joseph N.
 T 1895 Kay, John Walter Sellars
 C 1906 Kay, Thomas, J.P.
 C 1906 Kaye, Walter Kelita, M.L.M.E.
- T 1912 Keating, Matthew, M.P.
 C 1911 Keay, A. Elliot
 C 1913 Keay, Andrew
 C 1886 Keeblo, George
 T 1908 Keeling, Frederic Hillersdon
 C 1910 Keenan, Patrick
 K 1902 Keene, Alfred A.
 T 1911 Keir, Robert
 S 1903 Keith, Prof. Alan Davidson,
 B.A.
 S 1900 Keith, Robert Charles Stuart,
 B.A., I.C.S.
 C 1903 Kekewich, Sir George William,
 K.C.B.
 T 1909 Keliher, James John
 T 1893 Keliher, Thomas
 T 1914 Kelley, Andrew Barker
 T 1901 Kelly, Arthur Henry
 T 1901 Kelly, Charles Ernest
 C 1914 Kelly, Edward J., M.P.
 T 1913 Kelly, Rev. Robert
 C 1909 Kelly, Thomas Kirkby
 T 1912 Kemp, Clement Henry
 C o Kemp-Welch, James, J.P.
 T 1907 Kempster, John, J.P.
 T 1911 Kempton, Charles Henry
 C 1885 Kemsley, Walter, J.P.
 T 1895 Kendall, William Henry
 T 1911 Kennedy, Donald Stuart,
 M.I.A.E.
 C 1894 Kennedy, P. J., J.P.
 C 1905 Kennedy, Vincent Paul, M.P.
 T 1914 Kenner, Alfred
 C 1880 Kenrick, Sir George Hamilton
 C o Kent, George C.
 S 1898 Kent, Percy H. B.
 T 1902 Kerr, James, M.D.
 C 1912 Kerr, Rev. William Goodwin
 C 1885 Kersteman, Freeland B.
 S 1897 Kett, William Francis
 T 1901 Kettle, George William
 T 1909 Key, Kingsmill James
 S 1902 Khan, Bhikhajee Framjee
 T 1910 Khory, Edaljee Jamsetjee

- o 1907 Kilby, Fred, F.S.A.A.
 T 1906 Kiley, James D., J.P.
 o 1901 Kimberley, The Earl of
 T 1889 Kimmins, C. W., B.A., D.Sc.
 o 1900 Kinder, Fred
 o 1905 King, Alfred John
 T o King, Arthur W. W., J.P.
 o 1912 King, Charles Arthur
 T 1914 King, George Walter
 T 1899 King, Harold Charles
 T 1914 King, Horace Herbert
 o o King, John Godwin
 T o King, Joseph, M.P.
 o 1883 King, Spencer
 T 1913 King, William
 T 1894 King, William J. A. Gavazzi
 o 1889 Kingerlee, Thomas H., J.P.
 T 1906 Kingsbury, John Edward
 o 1905 Kingston, Thomas
 T 1913 *Kinloch, James M. T.*
 T 1911 Kinnell, James Lindsay
 o 1898 Kinross, John, J.P.
 T 1908 Kirby, William Arthur
 T 1913 Kirchberger, Karl
 T 1907 Kirk, Sir John
 T 1908 Kirkpatrick, Rev. Maxwell
 Robert
 o 1888 Kirsop, Thomas
 s 1906 Kirwan, The Hon. John Waters,
 M.L.C.
 s 1908 Kitchen, John Hambleton
 o 1898 Kitchen, John Town
 s 1901 Kitson, Alfred Ernest
 o 1909 Kitson, Arthur
 T 1909 Kittle, Richard Walter
 T 1905 Kleimenhagen, Maurice
 T 1910 Klinker, Hermann
 o 1912 Knatohbull-Hugessen, The Hon.
 Adrian Norton
 T 1889 Knight, George David, M.D.
 T 1906 Knight, George Spencer, J.P.
 o 1912 Knight, Henry
 T 1896 Knight, James
 T o Knowles, Charles, J.P.
 T 1900 Knowles, Charles Matthew
 T 1886 Knox, Edmund F. Vesey, K.C.
 T o Knox, George Walter, B.Sc.,
 F.C.A.
 T 1913 *Knox, John Vesey*
 T 1911 Knudsen, Karl Frederik
 E 1903 Koch, Simon
 T 1904 Koebner, Eduard
 c 1884 Kohler, Charles J.
 c 1914 Kohn, Ferdinand
 T 1902 Kohnstamm, Alfred
 T 1905 Kohnstamm, Rudolph
 T 1912 Kosky, Harry
 T 1906 Kotz, Ernest H.
- ## L
- A 1905 Lacey, George Graham
 o o Ladell, H. R., M.A., J.P.
 T 1905 Laidlaw, Sir Robert
 o 1896 Laird, John
 T 1905 Lake, Arthur Frederick
 T 1913 Lake, Ernest John
 T 1906 Lake, John Strickland
 o 1911 Lake, Rev. Kirsopp, M.A.
 o 1913 *Lall, Chaman*
 c 1913 *Lall, Kamaladharee*
 c 1912 Lall, Ram
 c 1913 *Lall, Shamaladharee*
 T 1909 Lall, Tilakdhari
 T 1904 Lamb, Sir Ernest Henry, C.M.G.,
 J.P., M.P.
 o 1897 Lamb, George, J.P.
 o 1908 Lamb, Robert Robertson
 o 1910 Lambert, Francis Henry, J.P.
 o 1892 Lambert, The Right Hon. George,
 M.P.
 T 1907 Lambert, Richard Cornthwaite,
 J.P., M.P.

- o 1914 Lambert, Richard *Stanton*
 T 1906 Lambie, J. Edward
 o 1910 Lambie, C. F.
 T 1898 Lambourne, William Thomas
 T 1903 Lamont, John, Jun.
 T 1911 Lamprey, Charles
 L o Lancaster, George Snow, J.P.
 T 1800 Landau, Hermann
 T 1889 Landauer, David
 T o Lander, R. E. F.
 T 1890 Landsberg, Arthur, F.R.G.S.
 R 1901 Lane, Edmund
 T 1911 Lane, Ralph Norman Angell
 o 1893 Lane, William
 A 1914 Lang, Lawrence McDonald
 T 1912 Lang, Robert *Kenneth*
 T 1911 Lang, Robert Turnbull, J.P.
 R 1903 Langdon, Arthur Franklin
 o 1886 Langdon, Thomas
 T 1907 Langdon-Davies, Bernard Noël
 L 1887 Langdon-Down, Percival
 L 1887 Langdon-Down, Reginald, M.B.
 o 1883 Laphorn, Edwin, J.P.
 o 1895 Laphorne, Thomas
 T 1904 Larcumbe, Thomas, I.S.O.
 o 1912 Lardner, James Carrige Rushe,
 M.P.
 o 1898 Larmuth, Leopold
 T 1909 Lasham, Thomas William
 T o Latham, Alexander M.
 c 1912 Latham, Lieut. *George Hilton,*
 R.F.
 T 1910 Latif, Camrudin Amirudin Abdul
 T 1902 Latilla, Albert
 T 1913 Laughland, Frank Oswald
 o o Laughlin, R. C.
 T 1911 Laughton, Sidney Thomas
 T 1901 Laurie, Thomas Werner
 H 1897 Laurier, The Right Hon. Sir
 Wilfrid, G.C.M.G.
 o 1883 Lavers-Smith, Charles L.
 T 1911 Law, Alfred
 c 1886 Law, Duncan G.
 T 1886 Lawrence, Arthur M.
 o 1886 Lawrence, John P.
 T 1908 Lawrence, Walter, Jun.
 T 1905 Lawrie, Allan J.
 c 1908 Lawson, George Joseph
 o 1906 Lawson, Robert (Glassford)
 o 1905 Lawton, Henry, J.P.
 o 1896 Lawton, John Edward, J.P.
 T 1887 Layland-Barratt, Sir Francis,
 Bt., M.A., LL.B.
 o 1887 Layle, Ward
 T 1892 Layman, Alfred Richard
 T 1906 Lazarus, Henry
 o 1910 Leach, Henry
 o 1905 Leach, Joseph Bithell, J.P.
 o 1900 Leaf, Herbert
 T 1906 Leaf, Walter, Litt. D.
 T 1913 Leam, Francis William Le Blount
 T 1910 Leask, George Alfred, M.A.
 T 1899 Le Bas, Edward
 T 1913 Le Bas, Hedley Francis
 o 1904 Leckie, Joseph Alexander
 o 1887 Leckie, W. Graham
 T 1893 Ledger, George
 T 1909 Ledger, Henry
 o 1896 Ledward, Hugh Davenport
 T 1911 Ledward, *Kenneth Herbert*
 o 1896 Lee, Ernest Kenworthy
 s 1886 Lee, Frederic M.
 T 1913 Lee, Hubert
 o 1903 Lee, John Shroove, J.P.
 T 1913 Lee, Robert
 o 1909 Lee, Smetham
 L 1883 Lee, Thomas Grosvenor
 o 1903 Lee, Thomas Oliver, B.A.
 T 1914 Leech, Arthur
 o 1898 Lee-Roberts, Richard
 c 1913 Lees, Edward
 T 1910 Lees, Richard
 c 1889 Lees, William (Stockport)
 c 1913 Lees, William (Glasgow)
 T 1908 Leggatt, Herbert Thomas Owen
 T 1914 Leicester, Mark
 T 1913 Leidhold, Ernest
 o o Leigh, Edmund, J.P.

- c 1909 Leigh, Edmund Denis
 c 1913 Leigh, Patrick Sylvester
 c 1908 Leigh, Thomas Bowes
 T 1908 Leigh, William Henry
 E 1912 Leipnik, Ferdinand L.
 c 1912 Leishman, Sir James
 c 1907 Leitch, Andrew, J.P.
 T 1913 Leitch, Walter
 E 1909 Lelasseur, Philippe Auguste
 c 1898 Le Mare, Percy Raby
 c o Lemon, Sir James, J.P.
 T 1893 Lenanton, William Ray
 F 1906 Lennane, Gerald Quin., F.R.C.S.
 T 1912 Lennard, William
 T 1884 Leon, Arthur L., J.P., L.C.C.
 c 1910 Leon, George Alexander, M.D.
 T 1893 Leon, Sir Herbert Samuel, Bt.
 T 1889 Leonard, R. Maynard
 T 1910 Le Quesne, Charles Thomas
 T 1913 Lessing, Edward Albert
 S 1914 Lester, Alfred Molineux
 c 1905 Lester, William Richard
 T 1897 Lethbridge, George, A.R.I.B.A.
 T 1905 Letzon, Charles Augustus, F.Z.S.
 T 1883 Lever, Sir Arthur Levy, Bt.
 T 1889 Lever, Sir W. Hesketh, Bt.
 T 1910 Levett, Victor George
 T 1886 Levey, George Collins, C.M.G.
 c 1911 Levi, Prof. Thomas Arthur
 T 1910 Levine, Abraham
 T 1912 Levinson, Bertram Arthur, M.A.,
 LL.B.
 T 1907 Levy, Albert
 c 1912 Levy, Emanuel Edward
 T 1905 Levy, Herbert Godfrey
 T 1911 Levy, Isaac
 T 1897 Levy, Jacob
 c 1884 Levy, Lewis, J.P.
 c 1883 Levy, Sir Maurice, Bt., M.P.
 E 1912 Levy-Caen, Georges
 c 1900 Lewis, Edward
 c 1893 Lewis, Francis Thackwell
 c 1912 Lewis, Frank Benjamin, L.R.C.P.,
 L.R.C.S. J.P.
 T 1892 Lewis, Frederick William
 c 1898 Lewis, Harry (Olton)
 A 1912 Lewis, Harry (London)
 c 1914 Lewis, Sir Henry
 T 1911 Lewis, Henry Arthur Gardiner
 c 1901 Lewis, Hugh, J.P.
 c 1883 Lewis, The Right Hon. J.
 Herbert, M.A., M.P.
 L 1883 Lewis, John
 T 1905 Lewis, John Spedan
 c 1898 Lewis, John Thomas
 T 1906 Lewis, Oswald, L.C.C.
 c 1911 Lewis, Thomas Arthur
 T 1906 Lewis, William (London)
 c 1911 Lewis, Rev. William (St. Mary
 Cray)
 T 1905 Lewisohn, Alfred
 A 1913 Licence, Herbert N.
 T 1906 Lidgett, Rev. John Scott, M.A.,
 L.C.C.
 c 1904 Lightbody, Forrest Hay
 T 1889 Lilley, J. Edward
 c 1909 Lincoln, Ignatius Timothy Tribich
 T 1913 Lincoln, S. Tribich
 T 1891 Lincolnshire, The Marquess of,
 K.G., G.C.M.G.
 T 1912 Lindemann, Karl
 c 1891 Lindley, Percy
 c 1911 Lindsay, Reginald
 T 1911 Line, George Edward Alfred
 c 1910 Linfield, Frederick Caesar, J.P.
 c 1895 Linforth, James Henry
 c 1910 Lingham, Joseph Benjamin
 T 1907 Link, Charles Ernest
 c o Link, Charles W.
 T 1912 Link, Horace Arthur
 T 1914 Lion, Bruno Leonard
 c 1899 Lister, Sir Robert Ashton, J.P.
 T 1907 Litchfield, Frederick
 T 1909 Lithgow, Samuel
 c 1913 Little, David
 T 1891 Little, John Fletcher, M.B., J.P.

- c o Little, W. G
 L o Littlejohn, Alexander, J.P., D.L.
 T 1898 Liversedge, Alfred John,
 A.M.I.C.E.
 c 1902 Liversedge, Frederick Crosland,
 J.P.
 T 1913 Livingstone, Alexander Mackenzie
 T 1912 Livsey, James
 L o Lloyd, Frank (Fleet Street, E.C.)
 T 1910 Lloyd, Frank (Brondesbury)
 T 1888 Lloyd, John, J.P.
 c o Lloyd, John Henry, M.A.
 c o Lloyd, Richard, J.P.
 c 1893 Lloyd, William John (Calcutta)
 c 1913 Lloyd, William John (Man-
 chester)
 T 1909 Lloyd-Goring, Lewis Harry
 Goring
 T 1903 Lloyd-Taylor, William, J.P.
 c 1908 Lobjoit, William George, J.P.
 T 1904 Locke, John
 c 1889 Lockhart, William Stronach
 F.R.G.S., M.I.C.E., M.I.M.E.
 c 1911 Lockhead, Harry, J.P.
 c 1907 Lockwood, Arthur
 c 1914 Lockwood, Samuel Sugden
 T 1914 Loewe, Daniel Benjamin
 T 1912 Loewi, Hermann
 c 1891 Logan, John William, M.P.
 E 1909 Lohner, William Charles
 T 1913 London, Philip
 T 1905 Long, Daniel
 c o Long, William, J.P.
 c 1892 Longdon, Arthur Frederick
 c 1913 Longhurst, Henry William, J.P.
 c 1912 Longley, Frederick
 T 1890 Longman, Sir Hubert Harry, Bt.
 c 1902 Lord, Arthur
 c 1911 Lord, John Edwin Calvert, J.P.
 T 1896 Loreburn, Earl, G.C.M.G.
 c 1905 Lorimer, William, Jun.
 T 1909 Lorrain, James Grieve, M.I.M.E.,
 M.I.E.E.
 E 1913 Loth, Marcel
 L 1883 Lough, The Right Hon. Thomas,
 M.P.
 c 1886 Lovatt, James, J.P.
 c 1905 Love, J. Boyd, J.P., F.R.G.S.
 c 1910 Love, John
 T 1910 Lovett, Frederic Reynolds, M.A.
 T 1910 Low, Sir Frederick, K.C., M.P.
 c 1912 Low, James Morrison, Younger
 of Kilmarnock
 c 1905 Lowe, George Edwin, J.P.
 T 1911 Lowenthal, Arthur Edward
 c 1912 Loxdale, Reginald James Rice
 c 1896 Lucas, Samuel Bright
 L o Lucy, Sir Henry W.
 c 1911 Luke, James Norman
 s 1906 Luke, John Hume
 s 1907 Luke, Norman Ritchie
 T 1898 Luke, Thomas Robert
 c 1899 Lumb, Tom Gallon
 c 1905 Lumsdale, Andrew
 c o Lumsdon, Robert
 T 1905 Lunge, Ernest, LL.D.
 T 1894 Lunn, Sir Henry S., M.D., J.P.
 T 1902 Lunn, William Henry Harvey
 T 1896 Lunn, William Holdsworth
 T 1884 Lupton, Arnold, M.I.C.E., F.G.S.,
 M.I.E.E., M.I.M.E.
 c 1899 Lupton, Edgar
 T 1910 Luttman, James Martin
 T 1910 Luxemburg, Victor
 c 1900 Lycett, James Albert, J.P.
 c 1905 Lye, Walter Thomas
 T 1899 Lyell, James Patrick R., J.P.
 T 1900 Lyle, John
 T 1899 Lyne, William Robert
 c 1903 Lyon, Thomas Glover, M.A.,
 M.D.
 T 1909 Lyons, Edmund William, F.C.I.S.
 c 1905 Lyveden, Lord

M

- T 1902 Maberly, Gerald Clare
 T 1904 Mabey, Charles Henry

- c 1906 MacAdam, Robert Wight
 c 1904 Macadam, William W.
 c 1889 MacAlister, Sir Donald, K.C.B.,
 M.D., LL.D., D.C.L.
 c 1896 Macalpine, Sir George Watson,
 J.P.
 c 1908 McArdle, John S., M.D.,
 F.R.C.S.I.
 c 1894 MacArthur, John Stewart
 o 1911 MacArthur, William Oliphante
 c 1884 Macarthy, George Eugene
 r 1902 Macartney, Horace John
 c 1906 McAuley, Joseph
 c 1898 McAuley, Thomas
 o 1904 McBain, George
 c 1891 Macbean, Edward
 r 1913 Macbeth, Ian Langlands Fraser
 c 1886 MacCallum, Duncan
 c 1904 MacCallum, Sir John M., M.P.
 c 1885 MacCarthy, Rev. E. F. M., M.A.
 r 1907 McConnell, Alexander John
 r 1891 McConnell, Philo Ferrier
 r 1908 McCormack, Thomas William
 c 1910 McCormick, Ernest Boyd
 o 1893 McCrae, Sir George, J.P.
 c 1909 McCullagh, Francis
 r 1904 McCurdy, Charles Albert, M.P.
 c 1894 McDermott, Patrick
 r 1912 MacDonald, Alexander
 s 1906 Macdonald, Donald
 s 1894 Macdonald, Henry
 r 1903 Macdonald, James (Bickley)
 c 1911 MacDonald, James, M.I.M.E.
 (Bombay)
 r 1913 McDonald, James Ferguson
 r 1910 Macdonald, John
 c 1913 Macdonald, John Frederick
 o 1891 Macdonald, Peter
 r 1911 McDonald, Ranald George
 c 1908 Macdonald, Robert
 s 1897 Macdonell, Philip James, B.A.
 r 1886 McDonnell, James Mark
 o 1904 MacDonnell, Lawrence A.
 r 1889 McDougall, Sir John, F.C.S.
- o 1911 MacDougall, Dr. Robert Stewart
 o 1905 McDougall, Sidney
 o 1908 Mace, John A.
 o 1901 McEachran, John Johnston
 r 1904 MacEwan, Peter, F.C.S.
 c 1901 McFadden, Edward
 c 1914 Macfadyen, Rev. Dugald, M.A.
 o 1914 Macfarlane, John Ewing
 c 1914 Macfarlane, Thomas D.
 c 1912 McGhee, Richard, M.P.
 c 1902 McGill, Herbert James
 c 1907 McGowan, James
 c o McGowan, William, J.P.
 c 1902 Macgregor, Alexander
 r 1908 MacGregor, Donald Tamsett
 s 1885 McGregor, James C.
 r 1886 Macgregor, John
 o 1906 Machin, William, J.P.
 r 1913 MacHugh, Robert Joseph
 r 1909 Machtig, Eric Gustav Siegfried
 c 1914 McIlwraith, Frederick William
 c 1889 Macinerney, Michael C., K.C.
 c 1903 McInnes, Peter Isles
 A 1913 McIntosh, Archibald Campbell
 r 1908 Macintyre, James
 c 1889 Mack, Isaac Alexander, T.C.,
 J.P.
 c 1887 Mackay, Alexander, C.A.
 r 1889 MacKay, Angus
 r 1892 Mackay, C. Stewart
 r 1906 MacKay, Harry John Sutherland
 o 1910 Mackay, John
 c 1912 Mackay, Robert Ferrier Barns
 r 1911 McKechnie, James Wilson
 o 1900 McKellar, Daniel
 o 1892 McKellar, Duncan
 L 1886 McKenna, Charles E.
 L 1887 McKenna, Leopold
 c 1911 Mackenzie, Charles David
 r 1900 McKenzie, Frederick Arthur
 c 1888 McKenzie, Rev. Harry W., M.A.
 c 1913 MacKenzie, John
 o 1894 Mackenzie, William Lyon (Edin-
 burgh)

- c 1911 Mackenzie, William Lyon (Stockport)
- T 1905 McKettrick, Frederick John, M.B., C.M.
- c 1906 Mackie, Henry Dunn
- T 1911 Mackintosh, Aeneas Shiol Lauchlan
- T 1887 Maokintosh, Alexander
- c 1897 Mackintosh, Duncan
- c 1914 Mackintosh, Rev. Rocliffe
- T 1913 McLaren, Andrew
- T 1904 Maclean, Donald, M.P.
- T 1899 McLennan, John
- c 1887 MacLeod, D. Brodie
- c 1906 MacLeod, John Lorne, S.S.C., J.P.
- T 1914 McLintock, Charles Henry
- c 1911 McLintock, William
- c 1914 MacLoone, James, K.C.
- L 1883 McMaster, J. Short
- T 1912 McMicken, Hamilton Grant
- c 1898 McMillan, Anthony John
- T 1910 Macmillan, John
- c 1906 McMorris, Robert James, R.N.
- T 1907 McMullen, James
- L 1907 McNab, Alexander
- c 1909 McNab, Edward Rolland, S.S.C., J.P.
- c 1896 Macnair, Thomas
- c 1913 Macnamara, Neil Cameron
- T 1892 Macnamara, The Right Hon. Thomas J., LL.D., M.P.
- T 1891 McNaught, William G., Mus. Doc., F.R.A.M.
- c 1888 MacNeill, John G. Swift, M.P.
- T 1908 McNerney, Joshua William
- c 1912 McNicol, John
- T 1908 Macpherson, Fenton
- c 1883 Macpherson, Hugh
- T 1909 Macpherson, James Ian, LL.B., M.P.
- c 1909 Macqueen, William Temple
- c 1910 MacRae, Donald MacDonald
- c 1905 McRobert, Sir Alexander
- c 1911 McSweeney, George
- c 1914 MacVeagh, Jeremiah, M.P.
- H 1903 Maddison, Fred
- c 1911 Maden, Henry
- c 1892 Maden, John Henry
- T 1910 Madsen, Arthur Wilhelm, B.Sc.
- T 1911 Maggs, Joseph Herbert
- T 1892 Magnus, Daniel
- c 1912 Maguire, William Joseph
- s 1899 Mahomed, Syed Alay
- A 1902 Maidment, Leonard R.
- c 1888 Maidment, Thomas
- T 1906 Maier, Samuel
- c 1912 Mail, John Thomas
- T 1912 Mair, George Herbert, B.A.
- c 1892 Maitland, Dalrymple
- c 1892 Maitland, Thomas
- c 1913 Makepeace, Francis Lucas, M.A.
- L o Makovski, Stanislaus
- T 1904 Makower, Alfred Jacques, M.A.
- T o Makower, Louis
- T 1909 Makower, Richard Samuel
- c 1902 Malkin, Sydney
- c 1889 Mallalieu, F. W.
- s 1884 Mallik, M. C.
- s 1900 Mallik, Subodh C.
- T 1911 Mallinson, William
- T 1903 Man, Frederick Henry Dumas
- c 1906 Mander, Geoffrey le Mesurier, J.P.
- c 1894 Mandleberg, Goodman C.
- c 1893 Mantfield, Harry, J.P., M.P.
- c 1898 Mantfield, James
- s 1911 Mangaldas, Kisondas T.
- c o Manlove, J. Ernest
- T 1913 Mann, George Register
- T 1887 Mann, Horace
- T 1886 Mann, James S.
- c 1883 Mann, William John
- E 1908 Manning, John David
- c o Mansell, Waldemar, M.A.
- T 1905 Manus, John
- c 1896 Mappin, Sir Frank, Bt.

- T 1909 Marchand, Geoffrey Isidore Charles
 T 1910 Marks, Sir George Croydon, J.P., M.P.
 C 1912 Marks, Simon
 A 1907 Marks, Thomas Edward
 T 1908 Markwald, Henry
 C 1903 Marlow, Albert E.
 C 1891 Marnham, Francis John, J.P.
 C 1906 Marriage, Francis Edward
 T 1911 Marriage, James
 C 1883 Marriage, Wilson, J.P.
 T 1903 Marriott, Frank
 C 1913 Marsden, Edward
 C 1883 Marsden, James, J.P.
 T 1893 Marsh, Robert Henry, F.C.A.
 T 1909 Marsh, Robert Lawrence, M.Sc., A.C.A.
 C 1911 Marshall, Arthur Harold, M.P.
 C o Marshall, Edwin W., F.C.A., J.P.
 C 1906 Marshall, Harold
 T 1893 Marshall, Sir Horace Brooks, LL.D., J.P.
 S 1912 Marshall, Hugh Charlie
 C 1896 Marshall, John
 T 1903 Marsland, Sidney
 T 1905 Marsland, Spencer
 L 1901 Martelli-Perrott, Frank Duerdin, M.A.
 T 1890 Martin, Alexander William
 A 1909 Martin, Arthur John
 C 1885 Martin, Edward Waterer
 T 1909 Martin, The Hon. Joseph, K.C., M.P.
 C 1911 Martin, Peter Masterton
 C 1889 Martin, Richard
 C 1895 Martin, Sir Thomas Carlaw
 T 1908 Martin, Walter Edwin
 T 1885 Martin, William T.
 C 1895 Marvin, Francis Sydney
 T 1906 Marx, Jacques Sydney
 T o Marzetti, R. R.
 C 1883 Masbach, Charles
 T 1883 Masefield, Robert
 T 1892 Maskall, Thomas, F.C.A.
 T 1891 Mason, David Marshall, M.P.
 C 1914 Mason, Robert, J.P.
 C 1886 Mason, Sydney
 T 1910 Mason, Thomas Alexander Counouls
 C 1912 Mason, William Linn
 L 1903 Masser, William Joseph
 C 1909 Massey, Joseph Stanton
 C o Massie, John, M.A.
 C 1883 Massingham, H. W.
 C 1911 Massingham, Harold John
 T 1903 Masterman, The Right Hon Charles Frederick Gurney
 T 1912 Masterman, Rev. Canon John Howard Bertram, M.A.
 T 1904 Masterman, Capt. Walter Sidne
 T 1884 Mather, The Right Hon. S: William, J.P.
 C 1906 Matheson, Alec P.
 C 1888 Matheson, Ewing, M.L.C.E.
 C 1908 Mathews, William George
 C 1895 Mathias, Sir Richard
 C 1904 Maton, Job
 T 1907 Matthews, Arthur
 C 1912 Matthews, David
 C 1893 Matthews, George F., B.A.
 T 1883 Matthews, Harry
 T 1883 Matthews, Valentine
 S 1889 Matthewson, Robert Nicol
 C 1910 Mattocks, Richard Mawson
 T 1906 Maude, Aylmer
 C 1883 Maude, John
 C 1908 Maule, Sir Robert
 T 1909 Maur, James Henry
 T 1908 Mavrogordato, John Nicolas
 T 1890 Maw, Frederick James, LL.B
 C 1903 Mawson, Edward Prentice
 T 1901 Mawson, George
 C 1901 Mawson, Thomas H.
 C 1913 Maxwell, John
 T 1899 Maxwell, Peter Hamilton
 T o Maxwell, William A.
 T 1911 May, Henry John

- r 1905 May, James
 c 1888 Maybery, Joseph
 A 1907 Mayell, Alfred Young
 s 1889 Mayer, Frederic
 T 1888 Mayer, Sylvain, B.A., Ph.D.,
 K.C.
 l. o Mayhew, C. J.
 s 1909 Mayhew, Lieut. - Col. Mark
 James
 c 1907 Mayne, John George
 c 1892 Mayo, Edmund Godfrey, B.A.
 c 1914 Mays, George Henry
 c 1908 Mays, Thomas William, J.P.
 l. o Meade-King, R. R.
 T 1903 Meakin, Walter
 c 1889 Meautys, Thomas A.
 c 1907 Meautys, Thomas Gilliat
 c 1901 Medway, John William
 c 1913 Mee, Rev. Josiah
 T 1904 Meech, Thomas Cox
 c 1913 Meehan, Patrick James, M.P.
 c 1895 Moggitt, John Claxton, J.P.
 s 1891 Mehta, Roostumjee D., J.P.,
 C.I.E.
 c 1911 Mellor, Charles
 c 1898 Mellows, William
 T 1907 Melrose, Charles Joseph
 T 1911 Melville, James Benjamin
 T 1906 Melville, William, M.V.O., J.P.
 c 1883 Mennell, Henry T.
 T 1885 Meredith, John B.
 T 1908 Meredith, Percy William,
 F.R.I.B.A.
 T 1909 Merlin, Seth Phillip Jones
 T 1909 Merriam, Charles Pierce
 s 1883 Messinesi, Aristomenes Miltiades
 T 1911 Metcalfe, George, J.P.
 s 1910 Metcalfe, The Hon. Thomas
 Llewelyn
 T 1910 Methuen, A.M.S.
 T 1906 Metz, Bernard
 c 1898 Meyer, Sebastian William
 T 1914 Meyers, Henry Wilson
 s 1907 Michaelis, William, F.R.G.S.
- T o Micklem, Nathaniel, K.C.
 c 1887 Middlebrook, William, M.P.
 c 1905 Middleton, Richard Stephenson
 c 1906 Middleton, Thomas Chantler, J.P.
 L o Midlane, Henry
 c 1887 Milbank, Capt. John J.
 A 1904 Miles, Charles Louis
 T 1889 Millar, Alexander
 c 1911 Millar, James Duncan, M.P.
 c 1906 Millar, James Gardner
 c o Millar, John, J.P.
 c 1913 Millar, Robert George
 T 1903 Millar, Thomas
 c 1910 Milledge, Rev. Sydney
 c 1903 Miller, Alfred Matthews
 T 1903 Miller, Henry Septimus
 c 1911 Miller, John Kennedy
 T 1883 Miller, Robert
 T 1909 Miller, Robert Saltonstall
 c 1885 Milligan, E. Ackroyd, J.P.
 T 1913 Milligan, Robert Gordon
 c 1899 Millington, Alfred Arthur
 c o Millman, Frank
 c 1901 Millman, Joseph
 A 1910 Mills, Alfred
 A 1905 Mills, Henry, J.P., L.C.C.
 T 1910 Mills, Joseph Travis
 T 1903 Milne, Alan Alexander
 c 1902 Milne, Donald Macgregor
 T 1910 Milne, James
 c 1904 Milner, Robert Scholesfield
 T 1914 Mimsie, Rev. William C., D.D.,
 F.R.S.L., Ph.D.
 c 1909 Mitchell, Dudley
 c 1914 Mitchell, Edward Richmond
 T 1911 Mitchell, James Farcy
 T 1913 Mitchell, John Douglas
 c 1894 Mitchell, Lawrence J.
 T 1904 Mitchell, Roderick, J.P.
 T 1901 Mitchell, Thomas
 s 1909 Mitter, Binod Chunder, B.A.,
 B.L.
 c 1913 Mitter, Pravas Chandra, B.L.
 c 1900 Mitton, Thomas Evans

- o 1907 Moffat, James
 o 1906 Moffat, John (Garstang)
 s 1908 Moffat, John (Oakham)
 t 1883 Moffatt, William
 o 1902 Mohun, Henry John
 t 1911 Molden, Joseph William
 t 1890 Moloney, Michael
 c 1910 Moloney, Peter Joseph
 c 1895 Molony, The Right Hon. Thomas
 F., LL.D., K.C.
 t 1906 Molteno, Percy Alport, M.P.
 t 1887 Mond, The Right Hon. Sir
 Alfred M., Bt., M.P.
 t 1887 Mond, Robert L., F.R.S.E.
 t 1911 Monk, John E.
 o 1898 Monks, Frederick William
 t 1903 Montagu, The Hon. Edwin
 Samuel, M.P.
 t 1891 Montagu, Sydney John
 t 1902 Moodie, Peter Boyd
 c 1901 Moodie, Walter Wolston
 c 1903 Moody, Arthur Rowley, M.B.,
 C.M.
 o 1883 Moody, Henry Edward
 s 1907 Mookerjee, Sir Rajendra N.,
 K.C.I.E.
 o 1886 Moon, James
 o 1883 Moon, John
 c 1900 Mooney, Dermot J.
 o 1900 Mooney, John J., M.P.
 c 1911 Moor, Charles Scarth
 t 1901 Moore, Alfred
 t 1904 Moore, Edward
 c 1910 Moore, Ernest Sherwood Wool-
 lard, A.M.I.C.E.
 c 1884 Moore, Francis William
 c 1904 Moore, Fred
 t o Moore, J. Howard
 c 1884 Moore, Thomas Henry
 t 1906 Moore, Thomas Ivor, F.S.I.,
 F.I.L., A.M.I.C.E.
 t 1892 Moore, William Harrison, B.A.,
 LL.B.
 o 1891 Moore, William Lyndon
 A 1912 Moorhouse, John Edward
 t 1905 Moos, Abraham
 c 1905 Mordey, Thomas Henry, J.P.
 t 1908 Morgan, Col Cecil Charles
 o 1908 Morgan, Edward (Southsea)
 t 1911 Morgan, Edward (London)
 c 1909 Morgan, Edwin, M.B.
 c 1910 Morgan, Rev. Emmanuel
 t 1913 Morgan, Francis William Ewan
 t 1912 Morgan, Henry
 t 1912 Morgan, Hyacinth Bernard
 Wenceslas, M.B., Ch.B.
 c o Morgan, John
 t 1899 Morgan, Prof. John Hartma
 M.A.
 c 1912 Morgan, Lloyd Hynman
 t 1911 Morgan, Sydney Cope
 c 1901 Morgan, Thomas Joseph
 s 1905 Morgan, Thomas Robert
 L o Morgan, Sir Walter Vaughn
 Bt.
 c 1911 Moriarty, The Right Hon. Jo
 Francis, K.C.
 t 1888 Morice, Beaumont, LL.B.
 t 1912 Morison, Hector, J.P., M.P.
 o 1894 Morison, John
 c 1908 Morison, Thomas Brash, K.C.
 o o Morland, John
 c 1890 Morland, John Coleby, J.P.
 c 1904 Morland, Oliver
 L o Morley, The Right Hon. Arno
 L 1887 Morley, Charles
 t 1885 Morley, Ebenezer Cobb
 o 1908 Morrell, John Bowes
 t 1914 Morrell, Sydney Herbert
 c 1894 Morris, Alfred
 o 1902 Morris, John, J.P.
 c 1913 Morris, John Alfred, J.P.
 c 1910 Morris, Morris
 t 1889 Morris, Spencer William
 t 1905 Morrish, Harold Gabriel, M.A.
 t 1906 Morrison, Douglas Cato
 c 1914 Morrison, James Smith
 t 1908 Morrison, Robert Duguid

- T 1888 Morrison, Rev. William D., LL.D.
 c 1913 Morrogh, Dominick John
 c 1907 Morrow, Charles
 K 1910 Morrow, John George
 T 1909 Morse, Percy Lapper
 c 1908 Morse, William Ewart
 c 1886 Mortimer, John Irving
 T 1905 Mortimer, Leonard George
 r 1884 Morton, Alpheus Cleophas, M.P.
 c 1903 Morton, Hugh
 c 1905 Morton, James
 c 1884 Morton, William
 T 1903 Moscheles, Felix
 c 1913 Mosley, Frederick, J.P.
 c 1909 Mosely, Benjamin Lewis
 c 1908 Moser, Jacob, J.P.
 S 1885 Mosley, Alexander, C.M.G.
 c 1912 Mosley, Tomman, C.B., D.L., J.P.
 T o Moss, E. Howard, J.P.
 S 1907 Möss, Edgar Mark, J.P.
 T 1908 Moss, Frederick L.
 c o Moss, M. Luther, J.P.
 c 1888 Mostyn, Charles
 r o Moulton, Lord
 T 1907 Mowatt, The Right Hon. Sir
 Francis, G.C.B., L.S.O.
 L o Mowatt, James, F.R.G.S.
 T 1910 Mudie-Smith, Richard
 T 1905 Muir, Andrew
 T 1906 Muir, James
 r 1889 Muirhead, James F., Litt. D.
 c 1914 Muldoon, John, M.P.
 c 1889 Muller, C. F. Otto
 c 1908 Mullick, The Hon. Basanta
 Kumar, I.C.S.
 r o Mullins, W. E.
 c 1898 Mumby, George Oliver
 T 1905 Munday, Edgar Frederick
 T 1894 Mundella, Anthony J.
 A 1900 Munro, Hector John
 T o Murison, Prof. A. F., LL.D.
 c 1913 Murphy, Martin Joseph, J.P.,
 M.P.
 T 1906 Murphy, Thomas Joseph, B.Sc.
- c 1883 Murphy, William M., C.E.
 c 1907 Murphy, William Q.
 c 1895 Murray of Elibank, Lord
 c 1908 Murray, Capt. the Hon. Arthur
 Cecil M.P.
 c 1900 Murray, Prof. George Gilbert
 Aimé
 c 1883 Murray, H. S.
 c 1900 Murray, Heidsieck Percy, J.P.
 c 1914 Murray, Joseph Henry
 T 1904 Musgrave, Christopher George
 T 1891 Musgrave, John Tolhurst
 c o Muspratt, Edmund K., LL.D.,
 J.P.
 c 1900 Muspratt, Horace
 c 1896 Muspratt, Max, J.P.
 T o Muspratt, Sydney K., J.P.
 c 1906 Mussellwhite, John William
 T 1912 Muxlow, Hugh Brookfield
 T 1904 Myer, Grenville
 T 1889 Myer, Horatio, J.P.
 T 1910 Myer, Humphrey Michael
 T 1910 Myer, Leslie Henry
 T 1910 Myer, Reginald
 c 1899 Myers, Arthur Wallis
 T o Myers, Henry
 T 1901 Myers, John Edward, F.C.A.
 c 1906 Myles, Sir Thomas, M.D.
 T 1906 Myott, Norman McLean
- N
- c 1913 Nair, The Hon. Sir C. Sankaran,
 C.I.E.
 S 1900 Nair, Taraveth Madavan, M.D.
 T 1907 Nancarrow, James Henry
 c 1897 Napier, The Hon. Mark F., J.P.
 S 1906 Napier, William Joseph
 c 1913 Nash, Bernard Arculus
 T 1896 Nash, Willie Oscar, F.I.A.
 c 1898 Nasmith, Charles William
 T 1910 Nathan, Cyril Herbert

- T 1907 Nathan, Harry Louis
 T 1893 Nathan, Michael H., J.P.
 S 1905 Nathan, Simeon Abraham
 T 1899 Naumann, Frank Gustavus
 C 1913 Naylor, Joseph
 C 1907 Neal, Arthur
 C 1910 Neal, Harry
 C 1911 Neal, John, B.A., LL.B.
 T 1910 Neave, Frederick George, LL.D.
 C 1899 Neave, John Henry
 T 1909 Needham, Thomas
 S 1904 Neff, William A., B.Sc., C.E.
 C 1907 Neill, Duncan Ferguson
 Dempster
 A 1914 Neill, Eliezer Shepherd
 C 1906 Neill, John
 T 1895 Neill, Thomas, J.P.
 C 1912 Nello, Vincent
 C 1914 Nelson, C. Hewetson
 T 1914 Netting, Arthur Waymouth
 T 1901 Neville, Alfred V.
 T 1901 Nevinson, Henry Woedd
 O 1883 New, Walter John
 C o Newcombe, R. A.
 C 1890 Newlands, Charles William
 T 1911 Newman, Alfred S.
 T 1902 Newman, Arthur Francis
 O 1910 Newman, Ernest
 C 1900 Newman, Herbert Mayow
 T 1912 Newth, Frederick S.
 T 1913 Newton, Arthur
 T 1883 Nowton, Frederick
 T 1896 Newton, Walter Haydon
 C 1902 Nicholas, Benjamin
 C 1906 Nicholas, Rhys
 C 1910 Nicholl, William
 T 1906 Nicholls, George
 T 1914 Nicholls, William Anthony,
 I.C.C.
 C 1913 Nicholson, Sir Arthur, J.P.
 C 1900 Arthur Pole
 T 1884 O., J.P.
 s Beath
 , Charles
 C 1913 Nicholson, Malcolm
 L o Nicholson, R. Thomas
 L 1883 Nickalls, Conrad
 C 1891 Nickson, George
 C 1910 Nield, Jonathan
 C 1914 Nihill, John Harry Barclay
 C 1885 Nisbett, James Thomson, J.P.
 S 1897 Niven, Andrew Mackie
 S 1883 Niven, John
 S 1900 Niven, Robert
 C 1889 Nixon, The Right Hon. S
 Christopher J., Bt., M.D.
 C 1890 Nixon, John Edwin, M.A.
 C 1906 Noble, William Joseph
 L o Noel, Albert Leland
 T 1908 Norman, Clarence Henry,
 T 1912 Norman, Duncan
 T 1907 Norman, Edmund Francis,
 A.C.A.
 T 1910 Norman, Frederick, F.R.C.S.,
 J.P.
 T 1886 Norman, Max
 T o Norrington, James P., A.M.I.C.E.
 T 1913 Norris, Charles Edward Lauren
 C 1896 North, Alfred Lewis
 L 1887 North, John
 C 1907 North, Jonathan, J.P.
 T 1901 Norton, Alfred
 L o Norton, Capt. Cecil, M.P.
 S 1890 Norton, Eardley
 T 1901 Norton, Edward
 C 1888 Norton, Henry Samuel
 C 1911 Norton, Capt. Jason Delves
 C 1912 Norwood, Charles
 C 1901 Notcutt, Ernest Alfred
 C 1898 Notcutt, Roger Crompton
 C 1907 Nugent, Sir Walter Richard,
 J.P., M.P.
 C 1901 Nunburnholme, Lord, D.S.O.
 C 1893 Nussey, Sir Thomas Willans,
 C 1885 Nuttall, Harry, M.P.
 C 1891 Nuttall, Timothy Yates
 C 1910 Nutter, Herbert
 T 1914 Nye, George

O

- O 1907 Oakley, Harold
 O 1909 Oakley, Richard Garrett, J.P.
 O 1903 Oates, Frederick Harman
 O 1898 O'Brien, Edward
 O 1910 O'Brien, Henry Joseph,
 L.R.C.P.I., L.R.C.S.I.
 O 1906 O'Brien, The Right Hon.
 Ignatius J., K.C.
 O 1912 O'Brien, Patrick, M.P.
 O 1895 O'Connell, James Lawrence
 O 1913 O'Connell, Sir John Robert
 O 1911 O'Connor, Bernard, B.A., M.D.,
 D.P.H., M.R.C.P.
 O 1888 O'Connor, John, M.P.
 O 1887 O'Connor, J. P., M.P.
 O 1910 Oddy, William
 O 1910 Ogden, Fred, M.P.
 O 1885 Ogden, Henry J.
 O 1905 Ogilvie, Frank S.
 O 1907 O'Gorman, Rev. Richard A.
 O 1912 Ogston, John
 O 1914 O'Hanlon, Francis
 O 1911 O'Hart, Patrick Domhno
 O 1891 Oke, Alfred William, B.A.,
 LL.M.
 O 1912 O'Kelly, Edward P., M.P.
 O 1910 Okey, Thomas
 O 1909 Oldershaw, Lucian Robert
 Frederic
 O 1912 Oldham, Prof. Charles Hubert
 O 1903 Oldham, Walter Riton, J.P.
 O 1909 Oldman, Harry Fowell
 O 1903 Oliver, Sidney Walter Lewis
 O 1892 Olivier, Sir Sydney, K.C.M.G.
 O 1900 Ollershaw, George
 O 1907 Olsson, Robert
 O 1911 Olsson, Victor Martin
 O 1906 O'Malley, Sir Edward L.
 O 1914 O'Mara, Stephen
 O 1894 O'Meara, John J.
 O Omond, T.S.

- T 1909 O'Neill, Aeneas
 O 1908 O'Neill, Dr. Charles, J.P., M.P.
 O 1909 O'Neill, Charles Paul
 T 1913 O'Neill, Herbert Charles
 T 1914 O'Neill, John Jasper
 T 1914 Oppenheim, Martin
 T 1910 Oppenheimer, Louis
 T 1913 Oppenheimer, Oscar
 T 1913 Orage, Alfred Richard
 O 1893 Ord, William Edward
 O 1905 Orders, William James, J.P.
 T 1886 Orford, George
 O 1905 Ormerod, George Thomas, Jun.
 O 1905 Ormerod, John, Jun.
 O 1896 Orr, John J.
 T 1890 Orsman, William James, J.P.
 O 1914 Osborne, Edgar
 O 1913 O'Shee, James John, M.P.
 T 1891 Osman, Alfred
 E 1908 Osten, Henry
 T 1901 O'Sullivan, Daniel Aloysius,
 L.R.C.P., L.M., L.R.C.S.I.
 O 1913 O'Sullivan, Timothy, M.P.
 S 1904 Othman, Prince
 T 1903 Outhwaite, John
 T 1905 Outhwaite, Robert Leonard, M.P.
 O 1896 Owens, Thomas Cogswell
 O 1902 Owen, Harold
 O 1910 Owen, Howell
 T 1910 Owen, John Lloyd
 O 1910 Owen, Owen Williams
 O 1906 Owen, William Henry
 T 1913 Owen, William Robert

P

- T 1913 Page, Herbert
 O 1906 Page, William Henry
 T 1887 Pain, Henry John
 O 1913 Paine, William, J.P.
 T 1886 Palit, Loken, B.C.S.

- T 1907 Nathan, Harry Louis
 T 1893 Nathan, Michael H., J.P.
 S 1905 Nathan, Simeon Abraham
 T 1899 Naumann, Frank Gustavus
 C 1913 Naylor, Joseph •
 C 1907 Neal, Arthur
 C 1910 Neal, Harry
 C 1911 Neal, John, B.A., LL.B.
 T 1910 Neave, Frederick George, LL.D.
 C 1899 Neave, John Henry
 T 1909 Needham, Thomas
 S 1904 Neff, William A., B.Sc., C.E.
 C 1907 Neill, Duncan Ferguson
 Dempster
 A 1914 Neill, Eliezer Shepherd
 C 1906 Neill, John
 T 1895 Neill, Thomas, J.P.
 C 1912 Nello, Vincent
 C 1914 Nelson, C. Hewetson
 T 1914 Netting, Arthur Waymouth
 T 1901 Neville, Alfred V.
 T 1901 Nevinson, Henry Woedd
 O 1883 New, Walter John
 C O Newcombe, R. A.
 C 1890 Newlands, Charles William
 T 1911 Newman, Alfred S.
 T 1902 Newman, Arthur Francis
 C 1910 Newman, Ernest
 C 1900 Newman, Herbert Mayow
 T 1912 Newth, Frederick S.
 T 1913 Newton, Arthur
 T 1883 Newton, Frederick
 T 1896 Newton, Walter Haydon
 C 1902 Nicholas, Benjamin
 C 1906 Nicholas, Rhys
 C 1910 Nicholl, William
 C 1906 Nicholls, George
 T 1904 Nicholls, William Anthony,
 J.C.C.
 C O Nicholson, Sir Arthur, J.P.
 T 1914 Nicholson, Arthur Pole
 C O Nicholson, J. O., J.P.
 C 1905 Nicholson, James Beath
 T 1889 Nicholson, John, Charles
 C 1913 Nicholson, Malcolm
 L O Nicholson, R. Thomas
 L 1883 Nickalls, Conrad
 C 1891 Nickson, George
 C 1910 Nield, Jonathan
 C 1914 Nihill, John Harry Barclay
 C 1885 Nisbett, James Thomson, J.
 S 1897 Niven, Andrew Mackie
 S 1883 Niven, John
 S 1900 Niven, Robert
 C 1889 Nixon, The Right Hon.
 Christopher J., Bt., M.D.
 C 1890 Nixon, John Edwin, M.A.
 C 1906 Noble, William Joseph
 L O Noel, Albert Leland
 T 1908 Norman, Clarence Henry
 T 1912 Norman, Duncan
 T 1907 Norman, Edmund Francis
 A.C.A.
 T 1910 Norman, Frederick, F.R.C.
 J.P.
 T 1886 Norman, Max
 T O Norrington, James P., A.M.I.
 T 1913 Norris, Charles Edward Lau
 C 1896 North, Alfred Lewis
 L 1887 North, John
 C 1907 North, Jonathan, J.P.
 T 1901 Norton, Alfred
 L O Norton, Capt. Cecil, M.P.
 S 1890 Norton, Eardley
 T 1901 Norton, Edward
 C 1888 Norton, Henry Samuel
 O 1911 Norton, Capt. Jason Delve
 C 1912 Norwood, Charles
 C 1901 Notcutt, Ernest Alfred
 C 1898 Notcutt, Roger Crompton
 C 1907 Nugent, Sir Walter Richard
 J.P., M.P.
 C 1901 Nunburnholme, Lord, D.S.
 C 1893 Nussey, Sir Thomas Willau
 C 1885 Nuttall, Harry, M.P.
 C 1891 Nuttall, Timothy Yates
 C 1910 Nutter, Herbert
 T 1914 Nye, George

O

- O 1907 Oakley, Harold
 O 1909 Oakley, Richard Garrett, J.P.
 O 1903 Oates, Frederick Harman
 O 1898 O'Brien, Edward
 O 1910 O'Brien, Henry Joseph,
 L.R.C.P.I.; L.R.C.S.I.
 O 1906 O'Brien, The Right Hon.
 Ignatius J., K.O.
 O 1912 O'Brien, Patrick, M.P.
 O 1895 O'Connell, James Lawrence
 O 1913 O'Connell, Sir John Robert
 O 1911 O'Connor, Bernard, B.A., M.D.,
 D.P.H., M.R.C.P.
 O 1888 O'Connor, John, M.P.
 O 1887 O'Connor, T. P., M.P.
 O 1910 Oddy, William
 O 1910 Ogden, Fred, M.P.
 O 1885 Ogden, Henry J.
 O 1905 Ogilvie, Frank S.
 O 1907 O'Gorman, Rev. Richard A.
 O 1912 Ogston, John
 O 1914 O'Hanlon, Francis
 O 1911 O'Hart, Patrick Dominic
 O 1891 Oke, Alfred William, B.A.,
 LL.M.
 O 1912 O'Kelly, Edward P., M.P.
 O 1910 Okey, Thomas
 O 1909 Oldershaw, Lucian Robert
 Frederic
 O 1912 Oldham, Prof. Charles Hubert
 O 1903 Oldham, Walter Riton, J.P.
 O 1909 Oldman, Harry Fowell
 O 1903 Oliver, Sidney Walter Lewis
 O 1892 Olivier, Sir Sydney, K.C.M.G.
 O 1900 Ollerenshaw, George
 O 1907 Olsson, Robert
 O 1911 Olsson, Victor Martin
 O 1906 O'Malley, Sir Edward L.
 O 1914 O'Mara, Stephen
 O 1894 O'Meara, John J.
 O Omond, T.S.
- T 1909 O'Neill, Æneas
 O 1903 O'Neill, Dr. Charles, J.P., M.P.
 O 1909 O'Neill, Charles Paul
 T 1913 O'Neill, Herbert Charles
 T 1914 O'Neill, John Jasper
 T 1914 Oppenheim, Martin
 T 1910 Oppenheimer, Louis
 T 1913 Oppenheimer, Oscar
 T 1913 Orage, Alfred Richard
 O 1893 Ord, William Edward
 O 1905 Orders, William James, J.P.
 T 1886 Orford, George
 O 1905 Ormerod, George Thomas, Jun.
 O 1905 Ormerod, John, Jun.
 O 1896 Orr, John J.
 T 1890 Orsman, William James, J.P.
 O 1914 Osborne, Edgar
 O 1913 O'Shea, James John, M.P.
 T 1891 Osman, Alfred
 E 1908 Osten, Henry
 T 1901 O'Sullivan, Daniel Aloysius,
 L.R.C.P., L.M., L.R.C.S.I.
 O 1913 O'Sullivan, Timothy, M.P.
 S 1904 Othman, Prince
 T 1903 Outhwaite, John
 T 1905 Outhwaite, Robert Leonard, M.P.
 O 1896 Owens, Thomas Cogswell
 O 1902 Owen, Harold
 O 1910 Owen, Howell
 T 1910 Owen, John Lloyd
 O 1910 Owen, Owen Williams
 O 1906 Owen, William Henry
 T 1913 Owen, William Robert

P

- T 1913 Page, Herbert
 O 1906 Page, William Henry
 T 1887 Pain, Henry John
 O 1913 Paino, William, J.P.
 T 1886 Palit, Loken, B.C.S.

- o 1906 Pallis, Alexander
 o 1910 Pamment, James George
 T 1905 Pangbourne, Walter
 T 1898 Pannett, Thomas D.
 T o Papantonopulos, S.
 T 1898 Pappaelia, John D.
 s 1901 Pargiter, Alfred
 o 1898 Park, Abraham, M.A., J.P.
 T 1913 Park, George
 T 1897 Parke, Ernest
 T 1910 Parker, Arthur James
 c 1912 Parker, Charles
 c 1899 Parker, Charles Edward
 T 1905 Parker, Reginald Frank
 c 1892 Parker, Thomas, F.R.S.E.,
 M.I.C.E., M.I.M.E., M.I.E.E.,
 J.P.
 o o Parkinson, John B.
 T 1913 Parkinson, Paul Gerhardt
 T 1913 Parkinson, William Wallace
 c 1889 Parks, Sir John
 T 1886 Parkyn, Ernest A., M.A.
 c 1907 Parmiter, Arthur de Clifton
 o o Parmall, H. J., J.P.
 T 1910 Parnall, John Babington
 T 1905 Parnell, Edmund
 c 1905 Parr, Edwin
 c 1913 *Parr, Eustace Robert*
 o 1900 Parr, John
 A 1913 Parr, Will, C.L.A.
 c 1910 Parr, William Henry
 T o Parry, Sir C. H. H., Bt., C.V.O.
 o 1884 Parry, Edward
 T 1911 Parry, Joseph
 T 1904 Parry, Methold Sidney
 T 1908 Parry, Thomas Henry, M.P.
 c o Parry, William John
 T 1907 Parsons, Arthur Ambrose
 c 1913 Parsons, Collison Hugh
 c 1887 Parsons, James A., B.A.
 c 1898 Partington, Sir Edward, J.P.
 T 1911 Parton, James
 T 1913 Partridge, Albert Henry
 T 1906 Pass, John
 s 1900 Patail, Ebrahim Mohamed
 c 1898 Patchett, Col. James
 o 1909 Paterson, Gilbert, Jun.
 o 1899 Paterson, Robert, J.P.
 s 1912 Pathmanathan, Ratnasatapathy
 Sri, B.A.
 c 1908 Patrick, Joseph Albert, J.P.
 o 1913 Patro. Amopa Parasuramdas
 B.A., B.L.
 o 1906 Pattinson, Robert, J.P.
 o 1892 Patton, Frederick Joseph
 c 1883 Patzer, F. R.
 c 1885 Paul, Alexander
 o 1886 Paul, George
 T 1906 Paul, John
 T 1907 Paul, Thaddeus
 c 1897 Paul, William Francis
 T 1899 Pauling, George
 c o Pauling, Robert
 T 1896 Paul, Alan, F.S.I.
 T 1913 Paull, Harry Major
 L 1885 Pawle, Ernest D.
 T 1905 Pawle, George Strachan, J.P.
 c 1910 Payne, Henry Barrett
 c 1905 Payne, Saxon Joseph
 L o Peacock, John Thomas
 T 1912 Peacock, William Lawson
 T 1909 Peacocke, Herbert
 c 1902 Peake, Prof. Arthur Samuel
 D.D.
 o 1891 Peake, Prof. Charles W., M.A.
 T 1900 Peaker, Frederick
 T 1909 Pearce, Arthur William
 T 1883 Pearce, Robert, M.P.
 o 1898 Pearsall, Howard D., M.I.C.E.,
 J.P.
 c 1910 Pearson, Alfred Chilton
 T 1912 Pearson, Ernest William
 o 1895 Pearson, James
 o 1912 Pearson, Thomas Raleigh
 T 1885 Pease, Edward R.
 c 1908 Pease, The Right Hon. Joseph
 Albert, M.P.
 T 1908 Peck, Samuel

- o Peck, William Roland, F.S.I.
 1910 Pedley, Arthur Charles, I.S.O.
 1902 Pedley, Richard Denison,
 F.R.C.S.Ed., M.R.C.S. and
 L.D.S. Eng.
 1906 Peel, Abram
 1905 Peer, Charles James
 1885 Pegler, Francis
 1908 Peiris, James
 1912 *Peiris, Leonard James Martinus*
 1914 Penman, Frank Garfield
 1909 Pennell, Aubrey Percival
 1896 Penny, Arthur John
 1904 Pennyfeather, William
 1897 Penrose, Andrew Wybrant
 1888 Pentland, Lord, G.C.I.E.
 1911 Pepler, George Lionel, F.S.I.
 1885 Pepper, Augustus J., M.S., M.B.,
 F.R.C.S.
 1904 Peppercorn, Fred
 1902 Perkins, Edward Payson
 1914 Perkins, Harvey Clifford
 1889 Perks, John Watson
 o Perks, Sir Robert William,
 Bt., M.A.
 1901 Perrin, Samuel Henry
 1902 Perris, Ernest Alfred
 1889 Perris, George Herbert
 1906 Perris, Harry S., M.A.
 1909 Perrot, Francis
 1889 Perry, Edwin C., J.P.
 1892 Peters, James Lovell
 897 Peters, John
 911 Peters, William Harold, F.I.C.
 891 Petherbridge, John Joseph
 Bridger
 906 Petit, Bomanjee Dinshaw
 900 Pettigrew, Sir Andrew Hislop
 905 Pettigrew, John Hislop
 903 Pheazey, Arthur James
 883 Phelps, Major-Gen. Arthur
 906 Philip, Joseph
 896 Philipps, Sir Owen C., K.C.M.G.,
 J.P.
 T 1884 Philipson, Ralph Hilton
 T 1885 Phillimore, The Hon. Sir Walter
 G. F., Bt., D.C.L.
 c 1911 Phillipps, Lisle March
 T 1907 Phillips, Charles Hervé
 c 1912 Phillips, Francis Allen
 c 1914 Phillips, John Francis
 T 1902 Phillips, Joseph
 T 1909 Phillips, Robert
 c 1905 Phillips, Samuel Charles
 o 1895 Phippard, Charles Wellesley
 A 1913 Phipps, Percy, A.C.A.
 T 1896 Pick, Samuel
 T 1913 Pickard, Arthur William
 T 1908 Pickering, John Edward
 c 1909 Pickering, William Brown
 T 1913 Pike, David Alexander
 T 1909 Pike, Evan George
 o o Pilkington, Sir George A., M.D.
 T 1914 Pillans, Thomas Dundas
 T 1888 Pilley, John J., Ph.D., F.C.S.
 c 1883 Pinkney, Thomas
 o 1896 Pirie, Duncan V., M.P.
 T 1907 Pirrie, Lord, K.P.
 T 1905 Pitts, Harry
 T 1909 Plaistowe, Cuthbert
 T 1898 Plank, William Charles
 c 1912 Plummer, Frederick William
 T 1904 Pooock, Sir Sidney J.
 s 1906 Pogose, Paul
 c o Pollack, Maurice, J.P.
 c 1906 Pollard, Sir George Herbert, M.D.
 M.P.
 T 1897 Pollen, John, C.I.E., LL.D.,
 V.D.
 T 1903 Ponsonby, Arthur A. W. H.
 M.P.
 s 1907 Pontremoli, Albert
 c o Pontypridd, Lord
 c 1910 Pope, John Rowe, J.P.
 c 1884 Pope, Thomas
 T 1906 Porritt, Arthur
 o 1903 Porter, Sir Alexander, J.P.
 T 1903 Porter, Frank, M.A.

- T 1913 Porter, Samuel Lowry
 L 1887 Portman, The Hon. Edwin B.
 C 1883 Portway, George R.
 C 1893 Portway, Joseph H.
 C 1903 Posnett, Robert Harold
 T 1889 Potter, Charles Robert, M.A.
 C o Potter, H. Cipriani
 C 1908 Potter, John, J.P.
 C 1897 Potter, John Moody, J.P.
 L o Potter, William
 C 1907 Potter, William John
 C 1914 Potts, George
 C 1897 Powell, Frederick Nelson
 T 1884 Powell, James, J.P.
 A 1912 Powell, James Frederick
 T 1895 Powell, Richard Charles
 C 1913 Powell, Thomas Lloyd
 T 1884 Power, John O'Connor
 T 1889 Power, Thomas, L.R.C.P., J.P.
 T 1907 Pownall, Capel George Pett
 T 1913 Poynton, James Calvert
 C 1914 Pratt, John William, M.P.
 C 1913 Pratt, Luther Henry Allan, LL.B.
 T 1908 Presburg, Sydney
 C 1903 Prescott, Francis William, J.P.
 C 1911 Prescott, James
 T 1903 Preston, W. T. R.
 A 1908 Pretty, Thomas Vidgeon, C.L.A.
 C 1893 Price, Charles Edward, M.P.
 T 1900 Price, Edward
 T 1912 Price, Ernest G.
 T 1912 Price, George Alfred
 T 1914 Price, H. Bertram
 S 1905 Price, Henry J.
 T 1912 Price, John
 T 1911 Price, Richard
 T 1912 Price, Robert Frederick
 T 1891 Price, Sir Robert John, M.P.
 C 1907 Price, William Robert
 C 1912 *Price-Williams, Harold*
 C 1910 Price-Williams, Richard, M.I.C.E.,
 M.I.M.E.
 S 1911 Price-Williams, Seymour William,
 M.I.C.E.
- T 1905 Prichard, Rev. Alfred George
 T 1903 Prideaux, Ralph
 S 1912 Pridham, Charles F.
 T 1904 Pridmore, Arthur Stirling
 T 1896 Priestley, Henry William
 C 1888 Priestley, Sir W. Edwin Brigg
 M.P.
 C 1889 Priestman, Francis
 T 1907 Primrose, The Hon. Neil Jam
 Archibald, M.P.
 S 1913 Pringle, William Jervis
 T 1902 Pringle, William Mather Ruthe
 ford, M.P.
 C 1909 Prior, John Cromwell
 E 1905 Prior, William Renton
 T 1884 Pritchard, Andrew Goring
 T 1895 Pritchard, Clive Fleetwood
 T 1901 Pritchard, H. Gibbon
 T 1898 Pritchard, Harry Goring
 T 1893 Pritchard, Ion
 T 1889 Pritchard, Urban, M.D., F.R.C.S.
 T 1906 Prochownik, Curt
 T o Procter, F. W., J.P.
 C 1895 Procter, John William
 T 1903 Proctor, Otto
 C 1899 Prosser, Samuel Hall
 S 1910 Prossor, Joseph E.
 T 1901 Protheroe, Frank, A.R.I.B.A.
 T o Provand, Andrew D., J.P.
 T 1903 Prowse, Benjamin Arnold
 C 1894 Pugh, Charles Vernon
 C 1901 Pugh, John Vernon
 L 1884 Pulley, Charles Thornton
 C 1900 Pumphrey, Thomas Edwin, J.J.
 C o Punnett, H. M.
 T 1903 Purcell, James W.
 T 1910 Purchase, Henry George
 E 1913 Purdy, Owen N.
 T 1885 Purnell, Frederick
 L o Pye-Smith, Arnold, J.P.
 C 1884 Pyman, Fred H.
 C 1884 Pyman, John W.
 T 1908 Pyman, William Haigh

Q

- 1887 Quance, John E.
 1913 Quas-Cohen, Philip Michael
 o Queleh, Robert James, M.I.C.E.
 1911 Quilter, Joseph Rogers
 1913 Quinlan, Thomas
 1912 Quintano, Felix

R

- 1896 Radcliffe, Henry, J.P.
 1912 Radcliffe, Robert, J.P.
 1888 Radford, Alfred Joseph Vooght
 1883 Radford, Sir Charles H.
 1906 Radford, George
 1883 Radford, George H., LL.B., J.P.,
 M.P.
 1897 Rae, H. Norman
 1913 *Rae, Norman Dunbar*
 1907 Raffan, Peter Wilson, J.P., M.P.
 1900 Raffety, Frank W.
 1901 Rafique, Mahommed
 1914 Rahim, The Hon. Justice Abdur
 1885 Rainforth, William, J.P.
 1912 Rait, George Logan
 1903 Ralli, Michael Antonio
 1911 Ramsay, Alexander
 1911 Ramsay, John Grant
 1913 Ramsbotham, George
 1901 Ramsden, Harry Helm
 1890 Ramsey, Herbert Edward
 1910 Randall, Charles William
 1904 Randal, Henry William
 1906 Randolph, Edward Cartillian
 1913 Ranger, John Arthur
 1903 Rankin, Alexander Donald
 1913 Rao, Purna Raghavendra
 1899 Raphael, Albert
 1914 Raphael, John Edward
 1901 Raphael, Ralph

- 1913 Rasmussen, Ivar Lunde
 T 1899 Ratcliffe, Samuel Kirkham
 o 1902 Rathbone, Herbert Reynolds
 o o Rathbone, John
 T 1911 Rathbone, Richard Llewelyn
 Benson
 T 1910 Rattenbury, Rev. John Ernest
 A 1914 Rattey, W. G.
 T 1912 Rawes, William, M.D., F.R.C.S.
 s 1889 Rawling, Sylvester J. E.
 T 1906 Rawlings, Edmund Charles
 o 1903 *Rawson, Graham Stanhope, Ph. D.*
 o 1888 Rawson, Harry Stanhope
 A 1907 Ray, Ernest Percy
 o 1892 Raymond, John Greenwell
 T 1907 Raymond, Joseph
 o 1889 Rayner, Edwin, M.D.
 T 1900 Rayner, Edwin Hartree
 T 1910 Raynham, Ernest Henry
 o 1883 Raynor, Sir William Peck
 o 1898 Rea, Alec Lionel
 T 1902 Rea, John Fairweather
 T 1887 Rea, The Right Hon. Russell,
 M.P.
 T 1897 Rea, Walter Russell, M.P.
 T 1896 Reay, Lord, K.T., G.C.S.I.,
 G.C.I.E.
 T 1902 Reay, Lieut.-Col. William
 Thomas
 T 1904 Reburn, John
 L 1887 Reckitt, Harold J.
 o o Reckitt, Sir James, Bt.
 T 1909 Record, Edgar Wilfred
 o 1912 Redington, William Alfred
 o 1913 Redmond, William Archer, M.P.
 c 1912 Redmond, William H. K., M.P.
 o 1905 Redwood, Samuel
 T 1884 Reed, Albert Edwin
 T 1908 Reed, George Marlow, J.P.
 o 1889 Reed, William H., J.P.
 c 1913 Rees, David Morgan
 o 1914 Rees, John Tudor
 A 1903 Rees, Joseph Aubrey
 T 1910 Rees, Kingsford Blackie

- T 1913 Rees, Morgan James, M.D.
 T 1900 Rees, Rowland
 C 1909 Rees, William Beddoe
 C 1889 Reeve, D'Arcy Wentworth
 C o Reeve, Thomas Fry
 L 1893 Reeve, William Foster, M.A.
 T 1886 Regnart, Clare Henry, J.P.
 T 1906 Reid, Edwin James, M.I.E.E.
 H 1897 Reid, The Right Hon. Sir George
 Houston, G.C.M.G.
 T 1907 Reid, George Rodhouse, LL.B.
 T 1884 Reid, John Lawson
 T 1911 Reid, Leonard J.
 C 1887 Reid, Stuart J., D.C.L.
 C 1883 Reid, Walter
 C 1913 Reid, William
 S 1912 Reilly, Capt. Bernard Rawdon
 T 1908 Reiner, Arthur
 T 1901 Reinhold, Benjamin
 T 1905 Reiss, Carl
 T 1910 Reiss, Richard L.
 T 1911 Reitlinger, Henry Scipio
 C 1884 Renard, Frederic George
 C 1902 Rendall, Athelstan, M.P.
 C o Renton, B. M.
 T 1912 Retallick, John Julian
 T 1911 Reuss, Henry Hubert
 T 1906 Reuter, Rudolf Johannes
 A 1908 Revell, George Chapman
 T 1914 Reynolds, Alfred
 C 1910 Reynolds, Alfred Rothay, M.A.
 T 1914 Reynolds, Arthur Gladstone
 C 1908 Reynolds, Edward S.
 T 1884 Reynolds, Frederick W., J.P.
 T 1913 Reynolds, Hugh
 S 1911 Reynolds, Ronald Grant, B.A.
 C 1895 Reynolds, William George
 C 1913 Rhodes, Charles A.
 C 1909 Rhodes, Edward
 C o Rhodes, George, K.C., J.P.
 C o Rhodes, Josiah
 C 1889 Rhys, The Right Hon. Prof. Sir
 John
 C 1904 Rice, James P.
 T 1909 Richards, Arnold
 T 1893 Richards, David
 A 1911 Richards, Huw Thomas
 T 1904 Richards, John James
 C 1906 Richards, John Thomas
 C o Richards, Roger C.
 C 1914 Richardson, Bernard Leslie
 T 1914 Richardson, George
 T 1897 Richardson, Godfrey Noel
 T 1897 Richardson, Henry Delane
 T 1906 Richardson, Josiah
 C 1884 Richardson, Stansfield, J.P.
 T 1911 Richardson, William James
 C 1889 Rickard, Thomas
 T 1904 Rickett, Hubert Cecil
 A 1913 Rickman, James Pellatt
 C 1888 Riddell, James
 C 1906 Riddell, Thomas Cockburn
 C 1912 Rideal, Eric K., B.A.
 C 1891 Rideal, Joseph Edwards
 T 1895 Rideal, Samuel, D.Sc., F.I.
 J.P.
 C 1885 Rider, William-Henry
 C 1913 Ridge, William Sheldon
 C 1900 Rigby, Stanley Wainwright
 C 1883 Rigby, William
 T 1909 Rihll, Louis
 C 1912 Rilcy, Joseph John
 C 1884 Ringwood, Harry P.
 T 1902 Ripley, William
 T 1912 Rissen, John
 L 1883 Ritchie, Alexander, J.P.
 T 1904 Ritchie, John Gerald
 L 1883 Ritchie, Philip
 E 1913 Ritter, Otto
 A 1908 Rivers, Frederic Charles
 T 1906 Robbins, Alan Pitt
 T 1886 Robbins, Alfred F.
 T 1905 Robbins, Alfred Gordon
 T 1909 Robbins, Clifton
 T 1911 Robbins, Grenville
 C 1911 Robbins, Rowland Richar
 C 1911 Robertson, James Jackson
 T 1914 Roberts, Alce Owen

- T 1900 Roberts, Arthur Rhys
 c 1905 Roberts, Charles Edwin, J.P.
 c 1896 Roberts, Charles Henry, M.P.
 1904 Roberts David (Grantham)
 1912 Roberts, David, J.P. (Swansea)
 1884 Roberts, David Charles
 1912 Roberts, Ellis William
 1884 Roberts, John (Tulse Hill)
 1909 Roberts, John (West Kensington)
 1889 Roberts, Sir John Reynolds, J.P.
 1911 Roberts, Richard Henry
 c 1905 Roberts, Robert Marcus
 c 1896 Roberts, Thomas
 c 1900 Roberts, Thomas Hartley
 T 1886 Roberts, Thomas Lee, J.P.
 c 1912 Roberts, William David
 T 1913 Roberts, William Griffith
 T 1910 Robertson, Adam Cowan
 s 1908 Robertson, Capt. Charles Arthur
 a 1906 Robertson, Sir George Scott,
 K.C.S.I., M.P.
 1909 Robertson, Hardy
 1901 Robertson, Irving Earl
 1897 Robertson, John Mackinnon, M.P.
 1913 Robertson, Peter Lymburner
 1912 Robertson, Robert Alexander
 1901 Robertson, Thomas Atholl
 1910 Robertson, William
 1912 Robertson, William Beveridge
 c 1893 Robertson, William John
 1906 Robinson, Alfred, J.P.
 1905 Robinson, Edward, J.P.
 5 Robinson, Frederic Arthur
 Robinson, James (Cricklewood)
 Robinson, James (Aylesbury)
 Robinson, John
 Robinson, Rev. John
 Robinson, Joseph John
 Robinson, Sidney, M.P.
 Robinson, Sydney Walter
 1904 Robinson, Thomas, J.P.
 1901 Robison, William Cowper
 899 Robson, Edwin, J.P.
 910 Robson, Frank
 T 1891 Robson, John Ajmere
 T 1909 Robson, John George
 c 1911 Robson, William
 c 1913 Roche, Augustine M., M.P.
 L o Roche, Charles St. John K
 c 1900 Rocke, Fred, J.P.
 T 1907 Rocke, George
 T 1911 Rodan, W. McKelvie
 c 1901 Rode, James
 c 1912 Rodhouse, Charles John Walker
 L o Roe, M.T.
 T o Roe, Sir Thomas, J.P., M.P.
 c o Roff, William, J.P.
 c 1898 Rogers, Alexander Elliott
 T 1886 Rogers, Arthur G. L., M.A.
 c 1884 Rogers, Leonard James, M.A.
 c 1883 Rogers, Samuel, J.P.
 T 1913 Roll, Graham Winfield, M.B.,
 F.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.
 T 1899 Roll, James
 c 1914 Rollin, Charles, M.Sc., F.C.S.,
 J.P.
 c 1907 Rollit, Lieut.-Col. Sir Albert
 Kaye, D.L., J.P.
 T 1910 Romyn, Frederick Albert
 T 1906 Romyn, Jacob
 T 1913 Roney, Ernest
 T 1905 Roney, Julian
 T 1913 Roney-Dougal, John Dougal
 T 1910 Roos, Hermann
 T 1896 Roper, Francis William
 T 1909 Roques, Antoine William
 E 1903 Roraback, Charles Edward
 T 1914 Rorke, Alfred
 T 1913 Roscoe, Frank
 T 1906 Rose, Frederick, M.A.,
 Ph.D.
 c 1903 Rose, Thomas Harry, J.P.
 c 1914 Rose, William, J.P.
 L 1889 Rose-Innes, John
 E 1902 Rosenberg, Oscar Adolph
 T 1912 Rosenfeld, Ernest
 T 1906 Rosenfeld, Isaac
 T 1910 Rosenfeld, Louis

- T 1892 Rosenfeld, Sidney
 T 1907 Rosenheim, Felix, J.P.
 T 1913 Rosenheim, Sigmund Bernhard
 T 1885 Ross, Alexander
 O 1912 Ross, Charles
 T 1911 Ross, John Arthur
 O 1903 Ross, William
 S 1910 Ross, William Dickson
 S O Rosselli, James
 O 1914 Rosser, William
 F 1912 Rossheim, David
 O 1911 Rothband, Jacques Eustace
 T 1883 Rotherham, Lord
 O 1910 Rough, Col. Thomas, J.P.
 T 1891 Roura, Joseph Edward
 O 1908 Rowbotham, Thomas, J.P.
 T 1905 Rowden, Aldred William, K.C.,
 J.P.
 O 1895 Rowe, Charles Arthur
 O 1914 Rowe, Harold Charles, J.P.
 O 1902 Rowland, William Henry
 H 1892 Rowlands, James, M.P.
 O 1908 Rowlands, John Evan
 O 1890 Rowley, Charles
 J 1902 Rowntree, Allan
 O 1895 Rowntree, Arnold S., M.P.
 O 1895 Rowntree, B. Seebohm
 T 1900 Rowntree, Ernest William
 O 1895 Rowntree, Joseph
 O 1902 Rowntree, Oscar Frederic
 O 1890 Rowntree, Walter Smithson,
 B.Sc., F.C.S., F.L.S.
 O 1895 Rowntree, William Stickney, J.P.
 L 1887 Rowsell, Charles F.
 S 1909 Roy, Dhirendranath
 S 1911 Roy, Ganendro Prosad
 S 1912 Roy, Gyan N., I.C.S.
 S 1914 Roy, Penry Lall
 O 1908 Royce, John
 O 1899 Royle, George, J.P., F.R.G.S.
 T 1905 Royle, Thomas Edward
 L 1883 Rubinstein, J. S.
 T 1889 Rucker, Frederick George
 T O Rudall, Francis A.
 T 1911 Rumble, Walter Henry
 A 1914 Rummery-Blackford, Alfred
 C 1892 Runciman, Sir Walter, Bt.
 C 1905 Runciman, The Right Hon
 Walter, M.P.
 O 1905 Rusden, Nelson
 T 1883 Rushford, John
 O 1889 Russell, Alexander Ayrton
 T 1913 Russell, Alfred Ernest
 T 1895 Russell, Arthur B., F.S.S.
 T 1910 Russell, Arthur John Godfrey
 C O Russell, Sir Edward R.
 O 1897 Russell, George Wagstaff
 C 1899 Russell, Herbert Sidney, B.
 M.I.E.E.
 T 1904 Russell, Horatio Charles
 T 1900 Russell, J. Herbert Stallard
 T 1913 Russell, John
 C 1893 Russell, John Eyre
 C 1905 Russell, Luther
 C 1907 Russell, The Right Hon. Thor
 Wallace, M.P.
 T 1907 Rustomjee, Cursetjee, I.C.S.
 C 1912 Ruthen, Charles T.
 C 1912 Rutherford, Henry Kerr, Jun.
 O 1911 Rutherford, Robert Sinclair
 T 1903 Rutherford, Vickerman Henz
 M.A., M.B.
 S 1913 Ruthven, John Leighton
 O 1911 Ryan, Frederick William
 O 1908 Ryan, John A., J.P., A.M.I.C.
 T 1914 Ryan, John Hugh McAulay
 T 1910 Ryan, Thomas John
 C 1897 Ryeroft, Frederick William F
 T 1913 Rylett, Stopford Harold
 T 1914 Ryman, Henry John
 T 1908 Rymer, Frederick J.
 T 1900 Saalfeld, Adolphe
 E 1908 Sabry, Hassan (Bey)

- c 1908 Scott, Mark, J.P.
 T 1910 Scott, Robert H.M.
 c 1906 Scott, Walter
 c 1909 Scott, William
 c 1913 Scully, William Charles
 T o Seager, J. Renwick, J.P.
 c 1889 Searle, Walter Consett
 c 1883 Searles-Wood, Herbert D.
 T 1901 Sears, John Edward
 c 1906 Sears, John George
 c 1909 Sears, William Thomas
 T 1906 Seanson, James, M.D., F.R.C.P.
 L 1886 Seaton, James S., M.A., B.C.L.
 c 1912 Seckel, Louis
 T 1913 *Seckel, Mortimer Theodore*
 T 1912 Sedgwick, George
 T 1913 Seely, The Right Hon. John
 Edward Bernard, D.S.O., M.P.
 T 1906 Segar, Samuel
 c 1902 Selbie, Rev. William Boothby,
 M.A.
 T o Seligman, Isaac
 T 1898 Sell, Alfred
 s 1910 Sen, Profulla Chunder
 c 1898 Serpell, Henry Oberlin
 T 1913 Service, George
 s 1905 Sethna, Phiroze Cursetjee
 c 1905 Sethna, Rustomjee D.
 c 1887 Seymour-Jones, Alfred
 c 1913 *Seymour-Jones, Donald*
 c 1912 Seymour-Jones, R. Arnold,
 M.Sc.
 T 1905 Shackleton, Thomas
 c 1913 *Shahani, Mahtabsing Sahibsing*
 c 1914 *Shahzad, Ahmad Khan*
 T o Shairp, Norman William, J.P.
 T 1914 Shanly, Michael William
 T 1897 Shansfield, W. Newton
 T 1904 Sharp, Rev. Charles James,
 M.A.
 T 1909 Sharp, Clifford Dyce
 T 1896 Sharp, Lewen
 c 1903 Sharp, Robert Henry
 T 1887 Sharp, William George G.
 T 1903 Sharp, William Henry Car
 wright, M.A., LL.B.
 T 1884 Sharpe, D. Radford
 T 1889 Sharpe, William Arthur
 c 1905 Sharples, George, M.A., F.E.I.
 c 1897 Sharpley, Herbert, J.P.
 T 1912 Sharwood, James Allen
 c 1889 Shaw of Dunfermline, Lord
 T 1901 Shaw, The Hon. Alexander
 T 1903 Shaw, Andrew Cree
 c 1903 Shaw, Charles J.M., B.A.
 c 1906 Shaw, George
 T o Shaw, Sir J. Dods
 T 1911 Shaw, Jabez Henry
 c 1911 Shaw, John William
 c 1905 Shaw, Peter
 T 1910 Shaw, Robert
 L 1883 Shaw, W. Rawson
 c o Shaw, W. Willans
 T 1912 Shaw, William Alexander
 c 1883 Shawcross, Harold
 c 1902 Sheard, Joe
 c 1907 Sheard, Walter Thornton
 T 1905 Shearman, Montague, Jun.
 L.C.C.
 T 1910 Sheen, Joseph
 T 1883 Sheffield, Lord
 T 1892 Sheffield, Col. Frank, V.D.
 c 1887 Sheil, Edward
 c 1904 Shelley, Percy, B.A.
 T 1901 Shennan, Joseph
 A 1907 Shephard, Joseph
 T 1899 Shephard, Alfred James
 T 1892 Sheppard, Henry George
 c 1907 Sheppard, John Tresiddor
 c 1911 Sheppard, Robert
 T 1914 Sheridan, Richard Brinsley C
 savitti
 c 1912 Sherlock, William Joseph
 c o Sherring, R. Vowell
 T 1910 Sherry, John Joseph Aloysi
 L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S., L.F.P.
 S., J.P.

- 5 1914 Shilson, Bernard William
 M.I.A.E.
 A 1909 Shipton, Edgar William
 r o Shone, Isaac, C.E.
 r 1902 Shoobert, Joseph Cornelius
 L 1883 Shorter, Arthur
 3 1889 Shorunkeh-Sawyer, A. J.
 4 1893 Shorunkeh-Sawyer, J. C.
 4 1904 Shrager, Isaac
 r 1898 Shruballs, George
 U 1903 Shuttlebotham, Frank, M.A.,
 M.D., J.P.
 s 1912 Shukla, Dalpatram Bhagwanji,
 B.A.
 r 1899 Shuttleworth, Lord
 C 1910 Shuttleworth, Thomas George
 L 1887 Sieh, Alfred
 r 1906 Sidgwick, Arthur Hugh
 C 1912 Sifton, John Wright, Jun.
 1906 Silcock, Thomas Ball
 1907 Sim, Robert
 1913 Simmonds, John Ernest
 1895 Simmons, Harold S.
 1890 Simmons, Sydney
 1913 Simmons, Thomas Bayard
 1910 Simms, Rev. John Morrow
 1886 Simus, S. H.
 1910 Simon, Frederick Murray
 1912 Simon, Goronwy
 1897 Simon, The Right Hon. Sir John
 Allsobrook, K.C.V.O., K.C., M.P.
 1914 Simon, Oscar
 1911 Simons, Edward Ezekiel, B.A.,
 Ph.D.
 1912 Simpson, Alexander Kirkpatrick
 1839 Simpson, Edward M., M.I.C.E.
 1885 Simpson, Frederick Henry
 1907 Simpson, John Henry
 1911 Simpson, Robert
 1888 Sims, Arthur
 1912 Sinclair, Alexander Duncan
 1881 Sinclair, James (Brixton)
 1892 Sinclair, James (Fenchurch
 Street, E.C.)
 T 1896 Sinclair, James Alfred
 T 1908 Sinclair, John
 C 1886 Sing, John Millington
 T 1913 Singh, Deep Narain
 s 1912 Singh, The Hon. Rai Bahadur
 Lala Sultan.
 s 1912 Singh, Sirdar Arjan
 T 1908 Singleton, William Edward
 s 1907 Sinha, Aroon Kumar
 T 1907 Sinha, Narendra Prasauna, M.D.,
 M.R.C.P.
 C 1907 Sinha, The Hon. Satyendra
 Prasauna
 C 1913 Sinha, Sushil Kumar
 C 1912 Sinnott, Thomas Devereux
 C 1906 Size, Henry John
 C 1893 Skene, Alexander, J.P.
 T 1897 Skilbeck, Cuthbert Henry
 T 1897 Skilbeck, John Henry
 C 1884 Skillicorne, W. Nash
 s 1889 Skiros, George Eustace
 C 1905 Slack, James William
 C 1911 Slack, William Herbert
 C 1905 Slade, Edward Fox
 C 1899 Slade, William
 C 1904 Slagg, John Parker
 C 1887 Slater, Samuel Mills, M.A.
 B.C.L.
 C 1906 Slater, Thomas Ivatt, J.P.
 E 1914 Slatkovsky, Reuben
 T 1904 Sloan, Lawrence Gunn
 T o Smale, Morton A.
 T 1912 Smallwood, Edward, J.P., L.C.C.
 T 1906 Smart, John Arthur
 r 1903 Smedley, William Thomas
 T 1912 Smeeton, Bertie Robert
 T 1912 Smith, A. Croxton
 r 1885 Smith, Adolphe
 T 1890 Smith, Alfred (London)
 C 1901 Smith, Alfred (Ingrow)
 C 1910 Smith, Charles H.
 C 1883 Smith, Charles Thomas, J.P.,
 F.A.I.
 C o Smith, E. Capel

- T 1901 Smith, Edward, J.P., L.C.C.
 C 1913 Smith, Edward James
 C 1901 Smith, Enan Cameron
 C 1899 Smith, Frank Hindley
 T 1913 Smith, Frank Rhodes
 T 1891 Smith, Frederic
 C 1914 Smith, Frederick Henry, M.I.M.E
 M.I.N.A.
 C 1906 Smith, George Allen
 T 1910 Smith, Gordon
 C 1906 Smith, H. B. Lees, M.P.
 T o Smith, Henry, J.P., D.L.
 T 1899 Smith, Hugh E.
 C o Smith, J. Bleckly
 T 1908 Smith, J. Obediah
 C o Smith, James (Blundellsands)
 T 1903 Smith, James J.
 C 1898 Smith, James Leonard
 C 1906 Smith, James Richard, J.P.
 C 1908 Smith, John
 C 1890 Smith, John Lilley
 T 1912 Smith, John Percy, M.R.C.S.,
 L.R.C.P.
 C 1896 Smith, John Peter, J.P.
 C 1913 Smith, John Robert, J.P.
 C 1906 Smith, John Sugden
 C 1904 Smith, Joseph, J.P. (Witham)
 C 1908 Smith, Joseph (Great Saling)
 C 1904 Smith, Joseph Ernest
 T 1903 Smith, Joseph Samuel
 T 1898 Smith, Philip T. N.
 C 1898 Smith, Ralph W.
 T 1910 Smith, Reginald Azor
 T 1908 Smith, Robert
 C 1905 Smith, Robert Cooper, K.C.
 T 1902 Smith, Prof. Robert Henry
 T 1903 Smith, Robert Tweedy
 C 1910 Smith, Samuel
 C 1909 Smith, Samuel Harold
 C 1888 Smith, Sir Swire, J.P.
 T 1899 Smith, Thomas Francis
 A 1906 Smith, Thomas William (Leicester)
 C 1906 Smith, Tom Willie (Woking)
- C 1901 Smith, William (Lower Gornal)
 C 1905 Smith, William (Motherwell)
 C 1907 Smith, William Henry
 T 1914 Smith, William John, F.C.I.S.
 T 1913 Smithers, Alfred Ebenezer, J.
 C 1907 Smithson, Charles Holmes
 L o Smyly, William Cecil, K.C.
 T 1913 Smythies, Major Raymor
 Henry Raymond
 T 1900 Snell, Rev. Bernard J., M.A., B.S.
 C 1902 Snell, James Alfred
 T 1906 Snell, John Saxon
 C 1900 Snell, Philip William
 C 1901 Snow, Ralph George
 T 1890 Snow, William Ralph
 T 1890 Soames, James Kolle
 S 1908 Sobani, Hajee Yoosof Haj
 Esmail
 T 1891 Sockl, Victor
 T 1913 Softlaw, William Roper
 F 1912 Sokal, Siegmund, A.M.I.M.E.
 S 1895 Solomon, Sir Edward, P.,
 K.C.M.G., M.L.A.
 T 1897 Soman, Simeon
 T 1907 Somers, Frank Forrest
 T 1910 Sommerville, Robert
 T 1910 Somper, Jack Davies
 T 1904 Sorabji, Hormasji
 T 1891 Sorabji, Shapurji, A.M.I.C.E.
 T 1910 Souster, Ernest George William
 T 1898 South, John Arthur
 C o Southall, John Tertius
 C 1896 Southcombe, Richard Norman
 C 1896 Southcombe, Sidney Lincoln
 C 1908 Southern, Robert White
 C 1909 Southey, Harry Hartley
 L o Southwark, Lord
 T 1892 Southwood, Frederick Charles
 T 1907 Souttar, James Augustus
 C 1911 Sowden, John Russell, B.
 I.L.B.
 C 1911 Spalding, Henry Norman
 C 1910 Sparkes, Thomas George
 T 1908 Speed, Clement Talbot

- s 1903 Speed, James Montgomery
 A 1911 Speer, John William
 o 1909 Spencer, Edward Dugdale
 c 1912 Spencer, Herbert Harvey
 T 1889 Spender, Edward Harold, M.A.
 T 1897 Spender, Hugh Frederick
 T 1886 Spender, John A.
 T 1906 Speyer, The Right Hon. Sir
 Edgar, Bt.
 L o Spicer, The Right Hon. Sir Albert,
 Bt., M.P.
 T 1913 Spicer, Albert Dykos, M.A.
 T 1909 Spicer, Ernest Evan, F.C.A.
 L o Spicer, Evan, D.L., J.P., L.C.C.
 T 1914 Spicer, Grahsm Proctor
 L 1887 Spicer, Henry
 L o Spicer, James, Jun.
 T 1911 Spicer, James Leonard
 o 1886 Spink, William Charles
 o 1912 Spinka, John Thomas
 r 1883 Spiropulo, George Emanuel
 r 1884 Spokes, Arthur H., LL.B.
 o 1903 Spoor, John Lamb, J.P.
 o 1899 Spowart, Henry William
 o 1906 Spring, Alfred (Hesse)
 o 1910 Spring, Alfred, Jun. (London)
 o 1909 Squire, John Collings
 o 1914 Stableforth, Charles Thomas, J.P.
 1885 Stacey, James A.
 1911 Stafford, Sydney
 1905 Stafford, Thomas Colegrave
 1908 Stallabross, Thomas, J.P.
 1913 Standen, Lieut. Col. Robert
 Hargrave Fraser
 1909 Standing, Herbert
 1914 Stanford, Edward Charles
 1883 Stanford, John Edwards
 1907 Stanford, John Henry
 1896 Stanforth, William
 1908 Stanger, Frank
 1906 Stanier, William Henry
 1906 Stanley, Albert, M.P.
 1906 Stanley, Edward John
 o Stapelton, J. Glode
 T o Stapley, Sir Richard, J.P.
 A 1910 Starling, Frank Robert
 A 1907 Starmer, Charles Walter, J.P.
 c 1898 Starr, William Beedham
 s 1910 Stead, Henry
 T 1912 Stead, James Lister
 c 1907 Stead, John Edward
 T 1913 Steadman, Frank St. Jermain,
 D.P.H., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.,
 L.D.S.
 T o Steadman, Sidney St. J.
 T 1888 Stedman, Arthur E.
 c 1914 Stedman, Charles Barton
 o 1896 Steel, Charles Godfroy
 c 1884 Steel, George Ratchiff
 T 1906 Stein, Leonard Jacques
 T 1893 Stein, Philip
 E 1909 Steiner, Otto
 c 1899 Stephen, John, J.P.
 T 1914 Stephens, Stephen Paul
 o o Stephens, J. T., J.P.
 L 1884 Stephens, Thomas
 T 1912 Stephens, William Jeffery
 T 1912 Stephenson, Philip Torrance
 T 1905 Stern, Salomon
 c 1910 Stern, William
 T 1907 Stevens, George John
 L 1885 Stevens, Henry
 c 1891 Stevens J. Waller, M.A., J.P.
 c 1887 Stevenson, Sir Daniel Macaulay,
 Bt.
 T 1885 Stevenson, Edmund H., C.E.
 T 1912 Stevenson, Sidney Evanco
 T 1906 Stewart, Alexander Mackay
 T 1900 Stewart, Andrew (Stroud Green)
 T 1909 Stewart, Andrew (Clapham)
 c 1911 Stewart, George Mitchell
 c o Stewart, Halley, J.P.
 c 1898 Stewart, James (Rainham)
 T 1907 Stewart, James (London)
 c 1886 Stewart, John, J.P.
 T 1901 Stewart, Percy Malcolm
 c 1902 Stewart, Peter Milne
 K 1894 Stielow, Carl Hans Wolf

- c 1891 Stimson, Charles
 T 1914 Stinson, Henry John Edwin
 T 1911 Stirling, Herbert Reginald
 c 1896 Stirling, Norman Raphael
 s 1886 Stirling, Robert Metcalfe
 T 1905 Stitt, John Douglas
 c 1909 Stockdale, William, J.P.
 T 1909 Stocken, Arthur Percy
 T 1911 Stockman, Henry Richards
 c 1905 Stockwell, Albert
 T 1886 Stone, John William
 T 1906 Stooke-Vaughan, John Salter
 L o Storey, Herbert Lushington
 c 1884 Story, John Somes, C.E.
 c 1913 Stott, George
 c 1912 Stott, Herbert
 c 1910 Stott, Tom
 o 1897 Strachan, John, Jun.
 L 1906 Strachan, William Stead, B.Sc.
 c 1883 Strachie, Lord
 T 1912 Straker, Edgar C.
 c 1902 Strange, Edward Jeffery
 c 1886 Strathelyde, Lord
 T 1913 Stratton, William
 T 1894 Straus, Bertram S., J.P.
 T 1901 Straus, James Richard
 L 1898 Strauss, Bernard
 T 1887 Strauss, Edward A., M.P.
 E 1910 Strauss-Collin, Abraham
 c 1906 Street, Arthur William
 T 1907 Strong, Hugh W.
 T 1886 Strong, The Right Hon. Sir T.
 Vezey, K.C.V.O.
 c o Stuart, Hahnemann
 T 1913 Stuart, Hugh
 c 1883 Stuart, James, J.P.
 c 1904 Stuart, Mazzini
 c 1901 Stuart, Orsini
 c 1906 Stuart, Royden
 c 1906 Stubbs, Albert
 T 1911 Sturge, Charles
 c 1905 Sturrock, John Leng
 o 1896 Styer, Leonard R.
 c 1910 Sugden, Alan Victor
 T 1904 Sultzberger, Albert
 c 1906 Summers, Henry
 c 1914 Sumner, William James
 T 1884 Surr, Watson, J.P.
 c 1896 Susman, Ernest Frederick M.
 o 1905 Sutherland, John E., J.P., M.P.
 T 1906 Sutherland, William
 o 1889 Sutherland, William George
 s 1892 Sutro, Julius Charles
 T 1912 Swaffield, George
 s 1910 Swaminadham, Subharama
 c 1885 Swan, Edward Willis
 c o Swan, John Cameron, J.P.
 c 1907 Swanzy, Francis
 T 1907 Swanzy, Francis Hugh
 T 1890 Swaythling, Lord
 T 1902 Swinny, Shapland Hugh
 T 1903 Sydenham-Jones, T. R., M.A.
 LL.D.
 c 1913 Sydney, Rev. William Connor
 s 1912 Sykes, Donald Bertram
 L o Sykes, F. W.
 c 1912 Sykes, Joe Armitage
 c 1905 Sykes, Thomas Percy
 L 1887 Symes, Herbert, Jun.
 L 1883 Symes, Herbert William, J.P.
 L 1887 Symes, Rev. Ronald, M.A.
 T 1909 Symmons, Israel Alexander
 T o Symonds, Arthur G., M.A.
 T 1912 Syrett, Herbert Sutton, LL.B.

T

- c 1908 Tabor, Francis Samuel
 T 1907 Tagg, Charles William
 c 1886 Talbot, Charles Henry, J.P.
 c 1883 Talbot, William Henry
 c 1913 Talbot-Crosbie, Maurice
 L 1883 Tangye, George, J.P.
 L 1883 Tangye, William
 c 1902 Tanner, James Tolman

- 1906 Taplin, Francis John
 1911 Tapscott, Henry John
 1907 Tarring, Sir Charles James, J.P.
 1898 Tata, Ruttonji Dadabhoj
 1893 Tate, William Moyer
 1912 Tatlow, Harry Edward
 1912 Tattersfield George Henry
 1903 Taunton, Henry Percy, J.P.
 1910 Taylor, Arnold S., A.R.I.B.A.
 1904 Taylor, Alexander
 1888 Taylor, Charles
 1908 Taylor, Colin, J.P.
 1907 Taylor, Ernest John
 1907 Taylor, Ira
 1907 Taylor, James (Forest Hill)
 1913 Taylor, James (Bournemouth)
 1913 Taylor, James William
 1906 Taylor, Joshua
 1904 Taylor, Llewellyn Henry
 o Taylor, Theodore Cooke, J.P., M.P.
 1912 Taylor, Thomas, M.P.
 1914 Taylor, Thomas Osborne
 1889 Taylor, William
 1903 Taylor, William Joseph
 o Tebb, William
 1908 Tebb, William Scott, M.A., M.D.
 1910 Tebbutt, Edward
 1897 Tebbutt, George M., J.P.
 1888 Temple, Frederick
 1889 Tennant, The Right Hon. Harold John, M.P.
 1895 Tenney, John
 1889 Terrero, Manuel M.
 1908 Terrill, Archibald S.
 885 Terry, Lieut.-Col. Fred S.
 910 Terry, Thomas
 897 Teschemacher, Edward F.
 890 Thacker, Harold
 886 Thackrah, George William
 893 Thackray, William
 906 Thain, James
 896 Thewlis, James Herbert, J.P.
- F 1900 Thieme, Carel
 o 1907 Thom, Thomas Mathieson
 o 1891 Thomas, Sir A. Garrod, M.D., J.P., D.L.
 T 1895 Thomas, Arthur A., B.A.
 c 1905 Thomas, Bertie Pardoe
 T 1912 Thomas, Dan
 T 1913 Thomas, Daniel Gwyn
 c 1889 Thomas, David Alfred
 H 1914 Thomas, David Morgan, J.P.
 T 1905 Thomas, David Rowland
 c 1885 Thomas, E. Lewis, M.A., LL.M., K.C.
 T 1885 Thomas, F. Moy
 T 1897 Thomas, Frederic George
 T 1911 Thomas, Geoffrey
 T 1898 Thomas, George Gale
 c 1883 Thomas, Hubert, C.E.
 c 1903 Thomas, The Hon. James Jonathan, C.M.G., J.P.
 o 1886 Thomas, Sir John, J.P.
 c 1896 Thomas, John J., J.P.
 c 1911 Thomas, Nathaniel Henry
 c 1900 Thomas, Robert J.
 c 1913 Thomas, Samuel, J.P.
 c 1910 Thomas, William
 c o Thomas, William Frederick
 T 1914 Thompson, Alfred John
 T 1911 Thompson, Arthur Hugh, M.A. M.D.
 T 1902 Thompson, Edward Raymond
 c 1909 Thompson, Edwin
 l o Thompson, Francis
 A 1907 Thompson, Frank Ernest
 c 1908 Thompson, Geoffrey
 A 1913 Thompson, George William
 T 1912 Thompson, Henry Graham
 T 1890 Thompson, James (Teddington)
 c 1906 Thompson, James (Wolverhampton)
 T 1900 Thompson, John William Howard
 c o Thompson, Richard
 o 1886 Thompson, Sir Robert J., J.P.
 c 1883 Thompson, William

- c 1895 Thompson, William Phillips
 T 1883 Thompson, William Wilberforce
 A 1909 Thoms, Fred
 T o Thomson, B. T. L.
 A 1913 Thomson, Charles
 T 1911 Thomson, George, L.D.S.R.C.S.
 T 1894 Thomson, Gray Campbell
 T 1904 Thomson, Thomas Charles
 T 1909 Thomson, William
 c 1897 Thomson, Capt. William Edward
 T 1906 Thorburn, Douglas W.
 A 1911 Thorburn, William
 c 1906 Thorn, John
 T 1900 Thornbery, John Russell
 c 1905 Thorne, Frederick, J.P.
 c 1901 Thorne, George Rennie, M.P.
 s 1887 Thorne, Thomas Lane
 T 1901 Thornhill, Bensley
 c 1898 Thornton, James
 T 1907 Thornton, William Arthur
 c 1908 Thorpe, Francis Homan
 T 1910 Thresher, William
 L 1907 Thye, Loko Chow
 A 1909 Thyer, Fred
 c 1884 Tietkens, Ernest A.
 c 1903 Tigwell, Joseph
 T 1907 Till, Charles Frederick
 A 1913 Tillet, Eric Decaux
 c 1904 Tillet, Wilfrid Sidney
 c 1909 Tiley, Chapman Albert, J.P.
 c 1906 Tinto, James Bigg
 c 1898 Tippett, Henry William, B.A.
 E 1914 Tippett, John Dewey
 T 1899 Tipson, Alfred Samson
 c 1884 Tite, Charles
 c 1903 Titley, Arthur B.
 c 1901 Todd, James
 c 1910 Todd, John Helenus Kay
 c 1892 Todd, Robert H., LL.D.
 T 1907 Todds, Walter
 c 1894 Tolley, Richard Mentz
 T 1883 Tomalin, Lewis R.S.
 c o Tomes, Thomas Perry
 T 1900 Tomkinson, Charles William
 A 1910 Tompkins, John Theodore
 T 1899 Toms, Charles Bailey
 T 1899 Toms, Charles William, J.P.
 T 1899 Toms, Stanley Joseph
 A 1913 Tonkin, Thomas
 c 1905 Tonking, James Herbert, J.P.
 c 1913 Torrance, John Rowland, J.P.
 c 1909 Toulmin, Geoffrey Edelston
 c 1896 Toulmin, Sir George, J.P., M.P.
 T 1901 Toy, George James, F.C.A.
 c 1885 Tozer, Augustus Hall
 T 1906 Tozer, Henry John
 L 1884 Travers, Major J. Amory
 T 1883 Trenchard, Herbert William,
 B.A., LL.B.
 T 1910 Trengrouse, Henry, J.P.
 c 1911 Trestrail, Alfred Ernest Yates
 T 1893 Trevelyan, Charles Philips, M.P.
 T 1899 Trevelyan, George M.
 T 1888 Trevelyan, The Right Hon. Sir
 George Otto, Bt., O.M.
 T 1894 Trevelyan, Robert C., B.A.
 c 1892 Tribe, Frank Newton
 T 1905 Trier, Emil Anthony
 T 1890 Trier, Stephan
 L o Tritton, J. Herbert
 c 1911 Trowsdale, John William
 T 1900 Truelove, Maurice Hawtrey
 L 1883 Trummer, Otto
 T 1898 Tuck, Sir Adolph, Bt.
 T 1911 Tuck, Desmond Adolph
 c 1908 Tucker Rev. William Lyddon,
 M.A.
 T 1909 Tudball, Charles Daubeny
 T 1913 Tuite, Mark
 T o Tulloch, Major Hector, C.B., R.E.
 c 1890 Tulloch, William
 c 1894 Tully, Jasper
 c 1911 Tunneliffe, John
 T 1887 Tuohy, James M.
 c 1910 Turner, Charles Henry
 T 1908 Turner, Charles Robinson
 c 1891 Turner, Edwin
 A 1913 Turner, Ernest

- o 1902 Turner, James (Rochdale)
 o 1910 Turner, James (Burpham)
 T 1886 Turner, John Chester
 T 1893 Turner, Neil
 o 1904 Turner, Robert
 T 1889 Turner, Walton Fitzjames
 o 1901 Turner, William Arthur
 T 1901 Tutcur, Max
 o 1913 Tyabji, Hatim Badrudin
 T 1900 Tyler, Charles Thorne
 T 1912 Tyler, Edmund John Ellis

U

- T 1913 Udale, Eric Dalrymple
 T 1904 Udale, Stanley
 T 1914 Uhlfelder, Carl
 T 1911 Umney, John Charles, F.C.S.
 T 1901 Underdown, Herbert William
 T 1910 Underwood, John Tyers
 T 1889 Unwin, Edward (Shortlands)
 T 1895 Unwin, Edward, Jun. (Ludgate Hill, E.C.)
 o 1898 Unwin, Frederic Daniel
 T 1901 Unwin, George Soundy
 o o Unwin, John
 T 1913 Unwin, Roland Buckley
 T 1904 Unwin, Stauley
 o 1912 Unwin, Stephen Philip, J.P.
 L 1883 Unwin, T. Fisher
 A 1905 Upton, John
 o 1896 Urwick, Henry
 o 1886 Usher, Jacob
 o 1911 Ussher, Beverley Grant
 F 1912 Utz, William Harvey

V

- F 1911 Vale, Alfred Heinrich
 o Valeri, Octavius

- K 1909 Vallentin, Hugo Ferdinand
 T 1913 Vallis, Francis Alexander
 T 1896 van Biema, Carl
 T 1910 Van Duren, Leonard
 T 1909 Van Straaten, Martin
 E 1908 van Stowe, J. E. A. Reyneke
 T 1897 Vardy, Epaminondas
 o 1889 Varty, Robert
 o 1902 Varwell, Hawkins Blake, J.P.
 o 1906 Vasey, Thomas Ebenezor
 o 1903 Vaughan, Edmund
 o 1889 Vaughan, William Henry
 T 1913 Velinker, Shrikrishna Gunaji, B.A., LL.B., J.P.
 o 1911 Verney, Sir Harry Calvert Williams, Bt., M.P.
 T 1910 Vernon, Charles
 L 1912 Vestey, Sir William, Bt.
 L 1883 Vian, Alfred
 o o Vian, W. Collett
 o 1903 Vicary, Charles Lane
 o o Vicary, William, J.P.
 o 1900 Vicoars, William Purdon
 E 1887 Villars, Paul
 S 1899 Vincent, Charles
 T 1911 Vincent, Sir Edgar, K.C.M.G.
 S 1906 Vine, Alfred Edmund Somers
 o o Vine, Sir J. R. Somers, C.M.G.
 S 1903 Vine, Lieut. Sydney Walter Somers, R.N.R.
 S 1912 Virgo, Eustace
 S 1908 Visvesvaraya, M.
 T 1907 Vivian, Henry
 o 1909 Vivian-Rees, Thomas
 o 1906 Vollmer, Henry Percy
 o 1913 Vos, Philip

W

- S 1913 Wacha, Kaikhosru Dinsha
 o 1888 Wade, Edward Harper

- s 1902 Wade, Frederick Coate, K.C.
 c 1913 Wade, George, J.P.
 r 1907 Wade, Stephen Dallas Allan
 s 1907 Wadia, Cursetjee Pestonjee
 r 1905 Wadia, Dhunjibhoy Rustonji
 s 1890 Wadia, Jamsetji Ardaseer
 r 1906 Wadia, Nesserwanji Pestonji
 Ardesheer
 c 1883 Wainwright, Lieut.-Col. William
 c 1909 Wakeham, William George
 c 1912 Wakerley, Rev. John Edward
 s 1913 Walcroft, Thomas Clarence,
 A.M.I.M.E.
 c 1896 Waldheim, Felix
 r 1906 Waldron, Rev. Arthur John
 c 1904 Waldron, The Right Hon. L. A.
 r 1911 Waliulhuq, Mohammad
 r 1889 Walker, Andrew
 r 1889 Walker, Christopher
 s 1887 Walker, Cyril W.
 c 1884 Walker, Edwin R.
 r 1910 Walker, Elihu
 c 1907 Walker, Ernest
 c 1898 Walker, Col. Frank, V.D., J.P.
 c 1910 Walker, Fred M.
 r 1905 Walker, Frederick
 c 1903 Walker, Henry
 r 1889 Walker, Henry C.
 r 1897 Walker, Henry de Rosenbach,
 L.C.C.
 r 1912 Walker, Henry G.
 r 1899 Walker, Herbert Jeffery
 c 1910 Walker, James
 c 1904 Walker, John George, J.P.
 c 1903 Walker, Joseph
 c 1896 Walker, Major Percival B., V.D.,
 J.P.
 c 1910 Walker, Philip Howard Conyers
 c 1884 Walker, Robert, F.R.G.S.,
 F.R.Hist.S.
 c 1884 Walker, Thomas Ascroft
 r 1887 Walker, Thomas F., J.P.
 c 1900 Walker, W. A. G.
 r 1900 Walker, William, J.P.
- s 1903 Walklate, Joseph John
 c 1900 Wall, Charles, J.P.
 r 1904 Wallace, Duncan Gardner
 c 1900 Wallace, John Malcolm
 r 1911 Wallace, John Martin
 r 1898 Wallace, Matthew, J.P.
 c 1912 Wallace, Sir Matthew Gemmill
 r 1884 Wallace, Robert, K.C.
 s 1889 Wallach, William
 r 1890 Wallas, Graham, M.A.
 c 1908 Waller, Charles Herbert
 r 1889 Waller, Willie Rowland, F.C.,
 J.P.
 r 1907 Wallet, Archibald Pollock Blair
 c 1912 Wallis, Francis Appleyard
 c 1896 Wallis, Frederick Edwin
 c 1898 Wallis, John David
 c 1896 Wallis, William Francis
 c 1912 Walls, Ernest
 c 1905 Walmsley, Robert
 r 1910 Walsh, David, M.D.
 r 1912 Walsh, Harry Joseph
 r 1897 Walsh, John P., L.R.C.P.,
 L.R.C.S., J.P.
 r 1911 Walshe, Michael Charles
 r 1909 Walton, John Charles
 c 1883 Walton, Sir Joseph, Bt., J.P.,
 D.L., M.P.
 r 1910 Wansbrough, Edwin Counsel
 r 1913 Wansbrough, Thomas Percival
 r 1913 Ward, Arthur
 r 1902 Ward, C. H. Dudley
 c 1911 Ward, Dudley William
 c 1911 Ward, Frank
 c 1913 Ward, George William Newlin
 r 1897 Ward, Henry, M.I.C.E., L.C.C.
 c 1910 Ward, Herbert, M.A.
 c 1906 Ward, James
 r 1906 Ward, John, M.P.
 c 1886 Ward, John Lipson, J.P.
 c 1912 Ward, Joseph
 c 1899 Ward, The Right Hon. Sir Joseph
 George, Bt., K.C.M.G.
 c 1911 Ward, Thomas

- 1897 Ward, William (Cheapside, E.C.)
 1914 Ward, William (Dulwich)
 1912 Wardle, Wilfred James
 1907 Wardlow, Marmaduke
 1899 Wares, J. McIntosh
 1914 Warner, Henry Archer
 1913 Warner, Francis Banks
 1883 Warner, Frederick Arthur
 1887 Warner, Col. Sir T. Courtenay T.,
 Bt., C.B., M.P.
 1907 Warren, Arthur Owen
 1906 Warren, George Alfred
 1912 Warren, George Sydney
 1907 Warren, Herbert
 1912 Warren, Leslie Alec
 1910 Warren, Walter R., L.C.C.
 1906 Warschauer, Arthur
 1914 Warschauer, Herbert
 1906 Warschauer, Leon
 1906 Warschauer, Sydney
 1893 Washington, Joseph Woodis
 Clulow
 1887 Waterhouse, Alfred F.
 1888 Waterhouse, William, M.A.
 1885 Waterlow, David S.
 1902 Waters, Lieut.-Col. George,
 I.M.S., J.P.
 1887 Watkin, Sir Alfred M., Bt., J.P.,
 D.L.
 1910 Watkins, Alfred, J.P.
 1910 Watkins, William, F.R.G.S.
 1913 Watson, Alexander
 1895 Watson, Alfred Henry
 o Watson, Arthur G., D.C.L., J.P.
 1906 Watson, Douglas V. H.
 1907 Watson, Frederic George
 1889 Watson, Frederick
 1907 Watson, George
 1910 Watson, Herbert Edward
 1902 Watson, James Fergus
 1911 Watson, John Duncan, M.I.C.E.
 1897 Watson, Lieut.-Col. John Stanley,
 J.P.
 1913 Watson, Thomas Henry
 1908 Watson, William Spencer
 1904 Watt, Henry Anderson, M.P.
 1912 Watt, James, W.S.
 1911 Watts, Edmund Linton
 1885 Watts, Horace N., M.D.
 1895 Watts, Joshua, J.P.
 1887 Weardale, Lord
 1914 Webb, Ashley Tucker
 1890 Webb, Browne
 1899 Webb, Conrade Elliott
 1910 Webb, Henry, J.P., M.P.
 1914 Webb, James Bricknell
 o Webb, Sidney, LL.B.
 1905 Webster, Charles
 1913 Webster, Charles Kingsley
 1895 Webster, Sir Francis
 1883 Webster, James, J.P.
 1908 Webster, William
 1912 Webster, William Augustus
 1888 Wedd, Nathaniel, M.A.
 1892 Weddel, William
 1889 Wedderburn, Sir William, Bt.
 1914 Wedgwood, Josiah Clement, M.P.
 1914 Wedgwood, Ralph Lewis
 1913 Weeks, Charles
 1913 Weeks, Herbert Thomas
 1913 *Weggen-Prosser, Cecil Francis*
 1894 Weil, Henry
 1898 Weil, Percy Harold
 1903 Weinschenk, Max
 1911 Weir, Cecil McAlpine
 1901 Weir, George Dobie
 1914 Weir, John
 1892 Weisse, Henry Victor, B.A.
 1896 Welby of Allington, Lord, G.C.B.
 1905 Welland, Rev. Cecil Brooke, M.A.
 1901 Wells, Herbert George, J.P.
 1891 Wells, Joseph Wood
 1907 Wells, William Edwin
 o Wendover, Albert
 1887 Wesley, Rev. F. Gwynne, M.A.
 1898 Westcott, John Townsend, M.E.,
 Ph.D.
 1885 Westlake, William

- s 1902 Wade, Frederick Coate, K.C.
 c 1913 Wade, George, J.P.
 r 1907 Wade, Stephen Dallas Allan
 s 1907 Wadia, Cursetjee Pestonjee
 r 1905 Wadia, Dhunjibhoy Rustonji
 s 1890 Wadia, Jamsetji Ardaseer
 r 1906 Wadia, Nesserwanji Pestonji
 Ardesheer
 c 1883 Wainwright, Lieut.-Col. William
 c 1909 Wakeham, William George
 c 1912 Wakerley, Rev. John Edward
 s 1913 Wakeroft, Thomas Clarence,
 A.M.I.M.E.
 c 1896 Waldheim, Felix
 r 1906 Waldron, Rev. Arthur John
 c 1904 Waldron, The Right Hon. L. A.
 r 1911 Waliulhuq, Mohammad
 r 1889 Walker, Andrew
 r 1889 Walker, Christopher
 s 1887 Walker, Cyril W.
 c 1884 Walker, Edwin R.
 r 1910 Walker, Elihu
 c 1907 Walker, Ernest
 c 1898 Walker, Col. Frank, V.D., J.P.
 c 1910 Walker, Fred M.
 r 1905 Walker, Frederick
 c 1903 Walker, Henry
 r 1889 Walker, Henry C.
 r 1897 Walker, Henry de Rosenbach,
 L.C.C.
 r 1912 Walker, Henry G.
 r 1899 Walker, Herbert Jeffery
 c 1910 Walker, James
 c 1904 Walker, John George, J.P.
 c 1903 Walker, Joseph
 c 1896 Walker, Major Percival B., V.D.,
 J.P.
 c 1910 Walker, Philip Howard Conyers
 c 1884 Walker, Robert, F.R.G.S.,
 F.R.Hist.S.
 c 1884 Walker, Thomas Ascroft
 c 1885 Walker, Thomas F., J.P.
 c 1893 Walker, W. A. G.
 c 0 0 Walker, William, J.P.
- s 1903 Walklate, Joseph John
 c 0 Wall, Charles, J.P.
 r 1904 Wallace, Duncan Gardner
 c 1900 Wallace, John Malcolm
 r 1911 Wallace, John Martin
 r 1898 Wallace, Matthew, J.P.
 c 1912 Wallace, Sir Matthew Gemmill
 r 1884 Wallace, Robert, K.C.
 s 1889 Wallach, William
 r 1890 Wallas, Graham, M.A.
 c 1908 Waller, Charles Herbert
 r 1889 Waller, Willie Rowland, F.C.A
 J.P.
 r 1907 Wallot, Archibald Pollock Blair
 c 1912 Wallis, Francis Appleyard
 c 1896 Wallis, Frederick Edwin
 c 1898 Wallis, John David
 c 1896 Wallis, William Francis
 c 1912 Wallis, Ernest
 c 1905 Walmsley, Robert
 r 1910 Walsh, David, M.D.
 r 1912 Walsh, Harry Joseph
 r 1897 Walsh, John P., L.R.C.P.,
 L.R.C.S., J.P.
 r 1911 Walshe, Michael Charles
 r 1909 Walton, John Charles
 c 1883 Walton, Sir Joseph, Bt., J.P.,
 D.L., M.P.
 r 1910 Wansbrough, Edwin Counsel
 r 1913 Wansbrough, Thomas Percival
 A 1913 Ward, Arthur
 r 1902 Ward, C. H. Dudley
 c 1911 Ward, Dudley William
 c 1911 Ward, Frank
 c 1913 Ward, George William Newlin
 r 1897 Ward, Henry, M.I.C.E., L.C.C.
 c 1910 Ward, Herbert, M.A.
 c 1906 Ward, James
 H 1906 Ward, John, M.P.
 c 1886 Ward, John Lipson, J.P.
 c 1912 Ward, Joseph
 c 1899 Ward, The Right Hon. Sir Joseph
 George, Bt., K.C.M.G.
 c 1911 Ward, Thomas

- T 1897 Ward, William (Cheapside, E.C.)
 T 1914 Ward, William (Dulwich)
 S 1912 Wardle, Wilfred James
 C 1907 Wardlow, Marmaduke
 C 1899 Wares, J. McIntosh
 T 1914 Warner, Henry Archer
 C 1913 Warner, Francis Banks
 C 1883 Warner, Frederick Arthur
 T 1887 Warner, Col. Sir T. Courtenay T.,
 Bt., C.B., M.P.
 T 1907 Warren, Arthur Owen
 T 1906 Warren, George Alfred
 T 1912 Warren, George Sydney
 T 1907 Warren, Herbert
 T 1912 Warren, Leslie Alec
 T 1910 Warren, Walter R., L.C.C.
 T 1906 Warschauer, Arthur
 T 1914 Warschauer, Herbert
 T 1906 Warschauer, Leon
 T 1906 Warschauer, Sydney
 C 1893 Washington, Joseph Woodis
 Chulow
 C 1887 Waterhouse, Alfred F.
 C 1888 Waterhouse, William, M.A.
 C 1885 Waterlow, David S.
 C 1902 Waters, Lieut.-Col. George,
 I.M.S., J.P.
 C 1887 Watkin, Sir Alfred M., Bt., J.P.,
 D.L.
 C 1910 Watkins, Alfred, J.P.
 C 1910 Watkins, William, F.R.G.S.
 C 1913 Watson, Alexander
 C 1895 Watson, Alfred Henry
 C o Watson, Arthur G., D.C.L., J.P.
 C 1906 Watson, Douglas V. H.
 C 1907 Watson, Frederic George
 C 1889 Watson, Frederick
 C 1907 Watson, George
 C 1910 Watson, Herbert Edward
 C 1902 Watson, James Fergus
 C 1911 Watson, John Duncan, M.I.C.E.
 C 1897 Watson, Lieut.-Col. John Stanley,
 J.P.
 C 1913 Watson, Thomas Henry
 C 1908 Watson, William Spencer
 C 1904 Watt, Henry Anderson, M.P.
 C 1912 Watt, James, W.S.
 C 1911 Watts, Edmund Linton
 T 1885 Watts, Horace N., M.D.
 C 1895 Watts, Joshua, J.P.
 T 1887 Weardale, Lord
 T 1914 Webb, Ashley Tucker
 T 1890 Webb, Browne
 T 1890 Webb, Conrado Elliott
 T 1910 Webb, Henry, J.P., M.P.
 A 1914 Webb, James Bricknell
 T o Webb, Sidney, LL.B.
 C 1905 Webster, Charles
 C 1913 Webster, Charles Kingsley
 C 1895 Webster, Sir Francis
 C 1883 Webster, James, J.P.
 A 1908 Webster, William
 C 1912 Webster, William Augustus
 C 1888 Wedd, Nathaniel, M.A.
 T 1892 Weddel, William
 T 1889 Wedderburn, Sir William, Bt.
 C 1914 Wedgwood, Josiah Clement, M.P.
 C 1914 Wedgwood, Ralph Lewis
 T 1913 Weeks, Charles
 C 1913 Weeks, Herbert Thomas
 C 1913 Wegg-Prosser, Cecil Francis
 T 1894 Weil, Henry
 T 1898 Weil, Percy Harold
 T 1903 Weinschenk, Max
 C 1911 Weir, Cecil McAlpine
 C 1901 Weir, George Dobie
 T 1914 Weir, John
 C 1892 Weisse, Henry Victor, B.A.
 T 1896 Welby of Allington, Lord, G.C.B.
 C 1905 Welland, Rev. Cecil Brooke, M.A.
 T 1901 Wells, Herbert George, J.P.
 C 1891 Wells, Joseph Wood
 S 1907 Wells, William Edwin
 C o Wendover, Albert
 C 1887 Wesley, Rev. F. Gwynne, M.A.
 S 1898 Westcott, John Townsend, M.E.,
 Ph.D.
 T 1885 Westlake, William

- L 1883 Westrope, John
 s 1910 Wettre, Ragnar
 T o Whale, George
 T 1908 Wheeler, Alfred William Carnol.
 J.P.
 T 1912 Wheeler, Henry Albert
 c 1887 Wherry, William Robert, J.P.
 T 1913 Whiskard, Reginald
 c 1895 Whiston, Harold Walter
 T 1891 Whitaker, Willam, B. A., F.R.S.,
 F.G.S.
 o 1906 White, Dudley, M.A., K.C.
 T 1902 White, Ernest Hyam
 A 1898 White, Ernest John
 T 1906 White, James Dundas, LL.D.,
 M.P.
 T 1888 White, James Martin
 c 1900 White, Sir Luke, M.P.
 o 1889 White, Samuel
 A 1904 White, Thomas
 c 1913 White, Thomas John
 s 1912 White, Thomas Justin
 T 1909 White, Thomas Shepherd
 T 1910 Whitehead, Alfred North, D.Sc.
 T 1889 Whitehead, William Edward
 c 1910 Whiteherd, James Henry Pickles
 A 1912 Whitehorn, William Lampet
 c 1909 Whitehouse, John Howard, M.P.
 c o Whitehouse, William Henry
 o 1914 Whiteley, Alfred
 c 1899 Whiteley, Thomas
 c 1883 Whiting, Charles A. M.
 c 1898 Whitley, Edward Nathan
 c 1899 Whitley, The Right Hon. John
 Henry, M.P.
 T 1886 Whittaker, The Right Hon. Sir
 Thomas P., M.P.
 c 1911 Whitten, Wilfred
 T 1912 Whittingham, Frederic
 c 1898 Whitwham, Leonard P.
 s 1908 Whyte, George Duncan, M.D.
 T 1904 Whyte, Robert (London)
 o 1884 Whyte, Robert, Jun. (Bromley)
 T 1907 Wibberley, Charles, M.V.O.
 o 1907 Wicksteed, Charles
 T 1892 Wiener, Isidore
 s 1886 Wiener, Ludwig
 s 1907 Wijewardene, Don Richard, B.A.
 c 1907 Wilberforce, Herbert William
 Wrangham
 c 1903 Wilcock, John William Bell
 s 1902 Wilcox, Sidney
 o 1904 Wild, Thomas
 c o Wilde, Milton Gough, J.P.
 T 1906 Wilde, Sidney Algernon
 c 1893 Wilding, Henry
 c 1895 Wildridge, Gilbert Johnson
 L 1886 Wildy, Edmund
 T 1909 Wilenski, Arthur
 T 1883 Wilenski, Henry
 T 1885 Wiles, Thomas, M.P.
 o 1910 Wilford, Joshua, J.P.
 T 1906 Wilkerson, Albert Henry
 c 1912 Wilkin, James Whiteley
 o 1908 Wilkins, Frank
 o 1906 Wilkins, Rev. Henry John, D.I.
 c 1911 Wilkinson, Albert, J.P.
 c 1913 Wilkinson, Rev. John From
 M.A., F.S.S.
 c 1905 Wilkinson, Thomas William
 o 1898 Wilks, Thomas
 o 1892 Willans, Gerald C. H.
 c 1884 Willans, James Edward, J.P.
 T 1911 Williams, Albion
 o 1892 Williams, Alfred
 T 1893 Williams, Ancurin, J.P., M.P.
 T 1911 Williams, Arthur
 T 1911 Williams, Arthur W.
 s 1904 Williams, Caryl Bransby
 o 1902 Williams, Charles Frederick
 c 1912 Williams, David
 c 1909 Williams, George Clark
 c 1895 Williams, George Thomas, C.E.
 c 1914 Williams, Henry David
 T 1902 Williams, Henry Edmund
 T 1893 Williams, Howell J., J.P., L.C.
 o 1911 Williams, Iolo Ancurin
 T 1892 Williams, John Davies, LL.D.

- r 1910 Williams, John Fischer
 r 1900 Williams, Milbourn Bransby
 r 1910 Williams, Penry, M.P.
 r 1914 Williams, Philip
 L o Williams, S. C. Evans, M.A., J.P.
 o 1896 Williams, Seymour
 o 1884 Williams, Rev. T. E.
 o 1903 Williams, Rev. Thomas Camddwr
 r 1889 Williams, W. M. J.
 r 1900 Williams, Rev. William Llewelyn
 r 1911 Williams, William Llewelyn, K.C., M.P.
 T 1902 Williamson, David
 o 1889 Williamson, Frederick J. K.
 o 1906 Williamson, James (Dulkey)
 T 1914 Williamson, James (Golders Green)
 o 1903 Williamson, Martin
 T 1903 Willis, Arthur
 o 1906 Willis, Charles, J.P.
 A 1914 Willis, Cloudesley Stannard
 - 1908 Willis, Edgar Colman
 1913 Willmott, William John
 1909 Wills, Arthur Lane, J.P.
 1914 Wills, George Tarlton
 1899 Wills, Grahame H., J.P.
 1907 Wills, Rev. John
 1905 Wills, John Ross
 1912 Wilshaw, Robert Heywood, M.B., B.S.
 1892 Wilshire, Gaylord
 1907 Wilson, Albert, J.P., L.C.C.
 1899 Wilson, Alexander Jameson
 1890 Wilson, Alexander Rodger
 1906 Wilson, Allan Maxwell
 1914 Wilson, Anthony
 1913 Wilson, Arnot Milne
 1887 Wilson, Arthur, B.A.
 1908 Wilson, Arthur Cobden Jordan, L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S., J.P.
 1912 Wilson, Charles R.
 1890 Wilson, Sir Frederick W., J.P.
 1911 Wilson, Henry Lloyd
 1898 Wilson, John (London)
 s 1906 Wilson, John (Madras)
 P 1906 Wilson, John, M.P.
 o 1885 Wilson, John A. (Edinburgh)
 s 1906 Wilson, John Alfred (Bulawayo)
 o o Wilson, John F., J.P.
 o 1910 Wilson, The Right Hon. John William, M.P.
 o 1904 Wilson, Norman Forster, A.M.I.C.E., J.P.
 T 1902 Wilson, Philip Whitwell
 o o Wilson, R. Theodore
 T 1888 Wilson, Richard C.
 o 1900 Wilson, Robert
 T 1900 Wilson, Sir Roland Knyvet, Bt., M.A., LL.M.
 T 1912 Wilson, Rowland L.
 o 1886 Wilson, Sam
 T 1904 Wilson, Thomas (Haverstock Hill)
 o 1910 Wilson, Thomas, J.P. (Glasgow)
 o 1910 Wilson, Thomas Fleming
 T 1913 Wimple, John Bowring
 T 1906 Wimpflueimer, Maximilian
 A 1910 Windebanks, Harry Robert
 o 1885 Winfrey, Sir Richard, M.P.
 T 1913 Wing, Tom, M.P.
 T 1900 Winstanley, Howard Percy
 L o Winter, Hugh S.
 T 1913 Winterbotham, Cyril William
 L 1910 Winterbotham, William
 T o Winterbotham, William H.
 o 1888 Wise, Thomas Arnold, M.A.
 T 1910 Wiseman, James Henry
 T 1913 Witheford, Joseph Howard
 o 1899 Withinshaw, John Gibson
 o o Withy, Alfred Ernest
 o 1910 Withy, Arthur E.
 T 1904 Witney, John
 E 1906 Wolff, Robert Eugène
 o 1914 Wood, Alexander
 o 1897 Wood, Sir Edward, J.P.
 T 1906 Wood, Edward, J.P. (London)
 o 1906 Wood, Edward Graham, J.P.
 o 1909 Wood, George Henry

- c 1905 Wood, George Mure, W.S.
 L 1906 Wood, Henry Ernest, J.P.
 T 1903 Wood, Jacob
 A 1913 Wood, John
 c 1912 Wood, Rev. Joseph
 c 1895 Wood, Ralph
 c 1912 Wood, Reginald Gilbert, J.P.
 c 1898 Wood, Thomas
 T 1893 Wood, The Right Hon. Thomas
 McKinnon, D.L., LL.D., M.P.
 T o Woodall, Sir Corbet, C.E.
 c 1885 Woodall, Edward
 T 1907 Woodall, Henry, M.I.C.E.
 (London)
 c 1908 Woodall, Henry (Llandudno)
 T 1902 Woodcock, Hubert Bayley
 Drysdale
 c 1908 Woodhead, Prof. German Sims
 s 1903 Woodhead, Lawrence
 c 1914 Woodhead, Richard
 A 1910 Wooding, Fred
 T 1883 Woods, Arthur
 T 1889 Woods, Edwin MacAlpine, J.P.
 T 1911 Woods, Percy John
 H 1897 Woods, Sam
 c 1898 Woods, Lieut.-Col. William
 T 1890 Woodward, Thomas Hopkins
 c 1901 Woolacott, John Evans
 T 1911 Woolf, Edgar Sidney, B.A.
 T 1896 Woolf, Lieut.-Col. Henry Alban
 T 1896 Woolf, Percy S.
 c 1883 Woollacott, John Christopher
 c 1913 Woolley, Arthur
 o o Woolley, George S.
 L o Woolston, Charles J. K., J.P.
 c 1904 Wootton, Edward, J.P.
 T 1910 Workman, Matthew Henry
 T 1902 Worsley, Herbert
 c 1913 Wrathall, Henry Lonsdale
 T 1895 Wright, Charles
 e o Wright, Frank, J.P.
 c 1902 Wright, Harold
 c 1886 Wright, James, J.P.
 c 1912 Wright, Reginald Montague
 T 1913 Wuille, Dan
 c 1909 Wyatt, Rev. Vitruvius P., M.
 c 1906 Wykes, William
 E 1904 Wynkoop, Bion Tobias
 c 1910 Wynn, Rev. Walter
 T 1896 Wyon, Albert William, F.C.A.
- ## Y
- L 1900 Yarrow, Alfred Fernandez
 c 1896 Yates, Charles (Hertford)
 T 1912 Yates, Charles (London)
 c 1898 Yates, Doctor Walsh
 T 1911 Yates, William Walter
 c 1908 Yearsley, William Antliff
 T 1911 Youle, David Norrie
 T 1901 Youll, Geoffrey Blenkinsopp,
 M.A.
 c 1884 Youll, John Gibson
 T o Young, Andrew
 A 1913 Young, Andrew Reginald
 E 1913 Young, Bernhard
 T 1914 Young, David Wilberforce
 T 1886 Young, Douglas
 T 1903 Young, Enos
 s 1912 Young, Frederick
 s 1902 Young, Henry Alfred
 T 1912 Young, J. Dawbarn
 T 1906 Young, Robert
 c 1883 Young, Samuel, M.P.
 T 1907 Young, William, M.P.
 T 1908 Younger, Robert Edward Nelso
 T 1913 Youngson, Alexander
 T 1892 Yoxall, Sir James Henry, M.P.
 c 1905 Yusuf-Ali, Abdullah Khan
 Bahadur, I.C.S.
- ## Z
- c 1902 Zimmer, Moses Walter
 T 1911 Zimmermann, Charles Maurice
 c 1883 Zimmern, Adolf
 T 1898 Zimmern, Alfred Eckhard
 T 1910 Zorn, John Christian Langenmay

HONORARY MEMBERS.

AROH, JOSEPH
 BELL, RICHARD, J.P.
 BURNS, THE RIGHT HON. JOHN, M.P.
 BURT, THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS, M.P.
 CLIFFORD, DR. JOHN, M.A.
 FENWICK, THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES, M.P.
 FLETCHER, ALFRED EWEN
 LAURIER, THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILFRID, G.C.M.G.
 MADDISON, FRED
 REID, THE RIGHT HON. SIR GEORGE HOUSTON, G.C.M.G.
 ROWLANDS, JAMES, M.P.
 THOMAS, DAVID MORGAN, J.P.
 WARD, JOHN, M.P.
 WOODS, SAM

EX-OFFICIO HONORARY MEMBERS.

HAWKIN, R. C., Secretary of the Eighty Club.
 HUDSON, SIR ROBERT A., J.P., Secretary of the National Liberal
 Federation.

PARLIAMENTARY TEMPORARY MEMBER.

WILSON, JOHN, M.P.

AFFILIATED ASSOCIATIONS AND CLUBS.

Date of Affiliation.	Name of Association or Club.	Secretary or Hon. Secretary.
1914	Acton Liberal and Radical Association	Bernard Hooper
1912	Barben and Mortlake Liberal and Radical Association	James Frederick Powell
1898	Bath Liberal Association ..	Benjamin John, J.P.
1911	Bermondsey Liberal, Radical and Labour Association	John W. Speer
1903	Birmingham Liberal Association	Archibald Campbell McIntosh
1914	Borough of Woolwich Liberal and Radical Association	Lawrence McDonald Lang
1908	Brentford Division Liberal and Radical Association	Albert Ernest Cornish
1897	Brixton Liberal Association ..	Charles Thomas Bartlett
1909	Central Finsbury Liberal and Radical Association	Fred Thoms
1912	Chatham and Gillingham Liberal and Radical Association	John Doggett
1909	Chertsey Division Liberal Four Hundred	E. W. Shipton
1905	Chiswick Liberal and Radical Association	Robert Sidney Hindle
1905	Church of England Liberal and Progressive Union	Rev. John Albert Douglas, B. D.

AFFILIATED ASSOCIATIONS AND CLUBS—(continued).

Date of Affiliation.	Name of Association or Club	Secretary or Hon. Secretary.
1910	City of London United Liberal Association	Alfred Bass
1911	City of Oxford Liberal Association	Thomas V. Pretty C.L.A.
1913	Colchester Liberal Association	Allen G. Aldridge
1912	Croydon Liberal and Radical Association	J. T. Tompkins
1910	Darlington Liberal Association	Charles W. Starmer J.P.
1898	Derby and District Liberal Club	Thomas Bullivant
1889	Devon and Cornwall Liberal Federation	Edwin C. Perry, J.P.
1902	Dulwich Liberal and Radical Association	Joseph Hewitson
1912	Ealing Division Liberal and Radical Council	Eldred Frank Sayers
1910	Ealing League of Young Liberals	Thomas Edward Marks
1912	East Cambs Liberal Association	Albert Golding Essers
1912	East Finsbury Liberal and Radical Association	Frederick Charles Baum
1912	East Glamorgan Liberal Association	Huw T. Richards
1913	East Islington Liberal and Radical Association	Harry Robert Windebank

AFFILIATED ASSOCIATIONS AND CLUBS—(continued).

Date of Affiliation.	Name of Association or Club.	Secretary or Hon. Secretary.
1913	East Kent (St. Augustine's) Liberal and Radical Associa- tion	Hubert Collar
1909	Eastern Counties Liberal Feder- ation	Charles Hughes
1900	Exeter Liberal and Radical Union	Hector John Munro
1901	Frome Division Liberal Associa- tion	Edwin Lesley Gales
1912	Fulham Liberal and Radical Association	Harry Bettinson Crabb
1914	Gladstone League	Stephen Holder, F.C.R.A.
1911	Gloucester Liberal Association	Henry Herbert
1913	Gravesend, Northfleet and Perry Street Liberal and Radical Association	James Pellatt Rickman
1902	Greenwich Liberal Association	Harold Davis
1910	Haggerston Liberal and Radical Association	Richard James Childs
1901	Hampstead Liberal and Radical Association	W. H. Williamson
1909	Hampton Liberal Association	Walter Edward Davies
1896	Harrow Division Liberal and Progressive Liberal Associa- tion	Joseph Henry Hancox

AFFILIATED ASSOCIATIONS AND CLUBS—(continued).

Date of Affiliation.	Name of Association or Club.	Secretary or Hon. Secretary.
1906	Hendon Liberal Association	Thomas Tonkin
1901	Hornsey Liberal and Radical Association	John Walter de Lacy
1911	Horsham Division Liberal As- sociation	William Thorburn
1913	Ilford Liberal and Radical Association	Charles Thomson
1900	Isle of Wight Liberal Union	Leonard Jordan
1889	Kennington Liberal and Radical Association	John Edward Moor- house
1910	Kent County Liberal Confer- ence	Alfred Mills
1912	Kingston District United Liberal Association	Wilfred Ernest Dale
1886	Kingston Division Liberal Council	James Arnott Marshall
1914	Kingswinford Liberal Associa- tion	Robert Henry Douse
1909	Lancashire, Cheshire and North Western Liberal Federation	Frederick Burn
1883	Leicester Liberal Association	Thomas William Smith
1904	Lewisham Liberal and Radical Association	Thomas White
1909	London Liberal Federation	William George Rattey

AFFILIATED ASSOCIATIONS AND CLUBS—(continued).

Date of Affiliation.	Name of Association or Club.	Secretary or Hon. Secretary.
1910	London Young Liberal Federation	George Harold Clennell
1904	Manchester Liberal Federation	George William Thompson
1901	Mid-Gloucestershire Liberal Association	Fred W. King
1912	Mid-Herts Liberal and Radical Association	Frank Garfield Pen- man
1911	Midland Liberal Federation	William Finemore
1912	Midlothian Liberal Association	Henry G. Allan
1914	Mid-Surrey Liberal Association	Cloudeley S. Willis
1913	Mid-Worcestershire Liberal Three Hundred	Ernest Turner
1905	Mill Hill Liberal Association	Andrew Reginald Young
1906	National League of Young Liberals	J. Aubrey Rees
1912	New Barnet District Liberal Association	William Herbert Jones
1904	Newport Liberal Association	Thomas Silas Gower
1896	North Islington Liberal and Radical Association	Allan Ferrie Hankins
1898	North Kensington Liberal and Radical Association	Harry Lewis
1913	North Lindsey Liberal Asso- ciation	Harold Bady.

AFFILIATED ASSOCIATIONS AND CLUBS--(continued).

Date of Affiliation.	Name of Association or Club.	Secretary or Hon. Secretary.
1912	North Oxfordshire Liberal and Radical Association	William Lampet Whitehorn
1906	North Paddington Liberal and Radical Association	George Haynes
1905	North St. Pancras Liberal and Radical Association	Will Parr, C.L.A.
1914	North-West Kent (Dartford) Liberal and Radical Council	David Owen Burt
1905	Northampton Liberal and Radical Association	Edwin Barnes
1910	Northern Liberal Federation	James Corrie
1913	Northwich Division Liberal As- sociation	Sydney Durrant
1907	Northwood Liberal Association	Frank Yarranton Bright
1911	Nottingham Liberal Associa- tion	Edward Harlow, J.P.
1898	Nottingham Reform Club	Richard Sands
1902	Peckham Liberal Club	Arthur Cheshire
1909	Penge Liberal and Progressive Association	Percy Phipps, A.C.A.
1903	Poplar Liberal and Radical Association	Herbert Leonard More- ton Jones
1896	Portsmouth Liberal Association	Leonard R. Maidment
1912	Richmond Liberal Association	Harold J. Baskerville
1898	Romford Division Liberal and Radical Council	William H. Andrews

AFFILIATED ASSOCIATIONS AND CLUBS—(continued).

Date of Affiliation.	Name of Association or Club.	Secretary or Hon. Secretary.
1908	Rotherhithe Liberal, Radical and Progressive Association	Frederick Harry Ben- son
1908	St. George's and Wapping Liberal and Radical Asso- ciation	George Chapman Revell
1903	Scottish Liberal Association	William Webster
1883	Scottish Liberal Club	D. N. Cotton, C.A.
1911	Seven Kings and Goodmayes Liberal Club	Sidney Belither
1897	Sevenoaks Division Central Liberal Association	Arthur John Martin
1913	Society of Certificated and Associated Liberal Agents	Frederic Charles Rivers
1897	South Beds Liberal Association	Charles C. Cotchin
1910	South Bucks Liberal Associa- tion	William Thomas Groom
1913	South-East Essex Liberal and Labour Association	John Arthur Ranger
1913	Southend-on-Sea Liberal Club	L. H. Duniam Jones
1913	South Hackney Liberal, Radical and Progressive Association	J. E. Simmonds
1910	South Herefordshire Liberal Association	James Bricknell Webb
1906	South Islington Liberal and Radical Association	Fred Wooding
1906	South Oxfordshire Liberal Association	Alfred W. Mills
1907	South Paddington Liberal Association	Alfred Young Mayell

AFFILIATED ASSOCIATIONS AND CLUBS—(continued).

Date of Affiliation.	Name of Association or Club.	Secretary or Hon. Secretary.
1909	South St. Pancras Liberal and Radical Association	Arthur Ward
1911	Southport Division Liberal Association	A. Keith Durham
1900	Streatham Liberal and Radical Association	H. N. Licence
1914	Sutton Liberal Association	Eric Decaux Tillett
1904	Teddington and Hampton Wick Liberal Association	Capt. Henry George Beaumont
1911	Tenby Liberal Association	J. E. L. Mabe
1913	Tewkesbury Division Liberal Association	John Wood
1908	Thanet Liberal Association	Rev. Bernard Joshua Salomons
1911	Tottenham Liberal Association	Richard Ashworth
1906	Tottenham and Wood Green Liberal and Radical Federa- tion	Frank Robert Starling
1910	Uxbridge Division Liberal Asso- ciation	Charles Louis Miles
1906	Wandsworth Liberal and Radi- cal Council	John Upton
1914	Wanstead Liberal and Radical Association	Archibald John Blue
1907	Wembley and Sudbury Liberal Association	Frank Ernest Thomp- son
1910	West Essex Liberal Council	William A. Edwards

AFFILIATED ASSOCIATIONS AND CLUBS—(continued).

Date of Affiliation.	Name of Association or Club.	Secretary or Hon. Secretary.
1913	West Ham (N.) Liberal and Radical Association	Albert G. Gay
1909	West Herts Liberal Association	Fred Thyer
1912	West Islington Liberal and Radical Association	Henry Mills, J.P., L.C.C.
1912	West St. Pancras Liberal and Radical Association	Eliozor Shepherd Neill
1908	West Southwark Liberal and Radical Association	Alfred Rummery- Blackford
1902	West Wilts Liberal Association	Ernest J. White
1911	Western Counties Liberal Federation	Alexander Kirkpatrick Simpson
1906	Westminster Liberal Association	George Kenward Sargeant
1905	Wimbledon Division Central Liberal Council	George Graham Lacey
1893	Woodford Liberal and Radical Association	Joseph Shephard
1913	Wood Green Liberal and Radical Association.	William J. Gibbs
1909	Young British Liberals Society	Ernest Percy Ray

OBITUARY.

1st JULY, 1913—30th JUNE, 1914.

- | | |
|---|---|
| Allen, John J. | Goode, Samuel, J.P. |
| Apperly, Sir Alfred, J.P. | Grant, Hugh |
| Ashby, Ernest E. W. | Grundy, John William |
| Bailey, Sir William Henry | Halford, Frederic M. |
| Barnes, Arthur William | Hanna, Col. Henry Bathurst |
| Bellairs, Lieut-Gen. Sir William,
K.C.M.G., C.B. | Harvey, William Edwin, M.P. |
| Belsey, Sir Francis F., J.P. | Healey, William |
| Berens, Lewis Henry | Henlé, Frederick Thomas Henry |
| Beyfus, Alfred | Henwood, Roger |
| Black, Thomas Fraser, J.P. | Hepworth, Norris R. |
| Boocock, Tom | Hogg, Robert Alexander Milligan |
| Botley, Charles E., M.I.C.E. | Holloway Thomas, J.P. |
| Burleigh, Bennet | Horne, Rev. Charles Silvester, M.P. |
| Calder, Charles | Houghton, Henry J. |
| Carvill, William Hamilton | Howlett, George |
| Clarke, Thomas, J.P. | Hynam, William Arthur |
| Coote, Albert | Jacobs, Henry John |
| Crookston, George B., J.P. | Jeejeebhoy, Piroshaw Bomanjee |
| Davis, William Aish | Jephson, Henry Lorenzo, J.P.,
L.C.C. |
| Deacon, Charles William, J.P. | Kemp, George |
| Di克森son, Charles James | Kinloch, Peter |
| Drake, John Armitage, J.P. | Levy, Joseph H. |
| Duncan, Sir John, F.J.I., J.P. | Luke, James |
| Foley, Patrick J. | Luke, Sam |
| Foster, Lancelot | McEwan, The Right Hon. William,
D.L. |
| Gale, Frank Holderness | McGrath, Michael Joseph |
| Ginsburg, Christian D., LL.D.,
J.P. | Mansfield, Horace Rendall, J.P. |

Mathows, Rev. George D., D.D.,
LL.D.

Menzies, Sir Walter, M.P.

Mistry, Shapoorjee Sorabjee

Morgan, Septimus Vaughan

Morris, Edward John

Morse, Levi Lapper

Murgatroyd, John Henry, J.P.

Palmer, The Right Hon. George W.

Paton, Andrew B., J.P.

Price, Hugh Bulkeley, J.P.

Reynolds, George Kosuth

Robertson, J. Barr

Rowe, C. E.

Russell, Robert M.

Rynne, Christopher L., J.P.

Sankoy, John William, J.P.

Schult, Robert

Sheehy, Robert Joseph

Simpson, William

Skinner, Samuel

Skinnor, William Banks, J.P.

Smart, Alfred E.

Soppar, William

Stettauer, Carl, L.C.C.

Street, Eugene Edward, J.P.,

F.S.A.

Stuart, The Right Hon. James,

LL.D.

Stubbings, Henry

Swan, Sir Joseph Wilson, F.R.S.

Tait, Rev. Walter James, M.A.

Thompson, William (Richmond)

Thomson, James

Trickett, Sir H. W., J.P.

Turner, George Henry

von Baudisa, Friedrich

von Zedlitz, Baron Constantiu

Weckes, Bartholomew B.

Wells, John B.

Williams, Morgan B.

Wilson, Henry Joseph

Winterbotham, James Batten

Woodbyrne, William

WORKS OF ART

AS ARRANGED IN THE
NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB.



HALL.

MARBLE STATUE, "LA PAZZIA DI ARISTODEMO."
 By GEORGE H. SAUL, 1886.

Presented by JOHN TOLHURST MUSGRAVE, 1909.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of KING EDWARD VII. From
 the Painting by LUKE FILDEN, R.A.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of QUEEN ALEXANDRA. From
 the Painting by EDWARD HUGHES.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of QUEEN VICTORIA. From
 the Painting by CONSTANT.

MARBLE BUST of the RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.
 By JOHN ADAMS-ACTON.

Presented by Sir ISAAC HOLDEN, Bt., M.P., 1887.

BRONZE PANEL PORTRAIT of JOHN PRINCE, of Sydenham,
 commemorating his munificent bequest of Thirty-one
 thousand pounds to the National Liberal Club. Obiit 17th
 March, 1906. Ætat. 76. By FRANK M. TAUBMAN, 1908.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of LORD PALMERSTON.

Presented by Sir WILLIAM AGNEW, Bt.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. W. E. GLAD-
 STONE, M.P.

Presented by Sir WILLIAM AGNEW, Bt.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. JOHN BRIGHT,
 M.P.

Presented by Sir WILLIAM AGNEW, Bt.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of RICHARD COBDEN.

Presented by J. SEYMOUR BARTLETT, 1905.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. SIR GEORGE
 GREY, Bt., G.C.B.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of SIR ROBERT PEEL.

HALL—continued.

GRAVURE PORTRAIT of KING GEORGE V. and QUEEN MARY.

Presented by AARON WATSON, J.P., 1911.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of the EARL OF ABERDEEN, K.T.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX, M.P.

PHOTOGRAVURE of PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, M.P. From the Original Portrait painted for the Club by A. S. COPE, R.A., 1905.

BUST of the RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

Presented to the National Liberal Club by the Right Hon. Sir HENRY E. ROSCOE, F.R.S., Liberal Member for the South Division of Manchester, 1885-95.

CONFERENCE ROOM.

PORTRAIT of WILLIAM DIGBY, C.I.E., 1849-1904. Hon. Secretary, Indian Famine Fund, 1877, and Secretary to the National Liberal Club from its formation in 1882 until 1887. By J. COLIN FORBES, R.C.A.

Presented by SUBSCRIPTION, 1905.

PORTRAIT of P. W. CLAYDEN. By SAVAGE COOPER.

Presented by SUBSCRIBERS to the "CLAYDEN MEMORIAL FUND," 1903.

PHOTO-PORTRAIT of Mr. and Mrs. GLADSTONE. By JOHN FERGUS.

Presented by JOHN FERGUS, 1898.

PHOTO-PORTRAIT of LORD JOHN RUSSELL, 1860.

Presented by his Son, the Hon. F. A. ROLLO RUSSELL, 1902.

PHOTOGRAVURE of PORTRAIT of J. H. LEVY. From a Painting by SOLOMON J. SOLOMON, R.A.

Presented by SUBSCRIBERS, 1901.

PHOTO-PORTRAIT of J. S. ALLPORT, B.A.

Presented by the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LIBERAL SECRETARIES AND AGENTS, 1901.

PHOTO of STATUE of OLIVER CROMWELL.

Presented by GILBERT JOHN MONSON, 1902.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of DR. JOHN CLIFFORD, M.A. From a Painting by the Hon. JOHN COLLIER.

Presented by THE BAPTIST UNION PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT, 1907.

CONFERENCE ROOM—continued.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. GEORGE CANNING, M.P.

PHOTO-PORTRAIT of FREDERIC NASH.

Presented by the SOCIETY OF CERTIFICATED LIBERAL AGENTS, 1906.

PHOTO-PORTRAIT of FRANCIS SCHNADHORST, First Secretary and Organiser of the National Liberal Federation.

Presented by his FAMILY, 1907.

The COUNCIL of the ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE. Engraving.

Presented by RICHARD LEVITT, 1909.

PHOTO PORTRAIT of THOMAS PALMER NEWBOULD,

Presented by the SOCIETY of CERTIFICATED and ASSOCIATED LIBERAL AGENTS, 1913.

"THE TREATY of PARIS, 1860." Photogravure of Painting in the possession of T. FISHER UNWIN.

Presented by the N.L.C. POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CIRCLE, 1908.

BILLIARD ROOM.

PHOTO-PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

By JOHN FERGUS:

Presented by JOHN NISBET, M.A., 1898.

DRAWING ROOM.

PALM SUNDAY. Water-Colour Painting by Miss HELEN MARGETSON.

Presented by ALFRED SUTRO, 1905.

WATER FOR THE CAMP. Oil Painting by F. GOODALL, R.A.

Presented by F. G. NAUMANN, 1905.

NEAR BIRLING. Oil Painting by J. ADAMS, R.S.A.

Presented by F. G. NAUMANN, 1905.

RIVER SCENE. Oil Painting.

Presented by F. G. NAUMANN, 1905.

SMOKING ROOM.

PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. H. H. ASQUITH, M.P.

By SOLOMON J. SOLOMON, R.A.

Presented by a MEMBER OF THE CLUB, 1909.

PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, G.C.B., M.P. By J. COLIN FORBES, R.C.A.

Presented by ALEXANDER RITCHIE, J.P., 1907.

SMOKING ROOM—*continued.*

PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., in his Robes as Chancellor of the Exchequer. By PHILIP WESTCOTT, 1854.

Presented by T. H. BRYANT, 1903.

PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, Bt., M.P. By H. LENTHALL.

Presented by GEORGE BEVERLEY COOPER, 1907.

The RECEPTION of the RIGHT HON. SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, M.P., at the Royal Albert Hall, on the occasion of the Great Liberal Demonstration, December 21st, 1905. Engraving of Painting by JOSEPH FINNEMORE, R.I., R.B.A., R.C.A.

Presented by Sir HUGH GILZLAN-REID, LL.D., D.L., 1906.

PORTRAIT of JOHN PRINCE of Sydenham, commemorating his munificent bequest of Thirty-one thousand pounds to the National Liberal Club. Obiit 17th March, 1906. Ætat. 76. By EDWIN A. WARD, 1908.

The MEMBERS of MR. W. E. GLADSTONE'S FIRST CABINET, 1868. Engraving.

Presented by H. W. UNDERDOWN, 1902.

PORTRAIT of PROF. J. E. THOROLD ROGERS, M.A. By MARGARET FLETCHER.

Purchased from the "Rogers Memorial Fund," 1891.

PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. R. SPENCE WATSON, LL.D. By Sir GEORGE REID, P.R.S.A.

Presented by SUBSCRIBERS to the Fund raised by the National Liberal Federation, 1903.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. JOHN BRIGHT.

Presented by Mrs. COBDEN UNWIN, 1905.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of RICHARD COBDEN.

Presented by Mrs. COBDEN UNWIN, 1905.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of the MARQUIS of HARTINGTON.

Presented by Sir WILLIAM AGNEW, Bt.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of DANIEL O'CONNELL, M.P.

Presented by Sir WILLIAM AGNEW, Bt.

LANDSCAPE. Engraving of Painting by J. M. W. TURNER, R.A.

Presented by SYDNEY KENNEDY.

VENICE. Engraving of Painting by J. M. W. TURNER, R.A.

Presented by SYDNEY KENNEDY.

SMOKING ROOM—*continued.*

PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. D. LLOYD GEORGE, M.P.,
Chancellor of the Exchequer. By CHRISTOPHER WILLIAMS,
Presented by WELSH MEMBERS of the National Liberal Club
and other Welsh friends, 1913.

CROMWELL and his FAMILY at HAMPTON COURT PALACE.
Engraving.

Presented by JOHN NOBLE.

MEZZOTINT PORTRAIT of VISCOUNT MORLEY, O.M.
By PERCY H. MARTINDALE

Presented by A. M. DRYSDALE, 1907.

MINIATURES on IVORY of the GLADSTONE CABINET,
1874.

Presented by THEODORE H. BRYANT, 1906.

DINING ROOM.

PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.
By J. COLIN FORBES, R.C.A.

Presented by the LIBERALS OF CANADA, 1892.

PORTRAIT of the EARL GRANVILLE, K.G. A Replica of the
Original Painting presented to Earl Granville. By D. A.
WEHRSCHMIDT.

Presented by SUBSCRIBERS, 1892.

PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. JOHN BRIGHT, M.P. A copy of
the Original Painting by LOWES DICKINSON. By G. HILLYARD-
SWINSTEAD.

Presented by SUBSCRIBERS, 1892.

PORTRAIT of RICHARD COBDEN, M.P. From the Picture by
LOWES DICKINSON. By G. HILLYARD-SWINSTEAD.

Presented by ALFRED DARLEY CASTLE, 1890.

PORTRAIT of VISCOUNT OXENBRIDGE, A.D.C. By
HERMAN G. HERKOMER.

Presented in recognition of services as Chairman of the
General Committee by HIS COLLEAGUES AND OTHER
FRIENDS, 1893.

MEMORIAL TABLET to VISCOUNT OXENBRIDGE. Designed
by LEWIS F. DAY. Executed by Miss M. E. REEKS, 1893.

PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, M.P.
By A. S. COPE, R.A.

Presented by the SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT PORTRAIT COM-
MITTEE, 1905.

DINING ROOM—continued.

PORTRAIT of EARL CARRINGTON, K.G., G.C.M.G. (now the MARQUESS OF LINCOLNSHIRE). By A. S. COPE, R.A.
Presented by SUBSCRIBERS, 1911.

GRILL ROOM.

PORTRAIT of WILLIAM CLARKE, M.A. By FELIX MOSCHELES.
Presented by the ARTIST, 1901.

PORTRAIT of CHARLES BRADLAUGH, M.P. By WALTER SICKERT.
Presented by SUBSCRIBERS, 1891.

PORTRAIT of SYDNEY KENNEDY, one of the founders of the Club. By R. PONSONBY STAPLES.
Presented by SUBSCRIBERS, 1894.

PORTRAIT of C. J. FOX, M.P. By JAMES LONSDALE, 1803.
Presented by Earl CARRINGTON, K.G., G.C.M.G., 1899.

PORTRAIT of SIR WILLIAM ALLAN, M.P. By TREVOR HADDON.
Presented by the ARTIST, 1898.

PORTRAIT of GARIBALDI. Painted in the Camp at the Siege of Rome, 1849. By Col. MORELLI.
Presented by HODGSON PRATT, 1892.

PORTRAIT of EARL GREY. Copy of the Original Portrait by Sir THOMAS LAWRENCE, P.R.A. By H. H. EMERSON.
Presented by the Right Hon. R. SPENCE WATSON, LL.D., 1891.

PORTRAIT of THOMAS HARDY, 1752-1832. Secretary of the London Corresponding Society. By Miss MCCREERY.
Presented by the EXECUTORS OF THE LATE EDWARD TRUKLOVE, 1899.

BILL of SALE of a NEGRO SLAVE.
Presented by HORACE JOHN SMITH, 1905.

GRILL ROOM CORRIDOR.

BUST of the Right Hon. Sir ROBERT PEEL, Bt.
Presented to the National Liberal Club by the Right Hon. Sir HENRY E. ROSCOE, F.R.S., Liberal Member for the South Division of Manchester, 1885-95.

SMALL SMOKING ROOM.

FOUR ENGRAVINGS of HOGARTH'S PICTURES of PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS.
Presented by Sir T. H. D. BERRIDGE, 1905.

SMALL SMOKING ROOM—continued.

FOUR ORIGINAL SKETCHES of the **INTERIOR** of the **CLUB**—
The **GRAND STAIRCASE**, **SMOKING ROOM**, **READING ROOM**, and **GRILL ROOM**. By **JOSEPH PENNELL**.

Presented by the **ARTIST**.

PHOTO of **CEREMONY** of **LAYING** the **FOUNDATION STONE**
of the **CLUB**.

Presented by **S. DIGBY, C.I.E.**, 1905.

ENGRAVING of **PORTRAIT** of **OLIVER CROMWELL**. From
the Original in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire.

Presented by **T. J. SALWEY**.

POLITICAL CARTOON by "F.C.G."

Presented by **T. FISHER UNWIN**.

PHOTO of the **DEPUTATION** to **IRELAND** of the **ENGLISH HOME RULE UNION**, 1887.

Presented by **E. J. C. MORTON, M.P.**

PHOTO-PORTRAIT of **MR. and MRS. GLADSTONE**. By **H. S. MENDELSSOHN**.

Presented by **ISAAC SHONE** and **H. S. MENDELSSOHN**, 1898.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN'S CABINET, 1905. By
ARTHUR GARRATT.

Presented by **HENRY SMITH**, 1906.

BIRTHPLACE of the **RIGHT HON. THOMAS BURT, M.P.**
By **ROBERT JOBBLING**.

Presented by **ERNEST LUNGE, LL.D.**, 1908.

THREE ENGRAVINGS of **HOGARTH'S PICTURES**.

Presented by **MICHAEL CASTLE**, 1912.

LIBRARY.

MARBLE BUST of the **RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.**
By **E. ONSLOW FORD**.

Purchased by the **CLUB**, 1888.

MARBLE BUST of the **RIGHT HON. JOHN BRIGHT, M.P.** By
J. ADAMS-ACTON.

Presented by **MEMBERS OF THE HOUSES OF LORDS AND COMMONS** and the **NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB**, 1889.

MARBLE BUST of **RICHARD COBDEN, M.P.** Copied, by permission of the Committee of the Reform Club, from the Bust by **MATTHEW NOBLE**. By **E. J. PHYSICK**.

Presented by **MEMBERS OF THE HOUSES OF LORDS AND COMMONS** and the **NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB**, 1890.

LIBRARY—*continued.*

MARBLE BUST of the RIGHT HON. SIR ROBERT PEEL, Bt. Copied, by gracious permission of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, from the Bust by Sir F. CHANTREY, at Windsor Castle. By J. ADAMS-ACTON.

Presented by ALFRED DARLEY CASTLE, 1891.

BUST of SIR WILLIAM MOLESWORTH, Bt.

Presented by R. J. BIRON, Q.C., 1888.

READING ROOM.

PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. Copied, by permission of Sir CHARLES TENNANT, Bt., and the Trustees of the National Gallery, from the Original Portrait by Sir JOHN E. MILLAIS, Bt., R.A. By G. HILLYARD-SWINSTRAD.

Presented by ALFRED DARLEY CASTLE, 1900.

BRONZE STATUETTE of the RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. By BRUCE JOY.

Presented by JOHN DREW, 1900.

PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. JAMES BRYCE. (By 'S. SEYMOUR THOMAS.

Presented by W. A. G. WALKER, 1911.

MEDALLION, with PORTRAITS of TURGOT, SAY [and BASTIAT.

Presented by the SOCIETE D'ECONOMIE POLITIQUE DE PARIS as a Souvenir of their visit to the N.L.C. Political and Economic Circle, 14th October, 1907.

PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.
In Tile Work.

Presented by WALTER WEIR, 1905.

PORTRAIT of ROBERT OWEN. By H. W. PICKERSGILL, R.A., 1826.

Presented by WILLIAM TEBB, 1907.

BRONZE MEDALLION of LORD MACAULAY.

Presented by JAMES E. MATHIESON, 1903.

Seven **MEDALLIONS** of CROMWELL.

Presented by EDWARD B. HARRIS, 1898.

PORTRAIT of EARL CARRINGTON, K.G., G.C.M.G. (now the MARQUESS OF LINCOLNSHIRE). By D. A. WEHRSCHMIDT.

Presented by SUBSCRIBERS, 1900.

PORTRAIT of LORD BYRON. A copy of the Original Painting by THOMAS PHILLIPS, R.A. By MARY E. LEVISON.

Presented by E. J. LEVISON, 1899.

CARD ROOM.

PORTRAIT of JOSEPH LEICESTER, 1825-1903. M.P. for West Ham, South, 1885-6. By T. F. M. SHEARD.

Presented by E. A. STRAUSS, M.P., 1908.

The CELEBRATION of the DIAMOND JUBILEE at St. Paul's Cathedral, June 22nd, 1897. Engraving of Picture painted by JOHN CHARLTON.

Presented by M. M. TERRERO, 1905.

PHOTO-PORTRAIT of SAMUEL MORLEY.

Presented by SYDNEY KENNEDY.

PHOTO-PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

Presented by SYDNEY KENNEDY.

The COUNCIL of the ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE. Engraving.

Presented by Sir WILLIAM AGNEW, Bt.

The ABERDEEN CABINET deciding upon the EXPEDITION TO THE CRIMEA. Engraving.

Presented by Sir WILLIAM AGNEW, Bt.

"BRAINS"—THE RIGHT HON. H. H. ASQUITH, M.P.

Vanity Fair Cartoon by "SPY," 1904.

VISCOUNT GLADSTONE.

The World Cartoon by "SPY," 1910.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR GEORGE HOUSTON REID, K.C.

Cartoon by "EMU," 1911.

READING ROOM CORRIDOR.

MARBLE BUST of J. F. B. FIRTH, First Deputy-Chairman of the London County Council. By F. VERHEYDEN.

Presented by FRIENDS AND ADMIRERS OF MR. FIRTH, 1893.

PORTRAIT of W. CURLING ANDERSON, J.P., Vice-Chairman of the General Committee of the National Liberal Club from 1887 to 1907. By J. COLIN FORBES, R.C.A.

Presented by his FAMILY, 1908.

COMMITTEE ROOM.

PORTRAIT of JOHN STUART MILL, 1806-1873. From a Drawing by E. GOODWYN LEWIS, 1869.

Presented by J. H. LEVY, 1905.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. From the Original Portrait painted for the Club by J. COLIN FORBES, R.C.A.

Presented by the Publishers, HENRY GRAVES & Co., 1892.

COMMITTEE ROOM—*continued.*

- ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, G.C.B., M.P. From the Original Portrait painted for the Club by J. COLIN FORBES, R.C.A. Presented by the Publishers, WILLIAM DOIG & Co., 1907.
- ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. H. H. ASQUITH, M.P. From the Original Portrait painted for the Club by SOLOMON J. SOLOMON, R.A. Presented by Sir ADOLPH TUCK, Bt., 1910.
- ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of the EARL OF ROSEBERY, K.G. K.T. Presented by the Publishers, HENRY GRAVES & Co., 1894.
- ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of VISCOUNT MORLEY, O.M. From a Painting by WALTER S. CORDER. Presented by the Publishers, MAWSON, SWAN & MORGAN, 1896.
- THE INTELLECT and VALOUR of BRITAIN. Engraving of Picture painted by T. J. BARKER. Presented by RICHARD EVE, 1894.
- THE REFORM BILL receiving the KING'S ASSENT by ROYAL COMMISSION, 7th June, 1832. Engraving by M. WALKER. Presented by RICHARD EVE, 1894.
- THE INTRODUCTION of the HOME RULE BILL. Photogravure from the Painting by R. PONSOMBY STAPLES. Presented by the ARTIST, 1897.
- PHOTOGRAVURE of PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. From the Painting by G. F. WATTS, R.A. Presented by the Photographers, CAMERON & SMITH, 1891.
- PHOTOGRAVURE of PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, M.P. From the Original Portrait painted for the Club by A. S. COPE, R.A., 1905.
- PHOTO-PORTRAIT of the EARL of KIMBERLEY, K.G. Presented by W. S. CORDER, 1900.
- ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of EARL CARRINGTON, K.G., G.C.M.G. From the Original Portrait painted for the Club by D. A. WEHRSCHEIDT, 1900.
- ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of EARL SPENCER, K.G. Presented, 1905.
- ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of the MARQUESS of RIPON, K.G. Presented, 1905.
- ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of EARL GRANVILLE. Presented by Sir WILLIAM AGNEW, Bt.

COMMITTEE ROOM—*continued.*

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. SIR ROBERT PEEL, M.P.

Presented by Sir WILLIAM AGNEW, Bt.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of RICHARD COBDEN.

Presented by Sir WILLIAM AGNEW, Bt.

PHOTOGRAVURE of PORTRAIT of LORD TWEEDMOUTH.

Presented, 1905.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of QUEEN VICTORIA.

Presented by JOHN NOBLE.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. GEORGE CANNING, M.P.

Presented by Sir WILLIAM AGNEW, Bt.

PHOTO-PORTRAIT of THOMAS BURT, M.P. From the Painting by T. B. GARVIE.

Presented by the Artist, 1901.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

Presented by C. D. GINSBURG, LL.D., J.P., 1894.

PHOTOGRAPH of ARTHUR J. WILLIAMS, one of the founders of the Club, and for many years a member of the General Committee. Purchased, 1912.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of RICHARD COBDEN. From the Original Painting by C. A. DUVAL.

Presented by his Daughter, Mrs. COBDEN UNWIN, 1902.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of HENRY VINCENT.

ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX. From the Portrait by SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS.

Presented by RICHARD PRICE-WILLIAMS, M.I.C.E., 1910.

"THE BOB THAT REPRESENTS A SOVEREIGN"; [which refers to Earl Carrington when Governor of New South Wales, 1885-1890. Original Cartoon by PHIL MAY, 1887.

Presented by H. MARTIN DOYLE, 1903.

HEAD OF GRAND STAIRCASE.

PORTRAIT of SIR FRANCIS CARRUTHERS GOULD ("F.C.G.")

By REGINALD G. JENNINGS.

Presented by SUBSCRIBERS, 1908.

PORTRAIT of GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE. By his nephew, ROWLAND HOLYOAKE, from the Original Picture by the same Artist in the possession of the Rationalist Press Association.

Presented by SUBSCRIBERS, 1908.

OIL PAINTING "CARAVAN CROSSING THE DESERT."

By N. BERCÈRE.

Presented by ROBERT TAYLOR HEAPE, 1912.

BEDROOMS.

SIXTY "H.B." POLITICAL CARTOONS. By **JOHN DOYLE**,
1835-1840.

Presented by **THEODORE H. BRYANT**, 1907.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE.

PHOTOGRAVURE of the **RIGHT HON. WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE**. From a photograph by the **RIGHT HON. L. HARCOURT, M.P.**

Presented by the **LIBERAL PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT**,
1913.

PHOTOGRAVURE of the **RIGHT HON. SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN**. From a copyright photograph by **Mr. G. C. BERESFORD**.

Presented by the **LIBERAL PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT**,
1913.

PHOTOGRAVURE of the **RIGHT HON. H. H. ASQUITH, M.P.**
From a copyright photograph by **Mr. G. C. BERESFORD**.

Presented by the **LIBERAL PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT**,
1913.

PHOTOGRAVURE of the **RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT MORLEY, O.M.** From a copyright photograph by **Mr. G. C. BERESFORD**.

Presented by the **LIBERAL PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT**,
1913.

PHOTOGRAVURE of the **RIGHT HON. D. LLOYD GEORGE, M.P.** From a copyright photograph by **Mr. G. C. BERESFORD**.

Presented by the **LIBERAL PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT**,
1913.

PHOTO-PORTRAIT of the **RIGHT HON. JOHN BRIGHT, M.P.**,
and **GRANDSON**.

Presented by **W. LEATHAM BRIGHT**.

BUST of **P. A. TAYLOR, M.P.**

Presented by **CORRIE GRANT**, 1898.

ENGRAVING of **PORTRAIT** of the **RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE**.

Presented by **Mrs. COBDEN UNWIN**, 1905.

PHOTO-PORTRAIT of the **RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.**, at Tintagel Castle.

Presented by **SIR FRANCIS LAYLAND-BARRATT, Bt., M.P.**, 1891.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE—*continued.*

- PHOTOGRAVURE of PORTRAIT of the RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, M.P. From the Original Portrait painted for the Club by A. S. COPE, R.A., 1905.
- PHOTO-PORTRAIT of MR. and MRS. GLADSTONE, LORD RENDEL, and MR. HENRY GLADSTONE, at Cannes, 1897.
Presented by C. D. GINSBURG, LL.D., J.P., 1902.
- PHOTO-PORTRAIT of C. H. HOPWOOD, K.C.
Presented by J. H. LEVY, 1905.
- PHOTO-PORTRAIT of THOMAS E. ELLIS, M.P.
Presented by N. P. HAMILTON BROWN, 1899.
- ENGRAVING of PORTRAIT of SIR FRANK LOCKWOOD.
Presented by the Publishers, MORRIS & Co., 1898.
- PHOTOGRAVURE of PORTRAIT of JOHN CHARLES BUCKMASTER, M.A., J.P.
Presented, 1906.
- "SMALL HOLDINGS"—THE RIGHT HON. EARL CARRINGTON, K.G., G.C.M.G. *Vanity Fair* Cartoon by "SPY," 1907.
- THE BIRTHPLACE of JOHN HAMPDEN. Oil Painting by W. A. SMITH.
Presented by the EARL OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, 1897.
- "FREE TRADE" and "PROTECTION." Two Engravings after Sir E. LANDSEER, R.A.
Presented by JAMES BLYTH, 1838.
- PHOTOGRAPH of MARBLE BUST of the RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., by E. ONSLOW FORD.
The Bust is in the Gladstone Library and was purchased by the Club in 1883.
- ENGRAVING of Portrait of JOHN COLLINS, CHARTIST.
Presented by M. H. TRUELVE, 1909.
- PHOTOGRAVURE of KING EDWARD VII, in his Robes as Knight of the Garter.
- "MR GALLOWAY WEIR, M.P., AND MOTORS." Pen and Ink Drawing by A. S. BOYD.
Presented by HENRY SMITH, 1906.
- CRAYON DRAWING of PORTRAITS of the RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., and the EARL OF ROSEBURY, K.G. By ANNIE MACKENZIE.
Presented by the Artist, 1894.

NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB.

FORM OF NOMINATION.

RULE 30, SECTION (b).—“ Each Nomination * * * shall be accompanied by letters from the Proposer and Secunder in support of their Candidate.” [Letters should state that the Candidate is a Liberal, and personally known to the Writer.]

If the Candidate is of Foreign birth, his letters of Naturalization must be submitted to the Committee.

*Candidate's name in full _____ 19

†Address _____

Profession or occupation (if any) _____

being a Liberal and a subject of the British Crown, desires to be nominated as a Candidate for (state whether "Life," "Town," or "Country") _____ Membership of the National Liberal Club.

Candidate's Signature _____

We, being Members of the Club, nominate Mr. _____

We know that he is a Liberal in Politics, that the above particulars are correct, and that he is personally and socially desirable as a Member of the Club.

‡Name of Proposer _____

Address _____

‡Name of Secunder _____

Address _____

BANKERS—Messrs. BARCLAY & CO., LTD., 1, PALL MALL EAST, LONDON, S.W.

This Form, when filled up, should be addressed to

The Secretary, National Liberal Club,

Whitehall Place, London, S.W.

and should be received by him at least ten days before the first Wednesday in the month, that being the day on which the General Committee's Meetings are held.

¶ Please give name of Constituency _____

Letters from proposer and secunder should accompany this form.

NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB.

FORM OF NOMINATION FOR JUNIOR MEMBERSHIP.

RULE 30, SECTION (b).—"Each Nomination * * * shall be accompanied by letters from the Proposer and Seconder in support of their Candidate." [Letters should state that the Candidate is a Liberal, and personally known to the Writer.]

*If the Candidate be of Foreign birth, his letters of Naturalization must be submitted to the Committee.

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*Candidate's name in full _____

¶Address _____

Profession or occupation (if any) _____

Aged _____ on last birthday _____ 191 _____

(A) An Undergraduate Student at _____

or (B) the son of _____ a Member of the Club being a Liberal and a subject of the British Crown, desires to be nominated as a Candidate for Junior (state whether "Town" or "Country") _____ Membership of the National Liberal Club.

Candidate's Signature _____

We, being members of the Club, nominate Mr. _____

We know that he is a Liberal in Politics, that the above particulars are correct, and that he is personally and socially desirable as a Member of the Club.

‡Name of Proposer _____

Address _____

‡Name of Seconder _____

Address _____

‡Letters from Proposer and Seconder should accompany this Form.

BANKERS—Messrs. BARCLAY & CO., LTD., 1, PALL MALL EAST, LONDON, E.C. 1

This Form, when filled up, should be addressed to

*The Secretary, National Liberal Club,
Whitehall Place, London, S.W.*

and should be received by him at least ten days before the first Wednesday in the month, that being the day on which the General Committee's Meetings are held.

¶ Please give name of constituency _____

- T 1900 Roberts, Arthur Rhys
 c 1905 Roberts, Charles Edwin, J.P.
 c 1896 Roberts, Charles Henry, M.P.
 1904 Roberts David (Grantham)
 1912 Roberts, David, J.P. (Swansea)
 1884 Roberts, David Charles
 1912 Roberts, Ellis William
 1884 Roberts, John (Tulse Hill)
 1909 Roberts, John (West Kensington)
 1889 Roberts, Sir John Reynolds, J.P.
 1911 Roberts, Richard Henry
 c 1905 Roberts, Robert Marcus
 c 1896 Roberts, Thomas
 c 1900 Roberts, Thomas Hartley
 T 1886 Roberts, Thomas Lee, J.P.
 c 1912 Roberts, William David
 T 1913 Roberts, William Griffith
 T 1910 Robertson, Adam Cowan
 s 1908 Robertson, Capt. Charles Arthur
 a 1906 Robertson, Sir George Scott,
 K.C.S.I., M.P.
 1909 Robertson, Hardy
 1901 Robertson, Irving Earl
 1897 Robertson, John Mackinnon, M.P.
 1913 Robertson, Peter Lymburner
 1912 Robertson, Robert Alexander
 1901 Robertson, Thomas Atholl
 1910 Robertson, William
 1912 Robertson, William Beveridge
 c 1893 Robertson, William John
 1906 Robinson, Alfred, J.P.
 1905 Robinson, Edward, J.P.
 5 Robinson, Frederic Arthur
 Robinson, James (Cricklewood)
 Robinson, James (Aylesbury)
 Robinson, John
 Robinson, Rev. John
 Robinson, Joseph John
 Robinson, Sidney, M.P.
 Robinson, Sydney Walter
 1904 Robinson, Thomas, J.P.
 1901 Robison, William Cowper
 899 Robson, Edwin, J.P.
 910 Robson, Frank
 T 1891 Robson, John Ajmere
 T 1909 Robson, John George
 c 1911 Robson, William
 c 1913 Roche, Augustine M., M.P.
 L o Roche, Charles St. John K
 c 1900 Rocke, Fred, J.P.
 T 1907 Rocke, George
 T 1911 Rodan, W. McKelvie
 c 1901 Rode, James
 c 1912 Rodhouse, Charles John Walker
 L o Roe, M.T.
 T o Roe, Sir Thomas, J.P., M.P.
 c o Roff, William, J.P.
 c 1898 Rogers, Alexander Elliott
 T 1886 Rogers, Arthur G. L., M.A.
 c 1884 Rogers, Leonard James, M.A.
 c 1883 Rogers, Samuel, J.P.
 T 1913 Roll, Graham Winfield, M.B.,
 F.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.
 T 1899 Roll, James
 c 1914 Rollin, Charles, M.Sc., F.C.S.,
 J.P.
 c 1907 Rollit, Lieut.-Col. Sir Albert
 Kaye, D.L., J.P.
 T 1910 Romyn, Frederick Albert
 T 1906 Romyn, Jacob
 T 1913 Roney, Ernest
 T 1905 Roney, Julian
 T 1913 Roney-Dougal, John Dougal
 T 1910 Roos, Hermann
 T 1896 Roper, Francis William
 T 1909 Roques, Antoine William
 E 1903 Roraback, Charles Edward
 T 1914 Rorke, Alfred
 T 1913 Roscoe, Frank
 T 1906 Rose, Frederick, M.A.,
 Ph.D.
 c 1903 Rose, Thomas Harry, J.P.
 c 1914 Rose, William, J.P.
 L 1889 Rose-Innes, John
 E 1902 Rosenberg, Oscar Adolph
 T 1912 Rosenfeld, Ernest
 T 1906 Rosenfeld, Isaac
 T 1910 Rosenfeld, Louis