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BUREAU OF EDUCATION.

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INDIAN EDUCATION

IN

1915-16.



CALCUTTA  
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### *Introduction.*

The complication caused in the preceding year by the decision to exclude figures for certain Native States, which had been included in the general tables previous to 1914-15, still renders comparisons difficult in this year's narrative. The point is noted in appropriate passages.

A minor modification has been introduced in the year under review, whereby the classification of *maktabs*, *mulla* schools, *tols*, *pathshalas* and *kyaung* schools is made uniform. In some provinces (notably in the western divisions of Bengal) these institutions had largely figured under the head "other schools." In the present tables such of them as teach all or a reasonable part of the primary course are classed as primary schools.

Other minor modifications are the inclusion of technical and industrial schools in Madras and of tea-garden schools as public institutions in Assam, and the exclusion from general table VI of the results of certain supplementary examinations in Bombay.

In view of the vexed nature of the question of the percentage of the population, which should be regarded as of school-going age, the percentages of pupils are now shown, not against 15 per cent. of the population, but against the population as a whole.

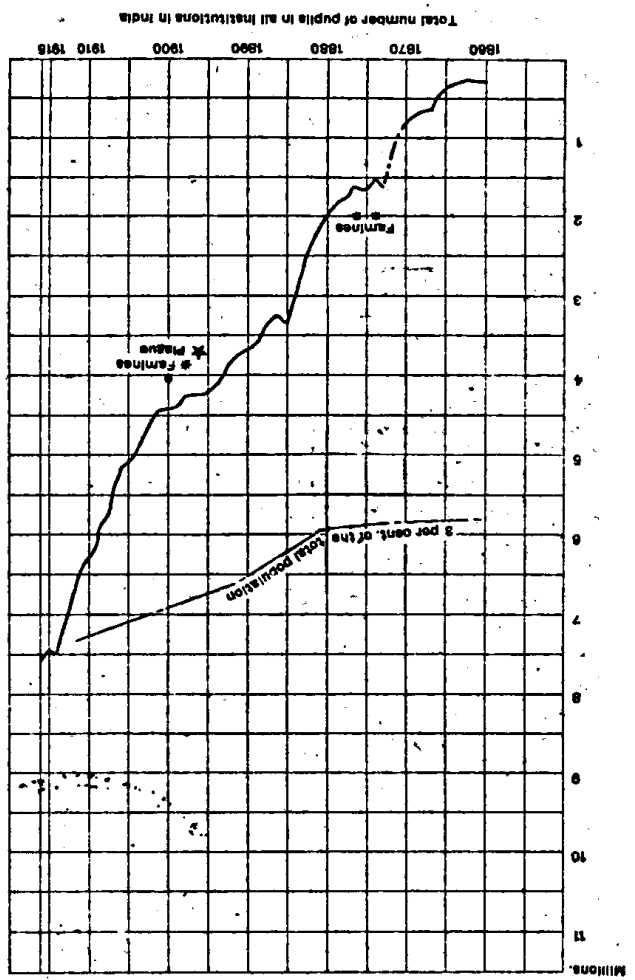
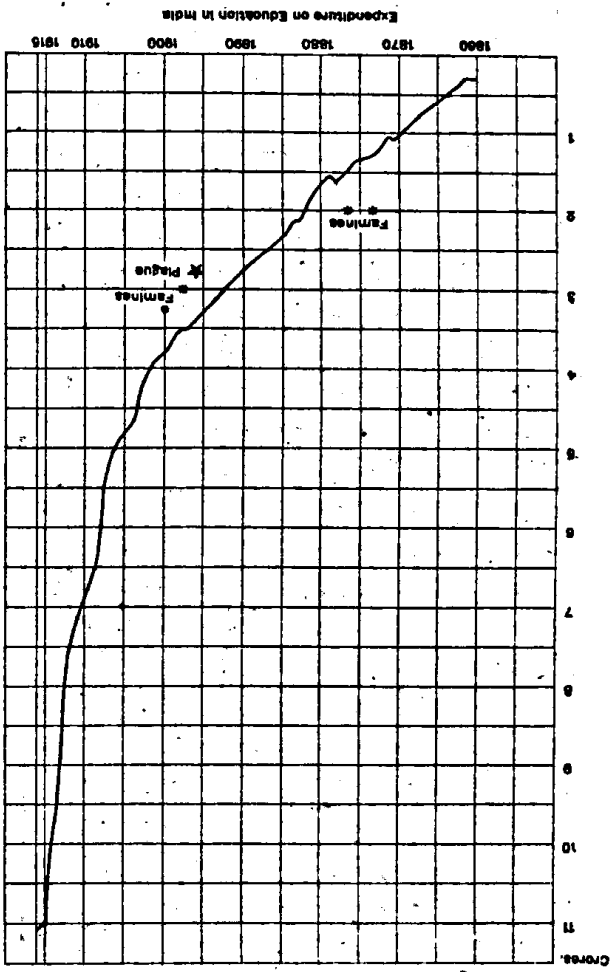
In conformity with the policy at present pursued of curtailing reports and statistics, the usual illustrations have been omitted, as well as notices of any branch of education whose development does not call for special remarks in a short narrative. To avoid expense, the report is this year issued in paper binding. There will be no annual narrative for 1916-17, its place being taken by the Quinquennial Review, in which it is hoped to publish some of the photographs collected for the present volume.

H. SHARP,

*Educational Commissioner  
with the Government of India.*

DELHI,  
1917.





# INDIAN EDUCATION

IN

1915-16.

## *I.—Main features of the year.*

This section deals, as usual, with matters of general interest.

The difficulties arising out of the war, to which allusion was made in last year's narrative, continue to be experienced. The Indian Educational Service and the staffs of private colleges have been further depleted for military duty. Recruitment from England has practically ceased. Arrangements have had to be made for schools managed by enemy missions, whose agents have been repatriated. In Madras, the management of some such schools was transferred to Government or to local boards. The Missionary Educational Council of South India agreed to undertake the management of others without further aid than that permissible under the rules governing recurring grants. Recognition and aid have been continued for the present on these conditions. It is understood that similar arrangements are being made in other provinces. The Government of Bombay furnished financial aid to Roman Catholic schools which had suffered through loss of German or Austrian members of their staff. Financial stringency has dictated curtailment of expenditure in some (though not the most important) directions. The general expansion of education, though far from checked, has been retarded. *The war.*

In addition to members of the teaching and inspecting staff, pupils and ex-pupils of institutions have contributed their quota, in one form or another, to the war. Many past students of European schools, writes the Director in Bombay, are serving in various capacities, and each school is keeping its roll of honour. The same is the case in the Punjab; the Lawrence Military Asylum at Sanawar has provided a long list of recruits as well as a signalling detachment; no less than ten students out of the small training class at the same place are on service together with the master in charge; over twenty old boys of the Bishop Cotton School at Simla have obtained commissions. Other schools have not been backward; in some districts of the Rawalpindi division 868 teachers and students are known to have enlisted, in addition to 1,682 ex-pupils of primary schools. Teachers and boys have liberally subscribed to war funds; *e.g.*, the Government high school at Amritsar contributed Rs500 towards the Punjab aeroplane fund. The Bihar School of Engineering and other institutions have assisted in the manufacture of munitions.

Efforts continue to keep the school population informed of the progress of the war. The *Al Haqiqat* is to be found in the reading room of many

institutions. Lectures were delivered in some provinces. Copies of the Bryce Commission's report were distributed in Burma. Similar action for distributing news is reported from other provinces. Perhaps the most noticeable development is that which has taken place at the Lahore Government College, where a college war news association has been formed, the members of which have written pamphlets and undertaken to disseminate information.

*Expenditure*

The total expenditure during the last three years, and the portions of it borne by public funds (*i.e.*, provincial, local and municipal) and by private funds (*i.e.*, fees, subscriptions, endowments, etc.), are as follows:—

Year.	Public funds.	Private funds.	TOTAL.
	₹	₹	₹
1913-14 . . . . .	5,50,11,490	4,52,12,387	10,02,23,877
1914-15 . . . . .	6,33,02,792	4,58,67,700	10,91,70,492
1915-16 . . . . .	6,21,68,904	4,86,60,345	11,08,29,249

Thus in two years, during the last twenty months of which the Empire has been at war, expenditure has increased by over 1 crore of rupees, to which must be added a sum of about 30 lakhs expended in Native States, last shown in 1913-14 and since omitted. Hence the total increase has been ₹1,36,00,000 (£907,000) and the total expenditure in British India now just exceeds 11 crores which equals £7,333,000 sterling. Madras, the Punjab and the Central Provinces show the largest increases during the year, amounting respectively to nearly 13, 5 and 4 lakhs. The United Provinces, Burma and Bihar and Orissa show considerable decreases.

Expenditure from public funds, though greater by 71½ lakhs than in the pre-war year, was less by 11½ lakhs than in 1914-15. This diminution has taken place in expenditure from provincial revenues upon buildings, furniture and apparatus, which was less by nearly 50 lakhs than in the previous year. The expenditure upon buildings of large sums out of the non-recurring imperial grants had swollen the education budgets during the past few years. Owing to the war, Local Governments have been unable to draw to any large extent upon the balances which they still retain. Nevertheless, reports indicate that building activity has by no means ceased. On the other hand, expenditure from provincial funds upon the establishments and maintenance of colleges and secondary, primary and special schools, as well as upon universities, scholarships, etc., has increased under every head. But no new imperial grants were allotted during the year.

The other source of public expenditure—local and municipal funds—has contributed an additional 16½ lakhs of expenditure during the current year. It is necessary here to allude to the remarks of the Government of the Punjab upon under-expenditure by boards and municipalities in 1914-15. The Director now explains that the local bodies, relieved by enhanced grants from a certain amount of recurring expenditure, temporarily diverted the portion of their own resources thus set free to capital expenditure, but since then have again raised their recurring outlay beyond its former level. In Assam it was found that the additional grants made had been of much help to several

of the boards, but the result had in some cases been a decline from the standard previously set up.

A change was made in the system of distributing grants to local bodies in the Punjab for the extension of vernacular education. The variable grants previously assessed from year to year were fixed grants and it was decided that new grants should be distributed to boards most in need of assistance at a rate of ₹200 and ₹150 for each boys' and girls' school, respectively, which should be opened, subject to the condition that the amount allotted should not be exceeded. The Director remarks that this system, while it possesses certain advantages, leaves the local bodies in ignorance as to the assistance they may expect and hence unable to frame programmes of extension in advance, does not permit them to raise salaries and add teachers to understaffed schools and does not afford any guarantee to proportionate expenditure on the part of the board.

Fees show an increase of about 18 lakhs and private subscriptions have steadily increased.

The expenditure from Imperial grants is shown mainly under that from *Imperial provincial revenues*, or, where funds have been permanently allocated to local bodies, under the heads local and municipal. But it is necessary to treat of these grants separately. In previous narratives it was impossible to do this with accuracy, since the figures in the general tables did not distinguish between expenditure from this source and expenditure from other sources. All that could be done was to show the total increase over the expenditure of 1910-11; and, as stated last year, the table then appended did not give an accurate description of the position regarding these grants, since it was known that expenditure had been increased from other sources. It has therefore appeared better to rely entirely upon figures of approximate expenditure from the imperial grants which are compiled from information supplied by Local Governments and other spending authorities. Hence it is no longer necessary to publish the table which figured as an appendix to the previous narratives. Instead, the figures referred to above are now published as an appendix to the present volume.

With a view to the understanding of this appendix, it should be explained that the allotted grants to which it refers are the following:—

Grants of	Lakhs of rupees.	
	Recurring.	Non-recurring.
1910-11	...	93.00
1912-13	60.00	3,87.18
1913-14	60.00	...
	{ new 55.00	.95
1914-15	{ old 1,15.00	...
	{ new 9.00	12.25
1915-16	{ old 1,24.00	...
	{ new ...	...
TOTAL	4,23.00	4,93.38

Hence a total of 493.38 lakhs non-recurring and 423 lakhs recurring has been made in the past six years. (The annual recurring allotment now amounts to 124 lakhs.) The total allotment up to date has been 916.38 lakhs.

Out of the last-mentioned total, 916.04 lakhs have been placed in provincial balances or made available for expenditure, and 0.34 lakh has been surrendered. Out of the sum of 916.04 lakhs, 685.19 lakhs have been spent and 230.85 lakhs are as yet unspent, 229.43 lakhs standing in balances of major provinces and the remaining sum of 1.42 remaining unspent by minor administrations or other spending authorities, but available for re-allotment by special sanction.

The figures given in brief in the preceding paragraph are elaborated in the appendix. In order to avoid misunderstanding it may be observed that the recurring balance shown in the penultimate column of the appendix is available only for capital expenditure.

Last year an attempt was made to show the distribution of imperial grants on different kinds of education. It was stated that the figures could not lay claim to accuracy. Accurate and detailed figures, however, are to be found in some of the provincial reports. The Director in Bombay has made a particularly careful and valuable calculation; and an admirable series of statements is appended to the report from the Central Provinces.

Several of the Directors describe the great improvements which imperial grants have rendered possible. Thus the Bengal report states that good work is now being done in board lower primary schools and that the teachers are reasonably prosperous and contented. There is especially a real advance in the work attempted in some of the *guru* training schools. The Punjab report reviews the period from 1904-05 (the earliest date at which large imperial grants were made) and points out that in every stage of education in that province, the volume of education has doubled or more than doubled during the period. Nor has the advance been merely numerical; salaries have been enhanced, additional teachers appointed and new facilities given for the training of teachers. At the same time the Directors in these two provinces deplore the cessation of new funds and the lack of a financial programme. Mr. Hornell says that without money there can be no advance and that with the funds at its disposal the department cannot even proceed effectively with the various schemes which were worked out in connection with the recent grants. Mr. Godley states that the question of financing primary education has never received the attention which its importance deserves. "Much has been said about schemes and programmes; too little about the exact means of carrying them into effect. Systematic extension of primary education is impracticable without an assurance of a continuously expanding provision of funds from one quarter or another. Experience has shown that local resources in the Punjab are unequal to the task, and no definite liability has hitherto been assumed in the case of provincial revenues. The imposition of school-rates such as are levied in England from towns-people as well as owners and tenants of agricultural land has not even been suggested. The result is that extension has been virtually dependent on occasional and irregular doles from the Government of India. These doles accomplish much at the time, although the unexpected receipt of large sums of money is not favourable to economical spending. But the progress is by fits and starts; whereas

it is steady development on lines planned beforehand with a view to the funds available which is likely to achieve the most solid and permanent results. So long as there is no sort of pledge that a regular supply of money will be forthcoming for bringing new schools into existence, the drawing up of imaginary programmes of extension based on imaginary finance is an occupation which lacks practicality."

There are now 189,248 educational institutions in British India. This *Statistical* represents an increase of 4,192 institutions in the year under review. *progress.* Special institutions, classified as 'other schools,' and private institutions have decreased by 2,553. Public institutions, other than special, have increased by 6,673. The increase among primary schools is no less than 6,377—a satisfactory feature, but, together with the decrease in 'other schools,' partly to be accounted for by the transfer from the latter to the former head of a certain number of *maktabs* and *pathshalas*.

Pupils have increased by 169,077 and now number 7,617,496. (Comparison with the remoter past is complicated by the fact that in 1914-15 the decision to exclude figures for Native States wrought a decrease of about 4,000 institutions, a third of a million pupils and some 30 lakhs of expenditure. But the following comparisons are possible and significant. First, the three years 1911—1914 represent the period during which large grants were being allotted for education. The average increase of pupils during each of these years was 390,855. In the year 1914-15 imperial grants were still being made available. But in the same year the war broke out and the basis of collecting statistics was changed. Owing mainly to the last cause, the numbers apparently dropped from 7,518,147 to 7,448,419; but, had the figures for Native States not been discontinued, this decrease would have been converted into an increase of some 260,000 pupils. The year 1915-16 was one of great financial stringency and the increase, though still continued, fell to 169,077. It is remarkable that the increase among girl-pupils (though in itself small) is proportionately far higher than that among boy-pupils. Last year, 5·1 per cent. of the male population, 94 of the female and 3·06 of the whole population were under instruction. This year the answering figures are 5·2, 1·0 and 3·1.

The increase has been largest in Madras, but is shared by all provinces save Bihar and Orissa, and Coorg. Analysed according to grade of institution, the totals and the increases and decreases are as follows:—

	THOUSANDS OF PUPILS.	
	Totals.	Increase or decrease.
Collegiate . . . . .	55·5	+ 4·9
Secondary . . . . .	1,128·4	+ 30·4
Primary . . . . .	5,638·2	+ 190·4
Special . . . . .	161·1	— 59·1
Private . . . . .	634·3	+ 2·4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7,617·5</b>	<b>+ 169·0</b>

*General features of the year's work.*

The increase under primary pupils is satisfactory, though, like the increase of schools, it is partly accounted for by a transfer from 'other schools.' As might be expected in view of the circumstances, the feature of the year's work was consolidation rather than rapid advance. Educational codes were issued for the new province of Bihar and Orissa and for the North-West Frontier Province, which had hitherto used the Punjab code. The Government of India issued a circular regarding the Decentralisation Commission's report in its bearing on education, especially the functions of local bodies. Financial stringency has not checked the working out of schemes for the future, even if these cannot be brought into early effect. The main activities are indicated in the general remarks which immediately follow and in the sections devoted to specific forms of education.

*Pay of teachers.*

The reports do not, as they did in the past two years, indicate measures taken for raising the pay of teachers. By the aid of imperial grants, substantial progress has recently been made in this much needed reform. In Bombay a slight retrogression is observed, the average pay of untrained and unqualified assistant teachers having slightly fallen—possibly owing to the employment of pupil-teachers.

*Examinations.*

In some quarters dissatisfaction has been expressed at the number of failures in examinations. Various reasons have been assigned for this. It may not be without bearing on the point to observe that the average cost of education in an ordinary arts college is R150 and in a secondary school less than R27 per student. It has also been a matter of complaint that the standards of university examinations are apt to vary to a large degree. Some variation is inevitable; but that variation has not been excessive in recent years may be seen from the following percentages of success in the university examinations most commonly taken :—

	1906-07.	1911-12.	1915-16.
B.A.	39.2	56.8	51.1
B.Sc.	51.4	57.4	64.4
Intermediate Arts.	40	49.5	42.6
Intermediate Science			52.7
Matriculation	44.2	53.6	52.8

The results cannot be described as satisfactory. But they are at least better now than nine years ago. Whether or no the standard of attainment among those who pass has remained steady, is a different question; and certain remarks made by principals of colleges and quoted in the report of the Director in the United Provinces appear to indicate variations of standard as between one university and another. One principal says that the type of student who gets a first class in the Calcutta matriculation would normally fail altogether in that of Allahabad. Another, who is reported to have opportunities of judging the products of both universities, declares that a third division in the Calcutta examination means sheer illiteracy and adds that a boy who fails to get through the Allahabad matriculation or the school-leaving certificate of the United Provinces can go over the border, read in a school

\*Excluding final honours as shown in general table VI.

recognised by Calcutta and get a first division. Whether or no these criticisms are justified, the University of Calcutta have formed a committee for the consideration of questions touching their matriculation.

The numbers who take the school-leaving certificate continue slowly to grow. During the year there were 10,065 candidates, of whom 7,150 (71 per cent.) were successful. The Director in *Madras* reports as follows :—

During the year 5,276 secondary school-leaving certificates were completed, while 3,195 candidates were taking a supplementary course in order to improve their certificates against 5,529 and 2,339, respectively, in the previous year.

Towards the close of the year, the strength of the Board was temporarily raised to 12 by the addition of four members nominated by the university, its number has since been fixed at 10 including the university members. An important change was introduced by the action of the university, in publishing a list of secondary school-leaving certificate holders eligible for admission to university courses of study. It was felt necessary to control the admissions instead of leaving them entirely to the principals of colleges.

In the *United Provinces*, 2,135 candidates appeared, of whom 47 per cent. passed, as against 29 per cent. of male candidates for matriculation. One of the inspectors writes :—

The improvement effected in the method of teaching as also of examining by the introduction of the school-leaving certificate examination, is at last beginning to find weight both with the boys and their parents, with the result that it is growing in popularity every day. A number of schools which used to teach both for the matriculation and the school-leaving certificate examination, have lately dropped the matriculation classes and in some cases simply because they could not find boys to join the latter. An interesting case in point is that of the Harish Chandra High School at Benares. The school committee, for reasons best known to themselves, decided in April, 1915, to maintain the matriculation classes despite my recommendation to the contrary, but when the school met in July last, by an irony of fate, there were scarcely any boys to join the matriculation class so that the school had, by sheer force of necessity, to adopt my suggestion of abolishing the matriculation classes and teaching only the school-leaving certificate course.

Of the scheme recently introduced in the *North-West Frontier Province* the Director says :—

It is possible after one year of the working of the school final system to make some estimate of the effect that it is likely to have on school work. A considerable number of students availed themselves of the opportunity offered of taking commercial and clerical subjects in preference to the ordinary course leading to the university; in fact at the Government high school, Peshawar, where a good commercial master joined at the beginning of the school year, the number taking commercial subjects exceeded those taking the ordinary course. In this the first year, however, it is too early to expect those students who do not propose to proceed to college to realise the advantage offered them under the new system of selecting such groups of subjects as may be congenial to them or specifically useful in their after career.

The same Director contends that the system has brought about great improvement in the written work, that oral work has been emphasised, and that the terminal marks in the record have been judiciously awarded by head masters.



Thus the progress made in introducing a more wholesome form of secondary final test, though slow, has been steady. The school-leaving certificate has also been firmly established in *Burma* and a scheme has been framed for *Ajmer-Merwara*. In *Bombay* the examination exists but does not qualify for admission to university courses. Here and in the *Punjab* the whole subject was under consideration during the year and evoked a good deal of criticism indicative of a conservative adherence to the external examination and suspicion of a system which has proved beneficial elsewhere.

### Manual training.

Most of the 20 teachers who were undergoing instruction in manual work in *Bombay* qualified in the subject. But lack of funds has restricted the starting of wood-work to three centres. The Director states that the training of the other teachers has been thrown away. The scheme, mentioned last year, of introducing manual training into selected high schools of *Bengal*, has been brought into effect. It is regarded as experimental and applies at present only to 24 schools. The boys are stated to have taken to the work with keenness. In the *Punjab*, a manual training centre has been started for certain high schools in Lahore, where the pupils assemble by batches of 20 in rotation for two hours of instruction a week. This scheme has the advantage of economy, has been successfully adopted in other countries and appears to promise well. In *Bihar and Orissa*, classes were opened at Patna, Cuttack, Ranchi and Bhagalpur. The course is optional but has been freely chosen. Similar classes made a promising start at Sylhet and Dibrugarh in *Assam*. In several other provinces, notably the *United Provinces* and *Burma*, classes had already been established.

The Director in *Bombay* complains of the want of special training in drawing masters; and the inspector of drawing has little time for inspecting and reporting on the work in schools. The inspector in the *Punjab* has produced a drawing book, and teachers of the subject in that province have to undergo a long and searching course of preparation. The effect is excellent and drawing in the *Punjab* schools is attaining a high standard. Good work is done in *Burma* in connection with the subjects of ordinary study—map drawing and book-illustrations; and a useful series of Burmese designs has been issued to schools with satisfactory results. But in some provinces it is not yet recognised how much is gained in interest and lasting impression by a close correlation of simple means of expression with ordinary class-work.

### Hostels.

The number of hostels rose by 144 and of boarders by 5,542. The present number of hostels is 3,764 and of boarders 139,941. Each college affiliated to the University of *Madras* was required to furnish an annual return showing the residence of students. Good progress was made in the erection of hostels in *Calcutta* from the imperial grant of 10 lakhs allotted to the University. The University appear to have exceeded the sum annually allotted by the Local Government for the *Calcutta* mess scheme. The imperial grant was partially utilised in starting a scheme of revised allowances to hostel superintendents in *Bengal* and in paying three-fourths of the cost of supervision of hostels attached to schools under private management. In some provinces, notably the *Punjab*, the percentage of boarders in colleges is now very high and some institutions are practically residential. A students' residence

Committee with a wholetime inspector has been started at *Patna* and houses have been hired for students under a regular system.

*Bombay* and the *Punjab* have made systematic arrangements for the *School hygiene*. medical inspection of pupils. In *Bombay* five appointments of doctors have been sanctioned for this work in certain classes of schools; in the *Punjab* six assistant surgeons carry out the inspection at secondary schools in the larger centres. In *Assam* also arrangements were made for publicly managed Anglo-vernacular schools. *Madras*, *Bengal* and the *Punjab* have arranged through the Y. M. C. A. for directors of physical instruction. In some provinces rules have been framed regarding the passing of school plans by sanitary authorities; in others type-plans have been laid down. Courses in hygiene, long established in some provinces, are now being instituted or considered elsewhere. Classes are now very generally held at convenient centres under the St. John Ambulance Association. Classes in domestic hygiene also exist, but to a less extent. In some cases correspondence with Local Governments regarding these subjects is not yet complete. But good impetus has been given in the direction of greater care of pupils.

No new developments are reported in religious and moral instruction, *Religious and moral instruction*. save the change from English to vernacular as the medium in *Bombay*. The change is said to have been beneficial, as boys can now follow with ease and reproduce stories of their own. The desirability of introducing a conscience clause has been discussed in some quarters.

This place appears suitable for some mention of indigenous institutions *Maktabs, tols, etc.* which impart instruction in the works or tenets of Hinduism, Islam and Buddhism. The reclassification of *maktabs, mulla schools, tols, etc.*, alluded to in the preface, had two objects. It was intended to show as primary schools those which may fairly be regarded as such, and secondly to furnish information about classes of institutions at present scattered and concealed under various headings. The figures given below show the institutions, the pupils and the expenditure under the three headings in which they are included in the general tables. The heading 'primary schools' includes institutions which are recognised and teach all or a reasonable part of the primary course. The heading 'other schools' includes such as are recognised but do not teach any part of the primary course. The heading 'private institutions' includes such as fulfil neither condition. The figures for *Madras*, the United Provinces and *Burma* have not been supplied. Those for the remaining provinces are as follows:—

Kind of institution.	Classed in general table III as			TOTALS.
	Primary schools.	Other schools.	Private institutions.	
<i>Maktabs.</i>				
Institutions . . . . .	7,157	2,471	4,262	13,890
Pupils . . . . .	235,716	60,510	83,994	380,220
Expenditure . . . . .	₹7,27,960	2,38,651	64,248	10,30,859

Kind of institution.	Classed in general table III as			TOTALS.
	Primary schools.	Other schools.	Private institutions.	
<i>Mulla schools.</i>				
Institutions . . . . .	588	...	1,122	1,710
Pupils . . . . .	15,883	...	18,637	34,520
Expenditure . . . . .	R1,04,568	...	1,338	1,05,906
<i>Tols.</i>				
Institutions . . . . .	4	1,010	295	1,309
Pupils . . . . .	107	18,488	3,159	21,754
Expenditure . . . . .	R 730	2,66,020	3,076	2,69,826
<i>Pathshalas.</i>				
Institutions . . . . .	176	85	555	816
Pupils . . . . .	6,663	2,272	15,502	24,437
Expenditure . . . . .	R 39,987	29,677	16,556	86,220
<i>Kyaung schools.</i>				
Institutions . . . . .	...	...	54	54
Pupils . . . . .	...	...	805	805
Expenditure . . . . .	...	...	...	...
<i>Total of all institutions.</i>				
Institutions . . . . .	7,925	3,566	6,288	17,779
Pupils . . . . .	258,369	81,270	122,097	461,736
Expenditure . . . . .	R8,73,245	5,34,348	85,218	14,92,811

In the case of expenditure on private institutions the figures cannot be regarded as complete, as information is not available in all cases.

#### *Discipline.*

The reports on discipline in most provinces are generally satisfactory. But there are some grave exceptions, notably in *Bengal* where strikes took place among the students of four institutions—the Presidency and Engineering (Sibpur) Colleges, and two privately managed colleges. As regards the first of these institutions, the Director comments on the complete failure of the first attempt to give the students of the premier college in Bengal some real responsibility in the management of the affairs of their own college. The students' representative committee, established by the late principal and elected by the students, proved, it is reported, to be an obstacle to authority in time of difficulty. Of the strike at Sibpur the Director remarks that, occurring as it did in an institution where the students are supposed to be living under discipline on the college premises, it is indicative of the extent to which the

bounds of law and order have been relaxed in Bengal. The arrest and internment of certain students in Calcutta were also found necessary and the head master of a Government high school was murdered—the second occurrence of this kind which has taken place in that Presidency. A serious strike also broke out at the Government high school at *Rangoon*, due, it is reported, to an epidemic of megalomania and an almost entire absence of any realisation of responsibility on the part of the more senior pupils. One of the inspectors in the *United Provinces* complains of irregular and unpunctual attendance, lack of courtesy and recklessness in making unfounded statements against masters who have taken any punitive action.

The unobtrusive and arduous work performed by the provincial text-book committees is a subject which deserves mention. The *Madras Committee* examined 714 books and found 571 suitable for school use. In the *United Provinces* and *Bihar and Orissa* they dealt with 807 and 986 books respectively and approved 212 and 529 for various purposes. The *Calcutta Committee* reported on 172 books and the *Dacca Committee* on 245. In the *Central Provinces* 539 books were submitted and 297 were sanctioned, chiefly for library and prize purposes. These figures shew the amount of labour thrown upon the members, whether official or non-official. In the *United Provinces* considerable time was bestowed upon the preparation of text-books to meet revised curricula and special committees were formed to consider works submitted for this purpose. The *Punjab Committee* continued its patronage of vernacular literature and spent a substantial sum in the presentation of books and periodicals to primary and other schools, books on the war were also distributed to schools and a volume on sanitation to *lambardars* and other village officials.

A question that has been agitating the public during the year is the substitution of vernacular for English as the medium of instruction up to a comparatively advanced standard. The matter has been much discussed in the press, with divers views. Important action has been taken in the *United Provinces*, where vernacular has been made the sole medium up to the middle standard. Opinion is divided as to the wisdom of the change, which involves the use of two forms of the vernacular by the same teacher and, it is suggested by one of the inspectors, may be detrimental to progress in English. The Director states that it is as yet premature to comment and adds, "an age-long controversy has thus been decided—whether permanently or not time alone can shew—against those who hold that the supreme importance of acquiring a familiarity with the English language outweighs all other considerations in Anglo-vernacular schools. The change has excited singularly little public interest."

Deserving of mention are the establishment of a co-operative society by the students of the *Morris College, Nagpur*, for aiding poor boys, and the continuance of a similar fund at *Jubbulpore* for paying the examination fees of needy students. Teachers' associations were formed in *Bihar and Orissa* and are reported to be doing excellent work; a guild of trained teachers is in contemplation.

Sir Harcourt Butler, who had been Education Member of the Governor-General's Council for five years, became Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, and

his place on the Council was taken by Sir C. Sankaran Nair. The organisation of the department was changed and a post of Educational Commissioner was created. There were no important administrative changes in the provinces.

## *II.—Universities and Colleges.*

### *New Universities.*

The bill for establishing the Benares Hindu University was passed in the Imperial Legislative Council. This measure constitutes a new development in university organisation in India. First, the university is denominational. Though persons of all classes, castes and creeds may be admitted, religious instruction will be imparted in the Hindu religion only and may by statute be made compulsory upon Hindu students; and membership of the Court\* is restricted to Hindus (the word "Hindu" being taken throughout to include Jain and Sikh). Second, the university is founded to meet a popular demand, backed by large private contributions, and is, in some important respects, more independent than its predecessors. The act requires that a portion (50 lakhs) of these contributions (in no small measure due to the generosity of Ruling Princes) be invested as a permanent endowment to meet recurring charges. Government has also undertaken to allot one lakh per annum. Appointment to the posts of Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor will not, as in the older universities, be limited to the head of the imperial or local administration, or made by nomination of Government, but will be decided through election by the Court. The State will have no power of nomination to the governing bodies, save that the Lieutenant-Governor will nominate five members to a Senate which may consist of 50 members. The Council will appoint principals of colleges, university professors, etc. At the same time, control by Government is provided. The Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces is the Visitor, with powers of inspection, of annulment after due enquiry of proceedings which are not in conformity with law, of the admission of colleges and of final sanction to the Vice-Chancellor's appointment and (save where this power is reserved to the Governor-General in Council) to new or modified statutes and regulations. The Viceroy is styled Lord Rector and the Government of India retain an emergency power to issue (again after due enquiry) instructions incumbent on the Court in case of mismanagement, etc. Third, the University is not an affiliating body with colleges scattered over a vast area, but a unitary university in the sense that its jurisdiction is limited to Benares and that, though the admission of colleges is contemplated, the entire organisation of study will be in the hands of the Senate. Fourth, an important change is made in the constitution and functions of the governing bodies. The five existing universities possess Senates composed both of teaching and of lay elements, which are further organised in faculties, and syndicates which are really executive committees of the Senates, being mainly elected by them and by the faculties. These syndicates indiscriminately perform administrative and academic functions. At Benares, administration is vested in a Court, which is the supreme body, mainly composed of donors and their representatives and persons elected by various bodies (including the Senate); and in a

\*The description given here and below of the principal bodies and officers of the university must be interpreted as referring to their normal constitution or appointment. The first Chancellor, Pro-Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Court and Senate are notified by the Governor-General in Council,

smaller Council, mainly elected by and from the Court (the Senate sending five of its members as representatives), which is the executive of the Court. On the other hand, academic control—the courses of study, instruction, examination, general discipline, the conferment of degrees, the organisation of faculties, the award of fellowships, prizes, etc.—is vested in a Senate, which though it contains representatives of the Court and of the graduates who need not necessarily be teachers, includes the principals of colleges and university professors as well as teachers elected by the Senate; and in an executive Syndicate, two-thirds of whose ordinary members will be principals or professors. The statutes and the regulations, too, are separated, the former dealing with administration and being framed by the Court, the latter dealing with academic matters and being framed by the Senate.

The existing Central Hindu College at Benares is declared by the act to be a college maintained by the university and will, when notified as such, form the nucleus of the new university. An extensive site outside but adjoining the city has been acquired. The foundation stone was laid with full ceremony by His Excellency Lord Hardinge. The Maharajas of Mysore and Gwalior have been declared Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor. Certain statutes have been framed in addition to the essential statutes scheduled to the act; and regulations, framed in discussion by representatives of the University and the Education Department, were notified after the close of the year under review.

The provisions of the act did not pass uncriticised. Objections were raised to the amount of control retained by Government, to the multiplicity of governing bodies, to the composition of the Court, to the lack of guarantee of an effective standard and to the expressed recognition of the degrees of this as equal to those of the older universities. These criticisms, however, found expression mainly in opinions received from various bodies and persons consulted rather than in the Legislative Council.

Progress has not been made with the scheme for an Aligarh Moslem University. A section of the Muhammadan community is dissatisfied with the conditions contained in the Benares Act, on which that for Aligarh would naturally be modelled. The measure of control retained and the unitary nature of the university are probably the main causes for this dissatisfaction. The Patna University bill was introduced after the close of the year. Progress was made with the schemes for universities in Burma and the Central Provinces. Outside British India legislation was undertaken shortly after the close of the year in Mysore for the creation of a university for that State.

University teaching was continued on an extensive scale at *Calcutta*, and *University* university lectures and the continuance of grants to investigators at *Bombay*. *teaching.* The University of *Madras* appointed Dr. Gilbert Slater, Principal of Ruskin College, as professor of Indian economics. The report from the *United Provinces* gives an interesting description of Mr. Rushbrooke Williams' researches in some libraries of upper India; seminar work was also commenced in Indian history but proved rather disappointing "owing to the fact that a detailed study of Indian history takes more time than the average student, who has his degree examination constantly in mind, can afford to give." The Univer-

sity of the *Punjab* continued the arrangement of cold weather lectures, engaging the services of Professors Todd and Leonard for economics and history.

*Colleges.*

The number of students in arts colleges affiliated to the five territorial universities continued to increase rapidly. There are now 43,989 students contained in 119 colleges. The main difficulty in college work is the inadequate preparation of candidates in the secondary schools. This is emphasised in the report of the Director in Bombay, who quotes the opinion of some of the examiners regarding the inaccurate and slovenly habits displayed by examinees. Another difficulty of which much is heard is that of over-crowding or rejection of students owing to the increasing number of applicants for collegiate education. At the same time it is interesting to learn that the Patna College is not up to its possible strength, largely owing to the fact that many applicants for whom vacancies were reserved failed to present themselves.

*III.—Secondary education.*

*General progress.*

Last year an increase of over 23,000 pupils was recorded in boys' secondary schools. During the year under review the increase exceeded 25,000, being from 1,031,148 to 1,056,438. There are 1,440 high schools with 503,063 pupils, 2,773 middle English schools with 317,762 pupils, and 2,419 middle vernacular schools with 235,613 pupils. This last class alone shews a decline—and that a very small one. Expenditure has risen from ₹2,43,28,049 to ₹2,59,81,227, of which ₹77,62,089 is met from public funds. ₹21,88,934 of this expenditure is upon middle vernacular schools. More than one-third of the total number of pupils is contained in Bengal.

The expansion and improvement of secondary education is now proceeding on definite lines in most of the provinces. An extensive scheme was sanctioned for Bihar and Orissa. At the close of the year schemes were still awaited from Bengal and Assam.

*Features of the year.*

The year was signalised by the allotment of increased teaching grants in *Madras*. In *Bombay*, it was notified that grants could not be reassessed owing to the financial situation, that additional schools could not be placed on the aided list, and that building and equipment grants must be suspended. Perhaps the most important development (says the director), in the schools of this Presidency is that of practical science work in the higher standards. The Hastings House school, established to meet a definite need in *Bengal* for an institution modelled on English public school lines, was opened during the year and attracted 37 pupils, whose fees for nine months exceeded ₹21,000. The remainder of the cost is found from provincial revenues. "Its success, indeed its very continuance, will depend upon the support which it receives. It was started after the European war had begun, at a time when European masters are practically unattainable. The assistant master in charge has put his whole soul into the work. His reward is the response which he has awakened in the boys. The teaching work is sound, and the tone of the school excellent." The adoption of vernacular in the *United Provinces* as the medium of instruction up to class VIII has already been mentioned. The *Punjab* report comments on the increase of middle school pupils and contains some interesting remarks by one of the inspectors, which indicate the necessity of a simpler curriculum; as it is, some schools add to their difficulties by needlessly introducing subjects merely to compete with neighbouring schools. In *Bihar and Orissa* progress was made in the building programme for high schools. Action was taken in *Assam* with a view to making all middle English schools conform to a single standard, which should constitute this type of institution as one offering a course complete in itself and not

as a high school in embryo. The introduction of the school final certificate in the *North-West Frontier Province* has already been mentioned; the grant-in-aid rules also were revised. Elsewhere there were no special developments.

The note of pessimism observed last year again manifests itself. Mr. Hornell describes the condition of secondary education in Bengal as bad. The condition of the schools, he says, "is undoubtedly prejudicing the development of the Presidency and is by no means a negligible feature in the existing state of general disturbance. It is customary to trace the genesis of much sedition and crime to the back streets and lanes of Calcutta and Dacca, where the organisers of anarchist conspiracies seek their agents from among university students. This view is correct so far as it goes, but it is in the high schools with their under-paid and discontented teachers, their crowded, dark and ill-ventilated class rooms and their soul-destroying process of unceasing cram, that the seeds of discontent and fanaticism are sown." Some of the reasons for this condition of things in Bengal and for the poor condition of schools and low attainment of pupils elsewhere are indicated in various reports. Mr. Hornell regards their remedy as mainly a matter of funds, remarking that the secondary education system is being run at a figure at which the genuine article, or anything approaching it, cannot be delivered. Other Directors emphasise the difficulty of securing teachers who are not mere birds of passage; and one of them instances a single school more than twenty of whose teachers had not put in a year of service at the institution. The Central Provinces report complains of the dead level of mediocrity and sameness in the methods of teaching, mainly attributable to lack of general knowledge and attainments in the staff. There are two other contributing causes—the dominance of the matriculation and the absence of any effective control over the organisation of the system. "The dominance of the university matriculation over the curriculum," says Mr. Hornell, "and the fact that the majority of the schools still acknowledge no law and submit to no supervision or guidance, other than that which that examination imposes on them, are important factors in the situation." One of the Punjab inspectors says that some of the schools, especially in small towns and localities where there are more than one school and in which one school only would easily suffice, are ill-managed and inefficient to a degree, doing more harm than good to the community for whose benefit they are supposed to have been opened, and who liberally pay for them.

*Condition of secondary schools.*

#### IV.—Primary education.

Last year it was shown that during the seven pre-war years there had been an increase of 1,343,248 pupils in public primary schools for boys—equivalent to an average annual increase of about 192,000. In 1914-15 there was an apparent decrease of nearly 86,000 scholars, due to the exclusion of Native States; in reality, there had been an approximate increase of 100,000 in British India. The figures for the close of 1915-16 show a total of over 5 million pupils in boys' primary schools, which represents an apparent increase of 146,270. This, however, is an over-statement, certain institutions previously classed as 'other schools' being now shown as primary schools, and a



decrease of nearly 63,000 having accordingly taken place in the former category. The figures below must be read with this reservation.

Province.	Number of boys' primary schools.		Number of pupils in boys' primary schools.		Increase or decrease of pupils.
	1915.	1916.	1915.	1916.	
Madras . . . . .	26,917	28,166	1,144,806	1,202,219	[ +57,413
Bombay . . . . .	9,929	9,797	594,728	588,790	— 5,938
Bengal . . . . .	28,335	31,617	1,047,262	1,124,468	+ 77,206
United Provinces . . . . .	10,543	10,476	570,547	592,754	+ 16,207
Punjab . . . . .	4,552	4,757	228,561	234,762	+ 6,201
Burma . . . . .	6,029	6,492	209,605	215,537	+ 5,932
Bihar and Orissa . . . . .	21,339	21,233	601,764	591,864	— 9,900
Central Provinces . . . . .	3,727	3,699	271,886	270,557	— 1,329
Assam . . . . .	3,926	3,859	175,414	175,284	— 130
North-West Frontier Province . . . . .	539	584	25,643	26,363	+ 720
Coorg . . . . .	94	91	6,622	6,326	— 296
Delhi . . . . .	82	87	5,181	5,365	+ 184
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>116,012</b>	<b>120,858</b>	<b>4,888,019</b>	<b>5,034,289</b>	<b>+ 146,270</b>

The large increase in Bengal is due to the fact that 62,869 pupils reading in *maktabs* have this year been included among primary school pupils.

Expenditure rose by about 11½ lakhs to ₹2,42,23,122. The increase is mainly under local funds.

The figures for boys and girls in primary schools, the primary classes of secondary schools, other schools and private schools which teach a vernacular, will serve to correct the re-classification and are as follows :—

	Boys.	Girls.	TOTAL.
In primary stage of public schools . . . . .	5,143,512	1,065,906	6,209,418
In other public schools giving primary education . . . . .	100,947	18,170	119,117*
In elementary private schools teaching a vernacular . . . . .	323,552	17,875	341,427
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5,568,011</b>	<b>1,101,951</b>	<b>6,669,962</b>

In 1913-14 the total of children in the elementary stage of instruction was 6·6 millions; in the next year, owing to the exclusion of Native States, it fell to 6·5 millions; it has now risen again to over 6·6 millions, or an increase of 112,762 over last year. Thus 2·7 per cent. of the population are undergoing elementary education, namely 4·5 in the case of boys and ·9 in the case of girls.

*Features of the year.*

The sustained increase in *Madras* is all the more satisfactory as the rate of increase is greater among schools having standards above the fourth. The decrease in *Bombay* is ascribed to various causes—closure of schools owing to poor attendance, outbreaks of plague, etc. The conversion of ordinary into rural schools continues to excite some

\*The precise number of those in 'other schools' who can be regarded as undergoing primary education is uncertain, and there are miscellaneous institutions which appear under other headings not here included where primary education is imparted. Directors of Public Instruction are being asked to make a computation of those undergoing primary instruction in institutions of these types,

agitation and it is understood that the question is under reconsideration. Upper primary schools have decreased in *Bengal*, apparently owing to the unpopularity of purely vernacular education. In the *United Provinces* the policy has been pursued of transforming aided into board schools and the recommendations of the primary education committee have been followed. Those recommendations assumed that education carried no higher than the lower primary stage is useless, and proposed (among other things) the abolition of the distinction of upper and lower primary, that a primary school should consist of six classes, and that when such a school is not possible, preparatory schools should be grouped round a central institution. Surveys were prepared accordingly but did not prove altogether successful. A strict adherence to the recommendations would have disturbed the existing and natural distribution of schools. Accordingly the schemes had to be revised. Very few boys, remarks one of the inspectors, are prepared to migrate to another school in order to continue their studies beyond the second standard. The policy of closing inefficient aided schools, commended by the committee, has also been criticised by the chairmen of some district boards. The Director in *Burma* observes that the average number enrolled in primary schools has fallen. *Bihar and Orissa* shows an increase of schools and pupils in every class of public institution save boys' primary schools, which decreased. Among reasons assigned are unskilful concentration of schools and the apparent devotion by boards to secondary education of funds which ought to be spent on primary education. It is to be noticed that the decline in numbers has been accompanied by a decline in private schools and their pupils. The slight decrease in the *Central Provinces* is attributed to lack of grants for the opening of new schools, the prevalence of epidemic disease, etc. The revision of the curriculum and the preparation of new text-books were commenced.

Building activity was continued. The Director in *Bombay* reports that *Buildings.* the type-plan there adopted is satisfactory. The *Punjab* report speaks of buildings costing  $\text{₹}1,135$ , states that no type is suitable for all localities and suggests a veranda type with open arches towards the side unexposed to the sun and screened windows on the other. It adds that the plan of entrusting repairs to local agency has worked well in some districts.

The difficult question of factory schools is undoubtedly finding satis- *Factory and*  
factory solution in some localities, though the general silence of reports *garden schools.* possibly indicates that these are the exceptions. The *Bihar and Orissa* report mentions the Peninsular Tobacco Factory school at Monghyr, night schools for colliery children, mica miners and workers of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, as well as 31 schools maintained by the East Indian Railway at Giridih. In *Assam* there are 167 schools for tea-garden children, with 3,615 pupils. The Commissioner of the Assam Valley thinks there are signs that prejudices are to some extent being combated, "but it will take years before the majority of cooly parents can be got to see the advantage of education for their children."

#### V.—Professional and special education.

The number of those in training colleges rose from 693 to 774. The *Training of*  
number of men in training schools rose slightly from 15,221 to 15,327 and that *teachers.*  
of women from 2,184 to 2,405. In 1914-15 there were 252,804 teachers in employ, of whom 73,258 or 29 per cent. were trained. In 1915-16 there were 267,458 teachers, of whom 80,246, or 30 per cent., were trained. Thus it would appear that the training institutions are capable of keeping pace with expansion, but not of materially reducing the large proportion of untrained teachers. The proportion of trained teachers is slightly greater among

teachers of English and the classical languages than among those of vernacular. But among 85,899 of the former class only 8,114 have taken a degree.

Among schemes alluded to last year, that for the expansion and improvement of the *Patna* training college was brought into effect. The institution was moved into new quarters, a class was added for the degree of teaching and the number of students was raised from 15 to 40. The most interesting among recent developments in the training of elementary teachers is the system of training classes in the *United Provinces*. The number of classes rose during the year from 228 to 254 and the number of their pupils from 1,365 to 1,680. A similar organisation has been started in *Burma* and inspectors are unanimous in approval of it and as to the desirability of expansion. Once more there comes from *Bombay* a complaint regarding the failure of teachers to avail themselves of opportunities. The principal of the secondary training college observes that during his incumbency no school in *Bombay* city has ever sent a teacher to be trained notwithstanding that there must be at least a hundred teachers of secondary schools within ten minutes walk of the institution. Owing to the poor attendance the courses of lectures for outsiders were discontinued. It is also disappointing to find a substantial decline in the numbers at the *David Hare* training college in *Calcutta*. The report from the *Punjab* is more cheering. The proportion of trained teachers in secondary schools is steadily rising and is now 61 per cent. In board primary schools two-thirds of the teachers are trained, though in aided schools the proportion is comparatively small, since training is not a necessary condition for grant. "The out-turn of the various normal schools and training classes is fairly adequate for existing needs, and improved pay and provident funds have checked the tendency to desert the teacher's calling for other paths of employment." It is noticeable that third-year classes have been opened in the principal normal schools in *Assam* and that similar action (extending even to a fourth year) is recommended in the *Central Provinces*. Most board schools in the *North-West Frontier Province* now have trained headmasters.

### Medical education.

The sanction of the Secretary of State for India has been accorded to the appointment of the professorial and other staff required for the School of Tropical Medicine in *Calcutta*. The school will not, however, be opened till officers are available to fill the professorial appointments and the financial position permits.

The affiliation of the Medical School, *Belgatchia*, to the *Calcutta* University, has been effected, the standard in medicine being that of the preliminary Sc. M. B. examination. The question of financial assistance to the institution by Government is under consideration. The *Lady Hardinge* Medical College for women, *Delhi*, has been affiliated to the *Punjab* University, (a) in the Science Faculty for the Intermediate courses in biology, physics and chemistry, and the additional test in chemistry, with effect from the 1st September, 1916, and (b) in the Medical Faculty for the courses for the first Professional Examination for the degree of Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery, with effect from the 1st September, 1917. The college was opened in October, 1916.

The Indian Medical Degrees Act, 1916 (VII of 1916), has passed into law. Medical Registration Acts have been passed for all provinces, except the *United Provinces*.

The question of raising the standard of education imparted at the *Agra* Medical School, and the affiliation of the institution to the *Allahabad* University, has been deferred till after the conclusion of the war. Authority has been given for the inclusion of the *United Provinces* State Board of Medical Examinations in the schedule of the Indian Medical Degrees Act.

The scheme for improving the course of training of Military Assistant Surgeons is held in abeyance pending the final decision of the General Medical Council as to recognition of the membership of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Bombay, and the State Faculty of Medicine, Calcutta.

The number of students in the engineering colleges was 1,296—a slight increase. The number of engineering and survey schools remained constant at 18, while the number of pupils rose from 743 to 775. Technical and industrial schools showed an increase from 198 to 237 and their pupils from 11,176 to 12,685. This increase is mainly due to the inclusion of figures in Madras which were previously omitted, and hence is largely apparent. Bombay registers a decline. *Technical and industrial schools.*

The most interesting remarks in the reports have reference to weaving. The weaving institute at Serampore near Calcutta is regarded as having passed the experimental stage and shows promise of development. The applications for admission to the higher and artisan classes have increased and numbers could be doubled were accommodation available. The expansion and reorganisation of this school are deemed to be the one urgent industrial proposition before the local department of instruction, and steps are being taken. The period of instruction at the schools of Bihar and Orissa has been extended to a year and a fly-shuttle is presented to each student on leaving—modifications which it is hoped will make these places more useful. The centres for mining instruction in both these provinces, including the classes at Sibpur and those in the coalfields, have been placed under the advisory board and a single lecturer appointed for classes conducted in English. The number of students in the vernacular classes has trebled and the preparation of Bengali manuals on mining and mine surveying is being considered. The artisan classes in these provinces are attaining considerable success. Other matters are less encouraging. The tinctorial chemistry classes at Sibpur have failed to attract and are to be closed. In Burma, the engineering school at Insein is now doing useful work, but schools at Akyab and elsewhere languish for want of stipends, without which pupils will not join them.

The numbers at the Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics have increased; but the principal complains that it is encumbered with youths who have no aptitude for a business career and mistakenly suppose that they can gain a degree more easily than at an arts college or will somehow obtain easy employment. The strength of the Government Commercial Institute, Calcutta, declined, mainly in the evening classes; a class was opened for accountancy and auditing. *Commercial schools.*

The revision of the curricula at several of the agricultural colleges which was referred to in last year's report has had successful results, notably in the Cawnpore and the Lyallpur Colleges, in the former of which the farm has been enlarged, new buildings have been erected and arrangements have been made for a course in mechanical engineering. A further revision has now been effected in the Sabour Agricultural College of Bihar and Orissa where a two years' course has been substituted for the existing three years' course from the session 1916-17. It was still felt, however, that the position in regard to agricultural education was susceptible of improvement, and a conference of officials and non-officials under the presidency of the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Revenue and Agriculture Department was convened at Pusa in February 1916 to discuss this subject. The recommendations of this conference are still under the consideration of Government. *Agricultural education.*

*Forestry education.*

The students' quarters, the club house and the Curator's quarters at the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, which were commenced in 1914-15, were completed during the year.

*Veterinary education.*

The post-graduate course at the Punjab Veterinary College to which a reference was made in last year's report was inaugurated in the present year and the completion of the equipment of the college has led to a marked improvement in the training of the students.

*Reformatory schools.*

One of the inspectors in Madras who had previously been an inspector of industrial and reformatory schools in England was employed on the preparation of draft bills on the lines of the English Children's act for Madras and for Bengal.

#### VI.—Education of special classes.

*Education of girls.*

The number of girls in public institutions rose from 1,054,161 to 1,112,024, and of those in all institutions from 1,126,536 to 1,186,281. Thus there was an increase of 59,745 against one of 24,294 in the previous year. The percentage of increase was 5·3 compared with that of 1·7 in the case of boys. Institutions of all kinds increased from 19,536 to 20,529. The provincial figures for the 31st March 1916 are as follows:—

Province.	No. of institutions for girls.	Increase or decrease on the figures for 1915.	Number of girls under instruction.	Increase or decrease on the figures for 1915.	Direct recurring expenditure.	Increase or decrease on the expenditure for 1915.
					R	R
Madras . . . . .	1,875	+126	313,315	+16,742	18,38,568	+ 1,09,164
Bombay . . . . .	1,295	+759	145,928	+ 6,480	17,30,397	+ 1,09,834
Bengal . . . . .	9,259	+572	284,813	+20,603	14,82,792	+ 53,079
United Provinces . . . . .	7,423	— 18	64,931	+ 1,897	9,92,418	+ 14,989
Punjab . . . . .	1,873	— 53	68,852	+ 4,037	8,68,746	+ 1,18,781
Burma . . . . .	1,046	+130	117,273	+ 4,471	6,12,493	+ 68,527
Bihar and Orissa . . . . .	2,852	+173	116,843	+ 2,394	5,05,326	+ 56,119
Central Provinces . . . . .	378	+ 15	36,054	+ 1,545	2,71,555	+ 8,177
Assam . . . . .	367	— 9	28,303	+ 759	1,20,684	+ 6,198
North-West Frontier Province	125	..	5,211	+ 339	34,181	+ 11,587
Coorg . . . . .	8	..	2,415	— 11	13,364	+ 1,020
Delhi . . . . .	28	— 2	2,343	+ 489	49,724	+ 5,932
<b>TOTAL</b> . . . . .	<b>20,529</b>	<b>+903</b>	<b>1,186,281</b>	<b>+59,745</b>	<b>85,20,248</b>	<b>+ 5,63,407</b>

Expenditure on secondary schools for girls rose by over 1½ lakhs to R36,38,129, on primary by nearly 3 lakhs to R39,06,337, and on training institutions by some R35,000 to R5,63,207.

As usual, the reports give very varying accounts of the enthusiasm or indifference displayed as regards girls' education. The Director in Bombay says that "outside of Bombay and Poona secondary schools for girls would not exist in the central division without the help of missions and those that do exist have very few girls in them, in spite of all that we have heard lately about a supposed ardent desire for an extension of facilities for the education of girls," and he proceeds to give instances. The case appears to be different in Bengal. The Director says that the education of girls of the Hindu

middle class up to a certain standard has become a practical necessity, that even the orthodox Hindu parent is beginning to realise the advantage of a well-conducted school over home instruction, and that parents of this class are now ready to pay fees for their girls' instruction.

After the close of the year the Government of India issued an important circular. This circular, while deprecating at this stage the creation of a committee (which had been suggested to the Secretary of State), considered the time appropriate for a general consideration of the whole question, especially in view of the gradual breaking up of the joint family system with the result that young women are no longer able to rely as in former days upon the advice and care of older relations, and the necessity of securing through their education the health and physical efficiency of children. It also touched upon the general feeling that the present curricula are unsuitable for girls. The view was accepted as ordinarily applicable to girls' primary education, that it should rest for the most part in the hands of local bodies, since in a special sense it must be adapted to the needs of the people, and that, apart from the three R's, the question of subjects to be taught might be left to those bodies. The question of similar procedure in regard to secondary and higher education was opened, as well as the difficult problems of the provision of trained teachers and of a suitable inspecting agency.

*Madras* had 98 girls reading in the three women's colleges. The Government College has amply justified expectations and has been raised to the first grade. The *Bengal* report mentions a new curriculum which has been tentatively introduced in three high schools under mission management, intended to meet the feeling that the present course is unsuitable and including hygiene, nursing, needle-work, cookery, domestic work, etc., as well as ordinary school subjects. New *zenana* classes were opened, and there are now 74 *zenana* teachers employed at public expense. Conveyance fees were introduced in the *United Provinces* with negligible effect upon attendance, though it is reported from *Bihar and Orissa* that when the committee of an aided school imposed a similar fee (amounting to two annas a month) the attendance fell by two-thirds. The *Punjab* receives a testimonial in the report from the *United Provinces*, where an interesting calculation is given of the proportion of girls in upper to those in lower primary classes, the *Punjab* heading the list with a proportion of 1 to 8, the next being *Bombay* with 1 to 12 and the lowest *Bihar* with 1 to 81. It is remarked that in *Burma* 78 per cent. of the girls in public institutions are in boys' schools, and the number so studying considerably increased in *Assam* also.

The reports contain the usual complaint of lack of teachers. The number of pupils in training schools for women has risen from 2,076 to 2,306. The training school for widows at Ballygunge is doing good work.

A new departure in the shape of a Women's University has recently been started near Poona by Professor Karve. The institution is a private one. The results of the experiment are not yet known.

The number of institutions has risen by 6 to 417, and that of pupils by *European* 1,316 to 39,481. The percentage of the European and domiciled community *education* at school is 16.4 of the total. But this figure requires slight rectification to allow for Indians reading in European schools, the omission of Bangalore figures, etc. Expenditure fell by ₹8,23,189 to ₹90,08,264. This fall took place in expenditure on buildings and apparatus, direct expenditure remaining almost constant at ₹43,86,450.

The financial position has checked progress for a training college in southern India. The Madras report mentions the appointment of a peripatetic teacher of music, and that from Bengal the work which is being done by the Y. W. C. A. in Calcutta, where 934 students are receiving instruction in short-hand, typing, cookery, dress-making, first aid and home-nursing.

After the close of the year, the Government of India issued a circular referring to the replies of the Local Governments on the proceedings of the conference of 1912. Action has already been taken on some of the more obvious proposals then passed. A serious difficulty is the multiplication of small high classes owing to the co-existence of denominational schools.

*Education of  
Muhamma-  
dans.*

Muhammadan pupils have increased from 1,725,451 to 1,767,783, or by 2.5 per cent. against an increase of 2.1 among Hindu pupils. The increase of Muhammadans in primary schools alone amounts to over 100,000, with a fall of some 65,000 in special schools—due to the reclassification of *maktabs*. College students (arts and professional) number 5,992 against 5,426 last year. Pupils in secondary schools show a very slight decrease, the number in high schools having risen and that in middle schools fallen.

The statement on pages 9 and 10 shows an expenditure of R11,36,765 upon *maktabs* and *mulla* schools, of which R95,597 is met from public funds. This, however, does not represent the full expenditure upon institutions specially intended for Muslims. In Madras alone the latter is 7.40 lakhs (of which 73 per cent. is met from public funds) as against 6.87 lakhs in the previous year. In Bengal the expenditure on *maktabs* rose from 4.81 lakhs to 5.11 lakhs, to say nothing of the cost of the government *madrassas* for which provincial revenues became fully responsible during the year, the money thus set free from the Mohsin fund being used to create 124 stipends for Muslim pupils. The total public expenditure (so far as ascertainable) on Muhammadan schools in 1913-14 was R10,33,451.

*Madras* reports that the number of institutions mainly intended for Muslims rose from 2,535 to 2,719 and their strength from 130,525 to 141,911. In *Bombay* the chief topic continues to be the question of instruction through the medium of Urdu. The numbers in Urdu schools and classes rose and difficulties (save in the classes attached to Marathi schools) are disappearing. But the Muhammadan community are apprehensive about the effect of the new course and the admixture of compulsory Marathi is suggested. *Mullas* have been attached to some of the board schools in Sind. In *Bengal*, while 52.7 per cent. of the population is Muslim, pupils of this community form 44.9 per cent. of the school population. A new hostel is being erected in Calcutta. Of the important scheme recently introduced for the reform of *madrassas* with a view to bringing Islamic education more fully into line with the requirements of modern life, the Director says:—

“How far it will succeed, it is impossible as yet to say. In the Chittagong district it has resulted in a heavy fall in the numbers attending the more important *madrassas* and the establishment of a number of private *madrassas* teaching the old course. The feeling in Chittagong is that the reformed course, while it will not produce good *mullas*, etc., will fail to turn out a Muslim capable of competing with others in secular life.”

The *United Provinces* report shows that the balance in hand with the Muslim University Committee was R29,55,984, and details a number of

measures taken during the year for the extension of Muhammadan education, such as the maintenance of Islamic schools by boards, the appointment of special Muhammadan inspecting staff, etc. The report from *Bihar and Orissa* mentions with regret the decline of Islamic learning.

The Government of *Madras* have assigned out of the imperial allotment for aided secondary schools a sum of ₹56,000 as extra teaching grant to cover the loss of fee-income foregone in the case of backward classes and castes (as also of Muhammadans, Uriyas and girls). A further advance is noticed in facilities for the education of Panchamas. The number of schools intended for this community rose by 530 and that of pupils by about 9 per cent. to a total of 114,072. The number of aboriginals at school is 6,257. Schools for the depressed classes in *Bombay* number 576 and pupils 28,493 (of whom 278 are in secondary and 27 in training institutions); and 21,944 aboriginals are at school. There appear to be 48 schools for the depressed classes in the *United Provinces* and an expression of appreciation comes from the Chairman of the *Agra* district board for the work of the *Arya Samaj*. In *Burma*, where there are no depressed classes (in the sense of the expression applicable in India), special classes include hill tribes, separate communities like the Chinese and the *Talaings*, etc., and number 70,628 at school, of whom 54,367 are in special institutions. Aboriginal pupils in *Bihar and Orissa* number 59,304; in the *Central Provinces* (if depressed classes be included) 36,166. There are 18,740 pupils enrolled in the hill districts of *Assam*. Other provinces do not supply general figures.

It was suggested that some separate figures should be given for *Jains*. In *Bombay* there are 19,800 *Jains* under instruction, of whom 242 are in colleges and 2,235 in secondary schools. The Director in the *Central Provinces* shows 4,644 *Jains* under instruction. Figures are not given for other provinces.



## APPENDIX.

## Statement of Imperial Grants.

[ Figures shown in Lakhs of Rupees.]

PROVINCE.	GRANTS TO END OF 1915-16.		EXPENDITURE.								Unspent balances on the 31st March 1916.	
			TO END OF 1914-15.		IN 1915-16 RECORDED UNDER				TOTAL TO END OF 1915-16.			
					Education.		Other heads.*					
					Recur- ring.	Non-re- curring.	Recur- ring.	Non-re- curring.				
Madras . . .	63-84	64-44	45-34	45-10	17-93	83	86	1-88	63-63	47-81	21	16-63
Bombay . . .	50-91	57-78	21-69	30-59	10-93	3-94	80	73	32-92	35-23	17-99	22-52
Bengal . . .	92-68	1,44-92	44-28	65-24	18-40	10-83	4-43	3-62	67-11	79-69	25-57	65-23
United Provinces . . .	54-89	65-45	38-92	39-68	12-63	..	3-34	2-46	54-89	42-14	..	23-31
Punjab . . .	31-81	39-09	22-26	30-78	9-55	4-99	..	3-32	31-81	39-09	..	..
Burma . . .	22-93	33-75	13-10	17-35	5-69	..	1-16	..	18-95	17-35	3-98	16-40
Bihar and Orissa . . .	39-05	41-37	24-19	18-55	8-19	..	5-52	2-48	32-90	21-03	6-15	20-34
Central Provinces . . .	20-37	23-40	11-38	13-39	8-48	2-21	..	2-10	19-86	17-70	1-01	5-70
Assam . . .	13-45	15-70	5-41	12-85	3-85	1-16	9-94	2-05	9-70	15-06	3-75	6-64
North-West Frontier Province.	7-19	6-07	4-84	6-07	2-23	..	..	..	7-07	6-07	1-12	..
Coorg . . .	45	1-08	30	86	14	09	..	1-17	44	1-05	01	03
Delhi . . .	3-81	2-78	2-53	2-39	2-28	3-39	1-00	..	3-81	2-78	..	..
Other minor adminis- trations, agencies and direct allotments.	4-61	13-72	2-14	12-74	71	22	83	43	3-63	13-39	93	33
TOTAL . . .	4,06-46	5,09-55	2,36-33	2,95-59	93-51	23-59	11-88	19-24	3,46-77	3,38-42	59-72	1,71-13

\* Viz. Educational expenditure through the Public Works, Medical and other Departments.

† Includes grant of 10 lakhs which was made in 1912-13 and surrendered in 1915-16.

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GENERAL TABLES,

1915-16.

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GENERAL TABLE I.

ABSTRACT STATEMENT OF COLLEGES, SCHOOLS AND SCHOLARS IN THE SEVERAL PROVINCES OF BRITISH INDIA AT THE END OF THE OFFICIAL YEAR 1915-16.

(For details see General Table III.)

AREA AND POPULATION.			Particulars.	PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.								PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS.			AVERAGE NUMBER OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES SERVED BY	PERCENTAGE TO POPULATION OF SCHOLARS IN				
Total Area in Square Miles.	Number of Towns * and Villages.	Population.		UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.		SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL.			SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.			GRAND TOTAL.	Advanced.	Elementary.		TOTAL.	Public Institutions.	Public or Private Institutions.	Public Institutions.	Public or Private Institutions.
				Arts Colleges.	Professional Colleges.	Secondary Schools.	Primary Schools.	TOTAL.	Training Schools.	All other Special Schools.	TOTAL.									
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
1,032,011	Towns * . 1,456	Males . 124,190,672	Institutions. For Males	136	50	6,632	120,858	127,490	684	4,169	132,529	2,403	33,787	36,190	168,719	4.03	3.17	..	..	
	Villages . 533,112	Females 118,812,827	For Females	11	2	640	17,231	17,871	92	606	18,672	16	1,841	1,857	20,529	28.63	28.04	..	..	
			TOTAL .	147	52	7,272	138,089	145,361	776	4,865	151,201	2,419	35,628	38,047	189,248	3.54	2.82	..	..	
			Scholars.																	
			Males .	45,349	9,540	1,034,898	4,645,046	6,679,944	15,327	121,024	6,871,184	51,982	508,049	560,031	6,481,215	..	..	4.7	5.2	
			Females .	469	131	94,505	993,198	1,088,703	2,405	22,316	1,112,024	1,873	72,384	74,257	1,186,281	..	..	94	1.0	
	TOTAL . 534,568	TOTAL 243,003,499	TOTAL .	45,818	9,671	1,128,403	5,638,244	6,766,647	17,732	143,340	6,983,208	53,815	580,433	634,238	7,617,496	..	..	2.9	3.1	

\* All places containing 5,000 inhabitants or upwards and all municipalities whatever their population are entered as towns.

## ABSTRACT STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN THE

(For details see

	TOTAL DIRECT EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.							TOTAL	
	UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.		SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL.		SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.		Total	University.	
	Arts Colleges.	Colleges for Professional Training.	Secondary Schools.	Primary Schools.	Training Schools.	All other Special Schools.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
I. Institutions.	For Males	Ra. 65,56,289	Ra. 31,28,102	Ra. 2,59,81,227	Ra. 2,42,23,122	Ra. 22,38,544	Ra. 40,95,472	Ra. 6,62,22,756	} 33,88,774
	For Females	1,40,623	22,628	36,38,129	39,06,337	5,63,207	2,49,324	85,20,248	
TOTAL		66,96,912	31,50,730	2,96,19,356	2,81,29,459	28,01,751	43,44,796	7,47,43,004	33,88,774
2. (a) Percentages of Provincial expenditure included in columns 2-17 to total Provincial expenditure on Public Instruction.	6-63	5-69	16-72	16-75	5-56	5-82	57-17	3-37	
(b) Percentages of Local Fund expenditure included in columns 2-17 to total Local Fund expenditure on Public Instruction.	16	01	9-79	61-20	1-96	1-34	74-46	..	
(c) Percentages of Municipal expenditure included in columns 2-17 to total Municipal expenditure on Public Instruction.	1-24	02	21-89	52-93	0-39	2-34	78-81	..	
(d) Percentages of total expenditure in columns 2-17 to total expenditure on Public Instruction.	6-04	2-84	26-72	25-38	2-53	3-93	67-44	3-05	

TABLE II.

SEVERAL PROVINCES OF BRITISH INDIA FOR THE OFFICIAL YEAR 1915-16.

*General Table IV.)*

INDIRECT EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.							Total Expenditure on Public Instruction.	18
Direction.	Inspection.	Scholarships.	Buildings.	Special Grants for furniture and apparatus.	Miscellaneous.	Total.		
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
8,81,797	49,47,334	19,24,747	1,38,53,046	11,56,528	99,34,019	3,60,86,245	11,08,29,249	{ For Males } 1. Institutions. { For Females }
8,81,797	49,47,334	19,24,747	1,38,53,046	11,56,528	99,34,019	3,60,86,245	11,08,29,249	TOTAL.
2.23	12.06	2.91	16.06	1.38	4.82	42.83	100	2. (a) Percentages of Provincial expenditure included in columns 2—17 to total Provincial expenditure on Public Instruction.
..	.93	1.85	19.74	1.16	1.86	25.54	100	(b) Percentages of Local Fund expenditure included in columns 2—17 to total Local Fund expenditure on Public Instruction.
..	.33	1.04	16.72	.83	2.27	21.19	100	(c) Percentages of Municipal expenditure included in columns 2—17 to total Municipal expenditure on Public Instruction.
.79	4.47	1.74	12.49	1.05	8.97	32.56	100	(d) Percentages of total expenditure in columns 2—17 to total expenditure on Public Instruction.

## ABSTRACT STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN THE

(For details see

1	TOTAL DIRECT EXPENDITURE				
	UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.		SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL.		
	Arts Colleges.	Colleges for Professional Training.	Secondary Schools.	Primary Schools.	
	2	3	4	5	
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
<b>3. Average annual cost of educating each pupil in—</b>					
Government Institutions	{ Cost to Provincial Revenues . . .	180 2 1	260 15 9	24 11 10	10 1 5
	{ Cost to Local and Municipal Funds . . .	..	0 6 3	0 0 1	0 0 6
TOTAL COST		266 2 6	355 5 6	47 6 8	10 10 0
Local Fund and Municipal Board Schools.	{ Cost to Provincial Revenues . . .	12 9 11	..	0 8 6	1 6 1
	{ Cost to Local and Municipal Funds . . .	75 0 11	..	8 6 5	4 9 10
TOTAL COST		166 15 5	107 8 0	15 6 3	6 8 3
Aided Institutions	{ Cost to Provincial Revenues . . .	32 4 10	498 8 10	6 13 7	0 15 6
	{ Cost to Local and Municipal Funds . . .	1 13 0	..	1 14 1	1 3 5
TOTAL COST		138 1 0	605 5 7	29 4 10	4 5 8
Unaided Institutions . . . . . TOTAL COST		61 1 7	80 4 11	21 4 11	2 5 3
All Institutions	{ Cost to Provincial Revenues . . .	58 11 8	230 8 1	5 15 8	1 3 5
	{ Cost to Local and Municipal Funds . . .	1 14 7	0 5 6	2 8 4	2 7 8
TOTAL COST		150 3 5	323 3 6	26 13 5	5 2 9

TABLE II—*contd.*

SEVERAL PROVINCES OF BRITISH INDIA FOR THE OFFICIAL YEAR 1915-16—*contd.*

*General Table IV.)*

ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.		TOTAL.	
SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.			
Training Schools.	All other Special Schools.		
6	7	8	9
Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
159 2 6	130 3 6	49 7 8	3. Average annual cost of educating each pupil in— Cost to Provincial Revenues . . . } Government Institutions. Cost to Local and Municipal Funds . }
7 3 10	0 13 7	0 7 5	
✓ 169 6 6	147 13 4	69 4 1	TOTAL COST.
5 15 2	6 7 8	1 5 11	Cost to Provincial Revenues . . . } Local Fund and Municipal Board Schools. Cost to Local and Municipal Funds . }
102 11 6	39 14 4	5 1 9	
108 10 9	52 7 9	7 7 8	TOTAL COST.
105 10 9	5 13 10	2 5 11	Cost to Provincial Revenues . . . } Aided Institutions. Cost to Local and Municipal Funds . }
0 11 8	2 6 6	1 5 9	
17 10 0	20 9 4	9 15 0	TOTAL COST.
82 3 9	12 3 1	10 7 10	TOTAL COST . . . . . Unaided Institutions.
125 10 1	17 0 11	3 5 6	Cost to Provincial Revenues . . . } All Institutions. Cost to Local and Municipal Funds . }
21 4 9	2 9 7	2 8 6	
✓ 160 6 5	32 3 11	11 1 2	TOTAL COST.

Colleges, Schools and Scholars in the several Provinces of

CLASS OF INSTITUTIONS.	PUBLIC IN			
	UNDER PUBLIC			
	Managed by Government.			
	Number of Institutions.	Number of Scholars on the rolls on 31st March.	Average number on the rolls monthly during the year.	Average daily attendance.
1	2	3	4	5
<b>UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.</b>				
<i>Arts Colleges.</i>				
English . . . . .	28	10,081	9,939	9,034
Oriental . . . . .	2	362	364	271
<i>Colleges for Professional Training.</i>				
Law . . . . .	12	3,385	3,500	3,195
Medicine . . . . .	5	2,096	2,144	2,100
Engineering . . . . .	4	1,296	1,304	1,225
Teaching . . . . .	9	718	713	682
Agriculture . . . . .	5	437	319	298
Veterinary . . . . .	2	265	270	254
Commercial . . . . .	1	185	185	164
Forestry . . . . .	1	61	60	..
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>18,881</b>	<b>18,798</b>	<b>17,223</b>
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL.</b>				
<i>Secondary Schools.</i>				
<i>For Boys—</i>				
High Schools . . . . .	230	75,051	74,293	65,995
Middle Schools . . . . .	78	11,527	11,755	10,158
{ English . . . . .	70	8,121	7,682	6,660
{ Vernacular . . . . .				
<i>For Girls—</i>				
High Schools . . . . .	20	3,950	3,848	3,162
Middle Schools . . . . .	11	1,070	1,035	772
{ English . . . . .	85	3,475	3,414	2,605
{ Vernacular . . . . .				
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>444</b>	<b>103,194</b>	<b>101,937</b>	<b>89,350</b>
<i>Primary Schools.</i>				
For Boys . . . . .	623	31,958	30,726	24,485
For Girls . . . . .	584	46,714	45,671	33,051
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,207</b>	<b>78,672</b>	<b>76,397</b>	<b>57,536</b>
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.</b>				
Training Schools for Masters . . . . .	333	11,093	10,848	10,032
Training Schools for Mistresses . . . . .	29	992	1,011	910
Schools of Art . . . . .	5	1,317	1,299	1,057
Law Schools . . . . .	1	12	18	11
Medical Schools . . . . .	17	2,936	2,714	2,449
Engineering and Surveying Schools . . . . .	8	525	553	488
Technical and Industrial Schools . . . . .	36	2,351	2,275	1,771
Commercial Schools . . . . .	3	352	368	309
Agricultural Schools . . . . .	..	..	..	..
Reformatory Schools . . . . .	7	1,267	1,207	1,073
Other Schools . . . . .	73	5,205	5,055	4,189
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>512</b>	<b>24,050</b>	<b>23,333</b>	<b>22,296</b>
<b>TOTAL OF COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION</b>	<b>2,232</b>	<b>226,797</b>	<b>222,465</b>	<b>186,404</b>



TABLE III.

British India for the official year 1915-16.

INSTITUTIONS.				CLASS OF INSTITUTIONS.	
MANAGEMENT.					
Managed by Local Funds and Municipal Boards.				1	
Number of Institutions.	Number of Scholars on the rolls on 31st March.	Average number on the rolls monthly during the year.	Average daily attendance.		
6	7	8	9		
4	507	521	491	UNIVERSITY EDUCATION. <i>Arts Colleges.</i>	
1	47	49	44		
1	2	2	2	<i>Colleges for Professional Training.</i> Law. Medicine. Engineering Teaching. Agriculture. Veterinary. Commercial. Forestry.	
.....	.....	.....	.....		
.....	.....	.....	.....		
.....	.....	.....	.....		
.....	.....	.....	.....		
.....	.....	.....	.....		
6	556	572	537	TOTAL	
60	24,012	24,195	21,542	SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL. <i>Secondary Schools.</i>	
331	48,889	48,564	41,635		For Boys—
939	125,378	124,647	100,455		High Schools. English } Middle Schools. Vernacular }
..	.....	.....	.....	For Girls—	
2	170	166	125	High Schools. English } Middle Schools. Vernacular }	
30	3,760	3,544	2,636		
1,362	202,209	201,136	166,393	TOTAL	
34,607	2,118,785	2,046,799	1,600,790	Primary Schools.	
2,078	142,203	136,582	99,920		For Boys. For Girls.
37,280	2,261,048	2,183,381	1,700,410	TOTAL	
317	2,726	2,714	2,608	SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL Training Schools for Masters. Training Schools for Mistresses. Schools of Art. Law Schools. Medical Schools. Engineering and Surveying Schools. Technical and Industrial Schools. Commercial Schools. Agricultural Schools. Reformatory Schools. Other Schools.	
6	57	52	47		
.....	.....	.....	.....		
.....	.....	.....	.....		
.....	.....	.....	.....		
.....	.....	.....	.....		
30	2,909	2,765	2,283		
1	29	29	27		
.....	.....	.....	.....		
.....	.....	.....	.....		
12	334	302	219		
374	6,055	5,862	5,184		TOTAL
39,022	2,469,868	2,390,951	1,872,624	TOTAL OF COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.	

Colleges, Schools and Scholars in the several provinces

CLASS OF INSTITUTIONS.	PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.							
	UNDER PRIVATE MANAGEMENT.							
	Aided by Government, by Local Funds or Municipal Boards.				Unaided.			
	Number of Institutions.	Number of Scholars on the rolls on 31st March.	Average number on the rolls monthly during the year.	Average daily attendance.	Number of Institutions.	Number of Scholars on the rolls on 31st March.	Average number on the rolls monthly during the year.	Average daily attendance.
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
<b>UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.</b>								
<i>Arts Colleges.</i>								
English . . . . .	68	22,975	22,317	20,082	19	10,426	10,053	8,872
Oriental . . . . .	22	1,118	1,067	860	3	302	278	214
<i>Colleges for Professional Training.</i>								
Law . . . . .	..	..	..	..	9*	1,170	1,191	836
Medicine . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Engineering . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Teaching . . . . .	3	61	60	57	..	..	..	..
Agriculture . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Veterinary . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Commercial . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Forestry . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>24,154</b>	<b>23,444</b>	<b>20,949</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>11,806</b>	<b>11,517</b>	<b>9,922</b>
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL.</b>								
<i>Secondary Schools.</i>								
<b>For Boys—</b>								
High Schools . . . . .	730	255,763	250,879	210,246	420	148,937	142,287	119,181
Middle Schools { English . . . . .	1,591	181,268	174,456	146,371	773	76,078	73,350	54,834
{ Vernacular . . . . .	1,368	99,015	97,931	93,159	42	3,099	2,995	2,373
<b>For Girls—</b>								
High Schools . . . . .	132	18,051	17,808	15,766	6	871	830	826
Middle Schools { English . . . . .	192	20,080	19,391	16,840	17	952	875	603
{ Vernacular . . . . .	193	19,440	19,445	16,441	2	146	139	72
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4,206</b>	<b>593,617</b>	<b>579,910</b>	<b>507,813</b>	<b>1,260</b>	<b>229,383</b>	<b>220,576</b>	<b>181,979</b>
<i>Primary Schools.</i>								
For Boys . . . . .	71,933	2,526,845	2,453,955	2,057,151	13,695	356,701	328,907	278,097
For Girls . . . . .	11,795	366,812	352,765	286,051	2,179	48,166	44,358	36,747
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>83,728</b>	<b>2,893,657</b>	<b>2,806,720</b>	<b>2,343,202</b>	<b>15,874</b>	<b>404,867</b>	<b>373,265</b>	<b>314,844</b>
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.</b>								
Training Schools for Masters . . . . .	32	1,580	1,560	1,445	2	27	27	25
Training Schools for Mistresses . . . . .	55	1,180	1,189	1,133	3	77	66	59
Schools of Art . . . . .	1	62	70	49	2	280	261	221
Law Schools . . . . .	..	..	..	..	1	16	14	8
Medical Schools . . . . .	2	262	236	216	11	963	896	774
Engineering and Surveying Schools . . . . .	7	231	217	175	3	19	22	19
Technical and Industrial Schools . . . . .	144	6,561	6,240	5,485	18	804	733	557
Agricultural Schools . . . . .	1	9	8	8	1	2	2	2
Commercial Schools . . . . .	15	1,250	359	287	46	2,016	1,352	1,121
Reformatory Schools . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other Schools . . . . .	3,200	85,524	82,187	69,214	1,211	28,054	25,583	21,631
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3,457</b>	<b>94,659</b>	<b>92,066</b>	<b>78,012</b>	<b>1,298</b>	<b>32,308</b>	<b>28,956</b>	<b>24,467</b>
<b>TOTAL OF COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.</b>	<b>91,484</b>	<b>3,608,087</b>	<b>3,502,140</b>	<b>2,949,976</b>	<b>18,403</b>	<b>678,456</b>	<b>634,404</b>	<b>531,212</b>

PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS.

<b>1. ADVANCED TEACHING—</b>	
(a) Arabic or Persian . . . . .	..
(b) Sanskrit . . . . .	..
(c) Any other Oriental Classic . . . . .	..
<b>2. ELEMENTARY TEACHING—</b>	
(a) A vernacular only or mainly For Boys . . . . .	..
.. .. .. .. ..	..
.. .. .. .. ..	..
(b) The Koran only . . . . .	..
.. .. .. .. ..	..
.. .. .. .. ..	..
<b>3. OTHER SCHOOLS not conforming to Departmental Standards.</b>	
.. .. .. .. ..	..
.. .. .. .. ..	..

TOTAL .  
GRAND TOTAL .

TABLE III—contd.

of British India for the official year 1915-16—contd.

Grand Total of Institutions.	Grand Total of Scholars on the 31st of March.	NUMBER OF SCHOLARS ON THE 31ST OF MARCH LEARNING			Number of girls in boys' schools.	Number of boys in girls' schools.	CLASS OF INSTITUTIONS.
		English Language.	A Classical Language.	A Vernacular Language.			
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	1
							UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.
							Arts Colleges.
119	48,989	48,406	22,912	23,877	105	..	English.
28	1,829	418	1,029	281	..	..	Oriental.
							Colleges for Professional Training.
22	4,557	4,038	..	..	..	..	Law.
5	2,096	1,148	..	..	..	..	Medicine.
4	1,290	774	..	..	..	..	Engineering.
12	774	691	..	..	..	..	Teaching.
5	437	184	..	208	..	4	Agriculture.
2	265	76	..	47	..	..	Veterinary.
1	185	..	..	..	..	..	Commercial.
1	61	..	..	..	..	..	Forestry.
199	56,489	50,785	24,567	23,918	248	..	TOTAL.
							SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL.
							Secondary Schools.
							For Boys—
1,440	503,063	471,418	208,818	482,066	2,685	..	High Schools.
2,778	917,762	239,270	28,750	305,797	4,954	..	English } Middle Schools.
2,419	235,618	310	86,883	234,789	22,632	..	Vernacular } Middle Schools.
							For Girls—
158	22,872	20,402	5,013	12,974	..	2,803	High Schools.
222	22,272	16,725	1,533	13,445	..	2,581	English } Middle Schools.
260	20,821	308	2,972	26,743	..	3,847	Vernacular } Middle Schools.
7,272	1,128,408	748,432	278,409	1,075,814	30,271	8,731	TOTAL.
							Primary Schools.
							For Boys.
120,858	5,034,289	64,096	250,819	5,028,192	414,679	..	For Girls.
17,231	603,956	16,500	47,062	600,349	..	25,436	TOTAL.
138,089	5,638,244	80,596	297,881	5,628,541	414,679	25,436	TOTAL.
							SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.
							Training Schools for Masters.
684	15,420	1,167	2,410	14,883	99	..	Training Schools for Mistresses.
92	2,306	441	132	1,961	..	..	Schools of Art.
8	1,659	722	..	521	..	104	Law Schools.
2	28	28	..	..	..	..	Medical Schools.
30	4,151	2,088	..	1,338	..	79	Engineering and Surveying Schools.
18	776	584	93	43	..	..	Technical and Industrial Schools.
237	12,685	1,514	..	8,276	..	182	Agricultural Schools.
2	11	..	..	11	..	..	Commercial Schools.
65	3,647	1,705	..	185	..	70	Reformatory Schools.
7	1,287	8	..	1,267	..	..	Other Schools.
4,496	119,117	11,840	82,249	90,440	5,218	393	TOTAL.
5,641	161,072	20,092	84,884	118,920	5,752	432	TOTAL OF COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.
151,201	6,983,208	899,905	685,801	6,847,188	450,950	34,599	PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS.
							1. ADVANCED TEACHING—
1,220	31,952	131	30,557	3,010	881	85	(a) Arabic or Persian.
1,190	21,795	823	21,366	2,199	226	8	(b) Sanskrit.
8	108	..	108	..	28	..	(c) Any other Oriental Classic.
							2. ELEMENTARY TEACHING—
24,826	332,365	1,900	91,447	323,950	9,039	..	For Boys (a) A vernacular only or mainly.
347	9,082	179	580	8,799	..	226	For Girls.
6,903	148,068	67	137,808	14,141	25,870	..	For Boys (b) The Koran only.
1,407	24,172	..	23,887	2,024	..	3,263	For Girls.
1,068	60,847	20,978	9,131	53,183	1,972	..	For Boys (3) OTHER SCHOOLS not conforming to Departmental Standards.
87	5,924	620	662	5,390	..	166	For Girls.
38,047	634,288	24,698	815,321	412,696	38,016	3,698	TOTAL.
189,248	7,617,496	924,603	1,001,122	7,259,884	488,966	88,297	GRAND TOTAL.

## Number of Scholars on 31st March 1916 in the several Provinces

1	2	3	HINDUS.		6	7	8	9	10	
			4	5						
	Europeans and Anglo-Indians.	Indian Christians.	Brahmans.	Non-Brahmans.	Muhammadians.	Buddhists.	Parsis.	Others.	TOTAL.	
<b>UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.</b>										
<b>ARTS COLLEGES.</b>										
English . . . . .	{ Male . . . . . Female . . . . .	155 91	1,129 159	16,020 58	19,927 118	4,715 5	509	518 86	552 7	43,520 469
Oriental . . . . .	{ Male . . . . . Female . . . . .	.. ..	1	1,267	137	422	..	..	2	1,829
<b>COLLEGES FOR PROFESSIONAL TRAINING.</b>										
Law . . . . .	{ Male . . . . . Female . . . . .	6 ..	33	1,784	2,299	393	2	27	13	4,557
Medicine . . . . .	{ Male . . . . . Female . . . . .	84 24	116 24	515 4	1,082 9	78 1	6	98 14	43 3	2,017 79
Engineering . . . . .	{ Male . . . . . Female . . . . .	98 ..	50	547	488	67	..	44	2	1,296
Teaching . . . . .	{ Male . . . . . Female . . . . .	25 40	23 7	256 3	244	135	..	..	36 2	722 52
Agriculture . . . . .	{ Male . . . . . Female . . . . .	5 ..	21	147	166	52	1	15	30	437
Veterinary . . . . .	{ Male . . . . . Female . . . . .	.. ..	3	49	52	119	..	..	42	265
Commercial . . . . .	{ Male . . . . . Female . . . . .	1 ..	..	64	86	5	..	28	1	185
Forestry . . . . .	{ Male . . . . . Female . . . . .	2 ..	5	29	19	5	..	1	..	61
TOTAL . . . . .		531	1,574	20,743	24,622	5,992	518	776	733	55,489
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL.</b>										
<b>SECONDARY SCHOOLS.</b>										
<i>For Boys.</i>										
High Schools . . . . .	{ Male . . . . . Female . . . . .	8,982 682	15,115 555	127,005 300	239,280 219	84,453 17	12,886 642	4,197 126	8,460 144	500,378 2,685
Middle Schools—										
English . . . . .	{ Male . . . . . Female . . . . .	4,908 1,787	10,313 1,624	55,806 254	150,833 548	75,632 43	8,244 408	885 97	6,187 198	312,803 4,954
Vernacular . . . . .	{ Male . . . . . Female . . . . .	6 2	3,036 1,426	26,442 206	85,537 574	39,270 584	51,808 19,821	3	5,979 19	212,031 22,632
<i>For Girls.</i>										
High Schools . . . . .	{ Male . . . . . Female . . . . .	1,501 7,878	216 4,562	79 1,433	164 3,738	32 455	179 471	45 1,343	87 649	2,303 20,569
Middle Schools—										
English . . . . .	{ Male . . . . . Female . . . . .	1,382 5,017	472 7,412	75 1,212	132 3,909	137 594	428 589	80 580	25 378	2,581 19,691
Vernacular . . . . .	{ Male . . . . . Female . . . . .	2 11	144 2,786	21 2,436	103 10,279	87 2,012	3,482 4,294	.. 5	8 1,151	3,847 22,974
TOTAL . . . . .		32,158	48,551	215,269	495,300	203,216	103,247	7,311	23,285	1,128,403
<b>PRIMARY SCHOOLS.</b>										
For Boys . . . . .	{ Male . . . . . Female . . . . .	1,527 770	95,451 32,694	441,448 47,754	2,753,246 217,065	1,033,020 55,908	147,043 51,808	3,376 496	144,899 8,184	4,619,610 414,679
For Girls . . . . .	{ Male . . . . . Female . . . . .	849 1,479	2,629 25,895	977 82,232	5,972 290,798	4,047 144,651	10,439 20,415	387 3,328	136 9,721	25,486 578,519
TOTAL . . . . .		4,625	156,669	572,411	3,267,181	1,237,626	229,705	7,587	162,440	5,638,244

TABLE III-A.

of British India, classified according to sex, race, or creed.

1	Europeans and Anglo-Indians.	Indian Christians.	HINDUS.		Muhammadians.	Buddhists.	Parsees.	Others.	TOTAL.
			Brahmans.	Non-Brahmans.					
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.</b>									
Training Schools . . . . .	{ Male : 3 { Female : 224	1,410 1,235	4,239 207	6,153 406	2,842 177	354 49	.. 10	326 87	15,327 2,405
Schools of Art . . . . .	{ Male : 9 { Female : 27	86 10	331 14	792 33	274 ..	4 ..	30 18	20 2	1,555 104
Law Schools . . . . .	{ Male : 1 { Female : ..	..	2 ..	14 ..	4 ..	7 ..	..	..	22 ..
Medical Schools . . . . .	{ Male : 25 { Female : 27	155 169	999 10	2,071 27	503 30	35 1	11 1	85 2	3,884 267
Engineering and Surveying Schools . . . . .	{ Male : 172 { Female : ..	16 ..	83 ..	322 ..	78 ..	65 ..	..	39 ..	775 ..
Technical and Industrial Schools . . . . .	{ Male : 169 { Female : 335	1,770 1,620	952 93	3,821 456	2,623 63	26 109	146 2	470 30	9,977 2,708
Agricultural Schools . . . . .	{ Male : .. { Female : ..	9 ..	..	2 ..	..	..	..	..	11 ..
Commercial Schools . . . . .	{ Male : 111 { Female : 1,029	213 27	523 1	1,099 8	242 1	104 ..	261 2	27 4	2,580 1,067
Reformatory Schools . . . . .	{ Male : 1 { Female : ..	34 ..	44 ..	721 ..	360 ..	73 ..	..	34 ..	1,267 ..
Other Schools . . . . .	{ Male : 95 { Female : 41	338 184	21,692 138	11,412 337	62,606 17,336	4,606 83	109 50	89 1	100,047 13,170
TOTAL . . . . .	2,260	7,276	29,388	27,669	87,139	5,516	640	1,175	161,072
TOTAL OF COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.	39,583	214,070	837,811	3,814,833	1,533,973	338,936	16,314	187,633	6,983,203
<b>PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS.</b>									
<b>ADVANCED TEACHING.</b>									
(a) Arabic or Persian . . . . .	{ Male : .. { Female : ..	23 18	265 ..	856 2	20,830 948	..	2 12	1 ..	30,977 975
(b) Sanskrit . . . . .	{ Male : .. { Female : ..	23 ..	17,631 323	3,018 622	168 ..	..	..	105 ..	20,946 850
(c) Any other Oriental Classic . . . . .	{ Male : .. { Female : ..	..	..	5 20	..	..	55 28	..	60 48
<b>ELEMENTARY TEACHING.</b>									
<b>A Vernacular only or mainly—</b>									
For Boys . . . . .	{ Male : .. { Female : ..	3,049 1,180	12,685 765	112,424 5,069	16,298 653	174,615 1,001	90 4	3,559 277	323,326 9,039
For Girls . . . . .	{ Male : .. { Female : ..	2 440	17 1,229	81 4,377	27 1,899	57 507	.. 64	42 314	226 8,338
<b>ELEMENTARY TEACHING.</b>									
<b>The Koran only—</b>									
For Boys . . . . .	{ Male : .. { Female : ..	11 ..	259 ..	515 8	121,365 25,846	..	3 17	40 ..	122,193 25,870
For Girls . . . . .	{ Male : .. { Female : ..	..	91	217	3,263 20,600	..	..	1	3,263 20,909
<b>OTHER SCHOOLS NOT CONFORMING TO DEPARTMENTAL STANDARDS.</b>									
For Boys . . . . .	{ Male : 11 { Female : ..	558 133	7,669 151	35,906 1,238	11,468 374	1,524 39	3 ..	1,736 87	58,875 1,972
For Girls . . . . .	{ Male : 22 { Female : 29	5 942	10 704	65 2,604	29 1,043	35 193	.. 4	.. 270	166 5,758
TOTAL . . . . .	62	6,935	41,804	166,387	233,810	178,061	288	6,391	634,289
GRAND TOTAL . . . . .	89,645	221,055	879,615	3,981,725	1,767,783	517,047	16,602	194,024	7,617,496

## Number of European Colleges, Schools and Scholars in the several Provinces

CLASS OF INSTITUTIONS.	PUBLIC IN-			
	MANAGED BY GOVERNMENT.			
1	2	3	4	5
	Number of Institutions.	Number of Scholars on the rolls on 31st March.	Average number on the rolls monthly during the year.	Average daily attendance.
<b>UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.</b>				
<i>Arts Colleges.</i>				
English . . . . .	..	..	..	..
<i>Colleges for Professional Training.</i>				
Teaching . . . . .	1	20	18	18
<b>TOTAL</b> . . . . .	<b>1</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL.</b>				
<i>Secondary Schools.</i>				
<b>For Boys—</b>				
High Schools . . . . .	9	1,082	1,043	994
Middle Schools, English . . . . .	4	239	215	198
<b>For Girls—</b>				
High Schools . . . . .	8	669	659	626
Middle Schools, English . . . . .	8	221	203	190
<b>TOTAL</b> . . . . .	<b>29</b>	<b>2,211</b>	<b>2,120</b>	<b>2,008</b>
<i>Primary Schools.</i>				
For Boys . . . . .	4	309	313	290
For Girls . . . . .	12	867	809	698
<b>TOTAL</b> . . . . .	<b>16</b>	<b>1,176</b>	<b>1,122</b>	<b>988</b>
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.</b>				
Training Schools for Mistresses . . . . .	1	14	16	15
Schools of Art . . . . .	..	..	..	..
Engineering and Surveying Schools . . . . .	1	6	5	4
Technical and Industrial Schools . . . . .	1	6	6	5
Commercial Schools . . . . .	..	..	..	..
Other Schools . . . . .	..	..	..	..
<b>TOTAL</b> . . . . .	<b>3</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>TOTAL OF COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>3,433</b>	<b>3,287</b>	<b>3,038</b>

TABLE III-B.

of British India for the official year 1915-16.

STITUTIONS.										Grand Total of Institutions.	Grand Total of Scholars on the 31st of March.	CLASS OF INSTITUTIONS.		
UNDER PRIVATE MANAGEMENT.								Number of Institutions.	Number of Scholars on the rolls on 31st March.				Average number on the rolls monthly during the year.	Average daily attendance.
Aided by Government, by Local Funds or Municipal Boards.				Unaided.										
Number of Institutions.	Number of Scholars on the rolls on 31st March.	Average number on the rolls monthly during the year.	Average daily attendance.	Number of Institutions.	Number of Scholars on the rolls on 31st March.	Average number on the rolls monthly during the year.	Average daily attendance.	14	15	1				
2	22	19	17	1	4	4	4	3	26	UNIVERSITY EDUCATION. <i>Arts Colleges.</i>				
1	38	34	34	..	..	..	..	2	58	<i>Colleges for Professional Training.</i> <i>Teaching.</i>				
3	60	53	51	1	4	4	4	5	84	TOTAL.				
51	8,179	7,934	7,272	4	804	781	697	64	10,065	SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL. <i>Secondary Schools.</i>				
54	6,038	5,726	5,090	2	35	42	38	60	6,312	For Boys— High Schools. Middle Schools, English.				
69	9,405	9,346	8,477	2	138	185	174	79	10,212	For Girls— High Schools.				
65	6,166	5,933	5,348	2	58	62	57	75	6,445	Middle Schools, English.				
239	29,788	28,939	26,187	10	1,035	1,070	966	278	33,034	TOTAL.				
38	1,793	1,724	1,465	..	..	..	..	42	2,102	<i>Primary Schools.</i>				
31	1,429	1,341	1,126	3	52	57	48	46	2,348	For Boys. For Girls.				
69	3,222	3,065	2,591	3	52	57	48	88	4,450	TOTAL.				
3	40	48	46	..	..	..	..	4	54	SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.				
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Training Schools for Mistresses. Schools of Art.				
5	177	169	134	3	19	22	19	9	202	Engineering and Surveying Schools.				
13	303	318	284	..	..	..	..	14	309	Technical and Industrial Schools.				
10	1,038	139	117	..	..	..	..	10	1,038	Commercial Schools.				
7	260	235	187	..	..	..	..	7	260	Other Schools.				
38	1,818	909	768	3	19	22	19	44	1,863	TOTAL.				
349	34,888	32,966	29,597	17	1,110	1,153	1,037	415	39,431	TOTAL OF COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.				
PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS.														
Other Schools not conforming to Departmental Standards—														
For Boys										..	..	..		
For Girls										..	..	..		
TOTAL										2	50			
GRAND TOTAL										417	39,481			

## Number of European Colleges, Schools and Scholars in the several Provinces

CLASS OF INSTITUTIONS.	NUMBER OF SCHOLARS ON THE 31ST OF MARCH LEARNING			Number of girls in boys' schools.	Number of boys in girls' schools.
	English.	A Classical Language.	A Verna- cular Language.		
1	16	17	18	19	20
<b>UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.</b>					
<i>Arts Colleges.</i>					
English . . . . .	26	4	..	..	..
<i>Colleges for Professional Training.</i>					
Teaching . . . . .	58	26	22	..	..
<b>TOTAL</b> . . . . .	84	30	22	..	..
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL.</b>					
<i>Secondary Schools.</i>					
<b>For Boys—</b>					
High Schools . . . . .	10,063	3,527	5,600	730	..
Middle Schools, English . . . . .	6,241	565	2,350	1,835	..
<b>For Girls—</b>					
High Schools . . . . .	10,180	3,284	1,460	..	1,669
Middle Schools, English . . . . .	6,445	782	1,161	..	1,422
<b>TOTAL</b> . . . . .	32,929	8,158	10,571	2,565	3,091
<i>Primary Schools.</i>					
For Boys . . . . .	2,102	115	357	747	..
For Girls . . . . .	2,348	147	118	..	883
<b>TOTAL</b> . . . . .	4,450	262	475	747	883
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.</b>					
Training Schools for Mistresses . . . . .	54	..	..	..	..
Schools of Art . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..
Engineering and Surveying Schools . . . . .	202	..	8	..	..
Technical and Industrial Schools . . . . .	309	..	..	5	..
Commercial Schools . . . . .	999	..	..	..	..
Other Schools . . . . .	250	4	10	..	..
<b>TOTAL</b> . . . . .	1,814	4	18	5	..
<b>TOTAL OF COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.</b>					
	39,277	8,454	11,086	3,317	3,974
<b>PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS.</b>					
<b>Other Schools not conforming to Departmental Standards—</b>					
For Boys . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..
For Girls . . . . .	50	..	..	..	22
<b>TOTAL</b> . . . . .	50	..	..	..	22
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b> . . . . .	39,327	8,454	11,086	3,317	3,996



TABLE III-B—concl'd.

of British India for the official year 1915-16—concl'd

CLASSIFICATION OF SCHOLARS ON THE 31ST MARCH ACCORDING TO RACE OR CREED.								CLASS OF INSTITUTIONS.
Europeans and Anglo-Indians.	Indian Christians.	HINDUS.		Muhammadians.	Buddhists.	Parsis.	Others.	
		Brahmans.	Non-Brahmans.					
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	1
								UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.
								<i>Arts Colleges.</i>
25	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	English.
58	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	<i>Colleges for Professional Training.</i>
83	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	Teaching.
								TOTAL
								SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL.
								<i>Secondary Schools.</i>
9,152	197	83	85	117	105	148	178	For Boys—
5,876	112	30	29	38	11	27	189	High Schools.
								Middle Schools, English.
9,259	254	128	19	32	87	149	234	For Girls—
6,059	88	93	21	19	23	101	41	High Schools.
								Middle Schools, English.
30,346	651	334	154	206	226	425	692	TOTAL
								<i>Primary Schools.</i>
2,018	37	5	..	4	..	27	11	For Boys.
2,224	44	20	..	1	4	48	7	For Girls.
4,242	81	25	..	5	4	75	18	TOTAL
								SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.
64	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Training Schools for Mistresses.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Schools of Art.
160	1	1	33	1	..	..	6	Engineering and Surveying Schools.
299	9	..	..	..	..	1	..	Technical and Industrial Schools.
1,031	2	..	..	1	..	..	4	Commercial Schools.
237	20	..	..	..	..	3	..	Other Schools.
1,781	32	1	33	2	..	4	10	TOTAL
36,452	764	360	187	214	230	504	720	TOTAL OF COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.
								PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Other Schools not conforming to Departmental Standards—
50	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	For Boys.
								For Girls.
50	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	TOTAL
36,502	764	360	187	214	230	504	720	GRAND TOTAL.

NOTE—In Madras students have not been distinguished between Brahmans and non-Brahmans. They have hence been shown under Brahmans.

## Expenditure (in rupees) on Public Instruction in the several Provinces

OBJECTS OF EXPENDITURE.	PUBLIC						
	UNDER PUBLIC						
	Managed by Government.						
	Provincial Revenue.	Local Funds.	Municipal Funds.	Fees.	Subscriptions.	Endowments and other sources.	TOTAL.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.</b>							
<i>Arts Colleges.</i>							
English	18,32,774	..	..	8,06,519	10,912	68,727	27,18,032
Oriental	23,130	..	..	..	..	180	23,290
<i>Colleges for Professional Training.</i>							
Law	87,245	..	..	2,54,890	..	1,921	2,94,056
Medicine	6,51,306	..	..	2,56,754	..	3,100	9,11,160
Engineering	6,01,846	..	..	97,420	..	90,321	7,89,596
Teaching	4,11,515	2,196	1,131	160	..	14,270	4,29,272
Agriculture	2,98,434	..	..	6,023	..	173	3,04,630
Veterinary	1,78,668	..	..	11,135	..	37,984	1,27,837
Commercial	84,744	..	..	24,060	..	..	58,804
Forestry	1,08,296	..	..	..	..	..	1,08,296
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>40,72,958</b>	<b>2,196</b>	<b>1,131</b>	<b>14,57,020</b>	<b>10,912</b>	<b>2,16,656</b>	<b>57,60,873</b>
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL.</b>							
<i>Secondary Schools.</i>							
<b>For Boys—</b>							
High Schools	17,81,593	325	157	19,37,997	1,623	60,274	37,81,969
Middle Schools { English	2,58,688	..	..	1,93,021	622	8,168	4,56,099
{ Vernacular	1,85,067	..	..	12,594	41	7	1,47,709
<b>For Girls—</b>							
High Schools	2,54,655	..	..	59,502	593	27,035	3,41,785
Middle Schools { English	44,710	..	..	6,358	699	..	51,767
{ Vernacular	52,148	96	150	1,594	16	19	54,023
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>25,21,861</b>	<b>421</b>	<b>307</b>	<b>22,11,666</b>	<b>3,594</b>	<b>95,503</b>	<b>48,33,352</b>
<i>Primary Schools.</i>							
For Boys	3,31,186	576	776	23,027	628	6,585	3,62,778
For Girls	4,89,617	399	491	6,037	1,429	823	4,48,796
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7,70,803</b>	<b>975</b>	<b>1,267</b>	<b>29,064</b>	<b>2,057</b>	<b>7,408</b>	<b>8,11,574</b>
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.</b>							
Training Schools for Masters	16,17,841	65,068	7,483	19,063	1,543	5,310	17,16,308
Training Schools for Mistresses	2,69,617	9,537	3,740	174	293	9,316	2,92,677
Schools of Art	2,34,089	..	..	17,121	..	12,208	2,63,418
Law Schools	4,348	..	..	1,652	..	..	6,000
Medical Schools	5,01,243	3,939	..	54,203	..	19,580	5,79,095
Engineering and Surveying Schools	2,09,247	142	90	19,686	293	2,204	2,31,722
Technical and Industrial Schools	2,90,887	3,858	..	8,936	425	32,105	3,35,711
Agricultural Schools	..	644	..	..	..	..	644
Commercial Schools	25,767	..	..	10,277	..	..	36,044
Reformatory Schools	2,28,026	..	..	..	..	8,478	2,34,504
Other Schools	2,63,454	..	2,800	32,198	16	6,387	3,04,855
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>36,42,059</b>	<b>83,188</b>	<b>14,113</b>	<b>1,63,310</b>	<b>2,570</b>	<b>95,648</b>	<b>40,00,888</b>
<i>Buildings</i>	41,17,025	3,771	133	..	6,824	32,217	41,59,970
<i>Furniture and apparatus (special grants only)</i>	1,70,716	13	..	4,877	454	26,497	2,02,537
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>42,87,741</b>	<b>3,784</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>4,877</b>	<b>7,278</b>	<b>58,714</b>	<b>43,62,527</b>
<b>TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION</b>	<b>1,52,95,422</b>	<b>90,564</b>	<b>16,961</b>	<b>38,65,937</b>	<b>26,411</b>	<b>4,78,929</b>	<b>1,97,69,214</b>

TABLE IV.

of British India for the official year 1915-16.

INSTITUTIONS.							OBJECTS OF EXPENDITURE.
MANAGEMENT.							
Managed by Local Funds and Municipal Boards.							
Provincial Revenues.	Local Funds.	Municipal Funds.	Fees.	Subscriptions.	Endowments and other sources.	TOTAL.	1
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
Ra.	Ra.	Ra.	Ra.	Rs.	Ra.	Ra.	
7,194	8,387	34,397	44,689 38	..	463	86,743 8,425	UNIVERSITY EDUCATION. <i>Arts Colleges.</i> English. Oriental.
..	..	..	215	..	..	215	<i>Colleges for Professional Training.</i> Law. Medicine. Engineering. Teaching. Agriculture. Veterinary. Commercial. Forestry.
7,194	8,387	34,397	44,942	..	463	95,383	TOTAL.
64,965 37,535 355	62,601 1,98,261 9,57,985	95,227 2,32,133 88,341	5,43,749 5,09,213 2,18,000	1,444 7,737 5,031	4,446 6,664 1,412	7,72,432 9,91,543 12,71,214	SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL. <i>Secondary Schools.</i> For Boys— High Schools. English } Middle Schools. Vernacular }
8,251 855	.. 10,339	.. 32,337	.. 711 140	.. 48	.. 69 83	.. 9,694 60,204	For Girls— High Schools. English } Middle Schools. Vernacular }
1,06,961	12,36,186	4,54,153	12,71,908	14,260	12,624	30,96,087	TOTAL.
29,04,477 2,16,049	75,72,851 5,68,951	15,14,477 4,24,568	9,25,406 7,334	46,094 1,911	36,307 4,625	1,29,99,612 12,23,433	<i>Primary Schools.</i> For Boys. For Girls.
81,20,526	81,41,802	19,39,045	9,32,740	48,005	40,932	1,42,23,050	TOTAL.
14,480 1,973	2,76,550 1,185	3,790 2,600	..	..	10	2,94,830 5,768	SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL. Training Schools for Masters. Training Schools for Mistresses.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Schools of Art. Law Schools. Medical Schools. Engineering and Surveying Schools. Technical and Industrial Schools.
17,108	86,065	33,195	6,735	42	11,599	1,64,744	Agricultural Schools. Commercial Schools. Reformatory Schools. Other Schools.
780	..	1,765	325	..	..	2,870	
2,164	810	2,178	90	140	..	4,882	
36,505	3,64,110	43,523	7,150	132	11,609	4,63,034	TOTAL.
1,05,462 9,119	34,03,148 1,53,070	7,20,504 31,742	218 454	34,162 41	15,332 813	43,68,826 1,94,739	<i>Buildings.</i> <i>Furniture and Apparatus (special grants only)</i>
2,04,581	35,56,218	7,52,246	672	34,203	15,646	45,63,565	TOTAL.
34,75,767	1,33,05,703	32,23,369	22,57,407	96,660	81,273	2,24,40,169	TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

## Expenditure (in rupees) on Public Instruction in the several Provinces

OBJECTS OF EXPENDITURE.	PUBLIC IN-				
	UNDER PRIVATE				
	Aided by Government or by Local				
	Provincial Revenues.	Local Funds.	Municipal Funds.	Fees.	Subscriptions.
1	16	17	18	19	20
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
<b>UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.</b>					
<i>Arts Colleges.</i>					
English	7,21,494	18,800	22,965	16,37,134	99,620
Oriental	83,812	270	860	576	7,066
<i>Colleges for Professional Training.</i>					
Law	..	..	..	..	..
Medicine	..	..	..	..	..
Engineering	..	..	..	..	..
Teaching	29,918	..	..	6,808	..
Agriculture	..	..	..	..	..
Veterinary	..	..	..	..	..
Commercial	..	..	..	..	..
Forestry	..	..	..	..	..
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7,85,219</b>	<b>19,070</b>	<b>23,825</b>	<b>16,44,019</b>	<b>1,07,176</b>
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL.</b>					
<i>Secondary Schools.</i>					
For Boys—					
High Schools	19,31,009	21,887	1,97,991	54,57,763	4,30,908
Middle Schools	7,88,107	2,44,044	1,68,812	19,73,524	4,03,737
{ English	1,77,924	2,39,690	82,042	1,61,058	85,609
{ Vernacular	..	..	..	..	..
For Girls—					
High Schools	6,48,039	..	23,486	6,04,246	1,47,310
Middle Schools	3,58,760	2,185	39,886	2,37,905	1,27,963
{ English	73,220	22,911	46,986	13,834	69,107
{ Vernacular	..	..	..	..	..
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>39,72,059</b>	<b>5,30,623</b>	<b>5,59,152</b>	<b>84,47,730</b>	<b>12,14,634</b>
<i>Primary Schools.</i>					
For Boys	21,74,358	24,56,187	8,62,061	29,51,142	5,83,176
For Girls	5,48,367	4,89,374	1,54,417	1,64,563	2,56,144
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>27,22,725</b>	<b>28,95,501</b>	<b>5,16,478</b>	<b>31,15,705</b>	<b>4,39,320</b>
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.</b>					
Training Schools for Masters	1,45,359	656	84	1,285	22,304
Training Schools for Mistresses	1,45,188	720	565	17,541	28,228
Schools of Art	1,800	..	450	1,123	..
Law Schools	..	..	..	..	..
Medical Schools	34,000	..	1,500	3,800	17,705
Engineering and Surveying Schools	7,250	200	150	6,170	3,559
Technical and Industrial Schools	2,88,315	18,265	82,620	35,339	51,244
Agricultural Schools	310	..	..	..	..
Commercial Schools	19,882	..	..	16,051	3,696
Reformatory Schools	..	..	..	..	..
Other Schools	1,71,718	1,28,264	33,644	1,48,162	1,47,127
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>8,14,272</b>	<b>1,48,106</b>	<b>69,019</b>	<b>2,29,471</b>	<b>2,74,363</b>
Buildings	19,76,062	1,45,120	54,959	85,493	6,19,142
Furniture and Apparatus (special grants only)	3,24,395	55,701	6,704	67,312	49,696
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>23,00,457</b>	<b>2,00,821</b>	<b>61,663</b>	<b>1,62,805</b>	<b>6,68,838</b>
<b>TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION</b>	<b>1,05,94,782</b>	<b>87,94,180</b>	<b>12,29,637</b>	<b>1,35,89,729</b>	<b>31,04,381</b>

TABLE IV—contd.

of British India for the official year 1915-16—contd.

INSTITUTIONS.						OBJECTS OF EXPENDITURE.
MANAGEMENT.						
of Municipal Boards.		Unaided.				1
Endowments and other Sources.	TOTAL.	Fees.	Subscriptions.	Endowments and other sources.	TOTAL.	
21	22	23	24	25	26	
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
6,58,582 27,417	61,58,405 70,091	4,67,527 ..	10,608 ..	1,31,956 11,755	6,10,181 11,755	English. Oriental.
..	..	78,178	15,608	1,857	95,643	Colleges for Professional Training.
..	..	..	..	..	..	Law. Medicine. Engineering. Teaching. Agriculture. Veterinary. Commercial. Forestry.
..	36,221	..	..	..	..	
..	..	..	..	..	..	
..	..	..	..	..	..	
..	..	..	..	..	..	
..	..	..	..	..	..	
..	..	..	..	..	..	
6,85,999	32,64,807	5,45,705	35,806	1,45,568	7,26,579	TOTAL.
						SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL.
						Secondary Schools.
10,50,375 5,35,187 24,515	66,08,033 41,13,411 7,23,744	29,35,860 6,10,640 10,038	2,00,336 2,14,193 7,506	3,08,832 1,44,432 5,118	(a)36,35,237 9,60,274 22,662	For Boys— High Schools. English } Middle Schools. Vernacular }
3,30,038 2,62,627 46,246	17,57,069 10,28,726 2,72,308	24,770 6,862 23	.. 6,830 1,047	16,404 15,648 884	41,264 20,340 1,954	For Girls— High Schools. English } Middle Schools. Vernacular }
22,66,988	1,69,91,186	35,88,211	5,28,912	5,81,408	46,99,731	TOTAL.
						Primary Schools.
15,46,522 6,90,093	1,00,78,446 21,52,958	4,61,762 8,846	1,08,723 24,134	2,16,771 48,165	7,87,286 81,145	For Boys. For Girls.
21,36,615	1,22,26,404	4,70,658	1,32,857	2,64,936	8,68,431	TOTAL.
						SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.
56,030 65,220 6,488	2,27,118 2,57,412 9,861	.. 372 10,051	.. 2,020 319	288 4,068 1,500	288 7,380 11,870	Training Schools for Masters. Training Schools for Mistresses. Schools of Art.
..	..	480	..	..	480	Law Schools.
10,566 3,684	67,571 21,013	28,319	.. 452	.. 2,641	31,412	Medical Schools.
4,95,721 3,506	9,12,010 3,816	.. 208	.. 226	48,806 185	40,240 185	Engineering and Surveying Schools. Technical and Industrial Schools.
12,417	52,046	27,376	..	996	66,107	Agricultural Schools. Commercial Schools.
1,48,316	7,72,231	52,357	50,527	89,671	1,92,555	Reformatory Schools. Other Schools.
7,87,848	23,23,078	1,19,163	55,440	1,84,804	3,59,497	TOTAL.
17,23,241 1,22,023	46,09,017 6,26,431	21,646 5,055	1,97,904 27,140	4,74,683 1,00,806	(b)7,15,233 1,32,801	Buildings. Furniture and Apparatus (special grants only).
18,50,864	62,35,448	26,701	2,25,044	6,75,289	8,48,034	TOTAL.
77,23,314	4,00,40,923	47,50,418	9,77,559	17,52,095	75,02,272	TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

(a) Includes Rs. 1,200 Municipal contribution in the United Provinces.

(b) Includes Rs. 21,000 from Provincial Revenues in the United Provinces.

## Expenditure (in rupees) on Public Instruction in the several Provinces

OBJECTS OF EXPENDITURE.	TOTAL EXPENDITURE			
	Provincial Revenues.	Local Funds.	Municipal Funds.	Fees.
	27	28	29	30
	Ra.	Ra.	Ra.	Ra.
<b>UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.</b>				
English . . . . .	25,61,462	18,800	57,362	29,55,869
Oriental . . . . .	56,942	8,657	860	614
<i>Arts Colleges.</i>				
<i>Colleges for Professional Training.</i>				
Law . . . . .	87,245	..	..	8,38,288
Medicine . . . . .	6,51,306	..	..	2,59,764
Engineering . . . . .	6,01,846	..	..	97,429
Teaching . . . . .	4,41,428	2,196	1,181	6,468
Agriculture . . . . .	2,98,434	..	..	6,028
Veterinary . . . . .	78,668	..	..	11,185
Commercial . . . . .	84,744	..	..	24,000
Forestry . . . . .	1,03,296	..	..	..
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>48,65,371</b>	<b>29,653</b>	<b>58,853</b>	<b>86,91,685</b>
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL.</b>				
<i>Secondary Schools.</i>				
<b>For Boys—</b>				
High Schools . . . . .	37,71,267	79,104	2,93,925	1,08,59,650
Middle Schools { English . . . . .	10,85,630	4,25,973	4,02,839	82,98,171
{ Vernacular . . . . .	8,13,346	12,19,622	1,70,888	4,06,344
<b>For Girls—</b>				
High Schools . . . . .	9,97,604	..	23,486	6,88,518
Middle Schools { English . . . . .	4,06,721	2,185	45,601	2,51,236
{ Vernacular . . . . .	1,20,223	39,346	79,972	15,591
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>66,00,881</b>	<b>17,66,230</b>	<b>10,16,056</b>	<b>1,55,19,510</b>
<i>Primary Schools.</i>				
For Boys . . . . .	54,10,021	1,00,29,614	18,77,814	43,61,367
For Girls . . . . .	12,04,033	10,08,784	5,79,476	1,86,780
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>66,14,054</b>	<b>1,10,38,348</b>	<b>24,56,790</b>	<b>45,48,147</b>
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.</b>				
Training Schools for Masters . . . . .	17,77,680	3,42,274	11,357	20,348
Training Schools for Mistresses . . . . .	4,16,723	11,442	6,905	18,087
Schools of Art . . . . .	2,35,889	..	450	28,295
Law Schools . . . . .	4,348	..	..	2,132
Medical Schools . . . . .	5,95,285	3,939	1,500	86,322
Engineering and Surveying Schools . . . . .	2,16,497	342	240	25,856
Technical and Industrial Schools . . . . .	5,96,810	1,08,188	65,821	51,218
Agricultural Schools . . . . .	810	644	..	..
Commercial Schools . . . . .	46,429	..	1,765	64,029
Reformatory Schools . . . . .	2,26,026	..	..	..
Other Schools . . . . .	4,37,336	1,28,574	88,622	2,32,807
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>44,92,836</b>	<b>5,95,403</b>	<b>1,26,660</b>	<b>5,19,094</b>
<i>Buildings</i> . . . . .	63,42,869	85,60,789	7,75,596	1,07,357
<i>Furniture and Apparatus (special grants only)</i> . . . . .	5,44,207	2,08,784	38,446	77,898
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>68,87,076</b>	<b>87,69,573</b>	<b>8,14,042</b>	<b>1,85,056</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2,94,60,218</b>	<b>1,71,99,207</b>	<b>44,72,401</b>	<b>2,44,63,491</b>
University . . . . .	13,30,811	25	..	13,06,024
Direction . . . . .	8,51,797	..	..	..
Inspection . . . . .	47,62,663	1,68,261	15,162	..
Scholarships held in—				
Arts Colleges . . . . .	2,79,512	14,126	7,885	7,602
Medical Colleges . . . . .	64,253	1,233	254	..
Other Professional Colleges . . . . .	86,520	3,230	264	2,382
Secondary Schools . . . . .	4,51,701	1,97,398	26,125	3,883
Primary Schools . . . . .	80,688	78,299	5,801	137
Medical Schools . . . . .	82,662	5,787	96	..
Technical and Industrial Schools . . . . .	42,432	24,839	5,794	150
Other Special Schools . . . . .	61,806	10,076	2,153	1,414
Miscellaneous . . . . .	19,05,299	8,35,501	1,05,405	45,66,786
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,00,29,894</b>	<b>8,38,245</b>	<b>1,68,939</b>	<b>58,87,378</b>
<b>TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION</b>	<b>3,94,90,112</b>	<b>1,80,37,452</b>	<b>46,41,340</b>	<b>3,03,50,869</b>

TABLE IV—concl'd.

of British India for the official year 1915-16—concl'd.

FROM			Grand Total.	OBJECTS OF EXPENDITURE.
Private.	Public.			
S1	S2	S3		1
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		
9,63,128 46,830	26,730 158	65,83,951 1,13,561		UNIVERSITY EDUCATION. English. Oriental. Arts Colleges.
2,605 2,949 90,321 14,270 173 .. ..	16,781 151 .. .. 37,984 .. ..	3,89,914 9,11,160 7,89,596 4,65,493 3,04,630 1,27,887 58,804 1,03,296		Colleges for the Professional Training. Law. Medicine. Engineering. Teaching. Agriculture. Veterinary. Commercial. Forestry.
11,20,276	81,804	98,47,642		TOTAL.
21,32,593 12,80,161 77,788	1,22,445 40,535 1,451	1,72,58,984 65,33,309 21,88,934		SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL Secondary Schools. For Boys— High Schools. English Vernacular } Middle Schools.
4,89,532 3,91,651 117,027	40,938 22,233 325	21,40,118 11,19,527 3,78,484		For Girls— High Schools. English Vernacular } Middle Schools.
44,88,752	2,27,927	2,96,19,356		TOTAL.
25,33,914 9,23,889	10,892 3,425	2,42,23,122 89,06,337		Primary Schools. For Boys. For Girls.
84,57,803	14,317	2,81,29,459		TOTAL.
86,781 1,08,645 20,515 .. 39,419 9,800 6,30,168 3,691 54,844 6,880 4,35,443	104 1,400 .. .. 11,525 .. .. .. .. 1,598 1,741	22,38,544 5,63,207 2,85,149 6,480 6,77,988 2,52,735 14,51,705 4,845 1,57,067 2,34,504 12,74,523		SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL. Training Schools for Masters. Training Schools for Mistresses. Schools of Art. Law Schools. Medical Schools. Engineering and Surveying Schools. Technical and Industrial Schools. Agricultural Schools. Commercial Schools. Reformatory Schools. Other Schools.
13,96,186	16,368	71,46,547		TOTAL.
30,41,335 2,76,490	25,100 10,903	1,38,53,046 11,56,628		Buildings. Furniture and Apparatus (special grants only).
33,17,825	36,003	1,50,09,574		TOTAL.
1,37,80,842	3,76,419	8,97,52,578		TOTAL.
6,96,914 .. 1,248 1,50,174 29,426 22,439 82,307 4,371 21,513 22,435 19,610 28,55,121	55,000 .. .. 8,618 420 .. 12,050 .. 20,948 124 1,36,907	33,88,774 8,81,797 49,47,334 4,87,817 86,586 1,14,895 7,73,434 1,09,796 1,81,206 95,324 85,569 99,34,019		University. Direction. Inspection. Scholarships held in— Arts Colleges. Medical Colleges. Other Professional (Colleges.) Secondary Schools. Primary Schools. Medical Schools. Technical and Industrial Schools. Other Special Schools. Miscellaneous.
39,18,143	2,34,067	2,10,76,671		TOTAL.
1,76,98,990	6,10,486	11,08,29,249		TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

## Expenditure (in rupees) on Public Instruction for Europeans

OBJECTS OF EXPENDITURE.	PUBLIC			
	UNDER PUBLIC MANAGEMENT.			
	Managed by Government.			
	Provincial Revenues.	Fees.	Endowments and other sources.	TOTAL.
1	2	3	4	5
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
<b>UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.</b>				
<i>Arts Colleges.</i>				
English . . . . .	..	..	..	..
<i>Colleges for Professional Training.</i>				
Teaching . . . . .	15,219	..	9,637	24,856
<b>TOTAL</b>	15,219	..	9,637	24,856
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL.</b>				
<i>Secondary Schools.</i>				
<b>For Boys—</b>				
High Schools	69,416	55,966	28,729	1,54,111
Middle Schools, English . . . . .	..	..	..	..
<b>For Girls—</b>				
High Schools	29,696	21,609	23,607	84,912
Middle Schools, English . . . . .	6,836	5,677	..	12,513
<b>TOTAL</b>	1,05,948	93,252	52,336	2,51,536
<i>Primary Schools.</i>				
<b>For Boys</b>	..	..	..	..
<b>For Girls</b>	..	..	..	..
<b>TOTAL</b>	..	..	..	..
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.</b>				
Training School for Masters . . . . .	..	..	..	..
Training Schools for Mistresses . . . . .	9,015	..	..	9,015
Engineering and Surveying Schools . . . . .	6,498	997	..	7,495
Technical and Industrial Schools . . . . .	4,980	..	..	4,980
Commercial Schools . . . . .	..	..	..	..
Other Schools . . . . .	25,579	..	..	25,579
<b>TOTAL</b>	46,072	997	..	47,069
<b>TOTAL DIRECT EXPENDITURE</b>	1,67,239	94,249	61,973	3,23,461
<i>Buildings</i>	1,01,856	..	..	1,01,856
<i>Furniture and Apparatus (special grants only)</i> . . . . .	2,254	..	10,690	12,944
<b>TOTAL</b>	1,04,110	..	10,690	1,14,800
<b>TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION</b>	2,71,349	94,249	72,663	4,38,261



TABLE IV-A.

in the several Provinces of British India for the official year 1915-16.

INSTITUTIONS.							OBJECTS OF EXPENDITURE.
UNDER PRIVATE MANAGEMENT.							
Aided by Government or by Local or Municipal Boards.							
Provincial Revenues.	District Funds.	Municipal Funds.	Fees.	Subscriptions.	Endowments and other sources.	TOTAL.	1
6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
4,548	..	..	8,577	1,226	..	14,361	UNIVERSITY EDUCATION. <i>Arts Colleges.</i> English.
9,120	..	..	5,818	..	..	14,938	<i>Colleges for Professional Training.</i> Teaching.
13,668	..	..	14,395	1,226	..	29,289	TOTAL.
5,26,812	..	911	4,48,291	60,633	2,24,582	12,61,229	SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL. <i>Secondary Schools.</i> For Boys— High Schools. Middle Schools, English.
2,57,704	..	7,681	99,163	72,076	1,61,125	5,97,743	
4,63,748	..	2,094	4,67,210	62,194	1,83,031	11,78,277	For Girls— High Schools. Middle Schools, English.
2,23,241	360	10,651	1,34,585	41,951	95,199	5,05,987	
14,71,505	360	21,337	11,49,244	2,36,853	6,63,937	35,43,236	TOTAL.
54,543	..	740	32,655	11,394	31,754	1,31,086	Primary Schools. For Boys.
62,705	..	2,094	34,907	4,753	25,432	1,29,891	For Girls.
1,17,248	..	2,834	67,562	16,147	57,186	2,60,977	TOTAL.
2,720	..	..	..	..	..	2,720	SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL Training Schools for Masters.
19,681	..	..	5,855	1,400	3,581	30,517	Training Schools for Mistresses.
3,930	..	..	3,043	3,559	2,562	13,094	Engineering and Surveying Schools.
9,329	..	..	6,136	1,000	5,362	22,327	Technical and Industrial Schools.
12,206	..	..	5,739	3,611	1,062	22,617	Commercial Schools.
8,962	..	..	4,500	800	8,558	22,920	Other Schools.
57,327	..	..	25,273	10,370	21,225	1,14,195	TOTAL.
16,59,748	360	24,171	12,56,474	2,64,696	7,42,348	39,47,697	TOTAL DIRECT EXPENDITURE.
6,02,658	..	..	32,414	1,39,881	3,61,989	11,36,942	Buildings.
53,937	..	..	52,642	13,605	28,937	1,49,121	Furniture and Apparatus (special grants only).
6,56,695	..	..	85,056	1,53,486	3,90,926	12,86,063	TOTAL
23,16,343	360	24,171	13,41,530	4,18,082	11,83,274	52,33,760	TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

## Expenditure (in rupees) on Public Instruction for Europeans

OBJECTS OF EXPENDITURE.	PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS— <i>concd.</i>				TOTAL
	UNDER PRIVATE MANAGEMENT.				
	<i>Unaided.</i>				
	Fees.	Subscriptions.	Endowments and other sources.	TOTAL.	
1	13	14	15	16	17
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
<b>UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.</b>					
<i>Arts Colleges.</i>					
English	..	800	..	800	4,548
<i>Colleges for Professional Training.</i>					
Teaching	..	..	..	..	24,839
TOTAL	..	800	..	800	28,887
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL.</b>					
<i>Secondary Schools.</i>					
<i>For Boys—</i>					
High Schools	64,045	20,096	..	84,741	5,96,228
Middle Schools, English	2,166	..	1,245	3,410	2,67,704
<i>For Girls—</i>					
High Schools	14,410	..	780	15,190	4,93,444
Middle Schools, English	3,631	161	2,751	6,448	2,30,077
TOTAL	84,751	20,257	4,776	1,09,784	15,77,453
<i>Primary Schools.</i>					
For Boys	..	..	..	..	54,543
For Girls	1,346	9	3,853	5,208	62,705
TOTAL	1,346	9	3,853	5,208	1,17,248
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.</b>					
Training Schools for Masters	..	..	..	..	2,720
Training Schools for Mistresses	..	..	..	..	28,696
Engineering and Surveying Schools	..	..	..	..	10,428
Technical and Industrial Schools	..	..	..	..	14,809
Commercial Schools	..	..	..	..	12,205
Other Schools	..	..	..	..	84,541
TOTAL	..	..	..	..	1,08,399
<b>TOTAL DIRECT EXPENDITURE</b>					
	86,097	20,566	8,629	1,15,292	18,26,987
<i>Buildings</i>					
<i>Furniture and Apparatus</i>					
	1,148	4,600	100	5,848	7,11,464
	211	1,976	1,074	4,161	56,191
TOTAL	1,359	6,576	2,074	10,009	7,67,655
<b>Inspection</b>					
	..	..	..	..	28,089
<b>Scholarships held in—</b>					
Arts Colleges	..	..	..	..	13,780
Medical Colleges	..	..	..	..	365
Other Professional Colleges	..	..	..	..	7,410
Secondary Schools	..	..	..	..	82,339
Primary Schools	..	..	..	..	3,474
Medical Schools	..	..	..	..	..
Technical and Industrial Schools	..	..	..	..	3,029
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	6,99,705
TOTAL	..	..	..	..	8,38,187
<b>TOTAL INDIRECT EXPENDITURE</b>					
	..	..	..	..	16,06,842
<b>TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION</b>					
	87,456	27,142	10,703	1,25,301	34,32,829

TABLE IV-A—concl'd.

in the several Provinces of British India for the official year 1915-16—concl'd.

EXPENDITURE FROM					Grand Total.	OBJECTS OF EXPENDITURE.
District Funds.	Municipal Funds.	Fees.	ALL OTHER SOURCES.			
18	19	20	Private.	Public.	23	1
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
..	..	8,577	800	1,226	14,651	UNIVERSITY EDUCATION. <i>Arts Colleges.</i>
..	..	5,818	9,637	..	39,794	Teaching. <i>Colleges for Professional Training.</i>
..	..	14,395	9,937	1,226	54,445	TOTAL.
..	..	..	..	..	..	SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL. <i>Secondary Schools.</i>
..	911	5,68,902	2,35,372	98,668	15,00,081	For Boys— High Schools.
..	7,681	1,01,323	1,53,080	81,365	6,01,163	Middle Schools, English.
..	2,094	5,18,229	1,71,538	98,074	12,78,379	For Girls— High Schools.
360	10,651	1,48,793	1,12,490	27,572	5,24,943	Middle Schools, English.
360	21,337	13,27,247	6,72,480	3,05,679	39,04,556	TOTAL.
..	740	82,655	42,258	800	1,31,086	For Boys.
..	2,094	86,253	34,038	0	1,35,099	For Girls.
..	2,834	68,908	70,296	899	2,66,185	TOTAL.
..	..	..	..	..	..	SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.
..	..	5,855	3,581	1,400	2,720	Training Schools for Masters.
..	..	4,040	6,121	..	39,532	Training Schools for Mistresses.
..	..	6,136	6,382	..	20,589	Engineering and Surveying Schools.
..	..	5,739	3,088	685	27,307	Technical and Industrial Schools.
..	..	4,500	3,410	6,048	22,617	Commercial Schools.
..	..	..	..	..	48,499	Other Schools.
..	..	26,270	23,462	8,183	1,61,264	TOTAL.
360	24,171	14,36,820	7,82,175	3,15,937	43,86,450	TOTAL DIRECT EXPENDITURE.
..	..	33,562	3,92,272	1,07,348	12,44,646	<i>Buildings.</i>
..	..	52,853	43,756	13,426	1,60,226	<i>Furniture and Apparatus.</i>
..	..	86,415	4,36,028	1,20,774	14,10,872	TOTAL.
..	..	..	..	..	28,089	Inspection.
..	..	..	..	..	13,760	Scholarships held in— <i>Arts Colleges.</i>
..	..	..	..	..	355	Medical Colleges.
..	..	..	1,234	12,029	7,416	Other Professional Colleges.
..	..	..	..	..	95,602	Secondary Schools.
..	..	..	..	..	3,474	Primary Schools.
..	..	..	..	..	..	Medical Schools.
..	..	..	..	..	9,029	Technical and Industrial Schools.
..	2,170	13,85,497	6,22,924	1,48,901	30,59,197	Miscellaneous.
..	2,170	13,85,497	8,24,158	1,60,930	32,10,942	TOTAL.
..	2,170	14,71,912	12,60,186	2,81,704	46,21,814	TOTAL INDIRECT EXPENDITURE.
360	26,341	29,08,732	20,42,361	5,97,641	90,08,264	TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

## Stages for instruction of pupils in public schools for general

CLASS OF SCHOOLS.	Number of Schools.	Number of pupils on the rolls on 31st March.	HIGH STAGE.			
			COMPRISING ALL PUPILS WHO HAVE PASSED BEYOND THE LOWER SECONDARY (MIDDLE) STAGE, BUT HAVE NOT PASSED THE MATRICULATION EXAMINATION.			
			Boys.	Girls.	Total.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	
<b>SECONDARY SCHOOLS.</b>						
<b>FOR BOYS.</b>						
Government . . . . .	{ English . . . . .	805	86,230	32,388	12	32,400
	{ Vernacular . . . . .	78	8,469	18		18
Local Fund . . . . .	{ English . . . . .	210	87,489	2,244	1	2,245
	{ Vernacular . . . . .	899	118,060			
Municipal Fund . . . . .	{ English . . . . .	181	35,412	5,666		5,666
	{ Vernacular . . . . .	40	7,318			
Aided . . . . .	{ English . . . . .	2,301	434,492	87,612	172	87,784
	{ Vernacular . . . . .	1,888	101,554	111	1	112
Unaided . . . . .	{ English . . . . .	1,193	224,315	62,133	62	62,195
	{ Vernacular . . . . .	42	8,099			
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>6,632</b>	<b>1,056,438</b>	<b>190,172</b>	<b>248</b>	<b>190,420</b>
<b>FOR GIRLS.</b>						
Government . . . . .	{ English . . . . .	81	5,020		588	588
	{ Vernacular . . . . .	35	8,475			
Local Fund . . . . .	{ English . . . . .					
	{ Vernacular . . . . .	16	1,678			
Municipal Fund . . . . .	{ English . . . . .	2	170			
	{ Vernacular . . . . .	14	2,082			
Aided . . . . .	{ English . . . . .	324	88,181	2	2,721	2,723
	{ Vernacular . . . . .	193	19,440			
Unaided . . . . .	{ English . . . . .	23	1,823		166	166
	{ Vernacular . . . . .	2	146			
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>640</b>	<b>71,965</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3,475</b>	<b>3,477</b>
<b>TOTAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS</b>		<b>7,272</b>	<b>1,128,403</b>	<b>190,174</b>	<b>3,723</b>	<b>193,897</b>
<b>PRIMARY SCHOOLS.</b>						
<b>FOR BOYS.</b>						
Government . . . . .		623	31,958			
Local Fund . . . . .		32,734	1,898,077			
Municipal Fund . . . . .		1,873	220,708			
Aided . . . . .		71,933	2,520,845			
Unaided . . . . .		13,695	356,701			
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>120,858</b>	<b>5,034,289</b>			
<b>FOR GIRLS.</b>						
Government . . . . .		584	46,714			
Local Fund . . . . .		2,029	91,094			
Municipal Fund . . . . .		644	51,169			
Aided . . . . .		11,795	366,812			
Unaided . . . . .		2,179	48,106			
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>17,231</b>	<b>608,956</b>			
<b>TOTAL PRIMARY SCHOOLS</b>		<b>138,089</b>	<b>5,643,244</b>			
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>		<b>115,361</b>	<b>6,766,647</b>	<b>190,174</b>	<b>3,723</b>	<b>193,897</b>

TABLE V.

Education in British India at the end of the official year 1915-16.

MIDDLE STAGE.			TOTAL SECONDARY STAGE.			CLASS OF SCHOOLS.
COMPRISING ALL PUPILS WHO HAVE PASSED BEYOND THE UPPER PRIMARY STAGE, BUT HAVE NOT PASSED BEYOND THE LOWER SECONDARY (MIDDLE) STAGE.						
Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	1
7	8	9	10	11	12	
85,243	86	85,279	67,631	48	67,679	<b>SECONDARY SCHOOLS.</b> <b>FOR BOYS.</b> English } Government. Vernacular } English } Local Fund. Vernacular } English } Municipal Fund. Vernacular } English } Aided. Vernacular } English } Unaided. Vernacular }
1,765	50	1,815	1,783	50	1,833	
14,024	37	14,061	16,268	38	16,306	
43,451	21	43,472	43,451	21	43,472	
17,474	14	17,488	23,149	14	23,154	
1,602	..	1,602	1,602	..	1,602	
146,612	1,301	147,913	234,224	1,473	235,697	
11,625	667	12,292	11,736	668	12,404	
66,897	183	67,080	129,030	245	129,275	
741	..	741	741	..	741	
<b>339,484</b>	<b>2,309</b>	<b>341,743</b>	<b>529,606</b>	<b>2,557</b>	<b>532,163</b>	<b>TOTAL.</b>
..	1,111	1,111	..	1,699	1,699	<b>FOR GIRLS.</b> English } Government. Vernacular } English } Local Fund. Vernacular } English } Municipal Fund. Vernacular } English } Aided. Vernacular } English } Unaided. Vernacular }
..	234	234	..	234	234	
..	..	..	..	..	..	
1	126	127	1	126	127	
..	10	10	..	10	10	
..	324	324	..	324	324	
137	8,063	8,200	139	10,784	10,923	
297	1,182	1,479	297	1,182	1,479	
11	609	620	11	775	786	
..	11	11	..	11	11	
<b>446</b>	<b>11,670</b>	<b>12,116</b>	<b>448</b>	<b>16,145</b>	<b>16,593</b>	<b>TOTAL.</b>
<b>339,880</b>	<b>13,979</b>	<b>353,859</b>	<b>530,054</b>	<b>17,702</b>	<b>547,756</b>	<b>TOTAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS.</b>
201	..	201	201	..	201	<b>PRIMARY SCHOOLS.</b> <b>FOR BOYS.</b> Government. Local Fund. Municipal Fund. Aided. Unaided.
2,099	13	2,103	2,099	13	2,103	
159	..	159	159	..	159	
3,741	152	3,893	3,741	152	3,893	
147	6	153	147	6	153	
<b>6,338</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>6,509</b>	<b>6,338</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>6,509</b>	<b>TOTAL.</b>
..	850	850	..	850	850	<b>FOR GIRLS.</b> Government. Local Fund. Municipal Fund. Aided. Unaided.
..	34	34	..	34	34	
..	41	41	..	41	41	
40	1,888	1,928	40	1,888	1,928	
..	111	111	..	111	111	
<b>40</b>	<b>2,924</b>	<b>2,964</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>2,924</b>	<b>2,964</b>	<b>TOTAL.</b>
<b>6,378</b>	<b>3,095</b>	<b>9,473</b>	<b>6,378</b>	<b>3,095</b>	<b>9,473</b>	<b>TOTAL PRIMARY SCHOOLS.</b>
<b>346,258</b>	<b>17,074</b>	<b>363,332</b>	<b>536,432</b>	<b>20,797</b>	<b>557,229</b>	<b>GRAND TOTAL.</b>

Stages for instruction of pupils in public schools for general

CLASS OF SCHOOLS.	UPPER PRIMARY STAGE.			LOWER PRIMARY						
	COMPRISING ALL PUPILS WHO HAVE PASSED BEYOND THE LOWER PRIMARY STAGE, BUT HAVE NOT PASSED BEYOND THE UPPER PRIMARY STAGE.			COMPRISING ALL PUPILS WHO HAVE NOT PASSED BEYOND						
	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Reading Printed Books.			Not Reading Printed Books.			
				Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	
1	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
<b>SECONDARY SCHOOLS.</b>										
<b>FOR BOYS.</b>										
Government	{ English . . . . .	13,005	65	13,070	5,208	96	5,304	60	7	67
	{ Vernacular . . . . .	1,778	123	1,902	3,280	611	3,891	840	3	843
Local Fund	{ English . . . . .	10,130	35	10,165	10,393	164	10,557	454	7	461
	{ Vernacular . . . . .	22,775	82	22,857	40,621	514	41,135	10,310	286	10,596
Municipal Fund.	{ English . . . . .	6,032	5	6,037	5,993	43	5,941	275	5	280
	{ Vernacular . . . . .	1,114	..	1,114	3,596	..	3,596	1,006	..	1,006
Aided	{ English . . . . .	93,001	1,255	94,256	95,838	3,021	98,859	5,465	215	5,680
	{ Vernacular . . . . .	17,658	2,982	20,640	46,305	17,839	63,944	4,485	81	4,566
Unaided	{ English . . . . .	48,486	79	48,565	43,687	364	44,051	2,407	17	2,424
	{ Vernacular . . . . .	686	..	686	1,123	7	1,130	537	5	542
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>214,663</b>	<b>4,629</b>	<b>219,292</b>	<b>256,089</b>	<b>22,459</b>	<b>278,498</b>	<b>25,859</b>	<b>626</b>	<b>26,485</b>
<b>FOR GIRLS.</b>										
Government	{ English . . . . .	18	681	699	139	2,257	2,396	1	225	226
	{ Vernacular . . . . .	..	411	411	68	2,007	2,075	..	755	755
Local Fund	{ English . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	{ Vernacular . . . . .	..	206	206	5	1,222	1,227	..	118	118
Municipal Fund.	{ English . . . . .	..	14	14	..	120	120	..	26	26
	{ Vernacular . . . . .	..	646	646	..	1,043	1,043	..	69	69
Aided	{ English . . . . .	696	6,459	7,155	3,443	14,556	17,999	372	1,682	2,054
	{ Vernacular . . . . .	759	2,501	3,260	2,688	10,252	12,940	33	1,732	1,765
Unaided	{ English . . . . .	18	260	278	85	618	653	12	94	106
	{ Vernacular . . . . .	..	9	9	..	104	104	..	22	22
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>1,491</b>	<b>11,187</b>	<b>12,678</b>	<b>6,378</b>	<b>32,179</b>	<b>38,557</b>	<b>414</b>	<b>4,723</b>	<b>5,137</b>
<b>TOTAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS</b>		<b>216,154</b>	<b>15,816</b>	<b>231,970</b>	<b>262,417</b>	<b>54,638</b>	<b>317,055</b>	<b>26,273</b>	<b>5,349</b>	<b>31,622</b>
<b>PRIMARY SCHOOLS.</b>										
<b>FOR BOYS.</b>										
Government		5,139	61	5,200	17,017	967	17,984	7,530	1,043	8,573
Local Fund		217,778	2,190	219,968	1,140,258	64,219	1,204,477	417,321	54,208	471,529
Municipal Fund.		87,824	211	88,035	131,067	5,831	136,908	41,880	4,236	46,116
Aided		93,832	6,729	100,571	1,477,049	152,298	1,629,317	698,400	94,664	793,064
Unaided		3,752	64	3,816	189,405	10,771	200,176	135,020	17,536	152,556
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>358,325</b>	<b>4,265</b>	<b>362,590</b>	<b>2,954,706</b>	<b>233,556</b>	<b>3,188,352</b>	<b>1,300,151</b>	<b>171,687</b>	<b>1,471,838</b>
<b>FOR GIRLS.</b>										
Government		..	2,783	2,783	389	28,085	28,474	58	14,549	14,607
Local Fund		3	4,023	4,026	426	58,968	59,394	224	26,516	26,740
Municipal Fund.		23	4,487	4,510	178	32,201	32,379	144	14,095	14,239
Aided		1,661	11,734	13,395	17,311	179,730	197,041	3,871	150,577	154,448
Unaided		4	408	407	500	15,639	16,139	604	30,906	31,509
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>1,691</b>	<b>24,330</b>	<b>26,021</b>	<b>18,804</b>	<b>314,623</b>	<b>338,427</b>	<b>4,901</b>	<b>236,642</b>	<b>241,543</b>
<b>TOTAL PRIMARY SCHOOLS</b>		<b>360,016</b>	<b>33,595</b>	<b>393,611</b>	<b>2,973,600</b>	<b>548,179</b>	<b>3,521,779</b>	<b>1,305,052</b>	<b>408,329</b>	<b>1,713,381</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>		<b>576,170</b>	<b>49,411</b>	<b>625,581</b>	<b>3,236,017</b>	<b>602,817</b>	<b>3,888,834</b>	<b>1,331,325</b>	<b>413,678</b>	<b>1,745,003</b>

TABLE V—concl'd.

education in British India at the end of the official year 1915-16—concl'd.

STAGE.			TOTAL PRIMARY STAGE.			GRAND TOTAL.			CLASS OF SCHOOLS.			
THE LOWER PRIMARY STAGE.			Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.				
Boys.	Girls.	Total.							22	23	24	25
5,378	108	5,481	18,383	168	18,551	86,014	216	86,230	English } Government. Vernacular } English } Local Fund. Vernacular } English } Municipal Fund. Vernacular } English } Aided. Vernacular } English } Unaided. Vernacular }			
4,129	614	4,734	5,896	740	6,636	7,679	790	8,469				
16,847	171	11,018	20,977	206	21,183	37,245	244	37,489				
50,031	800	51,731	73,706	882	74,588	117,157	903	118,060				
6,173	48	6,221	12,205	53	12,258	35,345	67	35,412				
4,902	..	4,602	5,716	..	5,716	7,313	..	7,313				
101,303	3,236	104,539	194,304	4,491	198,795	428,523	5,964	434,487				
50,790	17,720	68,510	68,448	20,702	89,150	80,184	21,370	101,554				
46,094	331	46,475	94,580	490	95,040	223,610	705	224,315				
1,660	12	1,672	2,346	.. 12	2,358	3,687	12	3,699				
281,898	23,085	304,983	496,561	27,714	524,275	1,026,167	80,271	1,056,438		TOTAL.		
130	2,482	2,622	158	3,168	3,321	158	4,862	5,020		English } Government. Vernacular } English } Local Fund. Vernacular } English } Municipal Fund. Vernacular } English } Aided. Vernacular } English } Unaided. Vernacular }		
68	2,762	2,830	68	3,173	3,241	68	3,407	3,475				
.. 5	1,340	1,345	.. 5	1,546	1,551	.. 6	1,672	1,678				
..	146	146	..	160	160	..	170	170				
..	1,112	1,112	..	1,758	1,758	..	2,082	2,082				
3,815	16,238	20,053	4,511	22,697	27,208	4,650	33,481	38,131				
2,717	11,984	14,701	3,476	14,485	17,961	3,773	15,667	19,440				
47	712	759	65	972	1,037	76	1,747	1,823				
..	126	126	..	185	185	..	146	146				
6,792	36,902	43,694	8,233	48,089	56,322	8,731	63,234	71,965	TOTAL.			
258,090	59,987	348,677	504,844	75,803	580,647	1,034,898	93,505	1,128,403	TOTAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS.			
24,547	2,010	26,557	29,686	2,071	31,757	29,887	2,071	31,958	Government. Local Fund. Municipal Fund. Aided. Unaided.			
1,557,579	118,427	1,676,006	1,775,857	120,617	1,896,474	1,777,447	120,630	1,898,077				
172,947	9,567	182,514	210,771	9,778	220,549	210,930	9,778	220,708				
2,176,449	246,932	2,422,381	2,209,281	253,971	2,463,252	2,273,022	253,823	2,526,845				
324,425	28,307	352,732	328,177	28,371	356,548	328,324	28,377	356,701				
4,254,047	405,243	4,660,100	4,613,272	414,568	5,027,780	4,619,610	414,079	5,034,289		TOTAL.		
447	42,634	43,081	447	45,417	45,864	447	46,267	46,714		Government. Local Fund. Municipal Fund. Aided. Unaided.		
650	35,484	36,134	653	36,067	36,720	653	36,520	37,173				
322	46,296	46,618	345	50,793	51,138	345	50,824	51,169				
21,182	830,807	851,989	22,843	342,041	364,884	22,883	343,929	366,812				
1,104	40,544	41,648	1,108	46,947	48,055	1,108	47,058	48,166				
23,705	551,265	574,970	25,396	575,595	600,991	25,436	578,519	603,955			TOTAL.	
4,278,052	956,508	5,236,160	4,638,668	990,103	5,628,771	4,645,046	993,193	5,638,244	TOTAL PRIMARY SCHOOLS.			
4,367,342	1,016,495	5,383,837	5,143,512	1,065,006	6,208,518	5,679,944	1,086,703	6,766,647	GRAND TOTAL.			

Results of the prescribed examinations in the several

NATURE OF EXAMINATIONS.	NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS SENDING EXAMINERS.				NUMBER OF EXAMINERS.					NUMBER	
	Institutions under Public Management.	Aided Institutions.	Other Institutions.	Total.	Institutions under Public Management.	Aided Institutions.	Other Institutions.	Private Students.	Total.	Institutions under Public Management.	Aided Institutions.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<b>ARTS COLLEGES.</b>											
Doctor of Science . . . . .	12	14	2	28	205	220	3	672	1,100	113	117
Master of Arts . . . . .	4	3		7	64	9		89	162	41	4
Bachelor of Arts (Honours Final) . . . . .	1	2		3	63	40			103	53	35
Bachelor of Arts (Honours) Preliminary English language. . . . .	1	2		3	44	100			144	36	93
Bachelor of Arts . . . . .	30	54	11	95	1,673	3,556	1,953	832	8,014	1,000	1,930
Bachelor of Science. . . . .	19	14	5	38	354	239	192	5	790	239	159
First B.A. . . . .								274	274		
First B.Sc. . . . .											
Intermediate Examination in Arts . . . . .	35	67	20	122	2,883	7,208	3,017	1,367	14,475	1,631	2,855
Intermediate Examination in Science . . . . .	15	16	9	39	455	502	775	28	1,760	314	285
Previous Examination . . . . .	8	8	1	12	26	117	5	35	183	20	59
<b>ORIENTAL COLLEGES.</b>											
Master of Oriental Learning . . . . .											
Bachelor of Oriental Learning . . . . .											
First Arts, Oriental Faculty . . . . .											
Honours in Sanskrit . . . . .	1	7	45	53	154	50	150	137	497	112	22
Honours in Arabic . . . . .		1		1		10		9	19		2
Honours in Persian . . . . .		1		1		12		32	44		4
Honours in Gurmukhi . . . . .		1		1		4		29	33		1
Honours in Punjabi . . . . .											
High Proficiency in Sanskrit . . . . .	1	14	233	248	117	146	872	146	1,281	42	100
High Proficiency in Arabic . . . . .		5	2	7		9	3	3	15		6
High Proficiency in Persian . . . . .		1		1		1		3	4		
High Proficiency in Punjabi . . . . .		1		1		1		27	23		1
High Proficiency in Hindi . . . . .								2	2		
High Proficiency in Urdu . . . . .								7	7		
Proficiency in Sanskrit . . . . .	1	12	272	285	21	92	913	260	1,286	5	23
Proficiency in Arabic . . . . .		4	5	9		12	14	10	36		10
Proficiency in Persian . . . . .								6	6		
Proficiency in Hindi . . . . .								5	5		
Proficiency in Urdu . . . . .								1	1		
Proficiency in Punjabi . . . . .								10	10		
Additional Examination in English for Oriental Titles. . . . .											
<b>COLLEGES FOR PROFESSIONAL TRAINING.</b>											
<i>Law.</i>											
Doctor of Law . . . . .								28	28		
Master of Law . . . . .											
Honours in Law . . . . .											
Bachelor of Law . . . . .	7		14	21	1,530		925	202	2,657	742	
First LL. B. . . . .	1			1	768				768	263	
First Examination in Law . . . . .	1		1	2	190		79	220	489	122	
Special Test Examination in Law . . . . .											
Intermediate Examination in Law . . . . .	2		1	3	370		62	43	975	421	
Licentiate Examination in Law . . . . .											
First Certificate Examination in Law . . . . .											
Preliminary Examination in Law . . . . .	3		1	4	1,192		74	18	1,284	569	
<i>Medicine.</i>											
M. S. . . . .	1			1	1			1	2	1	
M. D. . . . .	2			2	3				3	2	
M. B. (a) . . . . .	1			1	176				176	93	
Final Professional Examination M. B., B. S. . . . .	4			4	175				175	105	
Second Professional Examination for M.B., B.S. . . . .	3			3	209				209	112	
First Professional Examination for M.B., B.S. . . . .	4			4	273				273	197	
Honours in Medicine . . . . .											
Intermediate M.B., B.S. Examination . . . . .	1			1	207				207	148	
L.M.S. (b) . . . . .	2			2	96			1	97	59	
First M.B. (c) . . . . .	1			1	302				302	134	
First L.M.S. (d) . . . . .	4			4	112				112	61	
Additional Test in Chemistry . . . . .	1	3	2	6	27	21	51	1	100	17	13
Preliminary Scientific M.B. . . . .	1			1	195				195	156	
B.S. Sc. . . . .	1			1	3				3	2	
Preliminary Scientific L.M.S. . . . .	2	6		8	325	50			375	222	16
Doctor of Hygiene . . . . .	1			1	1				1		
Bachelor of Hygiene . . . . .	2			2	17				17	9	
Combined Preliminary Scientific and First M.B. . . . .											
Special certificate class examination for females . . . . .											

(a) Final or Third M.B. and O.M. Examination in Madras, and second M.B. Examination in Bengal.  
 (b) Second L.M.S. Examination in Bengal.



TABLE VI.

Provinces of British India during the official year 1915-16.

PASSED.			RACE OR CREED OF PASSED SCHOLARS.								NATURE OF EXAMINATIONS.	
Other Institutions.	Private Students.	Total.	Europeans and Anglo-Indians.	Indian Christians.	HINDUS.		Muhammads.	Bud-dhists.	Parsis.	Others.		
13	14	15	16	17	Brahmana.	Non-Brahmana.	20	21	22	23		
											1	
ARTS COLLEGES.												
..	2	257	489	4	15	226	203	81	1	8	1	Doctor of Science.
..	..	35	80	1	..	22	55	2	..	..	..	Master of Arts.
..	..	..	87	2	6	72	7	..	..	..	..	Master of Science.
..	..	..	134	2	18	93	14	2	..	..	..	Bachelor of Arts (Honours Final).
841	323	4,099	16	150	1,861	1,016	332	39	40	33	33	Bachelor of Arts (Honours) Preliminary English language.
111	1	509	5	5	153	319	17	4	3	8	8	Bachelor of Arts.
..	163	163	..	4	113	40	5	..	..	1	1	Bachelor of Science.
1,354	424	6,164	52	178	2,058	2,478	619	48	75	56	56	First B.A.
341	8	928	4	7	258	547	43	16	8	45	45	First B.Sc.
2	12	98	..	1	35	36	21	..	..	..	..	Intermediate Examination in Arts.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Intermediate Examination in Science.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Previous Examination.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	ORIENTAL COLLEGES.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Master of Oriental Learning.
75	42	251	..	..	..	246	5	..	..	..	..	Bachelor of Oriental Learning.
..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	First Arts, Oriental Faculty.
..	13	17	..	1	..	..	1	15	..	..	..	Honours in Sanskrit.
..	17	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Honours in Arabic.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Honours in Persian.
605	65	712	..	..	..	697	15	..	..	..	..	Honours in Gurmukhi.
2	2	10	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	Honours in Punjabi.
..	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	High Proficiency in Sanskrit
..	15	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	High Proficiency in Arabic.
..	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	High Proficiency in Persian.
233	130	397	..	..	..	367	30	..	..	..	..	High Proficiency in Punjabi.
9	4	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	High Proficiency in Hindi.
..	5	5	..	..	..	..	1	4	..	..	..	High Proficiency in Urdu.
..	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Proficiency in Sanskrit.
..	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	23	..	..	..	Proficiency in Arabic.
..	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	Proficiency in Persian.
..	9	9	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	Proficiency in Hindi.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Proficiency in Urdu.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Proficiency in Punjabi.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Additional Examination in English for Oriental Titles.
COLLEGES FOR PROFESSIONAL TRAINING.												
Law.												
..	7	7	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	Doctor of Law.
647	79	1,368	..	..	..	628	552	153	1	17	5	Master of Law.
..	..	283	..	12	3	250	..	9	..	..	..	Honours in Law.
52	134	808	1	15	185	90	9	9	..	20	1	Bachelor of Law.
28	14	403	..	1	171	208	23	..	..	..	..	First LL.B.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	First Examination in Law.
38	9	607	..	2	211	359	35	..	..	..	..	Special Test Examination in Law.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Intermediate Examination in Law.
..	1	2	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	Licentiate Examination in Law.
..	..	99	3	1	32	69	..	..	..	..	..	First Certificate Examination in Law.
..	..	105	3	5	31	52	9	..	..	..	..	Preliminary Examination in Law.
..	..	112	2	7	50	19	4	..	..	23	7	M. S.
..	..	167	1	19	60	55	4	..	..	24	4	M. D.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	M. B. (a)
..	..	148	2	17	101	..	6	..	..	21	1	Final Professional Examination for M. B., B.E.
..	1	60	..	13	29	10	..	..	..	7	1	Second Professional Examination for M. B., B.S.
..	..	134	4	2	39	83	3	2	..	1	..	First Professional Examination for M. B., B.S.
..	..	61	..	9	38	8	..	..	..	5	1	Honours in Medicine.
21	1	52	..	2	2	28	6	..	..	..	..	Intermediate M.B., B.S. Examination.
..	..	156	5	2	34	102	11	1	..	1	..	L. M. S. (b)
..	..	2	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	First M.B. (c)
..	..	238	8	29	167	10	8	..	..	28	3	First L.M.S. (d)
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Additional Test in Chemistry.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Preliminary Scientific M.B.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	B.S. So.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Preliminary Scientific L.M.S.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Doctor of Hygiene.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Bachelor of Hygiene.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Combined Preliminary Scientific and First M.B.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Special certificate class examination for females.

(c) Third, Second and First M.B. and O.M. Examination in Madras.

(d) Second and First L. M. S. Examination in Madras and Bombay.

## Results of the prescribed examinations in the several

NATURE OF EXAMINATIONS.	NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS SENDING EXAMINEES.				NUMBER OF EXAMINEES.					NUMBER	
	Institutions under Public Management.	Aided Institutions.	Other Institutions.	Total.	Institutions under Public Management.	Aided Institutions.	Other Institutions.	Private Students.	Total.	Institutions under Public Management.	Aided Institutions.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<b>COLLEGES FOR PROFESSIONAL TRAINING—contd.</b>											
<i>Engineering.</i>											
M. C. E.	4	..	..	4	122	..	..	..	122	69	..
B. C. E.	2	..	..	2	89	..	..	..	89	42	..
L. C. E.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
First L. C. E.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Examination in Art drawing	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
First Examination in Engineering	1	..	..	1	62	..	..	..	62	41	..
Second Examination in Engineering	2	..	..	2	56	..	..	..	56	36	..
Roorkee College Examinations—	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Civil Engineer	..	..	..	..	19	..	..	..	19	19	..
Electrical Engineer	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Upper Subordinate	1	..	..	1	33	..	..	..	33	33	..
Lower Subordinate	..	..	..	..	40	..	..	..	40	40	..
<i>Teaching.</i>	18	55	..	73	610	119	..	43	772	520	86
<i>Agriculture.</i>											
L. Ag. (c)	3	..	..	3	48	..	..	..	48	41	..
Second L. Ag.	1	..	..	1	23	..	..	..	23	23	..
First L. Ag.	1	..	..	1	31	..	..	..	31	20	..
<i>Veterinary.</i>	4	..	..	4	150	..	..	..	150	111	..
<i>Commercial.</i>	1	1	1	3	186	4	10	..	200	103	..
<b>SCHOOLS FOR GENERAL EDUCATION.</b>											
Matriculation Examination	217	512	844	1,073	6,374	10,084	8,109	2,081	26,648	3,815	5,851
Boys	10	42	7	59	49	182	35	58	324	39	106
Girls	8	..	..	8	44	..	..	..	44	21	..
"B" Final Examination	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
School Final	128	290	18	376	3,275	6,171	376	128	9,950	1,848	4,898
Boys	4	19	..	23	17	96	..	2	115	17	94
Girls	8	20	1	33	26	195	1	1	223	22	102
High School Examination for Europeans.	2	20	2	24	9	76	2	1	88	5	49
Boys	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Girls	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
High School Scholarship Examination	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Boys	..	8	..	8	..	60	..	..	60	..	28
Girls	..	14	..	14	..	81	..	..	81	..	53
Elementary certificate Examination	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Public Service certificate Examination	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	29	29	..	..
Cambridge Preliminary Examination	..	1	..	1	..	24	..	..	24	..	24
Boys	..	26	1	27	..	146	5	..	151	..	88
Girls	..	26	4	30	..	465	30	12	207	..	68
Cambridge Senior Examination	..	8	..	8	..	48	..	..	48	..	82
Boys	1	85	3	89	11	237	27	..	275	5	445
Girls	1	11	..	12	7	62	..	..	69	6	43
Cambridge Junior Examination	855	2,181	889	3,925	17,953	25,260	17,532	3,027	64,372	12,239	17,045
Boys	45	203	13	261	1,303	90	216	..	1,875	173	836
Girls	1,357	102	113	1,572	7,554	569	1,895	10,614	4,411	3,33	..
Vernacular Final Examination	9,903	9,545	1,005	20,453	101,935	64,033	23,171	85	188,824	66,733	45,626
Upper Primary Examination	781	901	14	1,696	3,556	4,804	42	20	8,422	2,317	3,200
Boys	9,277	33,990	2,902	45,469	67,722	158,462	17,500	..	243,684	43,619	118,926
Girls	709	3,439	152	4,360	6,750	14,296	180	..	21,226	4,377	10,452
<b>SCHOOLS FOR SPECIAL INSTRUCTION.</b>											
Training School Examination for Upper Masters.	170	14	..	184	3,148	234	20	744	4,146	2,725	141
Lower	475	36	1	512	6,193	626	8	362	7,189	4,517	369
Training School Examination for Mistresses.	25	42	5	72	408	300	29	41	776	314	226
Lower	24	40	..	64	241	377	..	18	636	136	230
Teachers' Examination for students outside Training School.	41	1,532	..	1,573	54	1,770	..	11	1,835	26	619
Schools of Art Examination	78	25	1	99	1,149	324	4	4,296	5,763	760	177
Medical Examination	22	..	..	22	890	..	..	..	890	732	..
Examination in Engineering	..	3	1	27	467	13	..	323	803	331	9
Examination in Surveying	23	..	..	27	467	13	..	323	803	331	9
Industrial School Examination	10	19	1	30	241	515	227	484	1,467	199	421
Commercial School Examination	5	5	58	68	94	211	670	45	1,020	53	133
Agricultural School Examination	1	..	..	1	128	..	..	7	135	108	..
Sanskrit Title Examination	1	516	22	539	1	3,293	136	56	3,486	..	1,602
Madrasa Central Examination	4	7	..	11	329	244	..	25	598	201	85
Madrasa Maktab Examination	1	449	3	456	7	1,073	8	..	1,088	4	705
Language Teachers' certificate Examination	1	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	6	6	..
Departmental Special Vernacular Examination	1	..	..	1	55	..	..	..	55	32	..
Special Manual Training Examination	1	..	..	1	4	..	..	..	4	4	..
Other Schools Examination	315	513	228	1,056	5,006	3,573	1,055	667	10,301	2,344	1,427

(c) Includes 229 students passed in the examination in Engineering and Surveying  
NOTE.—In Madras and Bombay students have not, in some cases, been distinguished

TABLE VI—concl'd.

Provinces of British India during the fiscal year 1915-16—concl'd.

PASSED.			RACE OR CREED OF PASSED SCHOLARS									NATURE OF EXAMINATIONS.
Other Institutions.	Private Students.	Total.	Examined and Passed.	Others.	HINDUS.		Muham- madans.	Bud- dhists.	Parsis.	Others.		
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	1	
<b>COLLEGES FOR PROFESSIONAL TRAINING cont'd.</b>												
<i>Engineering.</i>												
..	..	60	..	3	46	14	1	1	4	..	M. O. E.	
..	..	42	..	4	23	15	..	..	..	..	B. O. E.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	L. O. E.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	First L. O. E.	
..	..	41	..	..	38	..	1	..	7	..	Examination in Art drawing.	
..	..	86	..	1	27	..	1	..	7	..	First Examination in Engineering.	
..	..	19	2	..	2	13	2	..	..	..	Second Examination in Engineering.	
..	..	33	16	..	3	14	..	..	..	..	Roorkee College Examinations—	
..	..	40	..	..	11	29	..	..	..	..	Civil Engineer.	
..	28	633	45	40	216	198	100	..	..	..	Electrical Engineer.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Upper Subordinate.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Lower Subordinate.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	<i>Teaching.</i>	
<i>Agriculture.</i>												
..	..	41	1	1	22	8	3	..	2	4	L. Ag. (e)	
..	..	23	..	1	20	..	..	..	2	..	Second L. Ag.	
..	..	20	..	..	16	..	..	..	4	..	First L. Ag.	
..	..	111	1	1	33	25	36	..	2	13	<i>Veterinary.</i>	
1	..	104	..	1	80	1	2	..	20	..	<i>Commercial.</i>	
<b>SCHOOLS FOR GENERAL EDUCATION.</b>												
4,365	543	14,074	19	178	4,811	6,242	2,037	185	220	382	Boys } Matriculation Examinations.	
19	17	181	5	63	43	38	..	..	30	7	Girls } "B" Final Examination.	
..	..	21	..	..	4	14	1	2	..	..	Boys } School Final.	
287	25	7,038	16	490	3,748	2,207	406	142	19	10	Girls } High School Examination for Ku-	
..	1	112	6	94	1	9	..	1	..	1	Girls } ropeans.	
..	1	125	101	8	1	2	3	2	6	2	Boys } High School Scholarship Examination.	
2	1	57	53	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	Girls } Elementary certificate Examination.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Boys } Public Service certificate Examination.	
..	..	28	28	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Girls } Cambridge Preliminary Examination.	
..	..	53	53	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Boys } Cambridge Senior Examination.	
..	19	10	..	..	..	..	1	17	..	1	Girls } Cambridge Junior Examination.	
..	..	24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Boys } Middle School Examination.	
3	..	91	64	12	2	1	1	..	10	1	Girls } Vernacular Final Examination.	
19	1	88	78	2	..	1	..	..	4	3	Boys } Upper Primary Examination.	
..	..	32	31	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	Girls } Lower Primary Examination.	
..	..	172	146	5	..	5	1	..	9	6	Boys } Matriculation Examinations.	
..	..	49	39	..	..	1	..	..	..	9	Girls } "B" Final Examination.	
13,371	1,448	44,698	189	604	10,874	22,027	8,231	1,560	340	193	Boys } School Final.	
45	85	1,139	138	336	120	310	60	52	105	23	Girls } High School Examination for Ku-	
250	429	5,423	..	28	1,501	2,438	1,189	..	..	287	Boys } ropeans.	
18,092	58	130,709	220	2,509	24,800	70,858	21,644	8,021	279	1,478	Boys } High School Scholarship Examination.	
29	11	5,817	154	779	993	2,087	315	840	371	78	Girls } Elementary certificate Examination.	
13,092	..	171,237	2	4,108	18,570	84,169	34,268	27,310	861	1,933	Boys } Public Service certificate Examination.	
135	..	14,904	..	923	2,067	5,941	1,582	3,405	920	186	Girls } Cambridge Preliminary Examination.	
<b>SCHOOLS FOR SPECIAL INSTRUCTION.</b>												
47	378	3,201	21	150	1,250	1,541	404	86	1	39	Upper } Training School Examination for	
3	185	5,074	2	337	1,543	1,974	1,022	111	..	86	Lower } Masters.	
11	15	566	51	214	110	11	116	35	12	17	Upper } Training School Examination for	
..	2	398	33	223	10	38	17	44	..	3	Lower } Mistresses.	
..	5	850	8	7	3	..	10	607	..	9	Teachers' Examination for students outside	
3	1,989	2,939	37	329	934	1,336	281	7	4	11	Training School.	
..	..	732	6	68	205	288	43	24	10	23	Schools of Art Examination.	
..	257	(4)597	5	9	92	186	26	36	..	14	Medical Examination.	
91	350	1,061	43	319	109	371	196	..	12	11	Examination in Engineering.	
261	11	458	20	25	92	176	34	..	100	5	Examination in Surveying.	
..	7	115	..	..	..	56	50	..	..	..	Industrial School Examination.	
31	19	1,532	..	..	1,393	158	1	..	..	..	Commercial School Examination.	
..	15	301	..	..	..	..	301	..	..	..	Agricultural School Examination.	
..	..	710	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Sanskrit Title Examination.	
..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Madrasa Central Examination.	
..	..	32	..	..	2	50	68	..	..	..	Madrasa Maktab Examination.	
..	..	4	..	..	4	..	2	..	..	..	Language Teachers' certificate Examination.	
..	..	..	..	1	18	7	11	..	..	..	Departmental Special Vernacular Examination.	
..	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	Special Manual Training Examination.	
450	297	4,518	92	200	1,435	2,276	305	30	164	16	Other Schools Examination.	

from the different institutions in Madras, the race and creed of whom is not available, between Brahmans and non-Brahmans. They have hence been shown under Brahmans.

Return showing the distribution of Local Board and Municipal Expenditure

OBJECTS OF EXPENDITURE.	EXPENDITURE OF LOCAL						
	IN INSTITUTIONS MANAGED						
	Number of Institutions.	Number of Scholars on the rolls on the 31st of March.	Average number on the rolls monthly during the year.	Average daily attendance.	Provincial Grants.	Local Fund.	Municipal Grants.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.</b>							
<i>Arts Colleges.</i>							
English . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Oriental . . . . .	1	47	49	44	..	8,387	..
<i>Colleges or Departments of Colleges for Professional Training.</i>							
Law . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Medicine . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Engineering . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Teaching . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Agriculture . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>8,387</b>	<b>..</b>
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL.</b>							
<i>Secondary Schools.</i>							
For Boys—							
High Schools . . . . .	28	9,239	9,807	8,405	2,228	53,782	6,447
Middle Schools { English . . . . .	187	28,200	27,912	23,841	5,742	1,73,485	17,024
{ Vernacular . . . . .	899	118,060	117,437	94,520	355	9,74,259	20,921
For Girls—							
High Schools . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Middle Schools { English . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
{ Vernacular . . . . .	16	1,878	1,576	1,181	..	16,339	4,239
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,125</b>	<b>157,227</b>	<b>156,232</b>	<b>127,947</b>	<b>8,325</b>	<b>12,17,815</b>	<b>57,631</b>
<i>Primary Schools.</i>							
For Boys . . . . .	32,734	1,898,077	1,832,219	1,431,911	25,04,762	75,22,776	86,749
For Girls . . . . .	2,029	91,094	87,303	66,251	1,15,810	5,55,705	13,690
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>34,763</b>	<b>1,989,171</b>	<b>1,919,522</b>	<b>1,497,162</b>	<b>26,20,572</b>	<b>80,78,481</b>	<b>1,00,439</b>
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.</b>							
Training Schools for Masters . . . . .	314	2,704	2,692	2,586	14,480	2,76,550	555
Training Schools for Mistresses . . . . .	2	9	9	9	..	1,185	..
Schools of Art . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Law Schools . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Medical Schools . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Engineering and Surveying Schools . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Technical and Industrial Schools . . . . .	26	1,742	1,610	1,305	10,329	83,865	685
Commercial Schools . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Agricultural Schools . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other Schools . . . . .	5	151	127	103	1,077	810	..
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>347</b>	<b>4,606</b>	<b>4,438</b>	<b>4,003</b>	<b>26,886</b>	<b>3,61,910</b>	<b>1,140</b>
Buildings . . . . .	..	..	..	..	90,101	33,86,826	5,002
Furniture and apparatus . . . . .	..	..	..	..	4,281	1,52,876	41
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>94,382</b>	<b>35,39,702</b>	<b>5,043</b>
University . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Inspection . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Scholarships held in { Arts Colleges . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
{ Medical Colleges . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
{ Other Professional Colleges . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
{ Secondary Schools . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
{ Primary Schools . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
{ Medical Schools . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
{ Technical and Industrial Schools . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
{ Other Special Schools . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Miscellaneous . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>86,236</b>	<b>2,151,051</b>	<b>2,080,241</b>	<b>1,629,156</b>	<b>27,49,165</b>	<b>1,32,06,295</b>	<b>1,64,253</b>

TABLE VII.

on Public Instruction in British India for the official year 1915-16.

BOARDS ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.								OBJECTS OF EXPENDITURE.
BY LOCAL BOARDS.			Total.	IN INSTITUTIONS MANAGED BY			Total Local Boards' expenditure on Public Instruction.	
Fees.	Subscriptions.	Endowments and other sources.		Government.	Municipal Boards.	Private persons or Associations.		
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	1
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
.. 38	..	..	8,425	..	..	18,800 270	18,800 8,657	UNIVERSITY EDUCATION. <i>Arts Colleges.</i> English. Oriental. <i>Colleges or Departments of Colleges for Professional Training.</i> Law. Medicine. Engineering. Teaching. Agriculture.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
..	..	..	..	2,196	..	..	2,196	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
38	..	..	8,425	2,196	..	19,070	29,658	TOTAL.
2,01,985	1,418	1,661	2,67,471	325	3,160	21,887	79,104	SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL. <i>Secondary Schools.</i> For Boys— High Schools. English. } Middle Schools. Vernacular } For Girls— High Schools. English. } Middle Schools. Vernacular }
3,15,408	5,808	2,058	5,19,510	..	8,444	2,44,044	4,25,973	
2,15,828	5,031	1,376	12,26,770	..	5,767	2,89,596	12,10,622	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
..	..	..	..	..	..	2,185	2,185	
..	..	3	20,581	96	..	22,911	39,346	
7,33,216	12,252	5,093	20,34,332	421	17,371	5,30,623	17,66,230	TOTAL.
7,66,748	35,526	28,802	1,09,45,363	576	50,075	24,56,187	1,00,29,614	SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL. <i>Primary Schools.</i> For Boys. For Girls.
534	1,690	557	6,87,986	399	13,246	4,39,384	10,08,734	
7,67,282	37,216	29,359	1,16,33,349	975	63,321	28,95,571	1,10,38,348	TOTAL.
..	..	10	2,91,595	65,068	..	656	3,42,274	SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL. Training Schools for Masters. Training Schools for Mistresses. Schools of Art. Law Schools. Medical Schools. Engineering and Surveying Schools. Technical and Industrial Schools. Commercial Schools. Agricultural Schools. Other Schools.
..	..	..	1,185	9,537	..	720	11,442	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
..	..	..	..	3,039	..	..	3,039	
..	..	..	..	142	..	200	342	
5,262	42	6,504	1,06,587	3,858	2,200	18,265	1,08,188	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
..	..	..	..	644	..	..	644	
90	104	..	1,581	..	..	1,28,264	1,28,574	
5,352	140	6,514	4,00,948	83,188	2,200	1,48,105	5,95,403	TOTAL.
218	23,625	13,649	35,19,421	3,771	16,322	1,53,870	35,60,789	Buildings. Furniture and apparatus.
351	41	313	1,57,903	13	194	55,701	2,03,784	
569	23,666	13,962	36,77,324	3,784	16,510	2,09,571	37,69,578	TOTAL.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	25	University. Inspection.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,68,261	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14,126	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,233	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,230	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,97,368	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	78,299	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,787	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24,339	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,076	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8,35,501	Scholarships held in Arts Colleges. Medical Colleges. Other Professional Colleges. Secondary Schools. Primary Schools. Medical Schools. Technical and Industrial Schools. Other Special Schools. Miscellaneous.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8,38,245	TOTAL.
15,06,457	73,280	64,928	1,77,64,376	90,564	99,408	38,02,940	1,80,37,452	GRAND TOTAL.

## Return showing the distribution of Local Board and Municipal Expenditure on

OBJECTS OF EXPENDITURE.	EXPENDITURE OF MUNICIPAL BOARDS							
	IN INSTITUTIONS MANAGED BY							
	Number of Institutions.	Number of Scholars on the rolls on the 31st of March.	Average number on the rolls monthly during the year.	Average daily attendance.	Provincial Grants.	Municipal rates.	Local Boards' Grants.	Fees.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<b>UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.</b>								
<i>Arts Colleges.</i>								
English	4	507	521	491	7,194	34,397	..	44,680
Oriental	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Colleges or Departments of Colleges for Professional Training.</i>								
Law	1	2	2	2	..	..	..	215
Medicine	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Engineering	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Teaching	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Agriculture	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>509</b>	<b>523</b>	<b>493</b>	<b>7,194</b>	<b>34,397</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>44,904</b>
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL.</b>								
<i>Secondary Schools.</i>								
<i>For Boys—</i>								
High Schools	37	14,723	14,888	13,137	56,437	86,930	3,160	3,26,036
Middle Schools { English	144	20,689	20,672	17,794	38,093	2,16,959	3,444	2,04,974
{ Vernacular	40	7,318	7,210	5,935	..	58,420	5,767	6,826
<i>For Girls—</i>								
High Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Middle Schools { English	2	170	166	125	3,251	5,615	..	711
{ Vernacular	14	2,082	1,968	1,455	855	28,598	..	140
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>237</b>	<b>44,982</b>	<b>44,904</b>	<b>38,446</b>	<b>98,636</b>	<b>3,96,522</b>	<b>17,371</b>	<b>5,38,687</b>
<i>Primary Schools.</i>								
For Boys	1,873	220,708	214,680	168,870	3,99,715	14,27,728	50,075	1,58,658
For Girls	644	51,169	49,279	34,369	1,00,239	4,10,878	13,246	6,800
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2,517</b>	<b>271,877</b>	<b>263,959</b>	<b>203,248</b>	<b>4,99,954</b>	<b>18,38,606</b>	<b>63,321</b>	<b>1,65,458</b>
<b>SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.</b>								
<i>Schools for Special Instruction.</i>								
Training Schools for Masters	3	22	22	22	..	3,235	..	..
Training Schools for Mistresses	3	48	48	38	1,973	2,600	..	..
Schools of Art	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Law Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Medical Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Engineering and Surveying Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Technical and Industrial Schools	13	1,167	1,155	978	6,779	32,610	2,200	1,473
Commercial Schools	1	29	29	27	780	1,765	..	325
Agricultural Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Reformatory Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other Schools	7	183	175	116	1,087	2,178	..	..
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>1,449</b>	<b>1,424</b>	<b>1,181</b>	<b>10,619</b>	<b>42,838</b>	<b>2,200</b>	<b>1,798</b>
Buildings	..	..	..	..	1,05,861	7,15,502	16,322	..
Furniture and apparatus	..	..	..	..	4,838	31,701	194	103
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>1,10,699</b>	<b>7,47,203</b>	<b>16,516</b>	<b>103</b>
University	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Inspection	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Scholarships held in { Arts Colleges	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
{ Medical Colleges	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
{ Other Professional Colleges	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
{ Secondary Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
{ Primary Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
{ Medical Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
{ Technical and Industrial Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
{ Other Special Schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>..</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>2,786</b>	<b>318,817</b>	<b>310,710</b>	<b>243,368</b>	<b>7,26,602</b>	<b>30,59,116</b>	<b>99,406</b>	<b>7,50,950</b>

TABLE VII—contd.

## Public Instruction in British India for the official year 1915-16—contd.

ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.							Total Expenditure of Local and Municipal Boards on Public Instruction.	Total Expenditure of Local and Municipal Boards on Public Instruction.	OBJECTS OF EXPENDITURE.
MUNICIPAL BOARDS.			IN INSTITUTIONS MANAGED BY			Total Municipal Expenditure on Public Instruction.			
Subscriptions.	Endowments and all other sources.	Total.	Government.	Local Boards.	Private persons or Associations.				
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	1	
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		
..	463	86,743	..	..	22,965	57,862	76,162	UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.	
..	..	..	..	..	360	360	9,017	Arts Colleges.	
..	..	215	..	..	..	..	..	Colleges or Departments of Colleges for Professional Training.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Law.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Medicine.	
..	..	..	1,131	..	..	1,131	3,327	Engineering.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Teaching.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Agriculture.	
..	463	86,958	1,131	..	23,325	58,853	88,506	TOTAL.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Secondary Schools.	
26	2,785	4,75,374	157	6,447	2,00,391	2,93,925	8,73,029	For Boys—	
1,934	4,611	4,75,015	..	17,024	1,68,856	4,02,839	8,28,812	High Schools.	
..	36	71,049	..	29,921	82,042	1,70,388	13,90,005	English } Middle Schools.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Vernacular }	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	For Girls—	
48	69	9,694	..	..	23,436	23,436	23,436	High Schools.	
..	30	29,623	150	4,239	39,886	45,501	47,686	English } Middle Schools.	
..	..	..	..	..	46,985	79,972	1,19,318	Vernacular }	
2,008	7,531	10,60,755	307	57,631	5,61,596	10,10,056	27,82,286	TOTAL.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.	
10,568	7,505	20,54,249	776	86,749	3,62,061	18,77,314	1,19,06,923	Primary Schools.	
221	4,068	5,35,452	491	13,690	1,54,417	5,79,476	15,88,210	For Boys.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	For Girls.	
10,789	11,573	25,89,701	1,267	1,00,439	5,16,478	24,56,790	1,34,95,138	TOTAL.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.	
..	..	8,235	7,483	555	84	11,357	8,53,631	Schools for Special Instruction.	
..	..	4,573	3,740	..	565	6,005	18,347	Training Schools for Masters.	
..	..	..	..	..	450	450	450	Training Schools for Mistresses.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Schools of Art.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Law Schools.	
..	..	..	90	..	1,500	1,500	5,439	Medical Schools.	
..	..	..	..	..	150	240	582	Engineering and Surveying Schools.	
..	5,095	49,157	..	585	32,628	65,821	1,74,009	Technical and Industrial Schools.	
..	..	2,370	..	..	..	1,765	1,765	Commercial Schools.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	644	Agricultural Schools.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Reformatory Schools.	
36	..	3,301	2,500	..	33,644	38,622	1,67,196	Other Schools.	
36	5,095	62,136	14,113	1,140	99,019	1,20,660	7,22,963	TOTAL.	
10,537	1,683	8,49,405	133	5,002	64,959	7,75,508	43,36,385	Buildings.	
..	..	36,836	..	41	6,704	38,446	2,47,230	Furniture and apparatus.	
10,537	1,683	8,86,241	133	5,043	61,663	8,14,042	45,83,615	TOTAL.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	25	University.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	15,162	1,83,423	Inspection.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	7,836	22,011	Arts Colleges.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	254	1,487	Medical Colleges.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	264	3,494	Other Professional Colleges.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	26,125	2,23,493	Secondary Schools.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	5,801	84,100	Primary Schools.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	96	5,883	Medical Schools.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	5,794	30,133	Technical and Industrial Schools.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	2,153	12,229	Other Special Schools.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	1,05,405	4,40,906	Miscellaneous.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	1,68,939	10,07,184	TOTAL.	
23,370	26,345	46,85,701	16,951	1,64,253	12,32,081	46,41,840	2,26,78,792	GRAND TOTAL.	

## GENERAL

*Attendance and expenditure in hostels*

1	NUMBER OF		NUMBER OF BOARDERS WHO ARE STUDENTS			
	Hostels or Boarding Houses.	Boarders.	Arts Colleges.	Colleges for Professional Training.	Secondary Schools.	Primary Schools.
	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>MANAGED BY GOVERNMENT—</b>						
Boys . . . . .	687	25,783	3,249	1,964	10,109	571
Girls . . . . .	46	1,722	44	30	943	137
<b>MANAGED BY LOCAL OR MUNICIPAL BOARDS—</b>						
Boys . . . . .	836	17,935	145	..	15,599	1,012
Girls . . . . .	1	2	..	..	..	..
<b>AIDED BY GOVERNMENT OR BY LOCAL OR MUNICIPAL BOARDS—</b>						
Boys . . . . .	604	28,093	2,722	135	18,587	5,235
Girls] . . . . .	245	13,095	31	27	8,919	3,290
<b>UNAIDED—</b>						
Boys . . . . .	1,120	40,468	5,859	293	24,625	7,179
Girls . . . . .	229	12,843	148	154	5,394	6,231
<b>TOTAL—</b>						
Boys . . . . .	3,247	112,279	11,975	2,392	68,920	13,997
Girls . . . . .	517	27,662	223	211	15,256	9,658
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>3,764</b>	<b>139,941</b>	<b>12,198</b>	<b>2,603</b>	<b>84,176</b>	<b>23,655</b>



TABLE VIII.

or boarding houses for the official year 1915-16.

OF		EXPENDITURE FROM				Total expenditure.	1
Special Schools.	Provincial Revenues.	Local or Municipal Funds.	Subscriptions and Endowments.	Fees.			
8	9	10	11	12	13		
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		
9,890	5,09,709	1,093	(a) 1,34,575	8,26,212	14,71,589	MANAGED BY GOVERNMENT— Boys.	
568	1,37,716	..	45,134	57,932	2,40,782	Girls.	
1,179	1,256	1,15,543	10,470	91,714	2,18,983	MANAGED BY LOCAL OR MUNICIPAL BOARDS— Boys.	
2	..	24	..	..	24	Girls.	
1,414	3,77,770	39,165	(b) 6,33,292	10,44,275	20,99,502	AIDED BY GOVERNMENT OR BY LOCAL OR MUNICIPAL BOARDS— Boys.	
828	2,81,499	13,652	3,78,283	7,78,654	14,52,088	Girls.	
2,512	768	330	6,98,009	10,78,937	17,78,044	UNAIDED— Boys.	
916	33	15	4,35,928	2,42,871	6,78,847	Girls.	
14,995	8,83,503	1,56,131	(c) 14,81,346	30,41,138	55,68,118	TOTAL— Boys.	
2,314	4,19,248	13,691	8,59,345	10,79,457	23,71,741	Girls.	
17,309	13,08,751	1,69,822	23,40,691	41,20,595	79,39,859	GRAND TOTAL.	

(a) Includes Rs. 120 from Native State Revenues in the Bombay Presidency.  
(b) Includes Rs. 2,000 from Native State Revenues in the Bombay Presidency.  
(c) Includes Rs. 2,120 from Native State Revenues in the Bombay Presidency.

## GENERAL

## Number and qualification of teachers in the several

		(a) IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS.					(b) IN MIDDLE SCHOOLS.					
		Government.	Board.	Municipal.	Aided.	Unaided.	Government.	Board.	Municipal.	Aided.	Unaided.	
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
In Schools for Indians.	Teachers of vernacular.	Trained . . . . .	764	23,744	3,471	11,237	663	388	4,269	427	3,727	934
		Untrained . . . . .	826	30,771	4,775	67,988	11,587	195	1,446	278	5,638	1,372
	TOTAL	1,590	54,515	8,246	79,225	12,200	578	5,715	705	9,415	2,306	
	Anglo-Vernacular Teachers and Teachers of classical languages.	Trained . . . . .	1,107	8,152	1,181	8,497	437	329	374	195	1,424	105
		Untrained . . . . .	357	5,101	486	24,224	4,430	277	452	557	4,364	2,048
	TOTAL	1,464	13,253	1,617	32,721	4,967	606	826	752	6,238	2,153	
		Possessing a degree . . . . .	6	1	2	21	..	58	44	56	308	89
		Possessing no degree . . . . .	1,458	13,252	1,615	32,700	4,967	548	782	696	5,930	2,064
	TOTAL	1,464	13,253	1,617	32,721	4,967	606	826	752	6,238	2,153	
	In Schools for Europeans.		Trained . . . . .	3	..	..	196	2	2	..	..	509
Untrained . . . . .			1	..	..	203	2	7	..	..	573	85
TOTAL		4	..	..	399	4	9	..	..	1,082	43	
		Possessing a degree . . . . .	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	66	6
		Possessing no degree . . . . .	4	..	..	398	4	7	..	..	1,016	37
TOTAL	4	..	..	399	4	9	..	..	1,081	43		
GRAND TOTAL OF ALL TEACHERS		3,058	67,768	9,863	112,395	17,171	1,193	6,541	1,457	16,785	4,502	

TABLE IX.

Provinces of British India for the official year 1915-16.

(c) IN HIGH SCHOOLS.					(d) IN COLLEGES.					Total.		
Government.	Board.	Municipal.	Aided.	Unaided.	Government.	Board.	Municipal.	Aided.	Unaided.			
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22		
436	32	39	908	430	1	..	..	..	..	51,615	Trained	Teachers of vernacular.
267	17	20	925	911	..	..	..	1	..	127,017	Untrained	
703	49	59	1,833	1,341	1	..	..	1	..	178,532	TOTAL.	
1,372	208	278	3,062	210	66	8	14	212	15	27,236	Trained	In Schools for Indians.
1,893	125	325	6,708	5,027	507	9	16	833	282	53,600	Untrained	
3,265	333	598	9,860	5,237	573	12	30	1,047	297	85,899	TOTAL	Anglo-Vernacular Teachers and Teachers of classical languages.
1,255	80	183	2,912	1,450	521	2	22	832	272	8,114	Possessing a degree	In Schools for Europeans.
2,010	253	415	6,948	3,787	52	10	8	215	25	77,785	Possessing no degree	
3,265	333	598	9,860	5,237	573	12	30	1,047	297	85,899	TOTAL.	
45	..	..	697	28	..	..	..	5	..	1,495	Trained	In Schools for Europeans.
40	..	..	624	39	..	..	..	4	4	1,532	Untrained	
85	..	..	1,321	67	..	..	..	9	4	3,027	TOTAL	
11	..	..	187	8	..	..	..	7	3	291	Possessing a degree	In Schools for Europeans.
74	..	..	1,134	59	..	..	..	2	1	2,786	Possessing no degree	
85	..	..	1,321	67	..	..	..	9	4	3,027	TOTAL.	
4,053	382	657	13,014	6,645	574	12	30	1,057	301	237,458	GRAND TOTAL OF ALL TEACHERS.	

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and  
The Reign of Terror in the Punjab. 38



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# THE AGONY OF AMRITSAR

and

## THE REIGN OF TERROR IN THE PUNJAB.

By

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# THE AGONY OF THE PUNJAB.

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## I.

### THE BRITISH PUBLIC AND AMRITSAR.

Public opinion in Great Britain has seldom been so shocked as it was in the third week of December last by the disclosures regarding what has become known as the AMRITSAR MASSACRE.

That a British general should have shot down in cold blood 2,000 unarmed and defenceless persons, penned up in a large crowd, in an enclosure from which there was practically no escape, was sufficiently horrifying in itself; that he should come before a committee of investigation and publicly glory in his deed was an even more startling disclosure of a mentality existing among military officials in India, which reminded us inevitably of that of the Prussians in Belgium, and in some respects seemed even worse.

Attempts are now being made in certain quarters to anticipate the Report of the Committee of Enquiry, presided over by Lord Hunter, by excusing or justifying General Dyer's horrible act and representing him as having "saved India." The suggestion is that he massacred 500 civilians and wounded three times as many, and left them lying where he shot them without medical aid, in order to save India from a rebellion spreading all over the country!

### NEVER ANY REBELLION.

It is necessary to show that there is *not a word of truth* in this suggestion, that there never was any rebellion in the Punjab. There was in India a state of seething unrest at the end of the war, just as there was all over the world. Recall to mind the disturbances in Great Britain, such as the Liverpool riots and the burning of Luton Town Hall last summer. India had been additionally tried by the enormous ravages

of influenza, which killed proportionately six times as many people as here, owing to the low vitality and poverty of her masses. The official witnesses have ascribed her disturbed condition NOT to Bolshevism, but to the high prices which bear so cruelly upon such a poverty-stricken people. The anxiety about the Khaliphate and the resentment felt as to the Rowlatt Act were also accompanied by apprehensiveness as to the British Cabinet's intention to ratify their promise of August, 1917, this attitude having been brought about by the activities of the Indo-British Association. (Vide London "Times" message dated April 20.) The scanty supply of food and the profiteering in it accentuated the trouble. Upon all this ensued public demonstrations which were followed by outbreaks of mob violence wantonly provoked by the folly of the authorities in using utterly unnecessary violence on their side to suppress a legitimate agitation and public protest carried on by constitutional methods, such as passive resistance, fasting, meetings, and the passing of resolutions.

But, in showing that the latter was the true state of the case, as is to be seen in what follows, it is essential to declare first of all, in the name of British humanity, that, whatever might have happened, nothing could excuse the callous cruelty of the Amritsar Massacre, which, as described by General Dyer himself, exposes him as a man unfit to wear the British uniform, who should be brought to a public trial for his misdeeds.

## DYER'S MASSACRE.

Here is the story as told by General Dyer in his own words before the Hunter Committee:

*On Wednesday, November 19, the Hunter Committee was occupied in recording the evidence of General Dyer of the 50th Brigade.*

*Examined by Lord Hunter, witness said he was at Jullunder when he heard the news of the occurrences at Amritsar. On the morning of the 11th he received a telegram to proceed to Amritsar. After consulting the Commissioner of Jullunder, witness motored reaching Amritsar about 9.30 at night on the 11th. Messrs. Irving and Piomer were there. He conferred with them and found Mr. Irving could not deal with the situation. Mr. Irving asked him to take it in hand.*

### "CIVIL LAW ENDED."

*Witness understood roughly that civil law was at an end and he should take it up. Situations arose when it was necessary to act without Acts and Regulations. Such a situation had arisen in Amritsar. He felt relieved of the necessity of consulting the civil authority, though as far as possible he consulted Mr. Irving on all questions. He went half round and through the city with all forces and found the mob at the Sultanwind gate. There was difficulty in dispersing the mob. They would not go away. Witness thought of opening fire, but wanted to issue a proclamation before doing so. Witness thought the mob was insolent. He was greeted with "Hindu-Mussalman-ki-jai."\* He*

\* "Victory to the Hindu-Mussalman entente."



ordered them to go away and they would not. Some even spat on the ground as witness's party moved. He did not see any violence then that day. Certain arrests were made by the police under military protection.

The proclamation of the 13th prohibiting meetings, etc., must have been prepared by his Brigade-Major. Perhaps witness must have dictated it. It must have been proclaimed through the police, he believed. He did not know how it was proclaimed. What he meant by "dispersed by Martial Law" was that they would have to go. If they had already orders not to collect, it would be right to open fire under military law without warning. In his view there was the great danger of the city being looted by the Monja Sikhs. Witness had to write his report very much later, as he was very busy. Rumours regarding the situation were growing worse on the morning of the 13th. Witness went through the city personally for making the proclamation. He could not give the exact time. It might be about 9.30 or later. They were about it for two or three hours. Witness believed it was properly explained and published. He could not say whether it was published in places other than those mentioned by a previous witness. Looking at the map showing the places visited by him, it was evident in many parts that the proclamation was not read at all. The word "qualification," if necessary, occurring in the proclamation did not exactly mean a warning would first be given before the firing. It depended on the circumstances. If witness had been telling the crowd all day and they defied his authority no warning would be necessary. During the proclamation the crowd were laughing. They did not behave well. He had been told that they considered it a bluff. It was when he was in the city he heard about the Jallianwala meeting. It might be about 1.30 or 2.0. If it was stated 12.40 in the statement it must be correct. He had to organise his forces and make up his mind about it.

When he got the news of the meeting he marched off. His plans were complete. Besides the Gurkhas and the Baluchis, there were 40 armed with kukris. They were all available reserves, after forming the picketing parties. They proceeded at a walking pace, reaching Jallianwala at 5.0 or 5.15. On arrival witness arranged the troops right and left. The Gurkhas with kukris also came in. There were very few exits, probably one large and two or three small ones. He had never seen the place before. When he got into the place he opened fire at once.

## **FIRE AS MARTIAL LAW WAS DEFIED.**

Asked by Lord Hunter, evidently surprised, witness said yes, he had thought about the matter. He explained it did not take him more than 30 seconds. In the centre of the crowd a man was standing, his demeanour showing he was addressing. He ran away to the right, and many did climb over the wall and went away. A great mass of crowd was on the farther side. So far as witness knew, there was nothing going on, but the speaker was addressing the meeting. Witness estimated the crowd roughly at 5,000. He was told afterwards many more were there. It was possible. Many of them could not have heard the proclamation. It did not occur to him to warn. He merely felt his orders were disobeyed and Martial Law defied, so he felt it his duty to fire. Only a few of them ran away. When he began to fire the big mass began to run away. Although Martial Law had not been proclaimed, he did not think it necessary to consult



*the Deputy Commissioner. Besides, there was no Deputy Commissioner. Witness looked at it from the military point of view. If he did not fire he thought he was failing in his duty. When he left Rambagh he had thought of firing. It did not occur to him to have the civil authority with him. There were two police officers, but he did not consult them. Witness made up his mind as he came along, if they did not obey he would fire. As soon as the firing was opened the crowd began dispersing. Still he continued firing because he thought a little firing was bad. The firing lasted ten minutes or less. He thought less from the number of rounds fired. He could not say if the crowd had sticks. He assumed they had sticks. He knew they would be provided with sticks. In all his military experience he had no occasion of dispersing a crowd. Under similar circumstances it was possible the crowd would disperse at the sight of troops, but they would all be coming back again and only making a fool of him.*

## REBELS AND ENEMIES OF CROWN.

*His view was that the situation was serious. He thought they wanted to isolate him, and the movement was not confined to Amritsar, but widespread. He looked on the crowd as rebels and enemies of the Crown. They wanted to isolate him, so he fired and fired well. No other consideration weighed with him. After firing he returned to Rambagh and counted the number of rounds. He did not ascertain the casualties. He guessed from the number of rounds fired about 300 must have been killed. He had since seen the figures in the papers. Instead of dividing the rounds by six, if he had divided it by five it would have worked out nearly exactly to the published figures. It was individual and not volley firing, as the crowd was dense in the centre. If the fire was directed on the centre there was no chance of missing.*

## NO AID TO THE WOUNDED.

*It was quite possible the deaths numbered four or five hundred. He did not render aid to the wounded. It was not his job. It was a medical question.*

*When witness heard of the meeting he did not think of warning. On the contrary, he organised his troops. He did not put up posters. The situation was very serious and there was no time to trifle. Witness had made up his mind to open fire immediately he got to the place. The time had come when he could delay no longer. If he had delayed he should have been court-martialled.*

## AVOIDANCE OF BLOODSHED BY FIRING.

*Sir Chimanlal Setalvad asked him if he thought the British Raj was in danger. "No," said the witness. The British Raj was a mighty thing. His object in firing was to avoid more bloodshed. It was a merciful act. No, it never occurred to him at the time he was doing a great disservice to the British Raj driving discontent deep underground. The people ought to be thankful to him for doing it, he continued, and saving many lives by the merciful act.*

## DID A D— LOT OF GOOD.

*"Any man with an idea of justice in his head will appreciate I was doing a damned lot of good to those fellows." The firing at Jallianwala was carried out according to regulations. Many people, it was true, were lying flat on the ground to save themselves. His men fired wherever they were directed. Had he not once been a Musketry Instructor? witness asked himself aloud. He thought people standing upright were better targets.*

## NO RELIEF OF WOUNDED.

*It was not his job to take measures for relief. Hospitals were open for them and there were dispensaries, too. They did not apply to him for help. They were afraid of being implicated as having been there.*

## PUNJAB GOVERNMENT'S APPROVAL.

*His action was approved by the Punjab Government. Yes, he got a wire to that effect. It read: "Your action correct—and Lieutenant-Governor approves." Witness presumed it referred to Jallianwala. Witness's Brigade-Major must have previously wired the news of his action.*

*Mr. Justice Rowlatt asked General Dyer whether his action did not amount to frightfulness. "No," said witness. It was a merciful act on his part. If he must shoot one round, he must shoot well or not at all. There was no middle course. They had forced his hands. There were two armoured cars, but they did not come into action. He began firing as soon as his men got into position. He continued firing until their ammunition ran short. He checked firing and directed it where the crowd was the thickest. It was because the crowd was not getting away faster, and he had made up his mind.*

## AN INDELIBLE STAIN.

General Dyer's condemnation of himself is sufficient. In war his bloody deed would have been inexcusable and damnable. In peace and dealing with a civilian population it was infinitely more so. The stain on the British name is indelible, and can only be atoned by the fullest form of public reparation possible. The story shocked British opinion. What must be the effect of it on Indians, whose fellow-countrymen it was who were thus ruthlessly massacred?

The story of the excesses which attended the progress of what is known in India, however, as "the Punjab terror," does not end with the Amritsar Massacre. The general public as yet know little of what was going on in India in April, May, and June last. More is told as briefly as possible in the following pages. Much has still to be revealed. Much, perhaps, will never come to light.

## II.

# THE DISTURBANCES AND THEIR CAUSE.

First; however, it is desirable to state shortly what was and what produced the situation which led to the disturbances in the Punjab and elsewhere in India in April last.

During the war India had suffered much. She had given freely and willingly of her blood and treasure to aid the Allied cause. She was as eager as any part of the Empire to help "make the world safe for democracy." Uncomplainingly she sent a million-and-half men to fight; she raised loan after loan, and in addition gave a free gift of £100,000,000 from her poor resources to England; she saw the country denuded of its food to supply the armies in the field; she watched with pain and anxiety the downfall of Turkey, which meant so much to a great part of her population, whose spiritual head or Caliph is the Turkish Sultan. But she never flinched in her support of a cause she believed to be righteous. She chafed under the Indian "D.O.R.A." (the Defence of India Act), which was used to suppress public discussion and intern public leaders; she saw thousands of her young men, the flower of her youth, thrown into gaol and kept there without charge or trial, some of whom went mad or committed suicide under their sufferings. She saw this and other war emergency measures used ruthlessly for purposes outside any war emergency at all.

## THE ROWLATT BILLS.

All this the Indian people bore. They complained. They protested. But they stopped short of any action because of the war. But with the end of the war there came, not relief from oppression, but the Rowlatt Bills. At a time when real danger to the State had ceased, the Rowlatt Bills proposed to continue the chief powers of the Defence of India Act (which would have come to an end six months after the war), with the addition of some further refinements of repression. Immediately the most bitter and widespread protest went up from the whole country. No such manifestation of public feeling in India has ever occurred before in the history of Crown rule. Rightly or wrongly, the Indian people saw in the Rowlatt Bills their enslavement, the end of their hopes for genuine political freedom. But whether they were right or wrong, a wise and just Government would have paused to consider. Lord Chelmsford and his advisers went ruthlessly on. They rushed the first Bill through the Imperial Council, in two or three sittings, by the votes of their officials, who are by statute always in the majority. They listened to no appeal, they heeded no protest. Every Indian member of the Council protested and some resigned.

The country was in a ferment. But they forced the Bill through. They made one small concession. The Act was limited to three years, but there was no guarantee that it would not be renewed at the end of that time, as has happened in previous cases. There were also protests in London, which the Government here ignored. Under the auspices of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress and the Britain and India Society, a meeting convened as a British protest against the Rowlatt legislation, attended by 2,000 persons, including many prominent men and women, passed resolutions exposing and denouncing the Rowlatt Act. The Government here, however, did nothing, and the Press was for the most part quiescent on the subject, even to the point of refusing the advertisements of the meeting.

By this time fear of the Act had grown into terror, and the most bitter resentment existed. Is it to be wondered that a people who saw their generous services in the war thus rewarded became desperate?

## THE COUNTRY IN MOURNING.

Mahatma Gandhi, a man whose purity of motive and single-minded purpose none would dare to doubt, now took the lead and inaugurated the "Satyagraha" or Passive Resistance movement.

This was begun by a day of public mourning. A *Haral*, or stoppage of all work, was declared to take place on Sunday, April 6 (in Delhi it was celebrated on March 30). The response was unanimous. In all the great cities enormous, silent demonstrations took place. Shops were closed, work and every form of activity entirely suspended. The people fasted and held public prayers; Hindus prayed in Mahomedan mosques and Mahomedans went to the Hindu temples, such was the unity of sentiment aroused. These things were without precedent in India, where Hindus and Mussulmans normally do not unite for religious purposes any more than do Ulster Protestants and South of Ireland Roman Catholics.

Had the Government left the people alone, it is safe to say there would have been no disorders. But the authorities became aggressive.

In Delhi, two Passive Resisters were arrested, and the crowds that assembled to protest were fired on with fatal results, because a few stones were thrown.

Mr. Gandhi, while on his way to Delhi to calm the people and *to persuade them to re-open their shops* (which had remained closed for several days as a protest against the firing) was arrested and taken back to Bombay.

## THE BEGINNING OF THE RIOTS.

In Amritsar the two most popular leaders of the people were arrested and removed to a place of internment, the method of their decoy to the place of arrest bearing a certain family likeness to the tactics of Glencoe, or of Coligny's inveiglement to Paris prior to his assassination at the St. Bartholomew. A crowd of people marching peacefully to the Deputy-Commissioner's bungalow to ask for these leaders' release was fired on by soldiers; two men were killed and several injured. That was the beginning

of the Amritsar riots. The crowd, rushing back in a state of fury and resentment, came in contact with a European, a bank manager, who, according to the popular version, emptied his revolver into them in a fit of panic. After this the most regrettable violence was indulged in. The worst elements in the crowd got the upper hand. They tore the man to pieces. They burnt his bank to the ground. They rushed to a neighbouring bank, burnt that, and murdered the manager. They burnt other buildings and seriously assaulted a European lady doctor and rendered her unconscious. It was by Indians, however, that she was rescued and removed to a place of safety.

That, serious as it was, was the end of mob violence in Amritsar. For two days the city had been free from any outbreak, when General Dyer entered and performed his "horrible duty."

In the meanwhile, the news of the arrest of Gandhi and other leaders spread over India, and everywhere there was great public excitement. In Lahore, crowds of demonstrators assembled in the streets and marched through the city. There was no violence. The crowds are alleged to have put out their tongues, laughed and spat before military officers. But violence there was not. None the less, the demonstrators were fired upon and there were fatal casualties.

In Gujeranwala, Kasur, and one or two other places in the Punjab there followed grave disturbances. Some Europeans lost their lives, buildings were burnt and telegraph lines cut. It is not necessary to go into details. The official version represents the crowds as having been the aggressors. The people's version is that the crowds of demonstrators were peaceful until unnecessarily provoked. The fact remains that deplorable acts of violence were perpetrated. It is not an unknown feature in the West for the arrival of the police and the outbreak of crowd violence to be practically simultaneous.

## A CONTRAST.

It is necessary to note, however, the contrast with what occurred in Bombay City and Ahmedabad (in the Bombay Presidency) at the same time. In the City of Bombay there was similar excitement. The news of Gandhi's arrest brought enormous crowds of demonstrators into the streets, and for a day there was the wildest ferment. But the local authorities wisely allowed the popular leaders to deal with the situation. The latter went among the crowds and pacified them, and when Gandhi was allowed to return to Bombay he used his influence similarly and all danger was over. That was an instance of tactful handling of a situation similar in every respect to that in Amritsar.

In Ahmedabad, Gandhi's home, where he is greatly beloved, the crowds, mostly consisting of mill-hands, were for a time uncontrollable. They indulged in great violence and three Europeans were killed. Telegraph lines were cut and rails torn up. Martial Law was declared, but Gandhi was wisely allowed by the Governor of Bombay to proceed to Ahmedabad to exercise his great influence for peace, and in a few days every sign of trouble was over and Martial Law soon came to an end.

### III.

## O'DWYER'S REIGN OF TERROR.

It is an impressive fact, in connexion with what occurred in India in April and May last, that, while the agitation over the Rowlatt Acts extended all over India and disturbances were provoked in various places, it was only in the Punjab, under Sir Michael O'Dwyer (with the one exception of Ahmedabad, described above), that these disturbances reached serious dimensions and where it was thought necessary to maintain Martial Law for six weeks.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab, had long been a terror to the people. He was the "strong man" of India and believed in government by repression.

Colonel Frank Johnson, the administrator of Martial Law in Lahore from April 16, till about the middle of June, said in his evidence before the Hunter Committee that "*he had been longing for an opportunity to show these people the might of Martial Law.*"

Colonel Johnson had lived for years in South Africa and administered Martial Law among Basutos. But even he has admitted in his evidence that the things he did in India had not been done by him in Africa upon Africans.

Colonel O'Brien, who administered Martial Law in the Gujeranwala District, said it "brought home to the people that they had new masters." (Meaning, presumably, the military.)

This was the type of man to whom the people of the Punjab were handed over.

### THE CHIEF CULPRIT.

To General Dyer must be awarded the guerdon as having slaughtered the greatest number of the civil population during the "Terror," though others ran him close in savagery of attitude.

We have seen how Dyer entered a city, that at the time was peaceful, *in which there had been no disturbance for two days*, and shot down 2,000 unarmed people in a crowd because they disobeyed his order (which they may or may not have heard and which he had no authority to issue) not to hold public meetings.

Martial Law had not been declared, and it was a wholly peaceful demonstration, consisting partly of pilgrims from the area outside the city where his proclamation had been made, on which Dyer fired, *without a word of warning*. They had met to reprobate the mob violence that had occurred and concert measures for preserving order.

Among the dead and dying left by Dyer on the ground, without medical aid, were from **40 to 50 boys, whose ages ranged from 14 to 18 years old, and a baby of seven months—dangerous rebels these!**

General Dyer's military ethics would be indignantly repudiated by every decent soldier. Not even a Prussian would say that it was "not his job" to aid the wounded. "The hospitals were open; they could have gone to them," said Dyer in his evidence. He had set up a curfew order forbidding people to be out of their houses after 8 p.m. Such curfew order, it is obvious, precluded the visitation of the sick by their doctors, or medical aid being rendered to the dying or to women in childbirth, quite apart from those injured in the massacre. The massacre took place between four and five. People who heard of it later in their homes and whose relatives were missing could go and look for them after the curfew hour in the Jalianwala shambles **at the risk of being shot on sight.**

Dyer was not satisfied with massacres. Refinement of cruelty was also in his line. Seven people were sentenced to hanging for the assault on Miss Sherwood (who is alive to-day), and others were *publicly flogged* in the street where the assault occurred. But that was not enough for Dyer. For several days all persons who passed through the street (including the people who lived in it) were made to crawl with their bellies to the ground.

After this, we may pass over the minor horrors of General Dyer's Martial Law régime in Amritsar. It must be mentioned, however, that Satyapal and Kitchelw, the popular leaders, and many others, against whom *no act of violence was ever proved*, were originally sentenced to transportation for life and confiscation of property and terms of imprisonment varying from two years upwards for the part they played in the *Satyagraha* (passive resistance) demonstrations before any violence took place. For this purpose the unheard-of step of *making the application of Martial Law retrospective* was adopted. Men were tried by Martial Law in respect of occurrences that took place before Martial Law was proclaimed. These and similar ones in Lahore are now *sub judice* in the Privy Council. Comment, therefore, is precluded.

## THE TERROR IN LAHORE.

We go next to Lahore. In Lahore not a single act of violence has ever been charged against the people. A crowd of demonstrators who were marching through the city were fired on, with fatal results, because of their "threatening attitude." Unofficial eye-witnesses, however, say they were a perfectly peaceful crowd. There were two incidents of this kind, before Colonel Johnson took over command and made his grand entry into the city.

In his evidence Johnson has described how he entered at the head of a flying column, with aeroplanes, flying at low altitudes, in advance. This, in passing, one may contrast with the modest entry on foot of General Allenby into Jerusalem. The latter showed how a general might enter a *conquered* city without lacerating the feelings of the inhabitants. Johnson's aeroplanes had orders to drop bombs as soon as the soldiers fired.



Johnson, however, proceeded to satisfy his "longing to show the might of Martial Law." He issued a series of drastic orders.

People who had closed their shops were to open them. The alternatives were either being shot or having the shop forcibly opened and the contents distributed free to the public.

People out of their houses after 8 p.m. were liable to be shot at sight, flogged, fined, or imprisonment. Some were actually *publicly flogged*, including an old man who was caught milking his cow in an alley-way near his shop, because the man who should have come to milk it did not arrive.

Students—towards whom Johnson was especially inimical—were also flogged. The students of a number of Colleges were ordered to attend roll-call at specified places four times daily. In one case (the Medical College) this meant that they had to walk 16 *miles a day* in the burning sun (in Lahore in May it is over 100 deg. in the shade). Johnson said it kept them out of mischief! (Especially those who fainted by the wayside!)

Because a Martial Law Proclamation was torn down from the walls of one College, the whole professorial staff, including the Principal, and 500 students were arrested and marched off to the Fort and kept there for three days under arrest, huddled together, without sleeping accommodation. They were given a corner in the Fort, says the report of the evidence. They had to sleep on the roof.

Martial Law proclamations were posted on the walls of private residences and the inmates were made responsible for their preservation under pain of severe penalties. This involved constant watching day and night, which was impossible as the Curfew order was in force. Lawyers and anyone who had taken part in politics were specially marked out for this attention. Some lawyers, who asked for permits for servants to be out at night in order to keep watch during the night over the placards on their houses, were told by Colonel Johnson that they could not have permits for their servants, but they could have them for themselves!

Carriages and cars belonging to Indians were commandeered by the Military and in many cases handed over to Europeans for their private use.

All public vehicles and bicycles were similarly commandeered.

Electric fittings and fans (the latter not a luxury but a necessity in the Indian climate) in Indian houses were seized for the use of British troops.

*Langars*, or public kitchens, which had been opened by philanthropic Indians to feed the poor during this time of stress were closed by Johnson, as he said he was told they were used for seditious propaganda. But when pressed he could produce no evidence of this or even say who gave him the information.

For six weeks the people of Lahore underwent all the tortures of Johnsonian Martial Law. Numbers were transported and sent to jail. And not a single act of mob violence had been committed!

But, said Johnson in his evidence, the people liked Martial Law. Many of them came and thanked him for it, he said. They said it was "like the rule of their ancestors thousands of years ago." And, minus the modern inventions of aeroplanes and machine-guns, perhaps it was.

Some of them, he said, even liked going to jail. That was why he preferred flogging as a punishment!

But, even the Government of India got a little uneasy about the flogging. As an instance of the terror that was set up in this way, a wedding party, including the priest, were arrested and flogged for being out of doors after 8 p.m. (Colonel Johnson thought this was "the one regrettable incident.") So the jails had to be resorted to, and, day after day, people were being sent to jail for petty breaches of the extraordinary orders issued by Colonel Johnson. He broke the *Hartal*. He effectually suppressed agitation for the time being in Lahore. But he instilled a hatred and terror of British rule which it will take generations to eradicate, and, with Dyer, he has disgraced Britain in the eyes of the world.

## BOMBING OF CROWDS.

With Dyer and Johnson must be associated in this Newgate Calendar of official crimes the name of Colonel O'Brien, Deputy Commissioner of the Gujeranwala District, and Captain Doveton in Kasur. Here are some achievements.

A crowd of demonstrators was bombed from aeroplanes at Gujeranwala. Eleven bombs were dropped (official figures: 11 killed and 27 wounded). The popular estimate is more, and includes women and children. This occurred at 3 o'clock on the afternoon of April 14th.

At 11 a.m. the same day a crowd was fired on with unknown casualties. At 2 o'clock a crowd of people "crossing the railway" was fired on. And after that, says Colonel O'Brien, "the mob was fired on whenever found." Could militarism be more cynically cruel?

Major Carberry, R.A.F., who did the bombing on the 14th, described how he saw "a band of 150 Indians" on the road two miles outside Gujeranwala and pursued them with a machine-gun, and how he then returned to Gujeranwala, dropped some more bombs near the station and machine-gunned the crowd.

Lieut. Dodkins, R.A.F., described his exploits. "Noticing 20 men in a field, he machine-gunned them till they fled." He does not say how many he killed or wounded. But it is stated that they were not all men, but included women; that they were ordinary peasants working in their fields, and some of the women were killed. (One man's primitive plough was mistaken for a sword—a little group, consisting of himself, wife and child, was bombed; the wife and child were killed.)

Then Lieut. Dodkins saw a crowd being harangued by a man. "He dispersed them with one bomb."

Mr. S. M. Jacob, a Civil officer, who accompanied the mobile column on April 20 as civil representative to ascertain the damage, described how he had the head-

man of a village tied to a tree and flogged because he was "obstructive and indifferent and would not give information." Then he fined him Rs. 200.

## WHOLESALE ARRESTS.

These are only instances of Colonel O'Brien's reign of terror in the Gujeranwala District. He went about arresting people wholesale, charge or no charge. He sent one officer to a town to arrest 120 persons, who were not named in the warrants. The arrests were made indiscriminately.

One of Colonel O'Brien's proudest deeds was the arrest of an old farmer as a hostage for his sons, and an order to the people that anyone who assisted him with his crops would be shot.

At two places he proceeded to the Court and arrested all the lawyers. In one case a number of Indian gentlemen were arrested, marched for some miles under the burning sun to the railway, and placed in a railway truck, where they were huddled together, like cattle, under military guard, and refused permission to answer the calls of nature. They were kept like this for about 24 hours, with results that are indescribable but can be imagined. They were taken to Lahore, lodged in jail and kept there for three weeks, and then released without any charge having been brought against them.

## MARTIAL LAW JUSTICE.

Summary Military Courts sat daily and sent hundreds of persons, many of them prominent citizens and many young men to jail. Convictions took place, on the mere evidence of a single prosecution witness, on fantastic charges, and without affording the accused facilities for their defence. In many cases where heavy sentences of imprisonment were imposed no records were kept, and even copies of the judgment of the Court were not available or were refused to the friends of the accused.

There were two kinds of Martial Law tribunals: Commissions and Courts. The former disposed of 852 cases, in which 581 were convicted and sentenced to death, transportation, or long terms of imprisonment. The other Courts punished 1,179 persons.

Here is a sample of justice as meted out by the Commissioners. A boy of 18 was brought before them on a charge of sedition. In their judgment they described his "offence." Here are the exact words. They said:

"Karamchand, No. 19, was peculiarly guilty. He brought down the news of the Lahore riots. He gave a most garbled account of it, and by representing that the Lahore crowd had succeeded in beating the military he gave the Hafizabad crowd reason to believe that their insurrection would be successful."

The only *evidence* against Karamchand was that *in the presence of six or seven people* he told his old schoolmaster that "the people are being fired on with a machine-gun at Lohari Gate [and] are not retreating."

On this evidence and on this fantastic charge this boy of 18 was sentenced to

death by the Martial Law Commission.\* It is a sample of many equally amazing cases.

The following extract from a letter of the Lahore correspondent of "Young India" will give an idea of what the Punjab suffered from these Courts:

The number of persons convicted by these Martial Law Courts is legion. Lieut.-Colonel O'Brien, Deputy-Commissioner, Gujranwala, for instance, sentenced a very large number of persons in the most summary and perfunctory manner. In an account given by a legal gentleman who was in the Ramnagar case tried by Lieut.-Colonel O'Brien it is stated that the Martial Law Commissions, at any rate, allowed the accused a copy of the précis of the charge, and a list of prosecution evidence, and gave them an opportunity to summon defence witnesses, and on the conclusion of the trial they never refused a copy of the judgment. Lieut.-Colonel O'Brien, however, allowed them no such facilities. The bare word of a prosecution witness, no matter if he was a sworn enemy of the accused, was sufficient for him, for purposes of a conviction under the summary general court-martial procedure, and, what is more curious, no copy of his order has been furnished to the accused in the Ramnagar case as yet, in spite of their repeated requests and willingness to pay the prescribed fees. The result of all this is that 28 leading Hindus of Ramnagar—all highly respectable gentlemen—are now in jail under sentence generally of two years' imprisonment and a heavy fine, on a charge of being concerned in the hartal business and a fantastic charge of having burnt an effigy of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

*The charge of burning the King's effigy has since been carefully investigated and the people's investigators claim that it was a mere rumour.*

## THE TERROR AT KASUR.

It is hardly surprising, when officers of high rank, were thus distinguishing themselves, that a young officer, by name Captain Doveton, who was in command under Martial Law at Kasur, did his best to emulate, and in pure stupidity surpassed, their example.

Public gallows were erected at Kasur. A huge cage was erected to hold 150 persons, and people were arrested at random and confined therein. He instructed a police inspector to assemble all the bad characters in the town to witness his public floggings. He professed that he was "horrified" when this policeman, not unnaturally, brought along all the prostitutes he could find. But he did not send the latter away (because no escort could be provided), and the floggings were carried out in their presence.

Schoolboys were whipped, not for any specific offences, but as an example. The biggest ones were selected.

People were chained together and handcuffed and driven in droves like cattle through the streets. It was a mere coincidence, according to this officer, that Hindu was chained to Mahomedan. But such was the case, and it is alleged that their captors jeered at this exhibition of "Hindu-Moslem unity."

This officer, like Colonel Johnson, declared that the people liked Martial Law and thanked him for it. But he admitted that hundreds fled from the town and were punished for their absence by the destruction of their property.

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\* Sir Michael O'Dwyer's successor subsequently reduced the sentence to a year's imprisonment with hard labour.

It is not necessary to continue the nauseous details of Captain Doveton's horrors. Enough has been said.

It is important to note, however, the boastful and arrogant attitude of these officers before the Committee of Investigation. They were consistently rude and contemptuous towards the Indian members of the Committee appointed by Government and sometimes flatly refused to answer questions.

Enough has been stated to show the agony inflicted on the people of a loyal province of the British Empire, which was surpassed by none in its aid to Britain during the war. Three hundred and sixty thousand soldiers were recruited in the Punjab; martyred Amritsar is the home of the valiant Sikh. Enough has been stated to show that the most inexcusable and brutal crimes have been committed by British officers, under a British Viceroy and a British Lieutenant-Governor in the name of the British people, who have clamoured for the bringing to trial of the "war criminals" of Germany. The question is now:

What are the British people going to do to vindicate their own name, which has been so foully besmirched with the blood of their own fellow-subjects, and to make reparation to the wronged Indian people?

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#### IV.

## WHERE RESPONSIBILITY LIES.

In the first place we have to see where responsibility lies for all the things done in the Punjab in April, May and June last, apart from the direct perpetrators of the deeds recounted above. In the second, we have to determine what parts of the system responsible for such conditions have to be altered.

The individual immediately in charge of the Punjab province at the time was Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant-Governor. He was responsible to the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, and the Government of India, who, in their turn, are responsible to Parliament. Ultimately, of course, the British people are responsible, and will continue to be so until they decree that India shall govern herself.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer was initially responsible for the declaration of Martial Law, and he not merely approved of what was being done by the administrators of Martial Law, but he was the prime mover and instigator. During the whole period he was in Lahore, he was daily conferring with and giving advice and instructions to the military officials.

After the Jallianwala Bagh events he communicated his approval of the massacre to the General Officer Commanding, and this was telegraphed to General Dyer. "Your action correct: Lieutenant-Governor approves."

It was Sir Michael O'Dwyer who was responsible for the wanton arrests of the people's leaders at Amritsar, the exclusion of Mr. Gandhi from the Punjab, and the other provocative acts which brought about the disturbances.

All this was the culminating achievement of his five years of "strong rule" in the Punjab, which had been marked by a ruthless exercise of repressive powers unequalled anywhere else in India. One paper after another was suppressed, leader after leader was interned or excluded from the Province. "Voluntary" recruitment in the Punjab took the form of Press gangs, and woe betide those who attempted to interfere with or obstruct the work of the latter. The story of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's recruiting campaigns is full of horrors and requires an investigation to itself. Having, by five years' oppression, provoked the people to a condition of despair, Sir Michael O'Dwyer crowned his career by bloodshed and Martial Law.

## THE VICEROY'S COMPLICITY.

Lord Chelmsford's and the Government of India's responsibility is equally grave. The extent to which they actively encouraged Sir Michael O'Dwyer and his military lieutenants, and the extent to which they merely made themselves his willing tool, has yet to be decided. But they issued proclamation after proclamation in his support, dug out one old repressive law or ordinance after another to reinforce the armoury of repressive weapons already provided by the Defence of India Act, and supported him in everything he did.

The All India Committee of the Indian National Congress and other public bodies sent appeals and protests to the Government of India and Mr. Montagu, the Indian papers of all the provinces appealed and protested, but the Government of India heeded nothing. Every utterance they made, every declaration from the Viceroy was in the tone and spirit of men who had embarked on a policy of vengeance and repression.

## JEERS IN THE IMPERIAL COUNCIL.

Moreover, when the Viceroy's Legislative Council met and the Indian members brought before it the story of what had happened in the Punjab, the Government of India, in the presence of the Viceroy, supported, defended, and excused everything that had been done. Quartermaster-General Hudson defended the crawling order of General Dyer and made a jest of it, amid the merriment of the Government officials, who sit in the Viceroy's Council in a solid phalanx to vote down the non-official members. They belittled the Amritsar Massacre, declaring the casualties were only two hundred and ninety-one, and *accused the non-official members of exaggerating the gravity and horror of occurrences*, although they must have known that General Dyer's own estimate was 2,000.

Finally, amid the strong and unanimous protests of the Indian non-official members, they passed a Bill of Indemnity indemnifying their officers for their misdeeds, *although they knew that a Committee of Inquiry was about to sit to investigate those misdeeds.*

## THE POLICY OF CONCEALMENT.

The ultimate responsibility is that of the Secretary of State. How far Mr. Montagu exercised his responsibility in a proper way will have to be decided by a competent enquiry, for the matter cannot rest where it is. Mr. Montagu seemed to imply, when he was questioned in the Commons by Sir Donald Maclean about the Amritsar disclosures, that the facts had been concealed from him; but many questions were put to Mr. Montagu in May and June last, and many representations were made to him both here and from India; and if he did not know all the facts, the public are entitled to know how far his ignorance may have been due to his own neglect or indifference. What we do know is that, so far as Mr. Montagu's statements in Parliament went, they were all in general support of what was being done in the Punjab.

On May 28 last he admitted the bombing of civilian crowds from aeroplanes in Gujranwala, but refused to interfere in any way. Colonel Wedgwood asked him to give instructions that civilian crowds should not be bombed. "No, Sir," Mr. Montagu replied, "*the responsibility of the administration of Martial Law must rest with those who have to administer it.*" He further said: "I refuse to interfere with the discretion of the Military authorities."

But, that Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the Government of India effectively concealed from the public, as far as they possibly could, the gravity and horror of the reprisals against the people of the Punjab, undertaken under their ægis, is undoubted. It seems clear that they must have been aware that their own general estimated the Amritsar casualties at 2,000. But final figures given by Mr. Montagu to the House of Commons on the authority of the Government of India in August last was less than 400. In the Supreme Legislative Council it was stated to be 291, and the President of the Indian National Congress, the Hon. M. M. Malaviya, was jeered at by an official member, Mr. Thompson, for stating that an Indian philanthropic society (the Amritsar Seva Samiti) had collected statistics showing that 530 people had been killed and at least 200 others wounded. That the official statistics *were being challenged* was undoubtedly known to Mr. Montagu as far back as last September.

The most grave and startling feature of the business in this respect, however, is the deliberate *policy of concealment* adopted by Sir Michael O'Dwyer and allowed by the Government of India, to hide the doings in the Punjab from the outside public, while they were in progress.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer set up a barbed wire fence of prohibitions round the whole province the moment the Martial Law business started. None was allowed to go in, none to go out. Every paper in the Province was placed under immediate Government censorship. The wholesale arrests of lawyers had set up a terrorism over the legal profession, which made it difficult for those accused before Martial Law courts to obtain legal assistance in the province. In order to make sure that they should not get it from outside the province, either, Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Government issued a proclamation forbidding the entry of any lawyer from outside coming into the Punjab to defend the persons accused. Protests against this order were telegraphed to the

Government of India by leading lawyers, English and Indian, in Calcutta, Bombay, Allahabad, and Madras, but without result, though ultimately, in one case, a leading barrister from Bankipore was allowed to get through.

That newspaper correspondents were rigidly excluded it is hardly necessary to say. A number of Indian papers made a joint request that Mr. Andrews, a well-known English publicist and ex-missionary, should be allowed to go to the Punjab on their behalf as a special correspondent to report on the disturbances.

The request was refused, and on Mr. Andrews setting out on his own account he was arrested and sent back.

## TWO YEARS FOR TELLING THE PUBLIC.

A leading Indian gentleman of Lahore got out of the town and proceeded to Karachi. Thence he came to Bombay. He gave to the English Editor of the "Bombay Chronicle" an account of what had taken place in Lahore from April 6 to the 16th. This was published. A few days afterwards the Editor of the "Bombay Chronicle" was deported to England, his informant was arrested near Madras, taken back to Lahore and there sentenced to two years' hard labour by a Special Tribunal for writing and communicating to the "Chronicle" the article in question.

That was how Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the Government of India deliberately prevented the world from knowing, at the time, what was going on in the Punjab. If, in addition to this, they deliberately misinformed, misled, and concealed facts from Mr. Montagu, their crime is the greater.

## A FURTHER ENQUIRY ESSENTIAL.

It is clear that the Hunter Committee will not suffice to clear up all that requires to be known.

The Hunter Committee was appointed, under pressure of public opinion, by the Viceroy and the Government of India, and it is to the latter that it will report. In addition it contains among its members one representative of the Government of India and one representative of the military authorities. Thus the accused parties are to be judges in their own case.

More than this, *only official evidence is being taken by the Hunter Committee.* A vast mass of evidence was laboriously got together by a Special Committee of the Indian National Congress appointed for the purpose. The Government, however, refused to allow the imprisoned leaders to be present at the enquiry, to instruct counsel, to hear the evidence, and to cross-examine hostile witnesses. They would give permission only for them to come from the jail to give evidence in their own particular



cases and nothing more. The unfairness and injustice of this are manifest. The imprisoned men refused to give evidence under these circumstances, and the Congress Committee followed suit and decided to boycott the enquiry.

An exclusively official enquiry cannot satisfy public opinion in a matter of such gravity; nor will it do that those accused of responsibility for official crimes should be their own judges. Still less will it answer the requirements of justice that by an adroit abandonment of responsibility to India Mr. Montagu should himself sit serenely and securely removed from enquiry into his own policy of *laissez faire* in the matter. Lord Chelmsford stated that he had given *carte blanche* to the immediately responsible authorities. Obviously a Committee reporting to him cannot consider the culpability of his government or review and report upon the conduct of the Secretary of State. The Hunter Committee is appointed by the Government of India, it is partly representative of the Government of India, and it will make its report to the Government of India. This will not do.

## What is wanted is

1. A Royal Commission on the lines of, and with powers as full as, the Commission on Mesopotamia, which

(a) Will enquire afresh into all the occurrences;

(b) Hear all the evidence, official and non-official; and

(c) Especially investigate the question of the responsibility of the Government of India and the Secretary of State.

2. In addition to this, if the public are to be satisfied, and if the confidence of the Indian people in British good faith is to be restored, the guilty must be brought to trial.

(a) Sir Michael O'Dwyer must be impeached, or otherwise indicted and placed upon trial.

(b) General Dyer, Colonel Johnson, Colonel O'Brien, and others who have made admission of their deeds, must be brought to public trial in England.

(c) Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, must be recalled, and every member of his Government responsible made to resign.

## WHAT PEOPLE HERE CAN DO.

In reviewing the measures of reparation it was stated that the system itself under which India groans must be altered. Whatever the new Government of India Act may or may not have conferred in self-government upon the people of India, it has left unchanged two glaring wrongs.

1. The power of the Central Government is as great as ever before.

2. The Indian people are still left without the elementary human rights of free association, free speech, and a free press. They could still be subjected to such forms of punishment as flogging and those previously described.

What, therefore, can the individual men and women voters do? By all the usual constitutional methods of political pressure they can use their power to see that their agents carry out their wishes. Do you, who read this, wish that Indians should be shot unarmed and unwarned, flogged, imprisoned without fair trial, bombed by aeroplanes, savagely fined, driven chained through the streets with taunts because their religious differences decrease, forced to crawl like worms, and driven mad in the hell of convict settlements like the Andamans? Do you sanction a system whereby such things are done *by your agents? If you do, yours is the deed itself.* Resolutely demand that loyal, patient, suffering India shall be made free at the earliest moment and released from her Dyers, Johnsons, and O'Briens—who are, after all, the instruments of the British people, whether we like to digest that fact or not.

Write to your local paper, to your member of Parliament, to every organisation to which you belong, and urge that Parliamentary action be taken to render such deeds in future impossible. Ask that a Bill should be introduced and passed through Parliament, conferring upon Indians the same elementary rights which we have enjoyed in this country since the days of Magna Carta. Do not be misled into supposing that the new Government of India Act will prevent such wrongs. A Declaration of Indian Rights is necessary, for other Dyers and Johnsons might arise in other disturbances and repeat the actions which have dragged down the honour of Old England to the dust. Punish the guilty and protect the helpless.



If you want to know  
more about India

READ—

“India.”

The Official Organ of the Indian National  
Congress.

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Indian National Congress, 161-3, Temple Chambers,  
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KINDLY SHOW TO ALL  
WHO ARE INTERESTED

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# MRS. BESANT & INDIA

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Published by Britain and India: An Association for the Study of Their Mutual  
Interests, 33, Regent's Park Road, London, N.W.  
(For more copies, 2d. each, apply to the Secretary.)

“I, and every other Indian patriot, feel the strongest gratitude for every kind word or deed that is given in her [India’s] behalf.”

*The Occult World*, p. 86

(Letter from the Master K. H.)

## I. OUR IGNORANCE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

**W**E in England know so little of the conditions obtaining in India, and of the activities in which our President is there engaged, that it has been thought useful to indicate briefly some of the reasons for her work and some of the lines along which more information may be acquired.

## II. THE AWAKENING OF INDIA

Nowhere has the vivifying effect of the theory of evolution put forward by Theosophy been more marked than in India, from the time that H. P. Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott first set foot on her shores up to the present day. When India once began to realise her spiritual inheritance and the material greatness of her past, together with the law of cycles, and applied the facts of re-incarnation and Karma to her present position, hope arose, and everywhere her sons are now working, where up to the last century they had long sat quiet in the lethargy of fatalism. Vide Old Diary Leaves, by Colonel H. S. Olcott

This work of helping the spiritual awakening of India, encouraged by the founders of the Theosophical Society, was continued by the next President, Mrs. Besant, who enlarged and carried on Colonel Olcott's Boys' Clubs and Schools and lectured and taught Theosophy throughout the land, gradually expanding her work (and incidentally founding a Hindu College in Benares, which has now formed the nucleus of a university) as the birth-throes of the new cycle became more critical. For if, as most of us believe, Britain and India hand in hand give fair hope for the quick advance of the world and a right reception of the next great Teacher, a sullen, discontented India and a Britain repeating in India her mistakes in America and Ireland—with even worse results in India—would delay that hope and deaden that leaven of spirituality, which alone can save the world from those dangers of a rampant materialism, whose workings we see in this present war. Noting these things intelligently, we cannot wonder at our President's enthusiasm in the cause of India's freedom.

## III. THE PAST AS A KEY TO THE PRESENT

The better to understand the present we have to examine the past, and we must not forget that the same Aryan Root Race has spread over India as over Europe. The difference roughly is that Europe represents the younger sub-race and India the older root stock. Britain has fifth and fourth sub-race blood mixed with the older fourth Root Race blood of the aboriginal Atlanteans, while India has the remains of the Aryan root stock (sometimes called the first Aryan sub-race), after admixture with the powerful Atlantean civilisation it encountered as it flowed out from the passes of the Himalayas. It has recently been put plainly in relation to the birth of the next sub-race:—

“Apply the number five to the races. We have practically completed five sub-races. First of all the Aryan or Indian, then Arabian, Iranian, Celtic and Teutonic, and if you trace the Teutonic you will find that the Teutonic races penetrated to Scandinavia and passed over England and Scotland. The Celtic reached Spain, France and Ireland and the West

Map: Whence, How, and Whither, p. 320

Mr. E. L. Gardner at the Union Lodge, June 7th, 1917

“of England. Here it met the Teutonic, and in the British Isles we have  
 “the blending of the two. The Teutonic race has also run its course, and  
 “it must become blended with the first; the round must be completed, the  
 “circle formed, the Teutonic must meet the Indian; so you see in the  
 “harmonising of these two the justification of Mrs. Besant’s work in India.  
 “This must be done before we can see the dawn of the sixth sub-race; we  
 “must bring about a harmonious bond of nations, including the first, second,  
 “third, fourth and fifth sub-races that have manifested, to make the sixth  
 “Root Race. It does not matter how you investigate you find that the  
 “five must be harmonised before the sixth can manifest.”

*Man:  
 Whence,  
 How, and  
 Whither,  
 p. 335*

The rigid institution of Caste rules (now so degraded) some ten thousand years ago, preserved to India a belief in the spiritual helpers of mankind with living traditions of the cradle of the race in Central Asia; but the ideal of the personal rule of the Race Founder, the Manu, was lost to the western tribes during their longer wanderings, and passed down to the West in such an unrecognisable form, in mythology and tradition, as to encourage materialism in the thoughtful. These widely separated sub-races are now being smelted together in the furnace of the changing cycle, and the quick progress of the whole world depends upon the result. Unless Britain and India can so fuse their interests that they can work together without friction, no World-Peace is possible.

#### IV. WHY INDIA DEMANDS SELF-GOVERNMENT AT THE END OF THE WAR

Many people consider that India should remain quiet until the end of the great war. She cannot do so. Changes are forced upon her in the quick movement of the times, and she fears that, unless Self-Government is now irrevocably assured to her, the situation will drag on, or become worse, until anarchy and crime blot the fair writing of her just demands. Englishmen fail to realise that the mass of Indians are losing all hope that Britain really intends to give them Self-Government.

*The Times,  
 Jan. 3rd,  
 1917*

“At the National Congress Meeting [held at Lucknow at Christmas, 1917] the speakers pointedly drew attention to the fact that Great Britain’s participation in the war was due to her national respect for treaties and scraps of paper. They urged that the time had come when the Imperial Government should be called upon to give effect to Queen Victoria’s Proclamation by the grant of Self-Government, and that a beginning should be made without delay by the King-Emperor proclaiming that the aim and intention of British policy are to confer Self-Government upon India at an early date.”—(Reuter).

Queen Victoria’s Proclamation in 1858 said:—

“We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same Obligations of Duty which bind us to all our other Subjects; and these Obligations by the Blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

“Firmly relying Ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of Religion, we disclaim alike the Right and the Desire to impose Our Conviction on any of Our Subjects. We declare it to be Our Royal Will and Pleasure that none be in any wise

“favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious Faith or Observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the Law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interferences with the Religious Belief or Worship of Our Subjects on pain of our highest Displeasure.

“And it is Our further will that so far as may be, Our Subjects, of whatever Race, or Creed, be free and impartially admitted to offices in Our Service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge.

“We know and respect feelings of attachment with which the Native States of India regard the Lands inherited by them from their ancestors: and we desire to protect them in all Rights connected therewith subject to the equitable demands of the State, and we will that generally in framing and administering the Law, due regard be paid to the Ancient Rights, Usages, and Customs of India.

“When by the Blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest Desire to stimulate the peaceful Industry of India, to promote the Works of Public Utility and Improvement, and to administer its Government for the benefit of all Our Subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be Our Strength, in their contentment Our Security and in their gratitude Our best Reward.

“And may the God of all power grant to us and those in authority under Us, Strength to carry out these Our Wishes for the good of Our People.”

The memorable resolution of the Indian National Congress, held at Lucknow last Christmas, runs:—

“(a) That having regard to the fact that the great communities of India are the inheritors of ancient civilisations, and have shown great capacity for Government 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 aspiration of the people, and has become unsuited to the existing conditions and requirements, this 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.

December  
26, 28 &  
29, 1916

“(b) That this Congress demands that a definite step should be taken towards Self-Government by granting the reform contained in the Scheme prepared by the All-India Congress Committee in concert with the Reform Committee appointed by the All-India Moslim League.

“(c) That in the construction 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.”

We cannot forget that India has proved her feeling of Imperial responsibility in the war. That splendid rally of the sons of the Empire three years ago to protect the homeland in her sore need, might have been too late to save England from the ravager had not India seized the chance to erase, by her heart's blood shed on the fields of Flanders in 1914, that deep impression of distrust made on the slow-moving English mind in 1857.



On July 3rd Lord Hardinge stated in the House of Lords:—

*The Times,*  
July 4th,  
1917, p. 8

“They [the Indian Divisions] arrived in time to fill a gap that could not otherwise have been filled, and there consecrated with their blood the unity of India with the British Empire and their loyalty to the King-Emperor. (Cheers). There are very few survivors of those two splendid Divisions of Infantry.”

In the same way Britain's own self-sacrificing efforts to save Belgium and France have at last overcome in America that deep distrust engendered by our policy in 1776, a distrust which perchance blinded the United States so long to the true issues of this present war that it costs the lives of many thousands of our gallant sons by delaying the ultimate issues.

## V. FREEDOM IS IN THE AIR

The President of the United States is very clear that this is a war for freedom. In his message to Congress on April 2nd, 1917, asking that war between Germany and the United States be declared to exist, Mr. Wilson said:—

*The Times,*  
April 4th,  
1917, p. 8

“Our object . . . is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish autocratic power, and to set up amongst really free self-governed people of the world such a concert of purposes and action as will henceforth ensure the observance of these principles.”

“Neutrality is no longer feasible, or desirable, where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its people, and the menace of that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organised force which is controlled wholly by their will and not by the will of their people . . . .”

“We are glad, now that we see facts with no veil of false pretence about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world, for the liberation of its peoples—the German people included—the rights of nations great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life obedience. The world must be safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon trusted foundation of political liberty.”

South Africa, represented by General Smuts, expects us to be logical:—

*The British  
Common-  
wealth of  
Nations,*  
Lt.-Gen.  
the Rt.  
Hon. J. C.  
Smuts,  
p. 10

“It seems to me that this British Empire has only one mission, and that is a mission for greater liberty and freedom and self-development. Yours is the only system that has ever worked in history where a large number of nations have been living in unity. Talk about the League of Nations—you are the only league of nations that has ever existed; and if the line that I am sketching here is correct you are going to be an even greater league of nations in the future; and if you are true to your old traditions of self-government and freedom, and to this vision of your future and your mission, who knows that you may not exercise far greater and more beneficent influence on the history of mankind than you have ever done before?”

Quoted  
in the  
*Pall Mall,*  
Feb. 1st,  
1917

Germany touches our unconscious hypocrisy in the remark:—

“Germany would sincerely rejoice if peoples like those of Ireland and India, who do not enjoy the blessings of political independence, now obtained their freedom.”

When political freedom is thus the watch-word of the day, how is it that England hesitates to give Home Rule to India?

The answer of the bureaucracy is that India is not ready. Yet India declares that she is ready, and her representatives at the All-India National Congress last December declared it to the world.

## VI. WHY MRS. BESANT WORKS FOR INDIA

Mrs. Besant, knowing all this, and more, takes up her part of the responsibility which rests upon all whose eyes are open, and employs the best instruments at hand to break down the barriers of mutual distrust which the false position of ruler and ruled has raised between these widely different sub-races of the Aryan stock. If the instruments are faulty, she makes the best of them, and ever while using them works to eliminate the faults. Thus, her papers, *New India* and *The Commonwealth* have been devoted to giving vent to Indian aspirations and to the true expression of Indian feeling in regard to official action and policy. The British public has touch with India mainly through British officials and their Anglo-Indian organs, and the knowledge over here of true Indian opinion is easily prevented by the confiscation of Indian journals and the internment of their editors. For Britain's own sake, if not for India's, it became necessary that some one of well-known integrity should brave the inevitable storm and act as a safety valve to that seething Indian public opinion, so dangerous to the Empire when driven below ground.

The storm has now burst and Mrs. Besant and her co-workers, Mr. Arundale and Mr. Wadia, have been taken away from their Adyar home and interned, and Mrs. Besant is forbidden, by a short-sighted officialdom, to write, speak, or publish anything, even on religious subjects, unless she renounces her politics. Yet Mrs. Besant has behind her the forces of evolution and the work cannot be stopped. It is our privilege and duty to help at this crisis, for we cannot, as is so often said, fight for liberty in Europe and deny it to India. India has recently shown under her own Princes that Indians are capable of ruling their own house and are able to keep pace with the enlightened sentiments of the times; as universal education, the abolition of child marriage, and the peaceful and law-abiding carrying of arms go to prove in some of the self-governed Indian States.

*The King's  
Indian  
Allies:  
The Rajahs  
and their  
People,  
by St.  
Nihal  
Singh*

The reforms in the Government of British India advocated by Mrs. Besant before the war called down upon her the wrath and distrust of the short-sighted and self-seeking, but we can trace the change of public opinion in the English papers day by day. It simplifies matters for people over here to remember that Home Rule for India under the Empire, automatically includes all else. It is because our President holds that India is fit to rule herself in the Empire that she stands so firmly for this truth, and her whole life has led up to her present position.

## VII. MRS. BESANT'S PREPARATION FOR THE WORK

"She tried to follow Truth," is Mrs. Besant's own epitaph written at the end of her "Autobiography" in 1893 when, after years of struggle and severe training in political and social work, she came into touch with the wide range of H. P. Blavatsky's world outlook. This unwavering search for truth through many lives has led Mrs. Besant in this life to be the pupil of the great Masters, of whom she has faithfully spoken to us, and of whom Mr. Sinnett wrote in the *Occult*

*Vide  
The Path  
of Disciple-  
ship, by  
Mrs.  
Besant*

*World and Esoteric Buddhism*, and Madame H. P. Blavatsky in the *Secret Doctrine*. Since 1890 Mrs. Besant has been a wanderer over the earth, lecturing and teaching the ancient Wisdom, and applying it to ennoble men's lives; ever with increasing power, as her deeper initiation gave her a deeper understanding of the goal of racial and world evolution.

She herself now and again lifts the veil of her inner life :—

*The Theosophist*,  
October,  
1915, p. 7

“Some of my good friends wonder why I work in the political field, which for some years I left entirely. . . . I left it because H. P. Blavatsky wished it. . . . In the old Pythagorean way, she imposed on me silence on the subjects I cared for most. . . . She did well. For my old crude views were thrown into the fire of silence, and nothing was lost of the gold they contained. . . . She knew that in silence wisdom grows. Gradually, over here in India, I studied India's past. All my first years of work went to the uplifting of Eastern faiths . . . for all great national movements in India are rooted in religion. . . . Then came the educational work . . . and so on and on, till I knew the time had come for letting my tongue speak freely that which had been burning in my heart, and to which all had led up—the Freedom of the Motherland.”

Mr.  
Hodgson  
Smith

Probably few of our members realise the variety and extent of her world activities since 1892. Some idea can be gleaned from her editorial notes in *Lucifer*, *The Theosophist*, *The Central Hindu College Magazine*, and *The Adyar Bulletin*, and we are glad to find that one of our members is busily compiling an account from these sources.

From her position in the van of progress, upon Mrs. Besant's shoulders ever fall the arduous tasks of the pioneer. As a young woman she sacrificed herself for freedom of thought and helped those who are voiceless; in ripened womanhood, by her unique powers of expression and inspiration, she made Theosophy recognised all over the world; and now, with head silvered by the strain of seventy years of unselfish labour, she advocates the right of despairing India to recognition amongst the self-governing Units of the Empire. The obloquy and scorn of the well-meaning, yet uninstructed, she endures, but it makes the strain upon her greater; we can help by standing firm beside her and explaining the true position, as we understand it, to our less fortunate fellow-citizens. We were warned beforehand of the coming changes by Madame Blavatsky, and also by Mrs. Besant, who in her *Changing World Lectures* in 1909 declared that the world is standing to-day in:—

*The Changing World*,  
p. 3

“A transition age in which all movement is rapid, in which catastrophies are frequent, in which sudden changes make themselves felt, in which men grow in a year more than their forefathers grew perhaps in a century.”

Our special responsibility as members of the Theosophical Society was then pointed out. We have to do all in our power to start the twentieth century on right lines, so that men be ready for the quickening impulse of the next great Teacher.

### VIII. MRS. BESANT'S AMBITION IS FOR SERVICE ONLY

As men count ambition, ambition has no place in Mrs. Besant's work. As she herself writes in her Indian daily paper:—

“ At sixty-nine there is only time enough to fight for liberty, not to enjoy its fruits. While I have to face the hatred of the Anglo-Indians, the distrust and suspicion of many Indian leaders, the dissuasion of the timid, the anger of the Government, I shall never reap the rewards which crown successful ambition. Those are for the younger, who shall reap where I sow.”

Her reasons for resuming political work are equally plainly stated:—

“ It is possible that I should have carried out my idea in the nineties, of not resuming any constant political work had not the increasing repression by the authorities, the narrowing of liberty, the ill-treatment of students, and the danger of revolution forced me into the field. It became increasingly difficult to do any educational, religious, or social work, and the boys I loved were being maddened into crime. Liberty was being strangled to death, and I, one of her old soldiers, could not stand aside. I joined the political campaign, not to lead, but to take risks.”

There can be no question of Mrs. Besant's loyalty in the mind of any one who really knows her. Even Mr. A. P. Sinnett, whose political opinions are so opposite to her own, is quite sure of that. In *The Vahan*, p. 2, of August, 1916, he wrote:—

“ I only ask permission to intervene in current criticism of the situation to say, from personal knowledge of Mrs. Besant's opinions, that no conception could be more absurd than one that would impute to her disloyalty to the fundamental idea on which the British Government in India rests. So the thought that she could be seditious in any true sense of the word is ridiculous.”

## IX. MRS. BESANT'S WARNING IN 1902

On April 21st, 1917, Mrs. Besant wrote in *New India*:—

“ It is sometimes pretended that Theosophy has nothing to do with politics, and that in taking part in Indian politics, I have entered on a new line. The fact is conveniently ignored that, while labouring chiefly in religious propaganda and educational work, I used the light of Theosophy to illuminate political questions where great principles were involved, just as they are involved now. The question of Home Rule for India is no question for party politics; it is a question of principle, of the liberation of a people from autocratic rule. The effort to prevent future bloodshed, to change violence into law-abiding reform, to turn the energies rushing towards revolution, as in Bengal, according to Lord Carmichael, into constitutional agitation is pre-eminently a religious duty. The following extracts from a lecture delivered in 1902 will show that I raised fifteen years ago some of the very questions I am raising now, and among them the question of the causes of famine under British rule, which is regarded as criminal to-day. I was speaking while Colonel Olcott was President, but he never dreamed of objecting to my plain speech. The Vasanta Press is put under security to-day for printing that which we printed freely in the past.”

The following is from a lecture delivered by Mrs. Besant in London in 1902, and reprinted in India. At the time there was much discussion on the English as an Imperial race.

*Essays and Addresses by Mrs. Besant, p. 170, vol. iv. India: "Theosophy and Imperialism." See also an important article p. 472, The Theosophist, August, 1916.*

"How much do you know of your Indian Empire? How much do you understand of the questions of life and death to 300,000,000 of people whom you despotically rule? How much do you know about the causes of the famines which for the last five years have devastated that magnificent Dependency, and have broken the hearts of those who are striving to remedy when remedy comes too late? It is not the part of an imperial people to allow famine to come time after time, and then simply try to remedy it. It is well to try to remedy when the famine is there, but the duty of an imperial race is to understand the causes, the reasons of these recurring famines, and then to try to bring a remedy that shall prevent, instead of a remedy that saves millions of miserable skeletons from going absolutely down into the dust of death. Want of rain? Yes! Congestion of population? Yes! But these are small parts of the cause, and dealing with these will not remedy the trouble.

"Now if you did not boast yourselves a Self-Governing people, no appeal on a matter of this sort would lie with you. But I ask you whether you have a right to rule 300,000,000 of people in name, and not understand the alphabet of Indian questions, even very largely in your Imperial Parliament? For what do we see? That when an Indian debate is held there great stretches of green cloth take the place of legislators, and only a few people interest themselves in the questions which are vital for the future of the Empire.

"Now the blunders that are being made in India—and I submit this to you for your thought—are chiefly due to the fact that you have not yet developed that imperial insight which rules a nation on lines suited to the Nation that is ruled, instead of on lines suited to the Nation that is governing. You are dealing in India with a civilisation far older than your own, and a civilisation suitable to the national genius; you have to live among traditions inwoven in the hearts and lives of the people, traditions which it is folly to ignore, which it is madness to outrage and insult. In dealing with a highly civilised nation you must learn to rule according to its traditions, not according to yours, to adapt yourselves to the conditions evolved through ages and not impose on it conditions alien to its ideas though agreeable to your own. Methods of land-holding, methods of taxation, economic systems, which are suitable for Great Britain, do not suit that vast Asiatic nation whose traditions, whose customs, whose habits, are utterly different from your own.

"Nor is India regarded as a part of the Empire, but as a land of exile. Men do not go out to make their home there, to love and sympathise with the people among whom they live; they go out to make money, longing for the time they will return 'home' to spend it. India is not ruled for the prospering of the people, but rather for the profit of her conquerors, and her sons are being treated as a conquered race. Over seventeen millions sterling a year are taken from her as 'Home Charges,' to be spent in England, while English officials in India draw abnormally high salaries. The ranks of her Civil Service are filled by competitive examination, and

"the examination does not concern itself with good breeding, courtesy, power  
 "to rule men. The successful product of a cramming tutor is not necessarily  
 "fit to be entrusted with despotic authority, away from all the public  
 "opinion for which he cares, and more harm is done by arrogance and harsh-  
 "ness than is counter-balanced by devotion to duty. There is little effort to  
 "understand an ancient, conservative and aristocratic people, and the real  
 "virtues of the Englishman, his conscientiousness, his diligence, his wish to  
 "do justice, are masked by a repellent demeanour and a chilly supercilious-  
 "ness of bearing. Nor is there anything in this huge bureaucracy to arouse  
 "the instinct of loyalty so deep-seated in the Indian breast. The crowd of  
 "officials veils the Crown, and the Monarch is hidden behind a mass of  
 "clerks. The Viceroy with his five years' term, appointed in England for  
 "political reasons, appears more as the head clerk of a great system of clerks  
 "than as a symbol of an Emperor, and he cannot rouse the personal loyalty  
 "which in India means power. Far better would it be to place on the  
 "Indian vice-throne a Prince of the Royal House, a living representative of  
 "the Imperial Crown, surround him with all that is wisest and best in India,  
 "and let him rule as well as reign. And England had done wisely had she  
 "sent her Heir-Apparent to be crowned at Delhi, as proxy for the Emperor,  
 "amid all her feudatory Princes and the glitter of Oriental state. Sentiment  
 "is a great factor in Empire everywhere, and most of all in the East.

"And now about the famines. London went wild with admiration  
 "over the magnificent Indian soldiers, the splendour of their stature and  
 "bearing, their strength, dignity and warrior port. But there is danger of  
 "the deterioration of the race whence these splendid warriors have sprung,  
 "of the continually recurring famines sapping the vitality of the races which  
 "bear such sons. These men were chiefly from Rajputana, from the Panjab,  
 "and these Provinces have been struggling with famine these five years.

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"What causes the famines? Partly the financial drain of the Home  
 "Charges and the huge bureaucracy. Partly the destruction of the manu-  
 "factures of India for the profit of Lancashire, the compulsory revelation  
 "of trade secrets, and the forcing on India of English methods of production.  
 "Partly the destruction of the communal system of land-tenure, the impos-  
 "ing of the English system of landlordism, of rigid rents and taxes levied in  
 "lieu of the flexible indigenous system of proportionate rents and taxes paid  
 "in kind; partly the network of railways facilitating the buying up of crops  
 "and sweeping them away for export.

"The old custom met the irregularities of the rainfall by a system of  
 "granaries, wherein the State stored in good seasons the grain that would be  
 "needed in bad; the fat seasons balanced the lean; when the peasant's store  
 "gave out, the Prince's store was ready. Moreover, the peasant himself  
 "stored his grain, and kept a year's stock in hand, where now he is tempted  
 "to sell for export, and faces starvation when the rains fail. Even this year,  
 "while famine threatened, Indian wheat was thrown into foreign markets,  
 "and in all parts of India, especially in the Feudatory States, pressure is put  
 "on the rulers to desert the wise old custom of preparing for years of dearth  
 "in years of plenty, and to offer up their subjects to the English fetish of  
 "Free Trade. The Prince who adopts Western methods unsuited to his  
 "State is praised as 'enlightened,' while the Prince who follows customs  
 "approved by millennia of use is censured as retrograde. In some States

“ this pressure is resisted by able Indian ministers, but for how long, if the English pressure continues, will they be able to hold their own? That is a point that, if you are an imperial people, you should study, should make up your minds upon, should understand, for it means the life of millions of your fellow-subjects. And these questions of Indian food and Indian manufacture, if they are to be rightly solved, will have to be solved in accordance with the tradition of the people, and not in deference to modern ideas as to the way in which trade is best carried on among these Western populations.

“ There, then, is a difficult, dry, uninteresting subject. But you have no right to be rulers unless you take these questions into account ; you have no right to throw all the responsibility on a handful of men, and then, as is continually done, fetter even the discretion of the men on the spot by the traditions of your India Office here. You should take into counsel some of the leading Indian thinkers who know their country, men of proved and splendid ability as administrators, and should follow their advice in the questions that touch their own people. What is the use of cheering Indian soldiers in the street? What is the use of praising the imperial pageantry that you see when the Prince reviews those troops? What is the use of boasting of the greatness of the Empire if you are not considering the families of the men who are left behind in India, and if you are not trying to make that land what it ought to be, your strongest bulwark, instead of what it is to a very large extent, a danger and a menace to the Empire.”

That warning, uttered fifteen years ago, seemed to fall on deaf ears ; but now the Mesopotamia Commission and Mrs. Besant's internment by Lord Pentland have opened men's eyes open. Mr. Montagu, the new Secretary of State for India, fully justified Mrs. Besant's attitude when in his fine speech on July 12 he declared :—

“ I say that that is a system so cumbrous, so designed to prevent efficiency and change, that in the light of these revelations it cannot continue to exist. . . . I tell this House that the statutory organisation of the India Office produces an apotheosis of circumlocution and red tape beyond the dreams of any ordinary citizen. I see the great self-governing Dominions and Provinces of India organised and co-ordinated with the great Principalities, the existing Principalities—and perhaps new ones—not one great Home Rule country, but a series of self-governing Provinces and Principalities, federated to one central Government. . . . You should give some instalment to show that you are in real earnest, some beginning of the new plan which you intend to pursue that gives you the opportunity of giving greater representative institutions in some form or other to the people of India, of giving them greater control of their Executive, of remodelling the Executive—that affords you the opportunity of giving the Executive more liberty from home, because you cannot leave your harrassed officials responsible to two sets of people. . . . As you increase responsibility in India you can lessen that responsibility at home. . . . Unless you are prepared to remodel, in the light of modern experience, this century-old and cumbrous machine, then I believe, I verily believe, that you will lose your right to control the destinies of the Indian Empire.”

Vide  
Hansard,  
Vol. 95,  
No. 93,  
col. 2205

## X. THE DUTIES OF HER PRESENT POSITION

We would remind all that Mrs. Besant's task, like that of the prophets and rishis of olden times, is to call men's attention to wrongs that must be righted. Directly that end is gained she passes on to other work. We can calmly read in the pages of our Bible the diatribes of the holymen of old, but probably those whom they rebuked were as angry and used much the same arguments of "disturbing the people," as their Excellencies of Bombay and Madras do to-day.

## XI. LISTEN TO HER WORDS TO US

"O English Nation! Great and free and proud. Cannot you see? Cannot you understand? Cannot you realise that your Indian brothers feel now as you would feel if a foreigner ruled in your land? That to be a stranger in your own country, an alien in your own land, with no rights save those given by grace of a Government not your own, your inferiority taken for granted, your capacities weighed in alien scales, and measured by the wand of another nation—you could not bear such a state, such an outlook. India is patient, as you would not be. She does not want to break the link; she wants to remain part of the Empire; but an equal part, a Self-Governing Community, standing on a level with the Self-Governing Dominions. Is this passionate longing sedition? Is this ineradicable hope treason? You dare not say so, you who bred Hampden, and Sidney, and Milton, you whose glory is your Freedom, you who boast of your Empire as an Empire of the Free. Who dared to ask if you were fit for freedom? Charles I. asked it. James II. asked it. History records the answer that you gave.

*India: A Nation*, by Annie Besant, pp. 91-2

"Is India fit for freedom? She claims it as her Right. You will not say her, Nay. She proved her equality in death on the battlefield. Will you refuse it when the peace she has made possible broods over your homes? Would you have been safe from the German, if Indian breasts had not formed part of your shield?

"What does India want? She wants anything that any other nation may claim for itself. To be free in India, as the Englishman is free in England. To be governed by her own men, freely elected by herself. To make and break Ministries at her will. To carry arms; to have her own army, her own navy, her own volunteers. To levy her own taxes; to make her own budgets; to educate her own people; to irrigate her own lands; to mine her own ores; to mint her own coin; to be a sovereign nation within her own borders, owning the paramount power of the Imperial Crown and sending her sons to the Imperial Council. There is nothing to which any man can aspire in his own land from which the Indian must be shut out here.

"A large claim, you say. Does the Englishman ask less for himself in England? If yes, what is there strange that an Indian should have the same for himself in India? What is the radical difference between them which should make an Indian content to be a thrall? It is not the 'angle of vision' that needs changing. It is the eye, purified from pride and prejudice, that can see clearly, and the heart, purged from arrogance, that can beat with healthy strokes.



"England and India hand-in-hand. Yes, that is our hope, for the world's sake. But that it may be so, justice must replace inequality; for India can never be at rest till she is free."

In her Presidential Address in 1916 Mrs. Besant said :—

Presidential  
Address,  
1916, p. 17

"It is now no question of party politics, no matter of party strife. It is the moulds into which Nations are to be cast for a new civilisation that are preparing ; it is these which we are summoned to help in the shaping. Away, then, with fear and with the shreds of futile shibboleths. Away with a false neutrality, which is but a cloak for indefiniteness of thought and irresolution in action. The Theosophical Society is called to take its share in the mighty world-creation, to spread its ideals through the mental atmosphere, to work them out into the physical forms for the new civilisation. I summon you, my Brethren, to set your hands with me to this great task . . . to repay, as far as you can, by helping in their work, the loving care showered upon you by our Elder Brethren for the last forty years. Come with me into the darkness and the peril. There is no failure for those who march beneath the Shining of the Star."

A. J. WILLSON,

*For the Committee for the information of T.S. Members.*

*As we go to Press the following important message comes to hand:—*

## XII. TO MY BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN INDIA

I wrote this to leave behind me, when I thought I was going to Ooty. Now, as I have to see H.E. the Governor to-morrow, I think it is safer to print it to-day, lest I should be interned and unable to speak.—ANNIE BESANT

*New India,*  
June 15,  
1917

"THESE are the times that try men's souls." Thus spake one who faced the fiery furnace of trial, and who faltered neither in faith nor in courage. It is ours to-day to face a powerful Autocracy, determined to crush out all resistance to its will, and that will is to prevent India from gaining Self-Government, or Home Rule, in the Reconstruction of the Empire after the War.

The National Congress has declared in conjunction with the All-India Muslim League, that India must be lifted from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire. To that end they drafted a scheme of reforms, which proposed that the Legislative Councils should be much enlarged and elected on as broad a basis as possible, with a four-fifths majority of elected members, and that control of taxation and expenditure—the power of granting or refusing supply—should be placed in the hands of this Legislative Council, so as to subordinate the Executive to the Legislative Council. This is the feature of the scheme specially selected by H.E. the Governor of Madras for reprobation, and although it had been planned—in consonance with the practice of civilised nations—by the most responsible public men in the country, and accepted by

the great mass of popularly elected delegates at the Lucknow National Congress and the Muslim League, 1916, His Excellency was pleased to aver that no Indian with knowledge of affairs would endorse it, and this soon after it had been endorsed by Mr. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., late Dewan of Travancore, Mysore, and Baroda.

The difference of opinion between the Governor of Madras and the large majority of educated Indians is a small matter; but the resolution to crush Home Rule by force is a very serious one. It is practically proposed to strangle by violence the political educative propaganda the Congress ordered its own Committees, the Home Rule Leagues, and other similar public bodies to carry on. We are therefore faced by the alternative of disobeying the mandate of the country or that of the Governor of Madras, an alternative which has been faced in the past by all countries which suffer under autocracies, and which India—the last great civilised country to be subjected to autocracy, save those under the Central Powers in Europe—has now to face. For myself, as a member of the All-India Congress Committee, I elect to obey the mandate of the country, in preference to that of the Governor of Madras, which has no moral justification behind it, which outrages British law and custom—and imposes an unwarrantable, and, I believe, an illegal, restriction on the fundamental Rights of Man. I know that this resolution of mine, setting myself against the strongest autocracy in the world in the midst of a disarmed and helpless people, will seem to most an act of madness, but by such acts of madness nations are inspired to resist oppression. Others will scoff at it as an easy martyrdom, deliberately courted; they have already done so, to discount it beforehand, they who would not face exclusion from Government House, let alone the loss of liberty, the seizure of property, and the exclusion from public life, which has been my one work and joy for forty-three years. When I was twenty-five I wrote, anonymously, my first Freethought pamphlet, and within a year, as I refused to attend the Sacrament I had ceased to believe in, I was turned out by my husband from his home. I did not then, and do not now, blame him, for the position of a Vicar with a heretic wife was impossible, and his friends urged him to the step. At twenty-six, at the end of 1874, I joined the National Secular Society, for the first time heard Mr. Bradlaugh lecture on August 2, and received my certificate of membership and had an interview with him a day or two later; on August 30 I wrote my first article in the *National Reformer*, and continued to write in it regularly, till he died in 1891. My real public life dates from my first public lecture on "The Political Status of Women," for the Co-operative Institute, in August, 1874.

Since then my life has been given wholly to the service of the public, as I have seen service, so that the deprivation of the liberty to render service is the greatest loss that can befall me. I know that the selfish and the unpatriotic cannot realise this, but those who have a similar Dharma, they will understand. Apart from the joy of service life has no attractions for me, save the happiness that flows from a few deep and strong personal attachments. To surrender liberty and touch with those I love is to me worse than death. But to live free and with them, a coward and dishonoured, a traitor to Dharma and to India, would be hell. I take the easier path.

Those who rob me of liberty will try to blacken me, in order to escape shame for themselves. The Defence of India Act was never intended to be used to prevent public political speech, free from all incitement to or suggestion of violence, and accompanied with no disturbance of any kind. My paper could

have been stopped by the Press Act, by forfeiture of security and confiscation of press. But the Government is afraid to face the High Court, which has already pronounced its former procedure to be illegal. An autocracy is ever afraid of law, and hence the Government takes the step of shutting me up—a cowardly course—and hopes to prevent any public protest by striking down all who resist it. The Defence of India Act is being used to suppress all political agitation of an orderly character, so that it may pretend to England that India is silent and indifferent.

Sir Subramania's brave action, followed by those of the Hon. Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar, the Hon. Mr. V. K. Ramanujachariar, Chairman of the Kumbakonam Municipality, the Hon. Mr. B. V. Narasimha Iyer, Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghavier, Messrs. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Mr. Rangaswami Aiyar of Madura, Public Prosecutor and Pleader, with the effective letter of Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao, defending the Congress and League scheme against the strictures of the Governor—these all show the spirit of Madras, and will, I feel sure, be followed by many others of this city, now scattered far and wide over the country, enjoying their well-won holiday, and unconscious of what is being done so cleverly by the Executive in their absence. If any attempt be made to justify my internment by pretence of my entering into or cognisance of any conspiracy, or communication with the enemy, I fling the lie in the slanderer's teeth. I know that some postcards with my portrait, purporting to come from Germany and said to be seditious, have been sent to friends. I have been told of them, but have not seen a copy. They may have been fabricated in Germany, or by the C.I.D. here, but I have nothing to do with them.

If it be said that I have carried on a "campaign of calumny," which I utterly deny, the fault lies with Lord Pentland, who could, once again, have forfeited my security and confiscated my press. But then his Advocate-General would have had to prove it in Court and before the Privy Council, and that he could not do. It is easy for a Governor, if he has no scruples, to calumniate a person from the safe security of a Council meeting at Ooty, and then to lock up the calumniated. Such is the natural course of an irresponsible autocrat.

Such men, to protect themselves, as we saw in the case of Sir Reginald Craddock, having silenced their victims, proceed to blacken and defame them before the world. How else can they justify themselves? When the dry facts as to poverty, starvation, over-taxation, illiteracy, are stated, they are "calumny." My little book, "India—a Nation," was stopped because it stated them. It was "calumny." To say that the average life period in India is 23½, that in England it is 40, in New Zealand 60, is "calumny." To publish a table of literacy in England, Japan, Russia, Baroda, and British India is "calumny." To show that the raised assessment on land in one district was balanced that same year in the increased debt of the raiyats to the sowcars is "calumny." To show by these and many other facts that the autocracy in India is not even efficient is "calumny." To quote ancient books to show the state of the country in the pre-British days is "calumny"—if it shows wide-spread prosperity and wealth; if it tells of raids and wars, then it is history.

Let them talk as they will; they "come and go, impermanent." But Lord Pentland—a good but weak man, driven into tyranny by strong and ruthless men, like Messrs. Gillman and Davidson, our real rulers—will have to answer for his actions before the Indian public, before the British democracy, before history, which records the struggles for Liberty, and before God. Will his conscience be as clear as mine?

I hear, but gossip is unreliable, that to avoid internment I shall be told either to go to England or to promise to abstain from political speaking and writing. I shall do neither. I do not run away from a struggle into which I have led others, and leave them in the middle of the field. Our work has been wholly constitutional; there has been no threat, no act of violence; in nothing has the law been transgressed. We believed that we were living under the Crown of Great Britain, and had the constitutional right of speech and law-abiding agitation for reforms in the system of Government under which we live. Still, we were aware that we were living under an autocracy, which first punishes and then issues orders forbidding the act punished, and we took the risk; for the risk was personal, whereas the suppression of free speech means secret conspiracy leading to revolution, in which many suffer. I have often pointed out that in India liberty and property can be confiscated by Executive Order, and that therefore no man is safe; an Executive Order forfeited my security and deprived me of another Rs.10,000. Now an Executive Order deprives me of my liberty. It is well. The world will learn how India is governed, and that while England asks India to fight against autocracy in Europe, and drains her of her capital to carry on the war, England's agents use all the methods of autocracy in India in order to deceive the world into the idea that India is well-governed and is content.

What is my crime, that after a long life of work for others, publicly and privately, I am to be dropped into the modern equivalent of the Middle Age *oubliette*—internment? My real crime is that I have awakened in India the National self-respect, which was asleep, and have made thousands of educated men feel that to be content with being "a subject race" is a dishonour. Mr. Lloyd George said truly that Ireland's discontent was not material, it was due to the wounding of National self-respect, and therefore could not be cured even by prosperity. I have made them feel that to live under an autocracy, to dance attendance on Governors and Collectors, to be ruled and taxed without their own consent, to be told that they were not fit to govern themselves, to see young Englishmen in the Public Services of their country preferred to experienced Indians, to have highly-paid Imperial Services for foreigners lording it over less well-paid Provincial Services for "natives"—"natives" being the natural owners of their own land—that these and a hundred other like things were intolerable and should be ended. Life does not consist in money and clothes, in motor-cars and invitations to Government Houses. Life consists in liberty, in self-respect, in honour, in right ambition, in patriotism, and in noble living. Where these are absent, life is not worth living. It is not the life of a man, in the image of God, but of a brute, well-fed by his owner.

Thanks to Sir S. Subramania's splendid courage, he and I stand together in this fight for freedom, with the advantage, not shared by the other members of our gallant little band—who have proved their right to be called leaders by springing forward to lead in the moment of peril—that he is well-known in England through his work as a High Court Judge and the great praise of him by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; and he is also personally known to His Majesty the King Emperor. No one will believe that such a man is an inconsiderate and headlong agitator. His arrest, if made, will draw English attention to the state of affairs here. I also have the advantage of being personally well-known in the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Holland, Australia, Italy, Canada, New Zealand, America, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, in the first five personally as a fighter for liberty of speech in political and social reforms, as a

Trade Unionist, a member of "the old International," a Radical and a Socialist, and in the rest by reputation; in all as a religious teacher. In Russia I am known as a member of the old "Friends of Russia," associated with Russian exiles in England, in the days of Stepniak. None will feel surprise that I am carrying on the old fight for freedom here in India. Unless the Government can muzzle the whole Indian Press as well as Reuter, the news of my internment will run round the world, and proclaim how England, fighting for liberty in Europe, and posing as its champion, is more false to liberty in India than she is even in Ireland, is in India an autocracy, naked and unashamed, under which neither liberty of person and speech nor possession of property is safe, being at the mercy of "Executive Orders," and these are discriminating, striking at one and leaving another; some can be terrorised; some can be bribed; threats are used to the timid; offices or titles are dangled before the ambitious. And we are to be punished because we stand by the principles for which England stands in Europe, and ask peacefully and constitutionally for responsible Self-Government which we work for on law-abiding lines.

For me, I have worked for India in India for nearly 24 years, and for 14 years before that in England; my "England, India and Afghanistan" is as outspoken as "India—a Nation." In India I have worked for the old religions and for Islam and against perversion to Christianity; I have worked for education—the Central Hindu College, now the centre of the Hindu University, and the Theosophical Educational Trust are my witness; I have worked for social reform on religious lines; I am still working for of all these, and, in addition, for that which alone can make these safe: for Home Rule for India, Self-Government within the Empire.

Only by winning Home Rule can India secure her material prosperity; only thus can she save what is left of her trade, her industries and her agriculture, improve them and reap the results of her own labour. The descent of Lever Bros. to capture the soap industry, crushing the nascent factories in Bombay, Madras and the U.P., is a prophecy of what will happen after the War with Imperial Preference—the fierce competition of British capitalists on Indian soil with Indian industries. It is said that the Government is going to sell their soap factory, created with Indian money, to Lever Bros., thus making it a British industry, but that I cannot believe. Lever Bros. is strong enough to crush the Indian manufacturer without Government help.

Indian labour is wanted for the foreign firms. Indian capital is being drained away by the War Loan—which is to bring no freedom to India, if the autocracy has its way. Indian taxation to pay the interest on the War Loan will be crushing. When that comes, India will realise why I have striven for Home Rule after the War. Only by that can she be saved from ruin, from becoming a nation of coolies toiling for the enrichment of others.

I write plainly, for this is my last word. I go into enforced silence and imprisonment because I love India and have striven to arouse her before it was too late. It is better to suffer than to consent to wrong. It is better to lose liberty than to lose honour.

I am old, but I believe that I shall see India win Home Rule before I die. If I have helped ever so little to the realisation of that glorious hope, I am more than satisfied.

GOD SAVE INDIA. VANDE MATARAM.

June 12th, 1917.

ANNIE BESANT.

### SHORT LIST OF USEFUL PUBLICATIONS

- 'India : A Nation. 2s. 6d.,  
How India Wrought for Freedom, } by Mrs. Besant.
- "Theosophy and Imperialism," by Mrs. Besant in *The Theosophist*, August, 1916, p. 473.
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- \*Home Rule for India League Pamphlets.
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\* To be obtained from the Secretary, Home Rule for India League, 1 Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.2

THE PELICAN



P R E S S

*Issued by the Indo-British Association*

# THE RESULTS OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

## Facts for the British Elector

**T**HE responsibility for the welfare and progress of the Indian masses reaches, through Parliament, to their fellow-workers in this country. It is therefore of the utmost importance that all classes of the electorate, including those about to be newly enfranchised, should understand the main facts as to the results of the British connection, and should distinguish between truth and falsehood in the discussions on political changes in India now current.

“Home Rule”  
an Anti-  
Democratic  
Movement

So far from the claim of immediate “Home Rule” for India being the expression of popular feeling, it is at heart anti-democratic, since in present conditions it would mean the rule of a small section, chiefly lawyers, eager to promote class interests, and dominated in large degree by the Brahmin priesthood.

During his mission in India the Secretary of State has received a great many weighty memorials from spokesmen of the Mahomedans, the non-Brahmans, the “depressed classes,” the Eurasians, the Indian Christians, and other communities, pointing out the dangers of setting up what would be oligarchic rule in a peculiarly objectionable form.

In order to disguise these facts, the “Home Rule” Party, led by Mrs. Annie Besant, the Theosophist, have spread the wildest misrepresentations as to our British trusteeship in India. For example, there could be no greater travesty of history than



Mrs. Besant's repeated declaration that, before the coming of the British, the country enjoyed 5,000 years of self-government.

British Rule  
Saved India  
from  
Anarchy

The so-called self-government was, in the words of a recent writer, "the desolation of internecine strife between numberless petty and competing kingdoms, or the peace of a unity imposed from without" by despotic invaders. When British rule came it was largely at the request and with the co-operation of the people, who saw their land torn by war and rapine and the ruthless Mahratta Confederacy, under Brahman guidance, imposing its predatory sway upon a great part of the country.

Even more amazing is Mrs. Besant's declaration that British rule has brought about "a poverty which threatens to lead to National bankruptcy, as it has already led to a short life-period and a high death-rate, to widespread disease, and to a growing exhaustion of the soil."\* What it has done is to apply the principle of governing for the good of the governed on a scale without parallel in the history of the world, and thereby to give security and steadily increasing standards of life and comfort to the people.

The allegation that British rule has been the cause of famines is monstrously unjust. Owing to the precarious nature of the rainfall, India has been subjected through all recorded time to famine cycles. But whereas in the past famine was regarded as a visitation of the gods—beyond the control of man—and in the absence of relief measures its victims were numbered by the million, to-day State action for the prevention and amelioration of scarcity is complete in every detail. In each district (corresponding roughly to an English county) schemes are ready for the immediate opening of relief works should the need arise. On these works all able to earn a livelihood can find employment, while the infirm or young unfit for work are provided for.

British  
Measures  
to Prevent  
Famine

The adoption of a variety of preventive measures has, at the same time, enormously reduced the frequency and seriousness of famine. In this connection, communications are most important. In the old days, while one district might be reduced to starvation, another only a few miles distant, perhaps the other side of a small range of hills, would have surplus food crops rotting in the absence of means of distribution. At the time of the Mutiny, there were only a few score

\* The Case for India—The Presidential Address delivered by Annie Besant at the Thirty-second Indian National Congress held at Calcutta, 26th December, 1917.

miles of railway ; to-day there are 36,500 miles of open line, mostly State owned, and yielding a net profit to the State amounting in 1916-17 to nearly £21,000,000.

The great irrigation works carried out in the same period have absolutely secured many tracts specially liable to insufficient rainfall from the danger of scarcity. There are also about 52,000 miles of canals and distributaries, irrigating some 18,000,000 acres in ordinary years, and yielding the State a direct return of about 7 per cent., while enormously increasing the productivity of the country and the welfare of the agriculturists.

Land  
Chiefly  
National  
Property

With the unfortunate exception of Bengal, owing to the Permanent Settlement mistakenly made at the close of the eighteenth century, the land is almost entirely national property, the cultivators holding directly from Government and occupying their farms in perpetuity. There is communal grazing land attached to each village, and all waste land is in the hands of Government. Hills and jungle tracts are under the control of the Forest Department, and are managed in such a way as both to help the people and to bring in a profit to the Exchequer amounting to over £2,250,000 per annum.

The reproductive works and other enterprises carried on by the Government have enabled the country steadily to advance in all directions without having to bear a load of taxation beyond the capacity of a people who were desperately poor when Britain began her work in India. Omitting land revenue, which is a rent and not a tax, the taxation per head, on the assumption (by no means correct) that it is entirely paid by the inhabitants of British India, is only a little over 2s. 1d., and even if land revenue is included, is about 3s. 9d. Facts such as these (and they could be multiplied indefinitely) have greatly impressed many fair-minded enquirers who have had opportunities of personal observation.

I.L.P.  
Supporter's  
Frank  
Admissions

Thus the late Rev. Howard Campbell, an ardent upholder of the I.L.P. programme, contributed some years ago an article to the *Labour Leader*, after more than 20 years' missionary work in India. He went out prejudiced against the "bureaucratic system," but was forced to the conclusion that "there is no country in the world better governed than India, none in which the administration does more for the masses of the people." Since these words were written much more has been accomplished.

What is specially significant as a clue to the selfish aims of middle-class Indian "Home Rulers" is that Mr. Campbell discovered by living among the people that the Indian "reformers," though adopting democratic phrases, "leave the interests of the masses of the people almost entirely out of account." The traditionally privileged Brahman classes hate the equality of all men in the eye of the law which we have established. As Mr. Campbell pointed out :

**Schemes of Self-Government are Premature** "There is a far greater gulf between the classes and the masses in India than in England, for in India the class feeling is immensely intensified by the caste system, which teaches that the members of the different sections of society have no more in common than horses and cattle, or sheep and goats. . . . When the masses of the people are educated up to the point where they shall be conscious of their wrongs and able to insist on their rights, India will be ready for self-government ; but any attempt to force popular government upon the people at present will involve injustice."

Great Britain administers India on a tenure of continuous amelioration, and we are committed to the policy of further guiding the Indian people along the path to real nationhood. But much remains to be done before it will be possible, without danger of most serious reaction and injustice to the working classes, to eliminate British control.

**British Rule Still the Only Way** In the words of a sympathetic present-day writer ("The Goal of India," by Rev. W. E. S. Holland, M.A., 1917), its continuance is essential to India's further progress: "Sundered by a dozen greater languages, riven and rent by the endless barriers of caste, split by Hinduism and Islam into two irreconcilable communities, she has no other way to the external security or internal peace which are essential to her progress and prosperity. She possesses no possible centre of unity within herself."

N.B.—Further information in regard to these questions can be obtained by application to the Secretary, Indo-British Association, 6 Broad Street Place, E.C.2.

Private

02

Vesav, via Anchari Station,

P. N. & C. P. Ry.,

Bombay, 26th January 1909.

Dear Lord Morley and Lord Minto,

Many thanks for your present proposed reforms, that my old pure faith of 1853 in the British character is justified and strengthened after many a cruel disappointment bordering on despair. I am now feeling a new heart again.

Your courage and truly British efforts in spite of difficulties, to take a bold step towards the evolution of self Government of India, by giving the opportunity to the Indians to be trained for representative legislation, deserved grateful welcome. And I am glad that such a welcome has been given by the Indians, promptly and enthusiastically.

The most gratifying feature is that there is thorough sincerity and honesty of purpose on both sides. The general hope now is that you will be able to complete early the adoption and practical application of these reforms successfully, with any reasonable and beneficial modification that may be suggested by yourselves and public opinion.

I do not discuss details as in my present health I am unequal to the work. I wish only to remark that the Viceroy's council may also be left without an official majority, and that some consideration had been given to that unfortunate blunder - the partition of Bengal.

After having expressed my satisfaction as above, I may say that with my satisfaction was mixed up a disappointment - for another fundamental and the first absolutely necessary reform which I was fully expecting viz:- simultaneous examination.

I therefore set myself though slowly to draft a letter of appeal to you on that subject, together with this expression of my satisfaction for the present proposals. But I now think after what I have read about organised opposition etc. etc. that I should not trouble you at present when you have enough of very arduous work on your hands, to get the proposed reforms adopted by Parliament and practically applied in India.

Thanking you again for the present proposals,

Yours sincerely,

Dadabhai Naoroji



Private.

Vasava, Via Andheri Station,  
B. E. & C. I. Ry.,  
Bombay, 3rd April 1909.

Dear Lord Morley and Lord Minto,

I offer my most grateful thanks for the appointment made of an Indian to the Viceroy's Executive Council.

I am glad and very thankful that you are firmly trying to carry through Parliament the measure for the new reforms, and I hope they will also be brought in their operation in their true spirit in this country. The Indians will remember with gratitude the two names Morley and Minto for having courageously and sincerely made a beginning towards rising India to a self governing member and real partner in the British Empire. The sincerity and statesmanship of Lord Morley's following view in his Arbroath speech of 23/10/1903 is well tested by the reforms.

"In his view the root of good Government was not to be found in bureaucracy or pedantocracy. They must seek to rouse up the free and spontaneous elements lying deep in the hearts and minds of the people of the country"

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I send this letter earlier than I intended. For I hope this letter and appendix will furnish some side-lights in favour of the Council's Bill in its further debates. For instance, the contrast between the statesmanships of Marquis of Lansdowne of

In my last letter I have said that a disappointment was mixed with my satisfaction.

There is one reform absolutely necessary to begin with as the foundation reform, without which all other reforms will be more or less ineffective to produce their best results in improving the condition of the poverty-stricken masses of the Indian people. Sir Andrew Scoble, when we were working in Welby Royal Commission, told me that like St. John I was crying in the wilderness. I do not know whether this letter will also possibly be my 1st cry in the wilderness, or whether I shall have the satisfaction to see the labour of my ~~xxx~~ life bearing fruit at your hands as I hope.

In every country governed by its own Native Rulers, the Government has only one character either despotic or constitutional; and the despotic is either good, bad or indifferent.

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1833 and the present Lord Lansdowne is striking. The former, earnest in his true British Character, to do duty to the people of India - the latter resisting even your small beginning of that "wise, benevolent and noble" clause (1833) in which his grandfather had taken a noble share. And all this after he himself had, as Viceroy, bewailed on the financial condition of India. Lord Curzen's opposition is also characteristic. He stoutly now resists any lessening of the effects of the "inseparable evil" of the foreign British rule while he himself, as forcibly condemned this evil.

3.

But a foreign Government like that of the British in India as it is at present in its policy, has two sides of character - good and evil. The good side, Englishmen generally proclaim to the world, ignoring or not realising the evil side.

But that very effort of some to ignore and others not understanding the evil side, brings out in greater relief the bright and higher side of the British Character. The evil side is also realised, recognised and publicly declared and acknowledged by many higher-minded Englishmen, many of them Anglo-Indians themselves, who love truth above everything else, who have the courage of their convictions and do not hesitate to declare the truth, though it tells heavily against themselves and their country. These declarations are in themselves ~~and their~~ high testimony to the higher side of the British character.

I give below (X) some names and I give in appendix A some extracts from the declarations of some of them for 150 years for all the various aspects and consequences of the evil side. I give also appendix B for the condition of England under similar circumstances.

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- (X) 1764 court of directors; 1765 Lord Clive; 1787 Sir John Shore; 1790 Lord Cornwallis, 1816 & 1838 Montgomery Martin, 1824 Sir T. Munro; 1833 Marquis of Lansdowne quoting Sir T. Munro; 1833 and 1853 Macaulay; 1833 Wynn; 1833 Sir Charles Grant; 1833 Elphinstone; 1826 and 1833 Sir John Malcolm; 1833 Lord William



As the extracts in Appendix A show pretty sufficiently the various aspects and consequences of the evil side, I do not burden this letter with many extracts.

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Bentinck; 1837 F.J.Shore; 1836 Saville Marriot; 1840 H. Hayman Wilson; 1845 Chairman of the Court of Proprietors; 1852 Lord Monteaagle, 1853 Lord Stanley; 1853 Bright and Camaron, 1853 Rich, 1853 wonoten wilnes; 1853 G.J.Phillimore; 1853 Earl Cernville 1854 J.B.Norton; 1859 Sir George Wingate, 1860 committee of 5 members of the Council of the Secretary of state for India viz: Sir J. Willoughby, Mangles, Arbuthnot, Macnaughten and Sir E.Perry; 1864 & 1873 Lord Lawrence, 1867 Lord Iddesle (then Sir Stafford Northcote), 1867 & 81 Lord Salisbury (1867 Lord Cranborne); 1868 Fawcett (quoting Lord Watcalf), 1869 Sir George Campbell; 1869 Duke of Argyll, 1870 & c. Gladstone, 1870 Sir Grant Duff, 1871 Lord Mayo, 1871/2 Material and Moral Progress, 1873 W.G.Pedder, 1875 Colonel Marriot, 1877-1878 Lord Lytten, 1880 Sir Richard Temple, 1881 Sir William Hunter, 1882 Lord Cromer (then Sir E. Baring) 1883 Duke of Devonshire (then Lord Hartington), 1883 Lord Northbrock 1886 Lord Randolph Churchill, 1886 Sir Auckland Colvin, 1890 Sir Charles Dilke, 1899 Lord George Hamilton, 1892 Lord Curzon.

The following had and have been working on behalf of Indians for years, W. Martin Wood, William Digby, Samuel Smith, W. S. Gaine, Sir William Wedderburn, A.O.Hume, Sir H. Cotton and many others.

Now what is this evil side of the British Rule in India in its present system?

1787. As far back as 1787, Sir John Shore clearly showed it. He said:-

"Whatever allowance we may make for the increased industry of the subjects of the state owing to the enhanced demand for the produce of it (Supposing the demand to be enhanced) there is reason to conclude that the benefits are more than counter-balanced by evils inseparable from the system of a remote foreign dominion" x x x x x

Sir John next points out that the inseparable evils are:- "If we were to suppose the internal trade of Hindoostan again revived, the export of the production of the country by the Company must still prevent those returns which trade formerly poured in. This is the evil inseparable from a European Government" x x x x x

1833- Macaulay compares the evil to the system of drugging with pousta by oriental despots.

1840. Horace H. Wilson calls it "Exhausting Drain" "extraction of life blood".

1853 Bright characterises it as "plundering" and "fatal defect".

1859 Sir George Wingate describes the taxes not spent in the country from which they are raised as absolute loss-worth as well be thrown into the sea. x x x Cruel and crushing tribute x x at variance with humanity, common sense &c.

1861 Lord Salisbury (Secretary of state for India) says in a minute:-

"The injury was exaggerated in the case of India where so much of the revenue is exported without a direct equivalent

x x "As India must be bled" x x x x

In 1902 Lord Curzon said at Jaipore "there is no spectacle which finds less favour in my eyes, or which I have done more to discourage than a cluster of Europeans of settling down upon a Native State and sucking from it the moisture which ought to give sustenance to its own people" - This is exactly what happens in British India - as the "Evil inseparable" from a foreign domination.

It is not that there is any innate unnatural viciousness in British nature, but this kind of evil is inseparable from the present constitution of the British foreign rule in India even if such foreign rule were that of angels.

There is nothing against the individual Englishman. He does his duty where he is placed. There is respect and admiration for him. It is the system "the inseparable evil", that is the disease. Had British Rule been a resident rule like that of the Mahomedans, though they were foreigners, this evil of the "drain" or "bleeding" would not have occurred with all its terrible consequences.

The direct principal consequences of the evils "inseparable" from the present constitution or system of British rule in India are - loss of wealth, wisdom and work, insufficiency



and inefficiency of administration, oppressive expenditure producing many other evils of poverty, plague, oppressive and yet insufficient taxation &c.&c.

(1) Loss of wealth - a killing drain - beginning at about £.3,000,000 per annum at about the commencement of the rule and now increased to about £.30,000,000 per annum. Such a Drain what Bright calls "plundering" and Salisbury calls "bleeding" would impoverish any country in the world, England not excepted. The result is - poverty, famine, plague and all kinds of material, moral, industrial and political, social debasing etc. evils from which India is suffering. Such evils can never be permanent. Their nemesis is certain, as Malcolm, Bright and others have predicted.

(2) Loss of wisdom of experience or their most deplorable moral loss. All the experiences acquired by European Officials during their services, instead of remaining in the country for the guidance, progress and benefit of its people is carried away from the country when the officials return. This is as lamentable a loss as that of material wealth or perhaps worse, as also degrading the whole character of the people.

(3) Loss of work, both of administration and industrial. The services of a country belong to its own children, England would not let any one else enter in her services, but for helpless India, her services are not for her children under the pressure of what Gladstone admits "The law and argument of force which is the only law and argument which we possess or employ."

(4) The Industrial loss is most terrible.

Industrially India is as capable in its resources and capacity as any other country in the world, and yet as a consequence of this "evil" its industry and trade are so cramped, wretched and not creditable to the rulers.

(5) Inefficiency and insufficiency of service. (see extracts - Sir W. Hunter, Lord Hartington, Lord Salisbury, Munro and Lord Lansdowne(1833) Gladstone) common sense will tell that.

(6) Extravagant and oppressive expenditure and yet not sufficient for the wants of the country. The employment of Indians will have a double advantage - less expenditure by lower pay for the Indians and no drain and as large a staff as necessary leaving the mass of the people to enjoy the fruits of their industry, and to go on increasing in prosperity. I need not dilate here upon all the aspects and consequences of the "inseparable evil" as the extracts touch upon them to a fair extent. It is the loss of everything that is worth ~~any~~ living for to an individual or a nation. The British rule has produced two Indias (1) The India of the British - rich and prosperous and (2) The India of the mass of Indians - the most wretched and poverty-stricken.

England and India are administered by Englishmen drawn from the same class and those employed in India being far more highly paid despotically, and yet the results are entirely different - England richest and India poorest in the world.

Lord Morley's following words well sum up the



consequences of the evils inseparable from foreign dominion.

"But if you meddle wrongly with economic things, gentlemen, be very sure you are then going to the very life to the heart, to the core of your national existence" so the evil of the destructive economic drain is going to the very life etc. of India.

Now these deplorable "evils inseparable" from the present system of British rule is not a discovery of yesterday or to-day. It was well understood and realised from the time the effect of the evils began to be felt as the extracts show. The question naturally arose from time to time how to remedy the evil, well three quarters of a century ago it was fairly grappled with by the statesmen of the time and to their great credit they not only fully realised, recognised and publicly declared the "evils" but also decided upon the true remedy. And that not as a mere pious expression of sentiment but as a clear clause in an act of Parliament - of 1833 - that wise, that benevolent, that noble clause" (Macaulay)

Had that clause been honourably and honestly carried out, what a prosperous country India would have become by this time. Instead there is the present deplorable state of affairs materially, morally, politically, industrially, ~~materially~~ humanly, socially &c.

It is chiefly by this "inseparable evil" and the consequent nonfulfilment of this wise etc. "Clause of 1833 as a beginning of the remedy that British Rule has earned all the

bad names of "injustice", "dishonest", "subterfuges", "Plundering" "draining", "bleeding", "distrust" &c.&c. as the extracts disclose.

After the act was passed 20 years passed away and it was entirely ignored. At the next revision of the charter in 1853, Bright, Lord Stanley (late Earl Derby) and other complained bitterly that nothing had been done. Then followed the proclamation of 1858, emphatically confirming the clause of 1833. Under the noble influence of the Proclamation was the question first raised as to how effect should be given to the clause of 1833. The Secretary of state for india appointed a Committee of 5 eminent Englishmen and members of the Secretary of State's own council to consider and report among other things on the clause of the act of 1833. The Committee were:-

Sir J. P. Willoughby, Mr. Mangles, Mr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Macnaughten and Sir Erskine Perry.

I give in appendix C an extract from their report of 20th January 1860 in which they unanimously prefer simultaneous examinations in England and in India as being the fairest and most in accordance with the principles of a general competition for a common object. And the Committee also remarked that the rulers were exposed to the charge of keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope. There is thus authoritative opinion as to how the clause of 1833 should be given effect to.

21, 22 Vic. Cap. 106, "An Act for the better Government of India (August 1858) sec. XXXII does not fix any locality for the examination. The Secretary of state for India is not pre-

prevented from holding examinations where he may think proper. Further as these simultaneous examinations will only be the way of giving some effect to the clause of 1833 and to all the proclamations, no legislative sanction can I think be needed.

The course decided upon and enacted by the Statesmen of 1833 was and is the only right course in the peculiar position of the British Rule in India - the only course which would begin to minimise the effects of the "inseparable evil", without disturbing the existive administrative machinery.

Once this right course is honestly entered upon many of the supposed difficulties and troubles of British Rule will vanish, and evils largely remedied; it is the deviation from this royal road, that has been the cause of many troubles, and persistence in this deviation, will, I cannot help thinking by common sense, produce many more difficulties and troubles and even disaster. It is time yet to make the reparation with a free hand and grace. Any deviation from the right line, however slight will lead to further and further distance from the right path and lead into unknown and unforeseen dangers - into jungles and precipices, pitfalls etc. etc. By reverting with courage to this right path, the result will yet be, what Mr. Bright has forecasted - the good of England through the good of India, and what Macaulay has predicted, as England's glory all her own".  
"Courage in large politics was the true common sense" (Morley)

It is indeed a great pity and deplorable, that while by going the right path, plenty and prosperity can be obtained



both by India and England, by persisting in the "Evil inseparable" from foreign administration, revenue trade and all resources are cramped and "terrible misery" (Salisbury) inflicted upon the masses of the people of India.

I cannot help looking back with grief to the past three quarters of a century - for what is lost - But it is no use crying over the past. I still hope that civilization, humanity, honour and British Instincts and righteousness will still prevail, to adopt this right beginning, leading evolutionally to the complete remedy of the "inseparable evil" by self Government, to England's glory all its own."

I do not think it necessary to go into events in this matter subsequent to the report of 1860; I am sorry some of these events are very regrettable.

Reverting to the "right" path - Lord Morley has said; "No gentlemen, every single right thing that is done by the legislature however moderate may be its area, every single right thing is sure to lead to the doing ~~far~~ of a great number of unforeseen right things".

And so, this one just, honourable and civilized right thing - though moderate in its area, will lead to many unforeseen right and blessed things, both for England and India.

I do sincerely hope that the moral, divine "right of Right" will prevail over the barbarous and evil "Right of Might"

In the present reforms a good step is made as a beginning deserving of all praise, and what I desire to urge to take

at the same time, with the same firmness and courage another right and urgent step, which in reality is absolutely necessary as the beginning of the first foundation reforms for further easy and natural evolution of progress. In Lord Morley's last words of his speech at Arbreath of 21st October 1907, I form my hope that this urgent reform will also be undertaken now as an absolutely necessary part of the beginning.

Lord Morley has said:-

"We shall not see many fruits of it in our day. Never mind we shall have made a beginning, and in more than one thing we have made a beginning in firmness, reform and results patience".

I shall repeat here one noble view of Lord Morley out of those I have already given in my last Congress Address, to which I crave reference:- "Imperialism by all means, if it means mercy, if it means humanity, if it means justice, but if it means your own demoralisation, if it means lowering your own standard of civilization and humanity, then in the name of all you hold precious, beware of it and resist it".

Yes, resist all barbarous imperialism of brute force. It is unworthy of British character, traditions, instincts and civilization.

With such right sentiments before me what can I do than leave the right future of both India and England in your hands.

I cannot but feel hopeful in making this appeal, and my hope and desire that this fundamental reform will now be taken in hand without delay, is strengthened, when to our good

fortune, Lord Winto is associated at present in the good work with a heart for the good of the people of India. My hope is also further increased by the reply which Lord Morley himself has given to me to my previous letter on this subject assuring me that he would give his best consideration to it. (I write this from memory, as I have not got my papers with me).

The Indian National congress has, from its very first session repeatedly submitted its resolution on the subject of simultaneous examinations for all the services.

You are, in the present proposed reforms, granting us sections (b), (c) and (d) of the 9th Resolution of the twenty second Congress, held at Calcutta. It now remains in order to complete the first necessary reforms to grant India, the remaining very important examination section (a) with the same statesmanship and courage.

Thanking you sincerely for all your courtesy and kindness,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Dadabhai Naoroji



1.

Appendix A.  
to

The letter addressed by Dadabhai Naoroji to Lord Morley and Lord Minto dated 3rd April 1909.

Extracts on the

"Evils inseparable from the system of a remote foreign dominion" and their various aspects and consequences.

THE COURT OF DIRECTORS (1764)

"Your deliberations on the inland trade have laid open to us a scene of most cruel oppression; the poor of the country who used always to deal in salt, bee/le-nut and tobacco re now deprived of their daily bread by the trade of the Europeans".

1766. "We must add that we think the vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade have been obtained by a scene of the most tyrannic and oppressive conduct that ever was known in any age or country".

1765. Lord Clive. "It is no wonder that the lust of riches should readily embrace the preferred means or its gratification or that the instruments of your power should avail themselves of their authority, and proceed even to extortion in those cases, where simple corruption could not keep pace with their rapacity".

(But what was still worse was that all the vast fortunes made by such rapacity were drained away from India to England as the "Evil of foreign dominion) D.N.

(Report of Committee 1792)

(Much of such correspondence between the authorities of England and India has taken place. D.N.)

SIR JOHN SHORE.

"Whatever allowance we may make for the increased industry of the subject of the State owing to the enhanced demand for the produce of it (supposing the demand to be enhanced) there is reason to conclude that the benefits are more than counter-balanced by evils inseparable from the system of a remote foreign dominion."

x x x "The Company's trade produces no equivalent returns.

x x x "If we were to suppose the internal trade of Hindustan again revived, the export of the production of the Country by the Company must still prevent those returns which trade formerly poured in. This is an evil inseparable from a European Government". x x x x

"A large proportion of the rents of the country are paid into the Company's treasury, and the manufactures are applied to remit to England the surplus which remains after discharging the claims on this Government, and to augment the commerce and revenue of Great Britain". (Return 377 of 1812)



## LORD CORNWALLIS. 1790.

"The consequence of the heavy drain of wealth from the above causes (viz: large annual investment to Europe, assistance to the treasury at Calcutta and to supply wants of other presidencies), with the addition of that which has been occasioned by the remittance of private fortunes have been for many years past, and are now severely felt by the great diminution of the current specie, and by the languor which has thereby been thrown upon the cultivation and the general commerce of the country".

(Minute on land settlements - 10/2/1790)

MONTGOMARY MARTIN 1816 & 1838.

sums up on the survey of Bengal and Behar made in 1807 to 1816.

"It is impossible to avoid remarking two facts as peculiarly striking-first, the richness of the country surveyed; and second the poverty of its inhabitants."

(Eastern India Vol.I p.11,1838)

"The annual drain of £.3,000,000 on British India has amounted in thirty years at 12 per cent.(the usual Indian rate) compound interest to the enormous sum of £.723,000,000. Sterling x x x so constant and accumulating, a drain even in England would soon impoverish her. How severe then must be its effects on India where the wage of a labourer is from two pence to three pence a day. Were the hundred millions of British subjects in India converted into a consuming population, what a market would be presented for British Capital, skill and industry".

(Eastern India Vol.I p.XII - 1838)

(this was said in 1838 from records of 1816. Now the drain has increased from £.3,000,000 to 30,000,000 a year.) D.N.



SIR T. MUNRO 1824.

Ludlow in his "British India" says:-

"As respects the general condition of the country let us first recollect what Sir Thomas Munro wrote years ago:-

"That even if we could be secured against every internal commotion and could retain the country quietly in subjection he doubted much if the condition of the people would be better than under Native Princes: that the Inhabitants of the British Provinces were certainly the most abject race in India".

"The consequence of the conquest of India by British arms, would be in place of raising to debase the whole people".

(Life of Sir T. Munro, p.466, quoted in Mr. Torrense "Empire in Asia")

Mr. Golbeurn - quotes Sir T. Munro, ---

"there is one great question to which we should look in all our arrangements, namely, what is to be the final result of our Government on the character of the people, and whether that character will be raised or lowered. Are we to be satisfied with merely securing our power and protecting the inhabitants, leaving them to sink gradually in character lower than at present, or are we to endeavour to raise their character? It ought undoubtedly to be our aim to raise the minds of the Natives, and to take care that whenever connexion with India shall cease, it shall not appear that the only fruit of our dominion had been to leave the people more abject than when we found them.

7.

SIR T. MUNRO (2)

It would certainly be more desirable we should be expelled from the country altogether, than that our system of Government should be much an abasement of a whole people".

(Hansard Vol.120 p.865. April 19th 1852)

"There is perhaps no example of any conquest in which the Natives have been so completely excluded from all share of the Government of their country as British India. Among all the disorders of the Native States, the field is open to every man to raise himself and hence among them there is a spirit of emulation, of restless enterprise and independence far preferable to the servility of our Indian subjects".

1823. "That were Britain subjugated by a foreign power and the people excluded from the Government of their country, all their knowledge and all their literature, sacred and profane would not save them from becoming in a generation or two a low-minded, deceitful and dishonest race."

"It is not enough that we confer on the Natives the benefits of just laws and of moderate taxation, unless we endeavour to raise their character; but under a foreign Government there are so many causes which tend to depress it that it is not easy to prevent it from sinking. It is an old observation that he who loses his liberty loses half his virtue. This is true of nations as well as of individuals. To have no property scarcely degrades more in one case than in the other, to have property at the disposal of a foreign Government in which we have no share

SIR T. MUNRO (3).

The enslaved Nation loses the preveleges of a nation, as the slave does this of a free man; it loses the preveleges of taxing itself, of making its own laws, of having any share in their administration or in the General Government of the Country.

x x x x x It is not the arbitrary power of a National Sovereign but subjection to a foreign one, that destroys national character and extinguishes national spirit. When a people cease to have a National character to maintain, they loss the mainspring of whatever is laudable both in public and in private life, and the private sinks with the public character.\*

(Minute December 31-1824:- Indian Spectator Feb. 19-1899)



THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWN quotes SIR T. MUNRO.

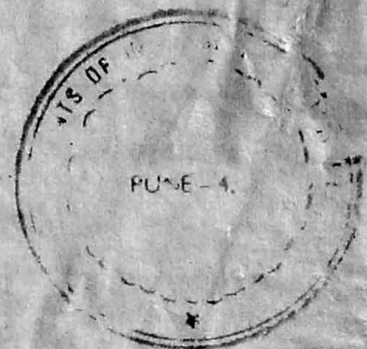
1833. Sir T. Munro in speaking of the Hindu character said "Unless we suppose that they are inferior to us in natural talent which there is no reason to believe, it is much more likely that they will be duly qualified for their employments than Europeans for theirs - Because the field of selection is so much greater in the one than in the other. We have a whole nation from which to make our choice of Natives, but in order to make choice of Europeans we have only the small body of the Company's covenanted servants. No conceit more wild and absurd than this was ever engendered in the darkest ages; for what is in every age and every country the great stimulus to the pursuit of knowledge but the prospect of fame or wealth or power? Or what is even the use of great attainments if they are not to be devoted to their noblest purpose, the service of the Community, by employing those who possess them according to their respective qualifications in the various duties of the public administration of the Country? Our books alone will do little or nothing; dry, simple literature will never improve the character of a nation. To produce this effect it must open the road to wealth and honour and public employment. Without the prospect of such reward no attainments in science will ever raise the character of a people".

(Hansard Vol. XIX third series p.169 on  
the occasion of the act of 1833)

## MARQUIS OF LANSDOWN.

1833. But however much civilization had been obscured in these regions, whatever incursions foreign conquest and domestic superstition had made upon their moral habits, it was undeniable that they had still materials left for improving and ameliorating their condition; and their Lordships will be remiss in the performance of the high duties which devolved upon them if they did not secure to the numerous Natives of Hindustan the ample development of all their mental endowments and moral qualifications. It was a part of the new system which he had to propose to their Lordships that to every office in India, every Native of whatever caste, sect or religion should by law be equally admissible, and he hoped that Government would seriously endeavour to give the fullest effect to this arrangement; which would be as beneficial to the people themselves as it would be advantageous to the economical reforms which were now in progress in different parts of India."

(Hansard Vol. XIX third series p.169 July 5th  
1833)



1833.

MACAULAY.

I allude to that wise, that benevolent that noble clause which enacts that no Natives of our Indian Empire shall, by reason of his colour, his descent or his religion be incapable of holding office x x x I must say that to the last day of my life I shall be proud of having been one of those who assisted in the framing of the bill which contains that clause. We are told that the time can never come when the Natives of India can be admitted to high Civil and Military office. We are told that this is the condition on which we hold our power. We are told that we are bound to confer on our subjects - every benefit which they are capable of enjoying? - No - which it is in our power to confer on them? - No - but which we can confer on them without hazard to our domination. Against that proposition I solemnly protest as inconsistent alike with sound policy and sound morality. I am far, very far, from wishing to proceed hastily in this most delicate matter. I feel that for the good of India itself, the admission of Natives to high office must be effected by slow degrees, but that when the fulness of time is come when the interest of India requires the change, we ought not to refuse to ~~that~~ make that change, lest we should endanger our own power - this is a doctrine which I cannot think without indignation - Governments like men, may buy existence too dear.

'PROPTER VITAM VIVENDI PERDERE CAUSUS' is a dispicable policy either in individuals or in states. In the present case such a policy will be not only dispicable, but absurd". x x x



## MACAULAY. (2)

It would be on the most selfish view of the case far better for us that the people of India were well governed and independant of us than ill governed and subject to us x x x that would indeed be a doting wisdom x x which would keep a hundred millions of men from being our customers in order that they might continue to be our slaves.

It was a Bernier tells us, the practice of the miserable tyrants whom he found in India, when they dreaded the capacity and spirit of some distinguished subject, and yet could not venture to murder him, to administer to him a daily dose of the pausta, a preparation of opium, the effect of which was in a few months to destroy all the bodily and mental powers of the wretch who was drugged with it, and to turn him into a helpless idiot. That detestable artifice more horrible than assassination itself, was the worthy of those who employed it. It is no model for the English Nation. We shall never consent to administer the Pausta to a whole community - to stupify and paralyse a great people whom God has committed to our charge for the wretched purpose of rendering them more amenable to our control. What is that power worth which is founded on vice, on ignorance, and on misery - which we can hold only by violating the most sacred duties which as Governors we owe to the governed which as a people blessed with far more than an ordinary measure of political liberty and of intellectual light, we owe to a race debased by three thousand years of despotism and priestcraft.

We are free, we are civilized to little purpose if we grudge to any portion of the human race an equal measure of freedom and civilization. Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive? Or do we think that we can give them knowledge without awakening ambition? or do we mean to awaken ambition and to provide it with no legitimate vent? who, will answer any of these questions in the affirmative? Yet one of them must be answered in the affirmative by every person who maintains that we ought permanently to exclude the natives from higher office. I have no fears the path of duty is plain before us, and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour. x x x It may be that the public mind of India may expend under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better Government, that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age demand European Institutions. Whether such a day will overcome I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English History. x x x "Would indeed be a title to glory all our own x x x Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverses. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our law" (What a noble speech, what a testimony



MACAHLAY (4)

to the High British Character? (D.N.)

(Hansard Vol. XIX third series p. 533 - July 10-1833)

(This clause was passed 75 years ago. Had England performed her duty, and faithfully given effect to this wise clause what a different India would it have now become both for the good of the British Empire and of India. There is yet time for England to do the duty now, which it ought to have done 75 years ago, instead of waiting till it is too late.) D.N.

"The heaviest of all yokes is the yoke of the stranger"  
1833. In my opinion we shall now secure or prolong our dominion on India by attempting to exclude the Natives of that country from a share in its Government".

(Hansard Vol. 128 p. 579 - 1853)

"The end of Government is the happiness of the people"

"The business of a servant of the Company was simply to wring out of the Natives a hundred or two hundred thousand pounds as speedily as possible.

(What was worse still was that all that was drained away out of India. D.N.)

"Of all forms of tyranny I believe that the worst is that of a nation over a nation".

(Speech 19th February 1844)

"In spite of the Mussalman depot and of the Maharatta free-booter, Bengal was known through the East as the Garden of Eden, - as the rich kingdom. Its population multiplied exceedingly

## Macaulay (5)

distant provinces were nourished from the overflowing of its granaries; and the Noble Ladies of London and Paris were clothed in the delicate produce of its Looms.

(India reform Tracts No. IX-1853)

The servants of the Company obtained for their employers, but for themselves a monopoly of almost the whole internal trade. They forced the Natives to buy dear and to sell cheap x x x enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while thirty millions of human beings were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness. They had been accustomed to live under tyranny but never under tyranny like this. They found the little finger of the Company thicker than the loins of Surajah Dowlah. Under their old masters they had at least one resource. When the evil became ~~an~~ insupportable the people rose and pulled down the Government. But the English Government was not to be shaken off. That Government oppressive as the most oppressive form of barbarism despotism was strong with all the strength of civilization."(Macaulay's essay on Lord Clive)

(Now the worst "evil" of the foreign rule that all the wealth was carried away out of India. D.N.)

Mr. Wynn. 1833.

\*He had been convinced ever since he was first connected with the affairs of India, that the only principle on which that empire could justly or fitly, or advantageously be administered was that of admitting the Natives to a participation in the Government and allowing them to hold every office the duties of which they were competent to discharge. That principle had been supported by the authority of Sir Thomas Munro, and of the ablest functionaries of India and been resisted with no small pertinacity and prejudice. It had been urged that the Natives were undeserving of trust, that no dependence could be placed on their integrity, whatever might be their talents and capacity which no one disputed. Instances were adduced of their corruption and venality - but were they not the result of our conduct towards them; duties of importance devolved upon them without any adequate remuneration either in rank or salary. There was no reward or promotion for fidelity; and why then complain of peculation and bribery. We made vices and then punished them. We reduced men to slavery and then reproached them with the faults of slaves.

(Hansard Vol. XIX 3rd series p.1833)



SIR CHARLES GRANT 1833.

In replying said:-

"x x x x If one circumstance more than another could give him satisfaction it was that the main ~~principle~~ principle of this Bill had received the approbation of the House, and that the house was now legislating for India and the people of India on the great and just principle that in doing so the interests of the people of India should be principally consulted and that all other interests of wealth, of commerce and of revenue should be as nothing compared with the paramount obligation imposed upon the legislature of promoting the welfare and prosperity of that great empire which providence had placed in our hands."

(Hansard Vol.XIX third series - p.547 July 10-1833)

1833. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE.

"The first object, therefore, is to break down the separation between the classes and raise the Natives by education and public trust to a level with their present rulers.

(Before the Committee of 1833)

"I conceive that the administration of all the departments of a great country by a small number of foreign visitors, in a state of isolation produced by a difference, in religion, ideas and manners, which cuts them off from all intimate communion with the people, can never be contemplated as a permanent state of things." x x x

"But we are now doing our best to raise them in all mental qualities to a level with ourselves and to instil into them the liberal opinions in Government and Policy which have long prevailed in this country - and it is vain to endeavour to rule them on principles only suited to a slavish and ignorant population"

(Sir H. Cotton's New India p.211, 1907)

1853 -- LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK.

quoted by

1853. Mr. J. G. Phillimore.

"The bane of our system is not solely that the Civil administration is entirely in the hands of foreigners, but the holders of this monopoly, the patrons of these foreign agents are those who exercise its directing power at home; that this directing power is exclusively paid by patronage, and that the value of the patronage depends exactly upon the degree in which all the honours and emoluments of the State are engrossed by their clients to their exclusion of the Natives - there exists in consequence on the part of the home authorities an interest in the administration precisely similar to what formerly prevailed as to commerce and directly opposed to the welfare of India".

(Hansard Vol. 129 -p. 665 - 22/7/1853.)

Mr. Phillimore proceeds --

"Though open competition was introduced, the monopoly of the Europeans and the injustice and injury to the Indians was allowed to continue by refusing to the Indians simultaneous examinations in India as the only method of justice to them as well be seen further on".

(Hansard)



1833. SIR JOHN MALCOLM.

"We are not warranted by the History of India nor indeed by that of any other nation in the world in reckoning upon the possibility of preserving an empire of such a magnitude by a system which excludes as ours does the Natives from every station of high rank and honourable ambition."

"Least of all would such a system be compatible with the plans now in progress for spreading instruction; for it is certain that if these plans are not associated with the creation of duties that will employ the minds which we enlighten, we shall only prepare elements that will hasten the destruction of our empire,. If we do not use the knowledge which we impart it will be employed against us"(Government of India App.P.174-1833)

"The moral evil to us does not thus stand alone, it carries with it its nemesis - the seeds of the destruction of the empire itself."

"In the facilities of improvement which our condition presents, we may find, if we do not use them right, the seeds of early destruction".

(Political History of India Vol.2 p.65-1826)

"Mr. James Stuart, in thereport before alluded to treat this part of the subject with great ability". "Are the native of Hindoestan (he asks) a different order of beings that they are to be stunted into honesty and degraded into principle?".

(Report V p.581)

(Political History of India Vol.2 p.141)

SIR JOHN MALCOLM. (2)

"The acquisition of knowledge under a system which almost exclusively excludes the higher classes of our Native subjects from any participation in the Government of their own country, must either rouse them to efforts against our authority, or sink them into a state of abject submission and leave them with few objects in life beyond indolence and sensual indulgence."

(Political History of India Vol.2 p.142-1826)



1836 & 1857. Mr. SAVILLE MARIOT.

(Member of Governor's Council, Bombay) quotes chairman of  
the Court of Proprietors, 1845)

Most of the evils of our rule in India arise directly from, or may be traced to the heavy tribute which that country pays to England " Mr. Mariot quotes the chairman of the Court of Proprietors held on the 28th February 1845) "India paid to the mother country in the shape of home charges that must be considered the annual tribute of £.3,000,000 sterling and daily poured into the lap of the mother country a continual stream of wealth in the shape of private fortunes." x x x

"It will be difficult to satisfy the mind that any country could bear such a drain upon its resources without sustaining very serious injury".

Mr. Mariot continues - "Though the people still, and gratefully do acknowledge the benefits they have derived from the suppression of open violence, yet they emphatically and unanswerably refer their increasing penury as evidencing the existence of a canker-worm that is working their destruction".

(letter to Sir R. Grant - 1836 - Pamphlet  
published in 1857)

(The drain now is £,30,000,000 yearly D.H.)

Mr. P. J. SHORE (Bengal Civil Service. )

"But the Halcyon days of India are over. She has been drained of a large proportion of the wealth she once possessed x x x a sordid system of misrule to which the interest of millions have been sacrificed for the benefit of the few x x x The grinding extortion of the English Government has effected the impoverishment of the country and people to an extent almost unparalleled x x x The fundamental principle of the English had been to make the whole Indian Nation subservient in every possible way to the interests and benefits of themselves x x x The summary is that the British Indian Government has been practically one of the most extortionate and oppressive that ever existed in India. Some acknowledged this and observed that it was the unavoidable result of a foreign yoke. x x x Had the welfare of the people been our object, a very different course would have been adopted and very different results would have followed".

(His book Vol.II - 1837)

1840 Horace Hayman Wilson.

in James Mill's History of India Vol.VI p. 672)

"It is an exhausting drain upon the resources of the country the issue of which is replaced by no reflux; it is an extraction of the life - blood from the veins of national industry which no subsequent introduction of nourishment is furnished to restore.



1852.

## LORD MONTAGLE.

In presenting a petition to the House of Lords says:-

"But a clause recommended or supported as he believed by the high authority of Lord William Bentinck was made part of the last charter act of the 3rd and 4th William IV and affirmed the principle of an opposite policy. It was to the following effect (the 1833 clause) yet notwithstanding his authority, notwithstanding likewise the result of the experiment tried and the spirit of the clause he had cited, there had been a practical exclusion of them from all "Covenanted services", as they were called, from the passing of the last charter upto the present time".

(Hansard Vol. 121 p. 421 p. 496. May 11th 1852.)

1853.

EARL DERBY.

Then Lord Stanley --- He could not refrain from expressing his conviction, that in refusing to carry on examinations in India as well as in England - a thing that was easily practicable - the Government were in fact, negating that which they declared to be one of the Principal objects of their Bill, and confining the Civil Service, as heretofore, to Englishmen. That result was unjust, and he believed it would be most pernicious"(Hansard Vol.129 p.634 - 22-7-1853)

"Let them suppose, for instance, that instead of holding these examinations here in London, that they were to be held in Calcutta. Well, how many Englishmen would go out there - or how many would send out their sons, perhaps to spend two or three years in the country on the chance of obtaining an appointment. Nevertheless, that was exactly the course proposed to be adopted towards the Natives of India".

(Hansard Vol.129 p.784 25-7-1853)

1853.

Mr. John Bright.  
(quoting Mr. Cameron)

"Another subject requiring close attention on the part of Parliament was the employment of the Natives of India in the service of the Government. The Right Hon. member for Edinburgh (Mr. Macaulay) in proposing the India Bill of 1833 had dwelt on one of its clauses, which provided that neither colour nor caste nor religion nor place of birth should be a bar to the employment of persons by the Government, whereas as a matter of fact, from that time to this no person in India had been so employed who might not have been equally employed before that clause was enacted and from the statement of the Right Hon. Gentleman, the President of the Board of Control, that it was proposed to keep up the covenanted service system, it was clear that this most objectionable and most offensive state of things was to continue. Mr. Cameron a gentleman thoroughly versed in the subject, as fourth member of council in India, President of the Indian Law Commission, and of the Council of Education for Bengal - What did he say on this point? He said, - 'the statute of 1833 made the natives of India eligible to all offices under the Company. But during the twenty years that have since elapsed, not one of the natives has been appointed to any offices except such as they were eligible to before the statute'" (Hansard June 3-1853)

"I must say that it is my belief that if a country be found possessing a most fertile soil and capable of bearing every variety of production, and that notwithstanding the people are



Mr. J. BRIGHT (2)

in a state of extreme destitution and suffering, the chances are there is some fundamental error in the Government of that country".

(House of Commons Speech 3rd June 1853)

"It was distinctly declared that the object was to break down the barriers which were supposed to exist to the admission of the Natives as well as Europeans to high Offices in India and yet there was the best authority for saying that nothing whatever had been done in consequence of that clause.

He did not know of a single case where a native of India had been admitted to any office since that time, more distinguished or more highly paid than he would have been competent to fill had that clause been not passed".

(Hansard Vol.29. 775. 25th July 1853)

"We must in future have India governed, not for a handful of Englishmen, not for the Civil Service whose praises are so constantly sounded in this house. You may govern India if you like, for the good of England, but the good of England must come through the channels of the good of India,. There are but two modes of gaining anything by our connection with India, the one is by plundering the people of India, and the other by trading with them. I prefer to do it by trading with them. But in order that England may become rich by trading with India, India itself must become rich. "

(House of Commons 24-6-1858)



Mr. J. BRIGHT (3)

"The cultivators of the soil, the great body of the population of India are in a condition of great impoverishment of great dejection, and of great suffering".

(House of Commons 14-6-1858)

"I say that a government put over 150,000,000 of people which has levied taxes till it can levy no more, which spends all that it can levy and which has borrowed £.100,000,000 more than all that it can levy. I say a Government like that has some fatal defect, which at some not distant time must bring disaster and humiliation to the Government and to the people on whose behalf it rules".

(Speech Manchester Town Hall 11-12-1877)

1853

Mr. RICH.

"As regarded employment in the public service the Natives were placed in a worse position by the present bill than they were before. The intention of the Act of 1833 was to open the service to the Natives; and surely now when our Indian Empire was more secure than it was at that time, it was not wise to deviate from such a line of policy. His object was that all offices in India should be effectively opened to Natives and therefore he would not require them to come over to this country for examination, as such a condition would necessarily entail on Natives of India great expense, expose them to the risk of losing caste, and thereby operate as a bar against their obtaining the advantages held out to all other of Her Majesty's subjects. The course of education through which the youth of India at present went at the established colleges in that country afforded the most satisfactory proof of their efficiency for discharging the duties of Office". x x x

This was not just or wise and would infallibly lead to a most dangerous agitation, by which in a few years that which would now be accepted as a boon should be wrested from the legislature as a right. They had opened the commerce of India in spite of the croakers of the day. Let them open the posts of Government to the Natives and they would have a more happy and contented people."

(Hansard Vol.129 p.682-22-7-1853)

Mr. Moncton Milnes.

"He thought the Bill was highly objectionable in this respect that while it pretended to lay down the generous principle that no condition of colour, creed or caste was to be regarded as a disqualification for office, it hampered the principle with such regulations and modifications as would render it all but impossible for the Native to avail themselves of it. The Bill in this respect was a delusion and would prove a source of chronic and permanent discontent to the people of India."

(Hansard Vol.129, p.787 - 25-7-1853)



1853.

Earl Granville.

"I, for one, speaking individually have never felt the slightest alarm at Natives, well qualified and fitted for public employments being employed in any branch of the public service of India".

(Hansard Vol.129 p.1335 - 5-8-1853.)

Mr. John Bruce Norton.

1854. (In his letter to Mr. Robert Lowe in 1854 quotes the  
The words of Mr. Bourdillon - Madras Civil Service  
and member of the Commission of public work.

"Now, it may certainly be said of almost the whole  
of the ryots, paying even the highest of these sums, and even  
of many holding to a much larger amount, that they are always  
in poverty and generally in debt. x x x "

About the labourer; "As respect food, houses, and clothing  
they are in a worse condition than the class of poor ryots  
above spoken of x x x In fact, almost the whole of his earnings  
must necessarily be consumed in a spare allowance of coarse and  
unvaried food, and a bare sufficiency of clothing. The wretched  
hut he lives in can hardly be valued at all. As to anything  
in the way of education or mental culture, he xx is utterly  
destitute of it."

1859.

34.

111

Sir George Wingate.

"Taxes spent in the country from which they are raised are totally different in the effects from taxes raised in one country and spent in another,. In the former case taxes collected from the population x x x are again returned to the industrious classes .... But the case is wholly different when the taxes are not spent in the country from which they are raised x x x they constitute x x x An absolute loss and extinction of the whole amount withdrawn from the taxed country x x x might aswell be thrown into the sea x x x Such is the nature of the tribute we have so long exacted from India x x x From this explanation some faint conception may be formed of the cruel crushing effect to the tribute upon India ----- The Indian tribute whether weighed in the scales of justice or viewed in the light of our own interest, will be found to be at variance with humanity, with common sense and with the received maxims of economic science."

(A few words on our financial relative with India,  
1859)



1864 and 1873 Lord Lawrence.

(Then Sir John ) Viceroy - 1864.

"India is, on the whole, a very poor country; the mass of the population enjoy only a scanty subsistence".

Before the finance Committee - 1873.

"The mass of the people of India are so miserably poor that they have barely the means of subsistence. It is as much as a man can do to feed his family or half feed them, let alone spending money on what may be called luxuries or conveniences."



1867-1868

Lord Iddesleigh.

(Then Sir Stafford Northcote).

The English Government must necessarily labour under great disadvantages, and we should endeavour as far as possible to develop the system of Native Government to bring out Native talent and statesmanship, and to enlist in the cause of Government all that was great and good in them".

(Hansard Vol. 287 p.1068 - 24-5-1867)

"The legislature has determined that the more important and responsible appointments in these Provinces shall be administered exclusively by those who are now admitted to the public service solely by competition, but there is a large class of appointments in the regulation, as well as in the non-regulation provinces, some of them scarcely honourable and lucrative than those reserved by law for the covenanted Civil Service, to which the Natives of India have certainly a preferential claim, but which, as you seem to admit, have upto this time been too exclusively conferred upon Europeans. Those persons, however competent, not having entered the service by the prescribed channel, can have no claim upon the patronage of the Government - none, at least, that ought to be allowed to override the inherent rights of the Natives of the country; & therefore, while all due consideration should be shown to well deserving incumbents, both as regards their present position and their promotion, there can be no valid reason why the class of appointments which they now hold should not be filled, in future, by

Lord Iddesleigh. (2)

Natives of ability and high character".

(Despatch of 8th February 1868 to the Indian Government)

(Now is not this as much a dead letter as anything else in this matter for the Indians?) D.H.

"Nothing could be more wonderful than our empire in India, but we ought to consider on what conditions we held it, and how our predecessors held it. The greatness of the Mogul Empire depended upon the liberal policy that was pursued by men like Akbar availing themselves of Hindu talent and assistance, and identifying themselves as far as possible with the people of the country. He thought that they ought to take a lesson from such a circumstance, and if they were to do their duty towards India, they could only discharge that duty by obtaining the assistance and counsel of all who were great and good in that country. It would be absurd in them to say that there was not a large fund of statesmanship and ability in the Indian Character".

(Speech in Parliament 24-5-1867)

1867

LORD SALISBURY.

(Then Lord Cranborne)

"The general concurrence of opinion of those who know India best is that a number of well-governed small Native States are in the highest degree advantageous to the development of the political and moral condition of the people of India x x x

The British Government has never been guilty of the violence and illegality of Native Sovereigns. But it has faults of its own which, though they are far more guiltless in intention, are more terrible in effect x x x produce an amount of inefficiency which when reinforced by natural causes and circumstances, creates a terrible amount of misery.

(The natural cause and circumstances are the "bleeding inseparable from system of foreign dominion. D.H.)

(Hansard Vol.187 p. 1073-24th May 1867)

"But it would be a great evil if the result of our dominion was that the Natives of India who were capable of Government should be absolutely and hopelessly excluded from such a career."

(Hansard Vol.165 p.839)

1870. "One of the most serious dangers you have to guard against is the possibility of jealousy arising from the introduction of Natives into the service."

(Debate on the clause of Act of 1870)



1881.

Lord Salisbury. (2)

(As Secretary of State for India)

"The Injury is exaggerated in the case of India, where so much of the revenue is exported without a direct equivalent as India must be bled, the lancet should be directed to the parts where the blood is congested, or at least sufficient, not to those already feeble for the want of it".

(Minute Return C 3056 - 1 - 1881)

1883.

"When Lord Northbrook pleaded the Act of Parliament of 1833, The Court of Directors' explanatory despatch and the great and solemn proclamation of 1858, Lord Salisbury in reply said:-"My Lords, I do not see what is the use of all this political hypocrisy".

(Hansard Vol.277 p. 1792. 9-4-1883)

1895.

About Turkey.

"That above all treaties and above all combinations of external powers, 'the nature of things' if you please, or the providence of God, 'if you please to put it so, has determined that persistent and constant misgovernment must lead the government which follows it to its doom; and while I readily admit that it is quite possible for the Sultan of Turkey, if he will, to govern all his subjects in justice and in peace is not exempt more than any other potentate from the law that injustice will bring the highest on earth to ruin".

(Lord Mayor's dinner 9-11-1895)

1868.

Mr. Fawcett.

(quoted Lord Metcalf) and

(Sir Bartle Frere)

"There would be no difficulty in carrying out this plan . . . . His proposal was that there should be examinations at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, that there should be the same papers and the same tests as in London, as the successful candidates, whether English or Natives, should spend two years in this country. To this he had reason to believe, from memorials he had received from Calcutta and Bombay, the Natives would not object, though they naturally objected to coming over to England in the first instance without any guarantee of success. All they ask for was to be subjected to precisely the same trial as the English . . . . With reference to their alleged inferiority of character he had asked what would be the effect on English character, if we, having been subjected, were debarred from all but the meanest offices of the State. Our civilization and our literature would be destroyed. Nothing would save us from debasement. It was an indisputable fact that many Natives competent to govern a Province were fulfilling the humblest duties at salaries less than was received by the youngest member of the Indian Civil Service. Lord Metcalf had well said that the bane of our system was that the advantages were reaped by one class and the work was done by another . . . . Sir Bartle Frere in one of his despatches, ~~was~~ had been much struck with the fact that the ablest exponents of English policy and our best

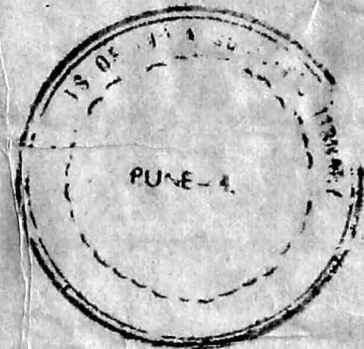
Mr. Fawcett. (2)

coadjutors in adapting that policy to the wants of the various nations occupying Indian soil were to be found among the Natives who had received a high-class English education".

(Hansard Vol. 191 p. 139/40 May 8th 1868)

When Mr. Fawcett proposed simultaneous examinations, he did not know the report of 1860 of the five members of the Council of the Indian Secretary, as it was not published then.

D.N.





1869.

Sir George Campbell.

quotes from official authority 1869

About the Madras Presidency:

"The Bulk of the people are paupers. They can just pay their cesses in a good year, and fail altogether when the season is bad. Remissions have to be made, perhaps every third year, in most districts. There is a bad year in some one district, or group of districts, every year".

"I have just received an extract from a friend in India. Mr. W.R. Robertsen, Agricultural Reporter to the Government of Madras, says of the Agricultural labourer:- His condition is a ~~xxxxxx~~ disgrace to any country calling itself civilized. In the best seasons the gross income of himself and his family does not exceed 3d. per day throughout the year, and in a bad season their circumstances are most deplorable. x x x The condition of the agricultural population of Ireland is vastly superior to the condition of the similar classes in this country".

1869.

Duke of Argyll.

(Speech as Secretary of State for India 11-3-1869)

"With regard, however, to the employment of Natives in the Government of their country, in the covenanted service formerly of the Company and now of the Crown, I must say, that we have not fulfilled our duty, or the promises and engagements which we have made. In the act of 1833 this declaration was solemnly put forth by the Parliament of England:—'And be it enacted that no natives of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Company'. Now I well remember that in the debates in this house in 1853, when the renewal of the Charter was under the consideration of Lord Aberdeen's Government, my late noble friend Lord Monteagle complained, and I think with great force, that while professing to open every office of profit and employment under the Company or the Crown to the Natives of India we practically excluded them by laying down regulations as to the fitness which we knew Natives could never fulfil. If the only door of admission to the Civil Service of India is a competitive examination carried on in London, what chance or what possibility is there of Natives of India acquiring that fair share in the administration of their own country which their education and abilities would enable them to fulfil, and therefore entitle them to possess? I have always felt that the regulations laid

## DUKE of ARGYLL (2)

down for the competitive examination rendered nugatory the declaration of the Act of 1833".

"The vicious practice, supposed to be rapidly growing up in India, of appointing Englishmen to all the well paid Un-covenanted Offices".

(Sir E. Perry's memorandum to Lord Salisbury 9-12-1876)



1870, 1880 & 1893. Mr. Gladstone.

"Admitted about India as "too much burdened".

(Hansard Vol. 201, p. 521)

"The expenditure of India and especially the Military expenditure is alarming" (Hansard Vol. XIV p. 622 30-6-1893)

"The law and argument of force, which is the only law and argument which we possess or apply".

(Hansard Vol. 251 p. 930 12-3-80)

"It is liberty alone which fits men for liberty"

(Sir Henry Cotton's New India - 1907 p. 165)

" I am deeply convinced that among us all systems whether religious or political, which rest on a principle of absolutism, must of necessity be not indeed tyrannical, but feeble and ineffective systems and that methodically to enlist the members of a community, with due regard to their several capacities in the performance of public duties, is the way to make that community powerful and healthful, to give a firm seat to its rulers and to engender a warm and intelligent devotion to those beneath their sway".

(Daily news 5-6-1905)

(The following extracts were expressed in connection with Ireland, and they apply to India with far greater force. Ireland suffers national disadvantages but enjoys all imperial advantages But poor India - in its "inseperable evils" suffers all national and imperial disadvantages and miseries) D.N.

Mr. Gladstone (2)

"It is the predominance of that moral force for which I heartily pray in the deliberations of this house, and the conduct of our whole public policy, for I am convinced that upon that predominance depends that which should be the first object of all our desires as it is of all our daily official prayers, namely that union of heart and sentiment which constitutes the two bases of strength at home, and therefore both of strength and good fame throughout the civilized world."

"There can be no more melancholy, and in the last result, no more degrading spectacle upon earth than the spectacle of oppression, or of wrong in whatever form, inflicted by the deliberate act of a nation upon another nation". x x x x

"But on the other hand there can be no nobler spectacle than that which we think is now dawning upon us, the spectacle of a nation deliberately set on the removal of injustice, deliberately determined to break - not through terror, and not in haste, but under the sole influence of duty and honour - determined to break with whatever remains still existing of an evil tradition, and determined in that way at once to pay a debt of justice, and to consult by a bold, wise and good Act, its own interest and its own honour".

(In connection with India, England has to consult, by bold wise and good acts, its own interests and its own honour. As long as England disregards its moral duties and its solemn engagements she cannot consult its own interest and its own honour. Righteousness alone will exalt a nation - injustice will bring the highest to ruin" (Salisbury) D.N.

## LORD MAYO

"I have only this object in all I do. I believe we have not done our duty to the people of the land. Millions have been spent on the conquering race which might have been spent in enriching and in elevating the children of the soil. We have done much, but we can do a great deal more. It is, however, impossible, unless we spend less on the 'interest' and more on the people" x x x "We must take into account the inhabitants of the country - the welfare of the people of India is our primary object. If we are not here for their good, we ought not to be here at all" -- The Hindu of 4th May 1908.

1871.

Lord Mayo.

(quotes Mr. Grant Duff.)

"I admit the comparative poverty of this country, as compared with many other countries of the same magnitude and importance, and I am convinced of the impolicy and injustice of imposing burdens upon this people which may be called either crushing or oppressive". Mr. Grant Duff, in an able speech which he delivered the other day in the House of Commons, the report of which arrived by last mail, stated, with truth, that the position of our finance was wholly different from that of England. 'In England', he stated, 'you have a comparatively wealthy population. The income of the United Kingdom has, I believe, been guessed at £.800,000,000 per annum; the income of British India has been guessed at £.300,000,000 per annum. That gives



LORD MAYO. (2)

well on to £.30 per annum as the income of every person in the United Kingdom, and only £.2 per annum as the Income of every person in British India". "I believe that Mr. Grant Duff had good ground for the statement he made, and I wish to say, with reference to it, that we are perfectly cognisant of the relative poverty of this country as compared with European States".

(Speech in the Legislative Council 3-3-1871)

Report Material and Moral Progress (1871/2 p.120)

W. G. Pedder.

Sir Louis Mallet.

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Report Material and Moral Progress.

"The Calcutta Missionary conference had dwelt on the miserable and abject condition of the Bengal Ryots, and there is evidence that they suffer many things, and are often in want of absolute necessaries."

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W. G. Pedder.

"Who (the people of India) if an almost universal consensus of opinion may be relied on, are rapidly going from bad to worse under our rule, is a most serious question, and one well deserving the attention of Government".

(Times of India Summary 6-6-1873)

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Sir Louis Mallet.

"By a constant habit of palliating symptoms instead of grappling with disease - may we not be leaving to those who come after a task so aggravated by our neglect or timidity that what is difficult for us may be impossible for them".

(Minute 3-2-1875 - Par. Tet C. 3086-1-1881  
p.135)

1877.

Lord Lytton.

"But you the Natives of India, whatever your race and whatever your creed, have a recognised claim to share largely with your English fellow-subjects according to your capacity for the task in the admistry of the country you inhabit. This claim is founded on the highest justice. It has been repeatedly affirmed by British and Indian statesmen and by the legislation of the Imperial Parliament. It is recognised by the Government of India as binding on its honour and consistent with all the aim of its policy".

(Assumption of the title of Empress of India 1st  
January 1877)

"The act of Parliament is so undefined, and indefinite obligations on the part of Government of India towards its Native Subjects are so obviously dangerous that no sooner was the Act passed than the Government began to devise means for practically evading the fulfilment of it. Under the terms of the Act which are studied and laid to heart by that increasing class of educated Natives whose developments the Government encourages without being able to satisfy ~~that~~ the aspirations of its ~~exis-~~ ~~ting~~ members, every such native if once admitted to Govern-  
-ment employment in posts previously reserved to the covenanted service is entitled to expect & claim appointment in the fair course of promotion to the highest post in that service. We all ~~that~~ know these claims & expectations never can or ~~ill~~ be fulfilled



Lord Lytton.

We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them and we have chosen the least straightforward course. The application to Natives of the competitive Examination system - as conducted in England - and the recent reduction in the age at which candidates can compete are all so many deliberate and transparent and subterfuges for stultifying the act, and reducing it to a dead letter. Since I am writing confidentially, I do not hesitate to say that both the Governments of England and India appear to me, upto the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear".

(Report of the First Indian National Congress p.30)

"We do not employ Natives more largely because they are not well qualified, and they are not well qualified because we do not employ them enough".

1884.

Sir Richard Temple.

"Many Native Statesmen have been produced of whom the Indian Nation may justly be proud, and among whom may be mentioned Salar Jung of Hyderabad, Dinkar Rao of Gwalior, Madhao Rao of Baroda, Kirparam of Jammu, Pandit Manphal of Alwar, Faiz Ali Khan of Kotah, Madhao Rao Barvi of Kolhapur, and Purnia of Mysore\*.

(Wis. India in 1880)

(I have not laboured the point of the fitness of Indians for any post as that is now no longer a moot-point. D.N.)

1881.

Sir William Hunter.

"Forty years hereafter we should have had an Indian Ireland multiplied fifty-fold on our hands. The condition of things in India compels the Government to enter on these problems their solution and the constant demand for improvement in the general executive, will require an increasing amount of administrative labour. India cannot afford to pay for that labour at the English rates, which are the highest in the world for Official service. But she can afford to pay for it at her own Native rates, which are perhaps the lowest in the world for such employment"... "You cannot work with imported labour, and I regard the more extended employment of the Natives not only as an act of justice but as a financial necessity". The appointment of a few Natives annually to the coveted Civil Service will not solve the problem..... If we are to govern the Indian people efficiently and cheaply, we must govern them by means of themselves, and pay for the administration at the market rates of Native labour".

"I do not believe that a people numbering one sixth of the whole inhabitants of the globe, and whose aspirations have been nourished from their earliest youth on the strong food of English liberty, can be permanently denied a voice in the Government in the country".(England's work in India ps.118-19-1881)

Forty millions of the people of British India go through life on insufficient food."



1882.

Lord Cromer (then Major Baring)

## Finance Minister Budget Speech - 1882

"In England the average income per head of population was £.33. in France it was 23; in Turkey, which was the poorest country in Europe, it was £.4 perhead.

(I may add here that Mulhall gives for Russia above £.9 per head D.N.)

"It has been calculated that the average income per head of population in India is not more than Rs.27, per year; and though I am not prepared to pledge myself to the absolute accuracy of a calculation of this sort, it is sufficiently accurate to justify the conclusion that the tax paying community is exceedingly poor. To derive any very large increase of revenue from so poor a population as this is obviously impossible, and if it were possible, would be unjustifiable." "But he thought it was quite sufficient to show the extreme poverty of the mass of the people" x x x "He would ask honourable members to think what Rs.27 per annum was to support a person, and then he would ask whether a few annas was nothing to such poor people."

"It is only what ought to be expected by every thoughtful man, that, after fifty years of free press, and thirty years of expanding education, with European ideas flowing into the country on every side, and old indigenous customs, habits and prejudices breaking down, changes should be taking place in the thoughts, the desires, and the aims of the intelligent and educated man of the country which no wise and cautious Government

## Lord Cromer (2)

can afford to disregard, and to which they must gradually adapt their system of administration if they do not wish to see it shattered by forces which they have themselves called into being but which they have failed to guide and control."

(Sir Henry Cotton's New India 1907 p.212)

1883.

Duke of Devonshire.

(Then Lord Hartington)

(Then Secretary of State for India)

"I could quote passages in letters in the Indian papers in which it is admitted that the agitation was directed against the policy of the Home Government in providing appointments for Native Civilions while there are many Europeans without appointments". x x x "Agitation of the same character has been seen before when there was just as little foundation for it. Lord Macaulay, Lord Canning, and other Anglo-Indian statesmen experienced the same kind of opposition from Anglo-Indians; but all these reproaches have recoiled, not against the statesmen with regard to whom they were uttered, but against the persons uttering them themselves".

"There is a further reason in my opinion, why this policy should be adopted, and that is that it is not wise to educate the people of India, to introduce among them your civilization and your progress and your literature, and at the same time to tell them they shall never have any chance of taking any part or share in the administration of the affairs of their country, except by their getting rid in the first instance of their European rulers. Surely it would not be wise to tell a patriotic native of India that".

(Hansard 23-8-1883)

"Whatever difference of opinion there may be, there can, in my opinion, be very little doubt that India is insuf-



## Duke of Devonshire. (2)

many districts in India in which the number of officials is altogether insufficient, and that is owing to the fact that the Indian revenue would not bear the strain if a sufficient number of Europeans were appointed. The Government of India cannot afford to spend more than they do in the administration of the country, and if the country is to be better governed that can only be done by the employment of the best and most intelligent of the Natives in the service."

(Hansard 23-8-1883.)

1886.

Sir Auckland Colvin.

described the name of the people of India as;

Men whose income at the best is barely sufficient to afford them the sustenance necessary to support life, living as they do, upon the barest necessaries of life."

(Speech of Income Tax January 1886)

1886.

Lord Randolph Churchill.

(Secretary of State for India)

"It need hardly be said that it is in consequence of the large obligatory payments which the Government of India has to make in England in gold currency that the fall in the exchange value of the rupee affects the public finances."

"The position of India in relation to taxation and the sources of the public revenues is very peculiar, not merely from the habits of the people, and their strong aversion to change, which is more specially exhibited to new forms of taxation but likewise from the character of Government, which is in the hands of foreigners, who hold all the principal administrative offices and form so large a part of the army. The impatience of new taxation, which would have to be borne wholly as a consequence of the foreign rule imposed on the country, and virtually to meet additions, to charges arising outside of the country, would constitute a political danger, the real magnitude of which, it is to be feared, is not at all appreciated by persons who have no knowledge of or concern in, the Government of India but which those responsible for that Government have long regarded as of the most serious order."

(Ret.C 4868 26-1-1886)



Sir Charles W. Dilke and Sir Charles Crosswaite.

1890.

Sir Charles W. Dilke.

"As has been well shown, men who speak better English than most Englishmen; who conduct able newspapers in our tongue; who form the majority on town councils which admirably supervise the affairs of great cities; who, as Native Judges, have reached the highest judicial posts; who occupy seats in the provincial, the Presidency and the Viceregal Councils, or, as powerful ministers excellently rule vast Native States, - can no longer be treated as hopelessly inferior to ourselves in Governmental power. These men look upon the queen's proclamations as their charters, and point out that, while there is no legal reason against their filling some proportion, at all events of the highest executive posts, there are as a fact virtually no natives high up in the covenanted Civil Service".

(Hateson's Ind. Nat. Congress 1909 - Par. 2 - p. 21)

1892.

Sir Charles Crosswaite.

"The real question was who was to get the trade with them, and how we could make the most of them so as to find fresh markets for our goods and also employment for those superfluous articles of the present day, our boys." (as if other people had no "boys" of theirs D.N.)

(Society of Arts - 10-2-1892)

Debate on SIAM.

1893.

Sir David Barbour and Lord Lansdown (Viceroy)

1893.

Sir David Barbour.

(Finance Minister)

"The financial position of the Government of India at the present moment is such as to give cause for apprehension"

"The prospects of the future are disheartening".

(Par. Ret. 207 of 1893 Financial Statement 23-3-93)

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Lord Lansdown.

1893.

(Viceroy).

"We should be driven to lay before the Council so discouraging an account of our finances, and to add the admission that, for the present, it is beyond our power to describe the means by which we can hope to extricate ourselves from the difficulties and embarrassments which surround us." My hon. friend (Sir David Barbour) is, I am afraid, but too well justified in regarding our position with grave apprehension". We have to consider not so much the years which are past and gone as those which are immediately ahead of us, and if we look forward to these, there can be no doubt that we have cause for serious alarm. "

(Parl. Ret. 207 of 1893 Financial Statement  
23-3-93.)

1893.

Lord Northbrook.

"The whole of the ordinary expenses in the Abyssinian expedition were paid by India. Only the extra ordinary expenses being paid by the Home Government, the argument used being that India would have to pay her troops in the ordinary way, and she ought not to seek to make a profit out of the affair. But how did the Home Government treat the Home Government when troops were sent out during the Mutiny? Did they say, 'We don't want to make any profit out of this. Not a bit of it. Every single sent out was paid for by India during the whole time though only temporary use was made of them, including the cost of their drilling and training as recruits until they were sent out.'"

(Debate Vol. XII. p. 874 15-5-93)

"Whether it was Lord Dalhousie, with his imperial instincts, or Lord Canning, with the responsibility laid upon him of dealing with the Mutiny, or Lord Lawrence, with his great knowledge of the Internal organisation of the country or Lord Mayo, associated of childhood with the conservative party - all alike held that there should be no distinction of class or race, and that there should be one law for all classes of Her Majesty's subjects".

(Sir Henry Cotton's New India 1907 p. 196)



1895. "The Times" and Lord George Hamilton. 1899.

The Times.

"A man may suffer the restriction of his liberty with patience for the advancement of his material prosperity. He may sacrifice material prosperity for the sake of a liberty which he holds more valuable. When his public rights and his private interests are alike attacked the restraining influence on which the peace of civilized societies depends are dangerously weakened."

(10th October 1895)

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Lord George Hamilton.

"Our Government will be never popular in India."

"Our Government never can be popular in India".

(Times 16-6-1899)

(What else can be accepted if "the inseparable evils" are imposed by himself to the utmost producing their full inevitable injurious effects" D.N.)

SIR HENRY COTTON.

"There can be no doubt that English Rule in its present form cannot continue. The leaders of the National movement assume, and assume rightly, that the connexion between India and England will not be snapped." x x x "Taking these (all drain from India to England in various shapes) into consideration, it is a moderate computation that the annual drafts from India to Great Britain amount to a total of Thirty Millions .... It can never be to the advantage of the people of India to remit annually these enormous sums to a foreign country". x x x (India December 2 1904)

"The key note of the administrative Reform is the gradual substitution of Indian for European Official Agency. This is the one and towards ~~the~~ which the educated Indians are concentrating their efforts. The concession of this demand is the only way by which we can make any pretence of satisfying even the most moderate of their legitimate aspirations. It is the first and most pressing duty the Government is called on to discharge. It is necessary as to economic measure. But it is necessary also on higher grounds than these of economy."

Few worse Governments can be devised than one in which the Governors are launched into office at an immature age; and when years and practice have refined their judgment and qualified them for their task, they make way for others to renew the same process—make their mistakes, learn wisdom, and spend the wisdom acquired in an idle and objectless existence in another sphere

SIR HENRY COTTON. (2)

or, in the best contingency, not in the service of those at whose expense they have acquired it".

"It may be truly said, that if our desire to eventually establish an independent Government, we can only do so by training the people to a sense of self-help and self reliance through familiarity with the details of executive work x x x (now India)



1902.

LORD CURZON.

In his speech at Jaipore - November 1902.

"There is no spectacle which finds less favour in my eyes, or which I have done more to discourage, than that of a cluster of Europeans settling down upon a Native State and sucking from it the moisture which ought to give sustenance to its own people" ("India" December 2 1904)

(Now what applies to Native States is also just the "evil" inseparable from the present policy of the foreign British rule in India D.M.)

"No one has forgotten the wise Council, which Lord Curzon, when Viceroy addressed to the present ruler of Mysore "one of His Highness's Duties", said he, "was to train up his own subjects to hold high and responsible positions in the State".

(Madras Standard 11th March 1909)

(So was it the duty of the rulers of British India to drain up their subjects in India to hold high and responsible positions in India, and to give them such positions D.M.)

1903.

Sir Rebbert Giffin.

"How vast must be the economic gulf separating the people of the United Kingdom and the self-Governing Colonies from India and like parts of the Empire occupied by subjects races, when we find that forty two millions of people in the United Kingdom consume in food and drink alone an amount equal to the whole income of three hundred millions of people in India".

(Sir H. Cotton's New India 1907 - p.111)

Condition of England under Similar Circumstances  
of the drain of Italy.

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"In fact through the operation of the Crusades, all Europe was tributary to the Pope x x x a steady drain of money from every realm x x x

"The ~~sixteenth~~ picture here offered represents the actual condition of things (in England) x x x

"Fens forty or fifty miles in length, reeking with miasma and fever, though round the walls of the Abbeys there might be beautiful gardens, green lawns, shady walks, and many murmuring streams. x x x The peasant's cabin was made of reeds or sticks, plastered over with mud. His fire was chimneyless - often it was made of peat. In the objects and the manner of his existence he was but a step above the industrious beaver and was building his dam in the adjacent stream x x x Vermin in abundance in the clothing and beds; the common food was peas, vetches, farn-roots and even the bark of trees x x x The population sparse as it was, was perpetually thinned by pestilence and want. Nor was the State of the townsman better than that of the rustic; his bed was a bag of straw, with a fair round log for his pillow".

(Draper's intellectual development of Europe) 5th

Edition pp. 365, 494/5)

## Appendix C.

The Report of the Committee of five members of  
the Council of the Secretary of  
State for India.

20th January 1860.

2. We are in the first place unanimously of opinion that it is not only just, but expedient, that the Natives of India shall be employed in the administration of India, to as large an extent as possible consistently with the maintenance of British supremacy, and have considered whether any increased facilities can be given in this direction.

3. It is true that, even at present, no positive disqualification exists. By Act 3 and 4 William IV cap. 85, sec. 87, it is enacted 'that no native of the said territories nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Company'. It is obvious, therefore, that when the competitive system was adopted, it could not have been intended to exclude Natives of India from the Civil Service of India.

4. Practically, however, they are excluded. The law declares them eligible, but the difficulties opposed to a native leaving India and residing in England for a time, are so great that as a general rule, it is almost impossible for a Native, successfully to compete at the periodical examinations held in England. Were this inequality removed, we should no longer be exposed to the charge of keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope.



## Appendix C. (2)

5. The modes have been suggested by which the object in view might be attained. The first is, by allowing a certain portion of the total number of appointments declared in each year to be competed for in India by Natives, and by all other natural-born subject of Her Majesty resident in India. The second is to hold simultaneously two examinations, one in England and one in India, both being, as far as practicable, identical in their nature and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list, according to merit by the Civil Service Commissioners. The Committee have no hesitation in giving the preference to the second scheme, as being the fairest, and the most in accordance with the principles of a general competition for a common object.

6. In order to aid them in carrying out a scheme of this nature, the Committee have consulted the Civil Service Commission and through the favour of Sir Edward Ryan, they have obtained a very able paper, in which the advantages and disadvantages of either plan are fully and lucidly discussed. They will solicit your careful consideration of this document, and will only in conclusion, add that, in the event of either of the plans being adopted, it will be requisite to provide for the second examination of successful competitors in India, as nearly as possible resembling that now required in England. The Civil Service Commissioners do not anticipate much difficulty in arranging for this. The Committee, however, are decidedly of opinion that

## Appendix C. (3)

the examination papers in which the competition is to proceed in India and England should be identical; but they think, in justice to the Natives, that three colloquial Oriental Languages should be added to the three modern European languages, so as to give the candidates the opportunity of selection\*.



Private.

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Vesava, via Andheri Station,

B. N. & C. I. Ry.,

23rd April 1910.

Dear Lord Morley and Lord Minto,

In continuation of my last letter of 3rd April 1909, I give the following tables made up from official records to further illustrate the aspects and consequences of the "evils inseparable from the system of remote foreign dominion" from the financial point of view in a broad way.

Mr. Bright has said: "Tell me what the financial condition of a country is and I will tell you all about its Government and people" (The Bengalee 1st March 1910)

Knowing as Mr. Bright did the financial condition of British India he has expressed his views about its Government and people for which kindly refer to my last letter pp. 27/9

The table gives gross revenue per head of British India as compared with that of the United Kingdom, of the self-governing British Colonies and of some European Foreign Countries.

The result of the comparison is a very sad one indeed for British India after British Administration of 150 years by British men drawn from the same class who govern the United Kingdom and the self-governing Colonies.

Is it any wonder, and it could not be otherwise, that for any proposal for improvements the eternal reply is "no funds"? Is it any wonder that the Finance Minister of this present year (1910) wails, as many of his predecessors have wailed. Sir Guy Fleetwood-Wilson says:-

"I can understand a certain malicious satisfaction in extracting revenue out of Multi-Millionaries. But this is not a rich country. A large proportion of its people are poor. An appreciable proportion are very poor. No right-minded men can impose additional taxation in India with a light heart. To me it is a very genuine sorrow to be obliged to do so. I did not sow the storm but I am reaping the whirlwind". He again said, "In my judgment we have reached a point at which we ought to stop and consider whether India can afford all that she has hitherto been aiming at".

This genuine wail - though British India is self-governed

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With regard to Sir Guy's remark about "reaping the whirlwind" I had written to Lord George Hamilton in my letter of 12th October 1900:-

"x x x the efforts which have been made from time to time either to check the admission of Indians into x x x x are the

sowings

is capable of giving as much per head as most of the Colonies and as much as a Million Sterling for every penny per head.

If British India as self-governed gave lower than the lowest figure in the table - say only 20 shillings instead of the wretched 6 shillings per head and she can give £.240,000,000 of revenue instead of the miserable £.71000000 (including opium) with hardship. At 2.3/- per head as many countries in the table show, the revenue would be above £.700,000,000. Yes, "We ought to stop and consider."

Leaving the past as gone, I may ask for the future will England to her greatest glory allow British India to realise her full capacity and benefit by self-Government like the Colonies

For "the evils inseparable from the system of remote foreign ~~xxxxxx~~ dominion" self-Government like that of the Colonies is the only remedy. Of course no body with common sense can

---

sowing of bitter seeds; and though their bitter fruit may not be reaped in our time, the bitter fruit must and will come in some form or other, and future British Generations, who will have to taste the bitter fruit, will curse the hands that have marred the noble policy and sown the bitter seeds."



say that this can be done at once. But what is necessary now is that the people should be satisfied that the British Rulers have, true to their righteous character and instincts and to their true glory decided to bring about the evolution into self-government.

The first immediate and most important step towards this satisfaction is to adopt measures to give a fully free and impartial and systematic admission to Indians for appointments in all the higher Indian Services including the I.C.S., by simultaneous Examinations in India and England, and otherwise, to give full effect to the Act of 1833 and the Royal Proclamations.

It is high time that the most important and fundamental step of British honour, justice and civilization, be undertaken with earnestness and in bold British heart.

With repeating my thanks for all the courtesy,

Yours sincerely,

Dadabhai Naoroji

The Rt. Hon. Viscount Morley of Blackburn, O.M.

Secretary of State for India,

L O N D O N.

H. H. The Earl of Minto G.C.M.G., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.F.

Viceroy and Governor General of India,

S I M L A.

Gross Revenue per Head  
of  
British India.

Compared with that of the United Kingdom  
of Self-Governing British Colonies  
and of some European Foreign Countries.

Statistical Abstract of British India No. 43

Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom No. 56

Statistical Abstract of British Colonies etc. No. 40

Statistical Abstract of Foreign Countries No. 34.

British India.

Population in 1891 - 221,376,957; in 1901 - 232,072,832

Increase 4.83 per cent or say nearly 5 per cent in 10 years

Estimate for 1907/8 - of increase of seven years  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent  
will be 240,195,381; for 1907/8.

Population 240,195,381; Gross Revenue £.71,003,275

Gross Revenue per head £.0:5:11 - or nearly six shillings.



Gross Revenue per head  
of  
The United Kingdom  
for 1907/8.

Estimated Population in 1908 - 44,546,803

Gross Revenue 1907/8 £.156,537,690.

Gross Revenue per head £.3:10:3.

-----  
British Self-Governing Countries.

	Population (estimated on 31/12/07)	Gross Revenue 1907 ending 30th June £.	Gross Revenue per head £.s.d.
New South Wales	1,573,224	15,152,206	9:12:7
Victoria	1,258,140	9,690,796	7:14:0
South Australia including Northern Territory	396,028	3,721,034	9:7:11
Western Australia	263,846	3,837,604	14:10:10
Tasmania	184,008	1,184,715	6: 8:9
Queensland	546,467	5,072,479	9: 5:7
Dominion of New Zealand	941,824	9,154,295	9:14:4
Natal	1,164,285	3,471,932	2:19:7
Cape of Good Hope	2,507,500	7,701,192	3: 1:5
Orange River Colony	447,088	757,323	1:15:2
Transvaal	1,222,385	4,450,867	3:12:9
Total North America	6,387,952	17,020,034 (1905/6) ending 30th June.	2:13:3

Gross Revenue per head  
of some foreign European countries.

	Population.	Gross Revenue.	Gross Revenue
		£.	£. s.d.
Russian Empire in- cluding Finland	(1905) 145,950,000	315,584,000	2: 3:2
Norway	(1906) 2,321,000	6,344,957	2: 14:8
Sweden	(1907) 5,378,000	10,743,000	1: 18:1
Denmark	(1907) 2,630,000	7,056,959	2: 13:7
German Empire	(1907) 62,097,000	127,656,000	2: 1:1
Belgium	(1905) 7,161,000	28,255,400	3: 16:10
France excluding (Algeria)	(1907) 39,267,000	154,645,000	3: 18:9
Italy	(1907) 33,910,000	89,652,008	2: 12:10
Austria	(1906) 27,726,000	53,687,000	3: 0:4
Hungary	(1906) 20,469,000	56,549,000	2: 15:3

Vasava, Via Anchari, P. & C. Ltd.

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23rd April 1910.

Dear Lord Morley,

The continuation letter which I have sent you to-day was not intended to be addressed to you officially as Secretary of State for India. It is a mistake of the Clerk in so addressing.

Yours sincerely,

Dadabhai Naoroji

Rt. Hon. Lord Morley,

India Office,

London.



Vesava, Via Andheri B.B.& C.I.Ry.

23rd April 1910.

Dear Lord Minto,

The continuation letter which I have sent you today was not intended to be addressed to you officially as Viceroy and Governor-General of India. It is a mistake of the clerk in so addressing.

Yours sincerely,

Dadabhai Naoroji

His Excellency Lord Minto,

Sirsa.

The following extracts were sent with Dadabhai Naoroji's respects, to the undermentioned:-

1. Rt. Hon. Mr. Asquith,
2. Rt. Hon. Lord Morley,
3. Rt. Hon. Mr. Haldane,
4. Rt. Hon. Mr. Lloyd-George,
5. Sir Lawrence Jenkins,
6. His Excellency Lord Minto,
7. His Excellency Sir George Clarke.

Vesava, Bombay 25th June 1908.



EXTRACT from a letter dated 26th February 1901,  
from Dadabhai Naoroji to Lord George Hamilton  
then Secretary of State for India.

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X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X

"My Lord, there are two courses open to you, - either to fulfil honourably and righteously the great and solemn pledges of the British people, Parliament and Sovereigns to a helpless and downtrodden perishing people forming a fourth or fifth of the human race; or to persist in the evil course of the last century to violet in the most disgraceful and dishonourable manner their solemn pledges.

"Though I discuss further on the probable consequences of each of these two courses I appeal to your sense of duty, justice, honour and righteousness alone - a sense which a true Englishman values above everything else, regardless of consequences, when he says 'be just and fear not'.

"Before you start your work in the new century it behoves you, even if you did not rest upon the sense of duty alone, to consider the consequences of each of these courses

"As to the consequences of the first course, the good queen herself has pointed them out unmistakably. She has given it in these words - 'prosperity' 'contentment' and 'gratitude' of the Indian people; and in their prosperity will be the strength, in their contentment will be the security and in their gratitude will be reward of the British people,' and I may add the far greater prosperity of the British people themselves.

"It is impossible for me to give a more concise, a more significant and a more complete forecast of the results of the ~~nights~~ righteous course of the fulfilment of the pledges than what is given by the queen herself in the Proclamation itself in the few words quoted above-'Prosperity', 'Contentment' and 'Gratitude' for Indians; and 'Strength', 'Security' and 'Reward' and I may add 'greater Prosperity' to the British people. I would only add here the forecast you yourself have made, viz. so long as the instincts ~~and~~ <sup>of</sup> justice and fair play which were inherent in Englishmen characterised our rule in India, so long would the foundations of the Empire there would be stable and lasting (Kaling 23/11/1901). This is exactly what I have been all along crying for, I have been appealing to those very inherent instincts of justice and fair play of Englishmen. 'the past century in the utter violations of the most solemn pledges and Acts of Parliament, had been all along guilty of injustice and bad play. Can any Englishman conscientiously say that the action of the authorities in the past century has been in accordance with the 'inherent instincts of justice and fair play of the Englishman. 'Would to God it had been so, and the Indians would not have had to plead, and plead and plead in vain and cry in the wilderness but would have had now to bless the name of Britain.

"Yes, My Lord; All I ask you is to act in accordance with the instincts of justice and fair play which are inherent in Englishmen, and fulfil faithfully and conscientiously the solemn

pledges given to the vast masses of India. Then only will the present result arising from the hope of the fulfilment of the Great Proclamation continue, which you yourself have described as 'that in time of trouble, so far from India being a source of disquietude and weakness to Great Britain, it would be found to be a source of strength (Speech at Baling 23/11/1900). 'Yes, it will continue to be so only if the authorities act with the English inherent instincts of honour and justice.

"Besides the Proclamation, your own speeches show wherein the true strength of the British Rule lies and what consequences in the stability and lastingness of the Empire would be in justice and righteousness. Only about a week ago on the 16th inst., you paid a true tribute to the Queen especially in connection with India x x x It seemed to him as if the country would sorrow in unison, because it felt that it had lost one of the truest and most illustrious interpreters of the instincts of humanity. x x x Let the Viceroy tell us how and by what acts of the 'instincts of humanity' had the great queen won the hearts of the hundreds of millions of her subjects. He said: x x x x 'But were not all her reign and character summed up in the famous proclamation of 1858, the 'Magna Charta of India' and the golden guide of our conduct and our aspirations? It might be said of her that she turned Great Britain into a world wide empire with India as its corner stone (India 6/2/1901) And now I ask you is this-the greatest event of the queens reign and character, the 'Magna Charta of India' the golden guide of your conduct and aspirations to be insulted and stultified



4.

by persisting in the violation of this great solemn pledge during the past century.

"May I not expect from you as the first minister and apostle of the century of her Great Trust of 'instincts of humanity' to fulfil honestly and honourably her solemn behests? What more need I say? I would only request your attention to two of my letters to the Indian Royal Commission, Nos IV and V sent herewith.

"Now what will be the consequences of a different course, the second course-of the persistence of the past century in the injustice and violation of the sacred pledges. I can hardly trust myself to write upon the gloomy subject. But I must do my duty and submit my views to you.

What has happened before will, I am much afraid, happen again under similar circumstances.

"The strong strike from the front, the weak cannot but strike from the back.

"Macaulay says (History of England) 'The battle of Hastings and the events which followed it, not only placed a Duke of Normandy on the English throne but gave up the whole population of England to the Tyranny of the Norman race. The subjugation of a nation by a nation has seldom even in Asia been more complete. Yet the subject race, though beaten down and trodden under foot, still made its sting felt. Some bold men, the favourite heroes of our oldest ballads, betook themselves to the woods, and there in defiance of curfew laws and forest laws, waged a predatory war

5.

against their oppressors. Assassination was an event of daily occurrence. Many Normans suddenly disappeared leaving no trace the corpses of many more were found bearing the marks of violence. Death by torture was denounced against the murderers and strict search was made for them but generally in vain, for the whole nation was in the conspiracy to screen them.

"Now, My Lord, remember that the whole nation in British India means even at present 250,000,000 and the Britain Residents all told but an insignificant number. And also remember that if India really becomes discontented and despairing, driven as the Duke of Devonshire has prophesied, to desire to get rid of their European Rulers, India will develop in the words of Sir William Hunter 'an Indian Ireland fifty fold on our hands'. An India as Ireland fifty fold, smarting under the bleeding of centuries, of 250,000,000 of people, at a distance of 5,000 miles and over a surface of a million square miles, will be quite a different thing from the single small Ireland immediately under your heels.

"My view is this, -India is disarmed, say the native army is also disarmed, what will naturally happen will be secret societies and assassinations. Your European Civil Service and all Civilian Europeans are your greatest weakness. In the midst of the hundreds of millions, the European Civilian population will be swept away. You had some experience of it in that <sup>un</sup>fortunate mutiny. What will your 80,000 European soldiers do? Will they be able to protect the Civilian population



c.

And as Macaulay says, if the whole nation of hundreds of millions are bent upon resistance and assassination all your efforts will be futile, unless the rulers undertake the mad project of destroying the whole people. The most extraordinary part of the whole matter is, that the Anglo Indians seem to feel the position, if the evil of the present British System of Government by foreign domination and violation of all sacred pledges is persisted in. And yet no English statesman arises to prevent this catastrophe, and on the contrary to secure what the good queen has provided for - the 'strength', 'security' and 'reward' of the British rule.

"Why can you not do this great work, do what you yourself say - as I have quoted above, in the instinct of justice and fair play - be just and fear not - as much for the sake of your own country as for the sake of India. For as Bright as truly said. 'Britain's good can only come through India's good'. India's evil will never be good to Britain. And posterity will course the Authorities of the previous days for leaving to them a legacy of disaster and ruin. For has not Lord Salisbury said - 'Injustice will bring down the mightiest on Earth to ruin'.

"As I have said above the Anglo Indians seem to know in their hearts though (with very few exceptions) they do not speak 'After the deluge' is the sort of indifference which has possessed them. In the 'Daily Mail' of London 5th July 1897 there is a correspondence by one Mr. William Beaumont, I do not know who he is - poor man - he does not understand the real significance

of what he writes; but I have nothing to do with what he himself says, I point out the opinion of an Anglo Indian of experience which he gives in that letter. He says:- when I was in India I stayed on one occasion with a gentleman of an old Anglo Indian family. His father had been a Colonel of an Indian Regiment his two brothers and himself were in Government service and he was actually more at home in India than he would have been in England. He spoke Hindustani, Gujarati, and Marathi like a Native and in short knew the Native character thoroughly. This gentleman who was anything but an alarmist told me that we were certain - absolutely certain one day to have another mutiny in India, when, he added )The natives wont bungle the matter as before but will all rise suddenly and without a word of warning, and the following morning there will not be a single white man, woman or child left alive. Mark my words.

"It is deplorable that any Anglo-Indian should be driven to such a gloomy foreboding.

"Whether the retribution will take this form or other no one can say, but I ask you as a man of common sense whether you can expect anything but disaster in some shape or other?

"I shall also instance here my own knowledge of more than 50 years ago. The subject of the drain of 3 to 5 Millions was exercising many minds, and a secret society was formed to see what should be done. The spirit of that little party was as rebellious as it could possibly be, -headed by an Englishman who was very worth against the iniquity. I had the opportunity of visiting that society - This was nothing strange. B

8.

time not a few Englishmen had condemned the system. - Sir John Shere, Mr. Montgomery Martin, Mr. Frederick Shere, Sir John Malcolm, Sir T. Munro etc. etc.

"But a new factor gradually came into play, Higher education taught the character of the British people and their Great British institutions and created a new hope and faith that the British rule would in time become a beneficent rule. And a demand also was then rising for educated men for subordinate service, and the educated became as Sir Bartle Frere said, the best exponents of the British connection. That spirit and hope still continues in them as I have already quoted to you in my previous letter of the 26th November last, that the subversion of the British Rule is abhorrent to them. But can this continue? I ask any man of common sense.

"As I have already told you a feeling of despair is creeping in their souls. x x Notwithstanding the hanging of the sword of sedition the Indian papers are more or less speaking out like the distant rumblings before an Earthquake. x x x A people's rebellion may be put down a dozen times, but they remain in the country & may rise again. But a foreign rule once overthrown goes for ever.

"It is not too late yet- Will not English Statesmen realise the position? Will they blindly go on till it is too late? I hope and pray from the bottom of my heart that it may not happen at."



The  Times

# HOUSE OF COMMONS

1919

(GENERAL ELECTION, DECEMBER, 1918.)

With the FULL RESULTS OF  
THE POLLING, BIOGRAPHIES  
OF MEMBERS : A complete  
Analysis and Statistical Tables.

LONDON :  
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE TIMES PUBLISHING  
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# THE NEW MINISTRY.



The constitution of the new Government was officially announced on  
January 10, 1919, as follows:—

## Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury :

Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George, M.P.

## Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Commons :

Rt. Hon. A. Bonar Law, M.P.

## Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Lords :

Rt. Hon. Earl Curzon of Kedleston, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

## Ministers without Portfolio :

Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes, M.P.

Rt. Hon. Sir Eric Geddes, G.C.B., G.B.E., M.P.

## Lord Chancellor :

Rt. Hon. Sir F. E. Smith, Bt., K.C., M.P.

## Home Department :

Secretary of State—Rt. Hon. Edward Shortt, K.C., M.P.

Under Secretary of State—Sir Hamar Greenwood, Bt., M.P.

## Foreign Affairs :

Secretary of State, Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, O.M., F.R.S., M.P.

Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Cecil Harmsworth, M.P.

## Colonies :

Secretary of State, Rt. Hon. Viscount Milner, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.

Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Col. L. C. M. S. Amery, M.P.

## War Office and Air Ministry :

Secretary of State, Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill, M.P.

Under-Secretary of State, Viscount Peel.

Parliamentary and Financial Secretary, Rt. Hon. H. W. Forster, M.P.

Under-Secretary of State for Air, Major-General Rt. Hon. J. E. B. Seely, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., M.P.

(The Under-Secretary of State for Air will be appointed Vice-President of the Air Council, and will preside over the Council.)

## India Office :

Secretary of State, Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu, M.P.

Under-Secretary of State, Rt. Hon. Sir S. P. Sinha.

## Admiralty :

First Lord, Rt. Hon. Walter Long, M.P.

Parliamentary and Financial Secretary, Rt. Hon. T. J. Macnamara, LL.D., M.P.

## Board of Trade :

President, Rt. Hon. Sir Albert Stanley, M.P.

Parliamentary Secretary, W. C. Bridgeman, M.P.

Department of Overseas Trade (Development and Intelligence), Sir Arthur D. Steel-Maitland, Bt., M.P. (Additional Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Additional Parliamentary Secretary, Board of Trade).

## Local Government Board :

President, Rt. Hon. C. Addison, M.D., M.P.

Parliamentary Secretary, Stephen Walsh, M.P.

## Board of Agriculture :

President, Rt. Hon. Rowland E. Prothero, M.V.O., M.P.

Parliamentary Secretary, Col. Sir A. Griffith Boscawen, M.P.

## Board of Education :

President, Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, M.P.

Parliamentary Secretary, Rt. Hon. J. Herbert Lewis, M.P.

## Ministry of Munitions (to become Ministry of Supply) :

Minister, Andrew Weir.

Joint Parliamentary Secretaries, F. G. Kellaway, M.P.; Major J. L. Baird, C.M.G., D.S.O., M.P.

## Ministry of Food :

Food Controller, Rt. Hon. G. H. Roberts, M.P.

## Ministry of Shipping :

Minister, Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph Maclay, Bt.

Parliamentary Secretary, Col. Leslie Wilson, C.M.G., D.S.O., M.P.

## Ministry of Labour :

Minister, Sir R. S. Horne, M.P.

Parliamentary Secretary, G. Wardle, M.P.

## Ministry of Pensions :

Minister, Sir L. Worthington Evans, Bt., M.P.

Parliamentary Secretary, Col. Sir James Craig, Bt., M.P.

## THE NEW MINISTRY.

### Ministry of National Service and Reconstruction :

Minister, Rt. Hon. Sir Auckland Geddes, K.C.B., M.P.

Parliamentary Secretary, Cecil Beck, M.P.

### Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster :

Rt. Hon. The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.

### First Commissioner of Works :

Rt. Hon. Sir Alfred Mond, M.P.

### Attorney General :

Rt. Hon. Sir Gordon Hewart, K.C., M.P.

### Solicitor General :

Sir Ernest Pollock, K.C., M.P.

### Postmaster General :

Rt. Hon. A. H. Illingworth, M.P.

### Assistant Postmaster General :

Rt. Hon. H. Pike Pease, M.P.

### Paymaster General :

Rt. Hon. Sir J. Compton Rickett, M.P.

### Treasury :

Chancellor of the Exchequer, Rt. Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P.

Joint Parliamentary Secretaries, Rt. Hon. Lord Edmund Talbot, M.V.O., D.S.O., M.P., Capt. Hon. F. E. Guest, D.S.O., M.P.

Joint Financial Secretaries, Sir Hardman Lever, K.C.B., Stanley Baldwin, M.P.

Lords Commissioners, J. F. Hope, M.P., J. W. Pratt, M.P., J. Parker, M.P., J. Towyn Jones, M.P. (unpaid).

*The Times House of Commons.*

## SCOTLAND.

Secretary, Rt. Hon. Robert Munro, K.C., M.P.  
Lord Advocate, Rt. Hon. J. A. Clyde, K.C., M.P.

Solicitor-General, T. B. Morison, K.C., M.P.

## IRELAND.

Lord Lieutenant, Field-Marshal Rt. Hon. Viscount French of Ypres, K.P., G.C.B., O.M., G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G.

Lord Chancellor, Rt. Hon. Sir James H. M. Campbell, Bt., K.C.

Chief Secretary, Rt. Hon. J. I. Macpherson, M.P.

Attorney-General, Rt. Hon. Arthur W. Samuels, K.C., M.P.

Solicitor-General, Denis S. Henry, K.C., M.P.

## THE HOUSEHOLD.

Lord Steward, Rt. Hon. Viscount Farquhar, G.C.V.O.  
Treasurer, Col. R. A. Sanders, M.P.

Comptroller and Chairman of National Health Insurance Joint Committee, Sir Edwin A. Cornwall, Bt., M.P.

Lord Chamberlain, Viscount Sandhurst, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O.

Vice-Chamberlain, W. Dudley Ward, M.P.

Captain of the Gentlemen-at-Arms, Rt. Hon. Lord Colebrooke, C.V.O.

Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, Rt. Hon. Lord Hylton.

Master of the Horse, Rt. Hon. the Earl of Chesterfield, K.G., G.C.V.O.

Lords in Waiting, Lord Stanmore, Lord Ranksborough, Viscount Valentia, the Earl of Jersey.

Until there has been more time to make permanent peace arrangements, the existing War Cabinet will be continued.

The Government intend, as soon as possible after Parliament meets, to submit proposals for the establishment of a Ministry of Ways and Communications, and if these proposals are

adopted Sir Eric Geddes will be invited to become head of the new Department.

His Majesty has been graciously pleased to confer peerages upon Mr. Prothero and Mr. Andrew Weir, on their accepting respectively the offices of President of the Board of Agriculture and Minister of Munitions and Supply.



# THE NEW PARLIAMENT.



The following is a complete list, in alphabetical order, of the members of the new Parliament.  
An asterisk indicates that he was also a member of the last Parliament :—

MEMBERS.	CONSTITUENCIES.	PARTIES.	MEMBERS.	CONSTITUENCIES.	PARTIES.
*Abraham, W.	.. Rhondda, W.	.. Lab.	*Benn, Sir A. S.	.. Plymouth, Drake	Co.U.
*Acland, F. D...	.. Camborne	.. L.	*Benn, Com. H.	.. Greenwich	.. Co.U.
Adair, Rear-Admiral..	Glasgow,		*Benn, Capt. W.	.. Leith	.. L.
	Shettleston..	Co.U.	Bennett, T. J...	.. Sevenoaks	.. Co.U.
*Adamson, W.	.. Fife, West	.. Lab.	*Bethell, Sir J...	.. East Ham, N.	.. Co.L.
*Addison, Dr. C.	.. Shoreditch	.. Co.L.	Betterton, H. B.	.. Notts, Rushcliffe	Co.U.
*Adkins, Sir Ryland ..	Middleton and		*Bigland, A.	.. Birkenhead, E...	Co.U.
	Prestwich	.. Co.L.	*Billing, N. Pemberton,	Hertford	.. Ind.
*Agg-Gardner, Sir J.	.. Cheltenham	.. Co.U.	Birchall, Major J. D.	Leeds, North-East	Co.U.
Ainsworth, Capt. C.	.. Bury	.. U.	*Bird, A.	.. Wolverhampton,	
*Allen, Lt.-Col. W. J.	.. Armagh, North	U.		W.	.. Co.U.
*Amery, Lt.-Col. L.C.S.	Birmingham,		Blades, Sir G. R.	.. Surrey, Epsom	.. Co.U.
	Sparkbrook	Co.U.	*Blair, Major R.	.. Poplar, Bow and	
Anderson, Dr. H.	.. Londonderry, N.	U.		Bromley	.. Co.U.
*Archdale, E. M.	.. Fermanagh, N...	U.	*Blake, Sir F. D.	.. Berwick-upon-	
*Archer-Shee, Lt.-Col.M.	Finsbury	.. Co.U.		Tweed	.. L.
*Armitage, R.	.. Leeds, Central	.. Co.L.	Blane, T. A.	.. Leicester, South	Co.U.
*Arnold, S.	.. Yorks, W. Rid-		Blythe, E.	.. Monaghan, North	S.F.
	ing, Penistone	L.	Boland, H.	.. Roscommou,	
*Ashley, Col. W. W.	.. Lancs., Fylde	.. Co.U.		South	.. S.F.
Astbury, F. W.	.. Salford, W.	.. U.	*Boles, Colonel Dennis	Taunton	.. Co.U.
*Astor, Maj. Waldorf	.. Plymouth, Sutton	Co.U.	Borwick, Major	.. Croydon, North	Co.U.
Atkey, A. R.	.. Nottingham,		Bottomley, H.	.. Hackney, South	Ind.
	Central	Co.U.	*Bowerman, O. W.	.. Deptford	.. Lab.
Austin, Sir H...	.. Birmingham,		Bowles, Colonel H. F.	Middlesex, En-	
	King's Norton	Co.U.		field	.. Co.U.
Bagley, Capt. A.	.. Lancaster,		Bowyer, Capt. G. E. W.	Buckingham	.. Co.U.
	Farnworth	U.	Boyd-Carpenter, Major		
*Baird, Maj. J. L.	.. Warwick, Rugby	Co.U.	A.	.. Bradford, North	Co.U.
*Baldwin, S.	.. Worcester, Bewd-		Brabazon, T. C. M.	.. Rochester,	
	ley	.. Co.U.		Chatham	.. U.
*Balfour, A. J.	.. City of London..	Co.U.	*Brace, W.	.. Mon., Abertillery	Lab.
Balfour, G.	.. Hampstead	.. Co.U.	Brackenbury, Cpt.	.. Louth	.. Co.U.
*Balfour, Sir R.	.. Glasgow, Partick	Co.L.	Bramsdon, Sir T.	.. Portsmouth,	
*Banbury, Sir F.	.. City of London..	Co.U.		Central	.. L.
Barker, Maj.	.. Sowerby	.. N.F.D.S.S.	*Brassey, Maj. H. L. C.	Peterborough	.. Co.U.
*Barlow, Sir M.	.. Salford, South	.. Co.U.	Breese, Major..	.. Carnarvonshire	Co.L.
*Barnes, G. N...	.. Glasgow, Gorbals	Lab.	Briant F.	.. Lambeth, North	L.
Barnes, H.	.. Newcastle, East	Co.L.	*Bridgeman, W. C.	.. Oswestry	.. Co.U.
*Barnett, Capt. R. W.	.. St. Pancras, S.W.	Co.U.	Briggs, H.	.. Manchester,	
*Barnston, Maj. H.	.. Chester, Eddis-			Blackley	.. U.
	bury	.. Co.U.	Brittain, Sir H.	.. Acton	.. Co.U.
*Barrie C. C.	.. Banff	.. Co.L.	Britton, G. B...	.. Bristol, E.	.. Co.L.
Barton, R. C.	.. Wicklow, West	S.F.	Broad, T. T.	.. Clay Cross	.. Co.L.
*Barton, Sir W.	.. Oldham	.. Co.L.	Bromfield, W.	.. Staffordshire,	
Barrand, A. R.	.. Pudsey and Otley	Co.L.		Leek	.. Lab.
Beasley, P.	.. Kerry, E.	.. S.F.	Brotherton, Col. Sir		
*Beauchamp, Sir E.	.. Suffolk, E.,		E. A.	.. Wakefield	.. Co.U.
	Lowestoft	.. Co.L.	Brown, Capt. D. C.	.. Hexham	.. Co.U.
*Beck, Cecil A...	.. Saffron Walden	Co.L.	Brown, J.	.. South Ayrshire	Lab.
*Beckett, Maj. G. G.	.. Scarborough and		Brown, T. W.	.. Down, North	.. U.
	Witby	Co.U.	Bruton, Sir J.	.. Gloucester	.. Co.U.
Bell, J...	.. Ormskirk	.. Lab.	Buchanan, Col.	.. Lanark, Coat-	
Bell, Lt.-Col. W. C. H.	.. Devides	.. Co.U.		bridge	.. Co.U.
*Bellairs, Com. C.	.. Maidstone	.. Co.U.	Buckley, Lt.-Col. A.	.. Lancs., Waterloo	Co.U.

# THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

The Times

MEMBERS.	CONSTITUENCIES.	PARTIES.	MEMBERS.	CONSTITUENCIES.	PARTIES.
*Jackson, Col. F. S.	Yorks, E. Riding, Howdenshire	Co.U.	*McCalmont, Brig.-Gen. R.	Antrim, E.	U.
Jameson, Maj. J. G.	Edinburgh, W.	Co.U.	McCann, P.	Tipperary, E.	S.F.
Jephcott, A. R.	Birmingham, Yardley	Co.U.	*McCartan, Dr.	King's Co.	S.F.
Jesson, C.	Walthamstow, West	Co.N.D.P.	*McCurdy, C. A.	Northampton	Co.L.
*Jodrell, N. P.	King's Lynn	Co.U.	McDonagh, J.	Tipperary, N.	S.F.
Johnson, S.	Walthamstow, E.	Co.U.	McDonald, Dr. B.	Wallasey	Co.U.
Johnstone, J.	Renfrew, E.	Co.L.	McDonald, D. H.	Lanark, Bothwell	Co.U.
*Jones, Sir Edgar	Merthyr	Co.L.	*MacDonald, J. M.	Stirling and Falkirk	L.
Jones, Sir Evan	Pembroke	Co.L.	McGrath, J.	Dublin, St. James's	S.F.
Jones, G. W. H.	Stoke Newington	Co.U.	McGuffin, C.	Belfast, Shankill	U.
*Jones, H.	Merioneth	Co.L.	*McGuinness, J.	Longford	S.F.
Jones, J. J.	West Ham, Silvertown	Lab.	MacIntee, S.	Monaghan, S.	S.F.
*Jones, J. T.	Llanelly	Co.L.	*Mackinder, H. J.	Glasgow, Cam-lachie	Co.U.
*Jones, K.	Hornsey	Co.U.	*MacLaren, H. D.	Bosworth	Co.L.
*Joyson-Hicks, W.	Twickenham	Co.U.	MacLaren, R.	Lanark, N.	Co.U.
*Kellaway, F. G.	Bedford	Co.L.	McLean, Lt.-Col. C. W.	Brigg	Co.U.
Kelley, Maj. F.	Rotherham	Co.U.	*Maclean, Sir D.	Peebles and Southern	L.
Kelly, F. J.	Donegal, E.	N.	*McLean, Neil	Glasgow, Govan	Lab.
Kelly, S. O.	Dublin, College Green	S.F.	*MacLeod, J. M.	Glasgow, Kelvin-grove	Co.U.
Kent, D.	Cork, E.	S.F.	*Macmaster, D.	Chertsey	Co.U.
*Kenyon, B.	Derby, Chesterfield	Co.L.	*McMicking, Maj. G.	Galloway	Co.L.
*Kerr-Smiley, Maj. P.	Antrim, N.	U.	MacNeill, John	National University and Londonderry City	S.F.
Kidd, J.	Linlithgow	Co.U.	*McNeill, Ronald	Canterbury	Co.U.
*Kiley, J. D.	Whitechapel	L.	*Macpherson, Ian	Ross and Cromarty	Co.L.
King, Comdr. D.	Norfolk, N.	Co.Ind.	Macquisten, F. A.	Glasgow, Springburn	Co.U.
*Kinloch-Cooke, Sir C.	Devonport	Co.U.	*Macnamara, T. J.	Camberwell, N.W.	Co.L.
*Knight, Maj. E. A.	Kidderminster	Co.U.	MacSwiney, T.	Cork, Mid	S.F.
Knights, Capt. H. N.	Camberwell, N.	Co.U.	*MacVeagh, J.	Down, S.	N.
*Lambert, G.	Devon, S. Molton	L.	Maddocks, H.	Nuneaton	Co.U.
*Lane-Fox, Maj. G. R.	Yorks, Barkston Ash	Co.U.	*Magnus, Sir Philip	London University	Co.U.
*Larmor, Sir Joseph	Cambridge University	Co.U.	*Malcolm, Ian	Croydon, S.	Co.U.
*Law, A. Bonar	Glasgow, Central	Co.U.	*Mallaby-Deeley, H.	Willesden, E.	Co.U.
Law, A. J.	Rochdale	Co.U.	*Mallalieu, F. W.	Colne Valley	Co.L.
Lawless, F.	Dublin County, North	S.F.	Malone, Col.	Leyton, E.	Co.L.
Lennon, J.	Carlow	S.F.	Malone, Maj. P. B.	Tottenham, S.	U.
Lewis, Lt. T. A.	Glamorgan, Pontypridd	Co.L.	Malony, P. J.	Tipperary, S.	S.F.
*Lewis, J. H.	University of Wales	Co.L.	Manville, E.	Coventry	Co.U.
*Lindsay, W. A.	Belfast, Cromac	U.	Markievicz, Mme.	Dublin, St. Patrick's	S.F.
Lister, Sir Ashton	Stroud	Co.L.	*Marks, Sir G. C.	Corwall, N.	Co.L.
*Lloyd, G. B.	Shrewsbury	Co.U.	*Marriott, J. A. R.	Oxford	Co.U.
*Locker-Lampson, G.	Wood-green	Co.U.	Martin, A. E.	Romford	Co.L.
*Locker-Lampson, Comdr. O.	Huntingdon	Co.U.	*Mason, R.	Wansbeck	Co.L.
*Long, W.	Westminster, St. George's	Co.U.	Mellowes, L.	Galway, E., and Meath, N.	S.F.
*Lonsdale, J. R.	Armagh, Mid	U.	*Meysey-Thompson, Lt.-Col. E.	Birmingham, Handsworth	Co.U.
Lorden, J. W.	St. Pancras, N.	Co.U.	*Middlebrook, Sir W.	Leeds, S.	Co.L.
Loseby, Capt. C. E.	Bradford, E.	Co.N.D.P.	*Mildmay, Lt.-Col. F. B.	Totnes	Co.U.
*Lowe, Sir F. W.	Birmingham, Edgbaston	Co.U.	Mitchell, W. L.	Streatham	Co.U.
*Lowther, Col. C.	Lancs, Lonsdale	Co.U.	Moles, T.	Belfast, Ormeau	U.
Lowther, Major C.	Cumberland, N.	Co.U.	Molson, Maj. J. E.	Gainsborough	Co.U.
*Lowther, J. W.	Cumberland, Penrith and Cocker-mouth	Co.U.	*Mond, Sir A.	Swansea, W.	Co.L.
Lunn, W.	Yorks, Rothwell	Lab.	*Montagu, E. S.	Cambridgeshire	Co.L.
Lyle, L.	West Ham, Stratford	Co.U.	*Moore, Sir N.	Islington, N.	Co.U.
Lynch, D.	Cork, S.E.	S.F.	Morden, Col. H. G.	Brentford and Chiswick	Co.U.
Lynch, F.	Kerry, S.	S.F.	Moreing, Capt. H.	Buckrose	Co.U.
Lynn, R. J.	Belfast, Woodvale	U.	Morgan, Maj. D. W.	Rhondda, E.	Lab.
Lyon, L.	Hastings	Co.U.	*Morrison, T. B.	Inverness	Co.L.
McBride, J. M.	Mayo, W.	S.F.	Morris, R.	Battersea, N.	Co.L.
McCabe, A.	Sligo, S.	S.F.	*Morrison, H.	Salisbury	Co.U.
*McCallum, Sir J. M.	Paisley	L.	*Morrison-Bell, Maj. A. C.	Devon, Honiton	Co.U.
			Mosley, Lt. O.	Harrow	Co.U.

House of Commons.

THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

MEMBERS.	CONSTITUENCIES.	PARTIES.
*Fisher, H. A. L.	English Universities	Co.L.
Fitzgerald, D.	Dublin County, Pembroke	S.F.
*Fitzroy, E. A...	Northampton, Daventry	Co.U.
*Flannery, Sir J. F.	Essex, Maldon	Co.U.
Foreman, H.	Hammersmith, N.	Co.U.
Forester-Walker, L...	Monmouth	U.
*Forster, H. W.	Kent, Bromley	Co.U.
*Fox, H. W.	Warwick, Tamworth	Co.U.
*Foxcroft, Capt. C. T...	Bath	Co.U.
*France, G.	Batley and Morley	Co.L.
Fraser, Maj. Sir K.	Leicester, Harborough	Co.U.
*Galbraith, S.	Spennymoor	L.
Gulligan, P.	Cavan, W.	S.F.
Gange, E. S.	Bristol, N.	Co.L.
*Ganzoni, Capt. F. J. C.	Ipswich	Co.U.
Gardiner, J.	Kinross and Western	L.
*Gardner, E.	Windsor	Co.U.
*Geddes, Sir Auckland	Basingstoke	Co.U.
*Geddes, Sir Eric	Cambridge	Co.U.
*George, D. Lloyd	Carnarvon	Co.L.
*Gibbs, Col. G. A.	Bristol, W.	Co.U.
*Gilbert, J. D.	Southwark, Central	Co.L.
*Gilmour, Col. J.	Glasgow, Pollok	Co.U.
*Ginnell, L.	Westmeath	S.F.
*Glanville, H. J.	Bermondsey, W.	L.
Glyn, Maj. R.	Clackmannan and Eastern	Co.U.
Goff, Sir R. P.	Cleveland	Co.U.
Gordon, Lt.-Col. A. T.	Aberdeen, Central	Co.U.
Gould, J. C.	Cardiff, Central	U.
*Goulding, Sir E.	Worcester	U.
Graham, D.	Lanark, Hamilton	Lab.
Graham, W.	Edinburgh, Central	Lab.
*Grant, J. A.	Whitehaven	Co.U.
Gray, Maj. E.	Accrington	Co.U.
Grayson, Col. H. M.	Birkenhead, W.	Co.U.
Greame, Maj. P. L.	Hendon	Co.U.
Green, A.	Derby	U.
Green, J. F.	Leicester, W.	Co.N.D.P.
*Greene, Lt.-Col. W. R.	Hackney, N.	Co.U.
*Greenwood, Sir H.	Sunderland	Co.L.
*Greer, H.	Somerset, Wells	Co.U.
Gregory, H.	Derbyshire, S.	Co.L.
*Greig, Col. J. W.	Renfrew, Western	Co.L.
*Gretton, Col. J.	Stafford, Burton	Co.U.
Griffith, A.	Cavan, E., and Tyrone, N.W.	S.F.
*Griffith-Boscawen, Sir A.	Dudley	Co.U.
*Griffiths, Col. Sir J. N.	Wandsworth, Central	U.
Griffiths, T.	Monmouth, Pontypool	Lab.
Griggs, Sir P.	Ilford	Co.U.
Gritten, H.	The Hartlepoons	U.
Grundy, T. W.	Rother Valley	Lab.
*Guest, Capt. F. E.	Dorset, Eastern	Co.L.
Guest, J.	Hemsworth	Lab.
Guest, Maj. O.	Loughborough	Co.L.
*Guinness, Capt. R.	Southend-on-Sea	Co.U.
*Guinness, Maj. W. E.	West Suffolk, Bury St. Edmunds	Co.U.
*Gwynne, R.	Eastbourne	Co.U.
Hacking, Capt. D. H.	Chorley	Co.U.
Hailwood, A.	Manchester, Ardwick	Co.U.
*Hall, Capt. D. B.	Isle of Wight	Co.U.

MEMBERS.	CONSTITUENCIES.	PARTIES.
*Hall, Lt.-Col. Sir F.	Dulwich	Co.U.
*Hall, F.	Yorkshire, W. R. Normanton	Lab.
Hallas, E.	Birmingham, Duddleston	Co.N.D.P.
*Hambro, Capt. A. V.	Dorset, S.	Co.U.
*Hamilton, Maj. C. G. C.	Altrincham	Co.U.
*Hancock, J. G.	Derby, Belper	Co.L.
*Hanson, Sir C.	Bodmin	Co.U.
*Harbison, T. J. S.	Tyrone, N.E.	N.
*Harmsworth, Cecil	Luton	Co.L.
*Harmsworth, Sir R. L.	Caithness and Sutherland	Co.L.
*Harmood-Banner, Sir J.	Liverpool, Everton	Co.U.
*Harris, Sir H. P.	Paddington, S.	Co.U.
Hartshorn, V.	Ogmore	Lab.
*Haslam, L.	Newport	Co.L.
Hayday, A.	Nottingham, W.	Lab.
Hayes, Dr. R.	Limerick, E.	S.F.
Hayes, J.	Cork, W.	S.F.
*Hayward, E.	Seaham	L.
Henderson, Maj. V. L.	Glasgow, Trades- ton	Co.U.
Hennessy, Maj. G.	Winchester	Co.U.
*Henry, Sir C.	Salop, The Wrekin	Co.L.
*Henry, D. S.	Londonderry, S.	U.
*Herbert, Lt.-Col. A.	Yeovil	Co.U.
Herbert, D.	Watford	Co.U.
*Hewart, Sir Gordon	Leicester, E.	Co.L.
*Hickman, Brig.-Gen.	Wolverhampton, Bilston	Co.U.
Higham, C. F.	Islington, S.	Co.U.
Hilder, Col. F.	Essex, S.E.	Co.U.
*Hills, Maj. J. W.	Durham	Co.U.
*Hill-Wood, Maj. S.	High Peak	Co.U.
*Hinds, J.	Carmarthen	Co.L.
*Hoare, Col. Sir S. J. G.	Chelsea	Co.U.
*Hodge, John	Manchester, Gor- ton	Lab.
*Hogge, J. M.	Edinburgh, E.	L.
*Hohler, G. F.	Gillingham	Co.U.
Holmes, S.	Derbyshire, N.E.	L.
Hood, J.	Wimbledon	Co.U.
*Hope, H.	Stirling & Clack- mannan, W.	Co.U.
*Hope, Col. Sir J. A.	Midlothian and Peebles, N.	Co.U.
*Hope, J. D.	Berwick and Haddington	Co.L.
*Hope, J. F.	Sheffield, Central	Co.U.
Hopkins, J. W.	St. Pancras, S.E.	U.
*Hopkinson, A.	Lancaster, Moss- ley	Co.L.
Hopkinson, E.	Manchester, Clay- ton	U.
Horne, Sir R. S.	Glasgow, Hill- head	Co.U.
*Horne, W. E.	Surrey, Guildford	Co.U.
*Houston, R. P.	Liverpool, West Toxteth	Co.U.
Howard, Maj. S. G.	Sudbury	L.
Hudson, R. M.	Sunderland	U.
*Hughes, S. L.	Stockport	Co.L.
*Hume-Williams, Sir W.	E.	Notts, Bassetlaw
Hunter, Gen. Sir A.	Lancaster	Co.U.
Hunter, T.	Cork, N.E.	S.F.
Hurd, P.	Frome	Co.U.
Hurst, G. H.	Wentworth	Lab.
Hurst, Maj.	Manchester, Moss Side	U.
*Illingworth, A.	Lancaster, Hey- wood and Rad-cliffe	Co.L.
Inskip, T. W.	Bristol, Central	Co.U.
Irving, Dan	Burnley	Soc.



THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

The Times

MEMBERS.			MEMBERS.		
MEMBERS.	CONSTITUENCIES.	PARTIES.	MEMBERS.	CONSTITUENCIES.	PARTIES.
*Scott, Maj. Sir S. E.	St. Marylebone..	Co.U.	Townley, M. G.	Bedford, Mid..	Co.U.
Scars, W.	Mayo, S.	S.F.	*Tryon, Maj. G. C.	Brighton	Co.U.
Seager, Sir W.	Cardiff, E.	L.	*Turton, E. R.	Thirsk and Malton ..	Co.U.
Seddon, J. A.	Hanley ..	Co.N.D.P.	Vickers, D.	Sheffield, Hallam	Co.U.
*Seely, Maj.-Gen. J.E.B.	Ilkeston ..	Co.L.	Waddington, R.	Rossendale ..	Co.U.
Sexton, J.	St. Helens ..	Lab.	*Walker, Col. W. H.	Lancs, Widnes ..	Co.U.
Shanahan, P.	Dublin Harbour	S.F.	Wallace, J.	Dunfermline	
*Shaw, A.	Kilmarnock ..	Co.L.		Burghs ..	Co.L.
Shaw, T.	Preston ..	Lab.	*Walsh, S.	Lancs, Ince ..	Lab.
Shaw, Capt. W. T.	Forfar ..	Co.U.	*Walters, Sir J. T.	Sheffield, Brightside ..	Co.L.
Short, A.	Wednesbury ..	Lab.	Walton, J.	Yorks, W. Riding, Don Valley ..	Co.N.D.P.
*Shortt, E.	Newcastle, West	Co.L.	*Walton, Sir J.	Barnsley ..	Co.L.
Simm, T.	Wallsend ..	Co.N.D.P.	Ward, Col. L.	Hull, North-West	U.
Sitch, C. H.	Kingswinford ..	Lab.	*Ward, Lt.-Col. J.	Stoke-on-Trent	Co.L.
*Smith, Capt. A.	Nelson and Colne	Lab.	Ward, P. J.	Donegal, South	S.F.
*Smith, Sir F. E.	Liverpool, W. Derby ..	Co.U.	*Ward, W. Dudley	Southampton ..	Co.L.
*Smith, H.	Warrington ..	Co.U.	Ward-Jackson, Major C. L. A.	Hereford, Leominster ..	Co.U.
Smith, W. R.	Wellingborough	Lab.	*Wardle, G. J.	Stockport ..	Lab.
Smithers, A. W.	Chislehurst ..	Co.U.	*Waring, Major W.	Durham, Blaydon ..	Co.L.
Spencer, G. A.	Broxtowe ..	Lab.	*Warner, Sir T. C.	Lichfield ..	Co.L.
*Spender-Clay, Col.H.H.	Tonbridge ..	Co.U.	Warren, Sir A.	Edmonton ..	Co.U.
Spoor, B. C.	Bishop Auckland ..	Lab.	*Wason, J. C.	Orkney and Shetland ..	Co.L.
Sprot, Sir A.	Fife, Eastern ..	U.	Waterson, A. E.	Kettering ..	Co-op.
Stack, A.	Kerry, W.	S.F.	*Watson, Capt. J. B.	Stockton-on-Tees	Co.L.
Staines, M.	Dublin, St. Michans ..	S.F.	*Wedgwood, Col. J. C.	Newcastle-under-Lyme ..	Ind.Rad.
*Stanier, Capt. Sir B.	Salop, Ludlow ..	Co.U.	*Weigall, Lt.-Col. A. G.	Horncastle ..	Co.U.
*Stanley, Sir Albert	Ashton-under-Lyne ..	Co.U.	Welsh, J. J.	Cork ..	S.F.
*Stanley, G. F.	Preston ..	Co.U.	*Weston, Gen. Sir A. Hunter	Bute & Northern	Co.U.
*Stanton, C. B.	Aberdare ..	Co.N.D.P.	*Weston, Col. J. W.	Westmorland ..	Co.U.
*Starkey, J. R.	Notts, Newark ..	Co.U.	*Wheler, G.	Faversham ..	Co.U.
Steel, Maj. S.	Ashford ..	Co.U.	White, C. F.	Derbyshire, W. L.	
*Steel-Maitland, Sir A.	Birmingham, Erdington ..	Co.U.	*White, Lt.-Col. D.	Southport ..	Co.U.
Stephenson, Lt.-Col. H. K., D.S.O.	Sheffield, Park	Co.L.	Whitla, Sir W.	Belfast University ..	U.
Stevens, M.	Eccles ..	Co.U.	*Whitley, J. H.	Halifax ..	Co.L.
*Stewart, G.	Chester, Wirral..	Co.U.	*Whittaker, Sir T.	Yorks, Spens Valley ..	Co.L.
*Stoker, R. B.	Manchester, Rusholme ..	Co.U.	Wigan, Brig.-Gen.	Berkshire ..	Co.U.
*Strauss, E. A.	Southwark, N.	Co.L.	Wignall, J.	Forest of Dean	Lab.
Sturrock, J. L.	Montrose ..	Co.L.	Wild, Sir E.	West Ham, Upton ..	Co.U.
Sugden, Lt. W. H.	Royton ..	Co.U.	*Wilkie, A.	Dundee ..	Lat.
Surtees, Brig.-Gen. H. C.	Gateshead ..	Co.U.	Willey, Lt.-Col. F. V.	Bradford, South	Co.L.
Sutherland, W.	Argyllshire ..	Co.L.	*Williams, A.	Durham, Consett ..	L.
Swan, J. C.	Barnard Castle..	Lab.	*Williams, Col. Sir Rhys	Oxford, Banbury	Co.L.
Sweeney, J.	Donegal, W.	S.F.	*Williams, Col. Sir Robert	Dorset, W.	Co.U.
Sweetman, R.	Wexford, N.	S.F.	Williams, Lt.-Comdr.C.	Tavistock ..	Co.U.
*Sykes, Col. Sir A. J.	Chester, Knutsford ..	Co.U.	*Williams, J.	Gower ..	Lab.
Sykes, Sir C.	Huddersfield ..	Co.L.	Williams, J. L.	Rotherhithe ..	Co.U.
*Sykes, Sir Mark	Hull, Central ..	Co.U.	*Williams, P.	Middlesbrough, East ..	Co.L.
*Taibot, Lord E.	Chichester ..	Co.U.	*Williams, T. J.	Swansea, East ..	Co.L.
Taibot, G. A.	Hemel Hempstead ..	Co.U.	*Williamson, Sir A.	Moray and Nairn	Co.L.
Taylor, J.	Dumbarton ..	Co.N.D.P.	*Willoughby, Lt.-Col. C.	Rutland & Stamford ..	Co.U.
*Taylor, J. W.	Durham, Chester-le-Street ..	Lab.	*Wills, Lt.-Col. Sir G.	Weston - super - Mare ..	Co.U.
*Terrell, G.	Chippenham ..	Co.U.	Wilson, D. M.	Down, W.	U.
Terrell, Capt. R.	Henley ..	Co.U.	*Wilson, J. Havelock	South Shields ..	Co.L.
*Thomas, J. H.	Derby ..	Lab.	*Wilson, J. W.	Stourbridge ..	L.
Thomas, Sir Owen	Anglesey ..	Lab.	*Wilson, Col. L. O.	Reading ..	Co.U.
Thomas, Sir R. J.	Wrexham ..	Co.L.	*Wilson, Col. Sir M.	Bethnal Green, South-West ..	Co.U.
*Thomas-Stanford, Charles	Brighton ..	Co.U.	Wilson, Col. M. J.	Yorks, Richmond ..	Co.U.
Thomson, Sgt. T.	Middlesbro., W.	Co.L.			
Thomson, F. C.	Aberdeen, S.	Co.U.			
*Thomson, Sir W. M.	Maryhill ..	Co.U.			
*Thorne, G. R.	Wolverhampton, E. L.				
*Thorne, Will ..	Plaistow ..	Lab.			
*Tickler, T. G.	Grimsby ..	Co.U.			
*Tillett, Ben ..	Salford, N.	Lab.			
*Tootill, R.	Bolton ..	Lab.			

THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

House of Commons.

MEMBERS.	CONSTITUENCIES.	PARTIES.
*Mount, W. A.	.. Newbury ..	Co. U.
Mulcahy, D.	.. Dublin, Clontarf ..	S.F.
*Munro, R.	.. Roxburgh and Selkirk ..	Co. L.
Murchison, C. K.	.. Hull, E. ..	Co. L.
*Murray, Lt.-Col. A. C.	.. Kincardine and Western ..	Co. L.
Murray, Maj. C. D.	.. Edinburgh, S. ..	Co. U.
Murray, Dr. D.	.. Western Isles ..	Ind.
Murray, G.	.. Glasgow, St. Rollox ..	Co. U.
Murray, J.	.. Leeds, W. ..	Co. L.
Murray, Maj. W.	.. Dumfries ..	Co. U.
Nall, Maj. J.	.. Manchester, Hulme, ..	U.
Neal, A.	.. Sheffield, Hillsborough ..	Co. L.
Nelson, R. F. W. R.	.. Lanark, Motherwell ..	Co. U.
*Newman, Maj. J. R. P.	.. Finchley ..	Co. U.
*Newman, Sir R.	.. Exeter ..	Co. U.
*Newton, Maj. H. K.	.. Harwich ..	Co. U.
Nicholl, Commdr. Sir E.	.. Peuryn and Fal-mouth ..	Co. U.
Nicholson, R.	.. Doncaster ..	Co. L.
*Nicholson, Col. W. G.	.. Hants, Petersfield ..	Co. U.
*Nield, Sir H.	.. Ealing ..	Co. U.
*Norman, Sir H.	.. Blackburn ..	Co. L.
Norris, Sir H. G.	.. Fulham, E. ..	Co. U.
O'Connor, A.	.. Kildare, South ..	S.F.
*O'Connor, T. P.	.. Liverpool, Scotland ..	N. S.F.
O'Doherty, J.	.. Donegal, North ..	S.F.
*O'Grady, J.	.. Leeds ..	Lab.
O'Higgins, B.	.. Clare, W. ..	S.F.
O'Higgins, K.	.. Queen's County ..	S.F.
O'Keefe, P.	.. Cork, N. ..	S.F.
O'Kelly, J. J.	.. Louth ..	S.F.
Oliver, P. H.	.. Manchester, Blackley ..	L.
O'Mahony, J.	.. Fermanagh, S. ..	S.F.
O'Maille, P.	.. Galway, Connemara ..	S.F.
O'Mara, J.	.. Kilkenny, S. ..	S.F.
*O'Neill, Major H.	.. Antrim, Mid ..	U.
Onions, A.	.. Glamorgan, Cacrphilly ..	Lab.
*Ormsby-Gore, Captain W.	.. Stafford ..	Co. U.
*Palmer, Major G.	.. Durham, Jarrow ..	Co. L.
Palmer, Brig.-Gen. G. L.	.. Wilts, Westbury ..	Co. U.
*Parker, J.	.. Staffs, Cannock ..	Lab.
Parkinson, A. L.	.. Blackpool ..	Co. U.
Parkinson, J.	.. Wigan ..	Lab.
*Parry, Maj. T. H.	.. Flint ..	Co. L.
*Pearce, Sir W.	.. Limehouse ..	Co. L.
*Pease, H. Pike	.. Darlington ..	Co. U.
*Peel, Colonel R. F.	.. Suffolk, Woodbridge ..	Co. U.
Peel, Colonel S.	.. Uxbridge ..	Co. U.
*Pender, Captain D.	.. Balham and Tooting ..	Co. U.
*Pennefather, De F.	.. Liverpool, Kirkdale ..	Co. U.
Percy, C.	.. Tynemouth ..	Co. U.
*Perkins, W. F.	.. Hants, New Forest and Christchurch ..	Co. U.
Perring, W. G.	.. Paddington, N. ..	Co. U.
*Phillips, Gen. Sir Ivor	.. Southampton ..	Co. L.
*Phillips, Sir Owen	.. Chester ..	Co. U.
Pickering, Col. E. W.	.. Dewsbury ..	Co. U.
Pilditch, Sir P.	.. Middlesex, Speithorne ..	Co. U.
Pinkham, Col. C.	.. Willesden, West ..	Co. U.
*Plunkett, Count	.. Roscommon ..	S.F.

MEMBERS.	CONSTITUENCIES.	PARTIES.
*Pollock, Sir E	.. Warwick and Leamington ..	Co. U.
Pownall, Lt.-Col. A.	.. Lewisham, E. ..	Co. U.
*Pratt, J. W.	.. Glasgow, Cathcart ..	Co. L.
Prescott, Major W. H.	.. Tottenham, N. ..	Co. U.
Preston, W.	.. Stepney, Mile End ..	Co. U.
*Prettyman, E. G.	.. Essex, Chelmsford ..	Co. U.
*Prothero, R. E.	.. Oxford University ..	Co. U.
*Pulley, C. T.	.. Hereford ..	Co. U.
Purchase, H. G.	.. Kennington ..	Co. L.
Raeburn, Sir W. H.	.. Dumbarton ..	Co. U.
*Raffan, P. W.	.. Leigh ..	Co. L.
Ramsden, Lt. G. T.	.. Elland ..	Co. U.
*Randles, Sir J.	.. Manchester Exchange ..	Co. U.
*Rankin, Capt. J. S.	.. Liverpool, East Toxteth ..	Co. U.
Raper, Lt. A. B.	.. Islington, E. ..	Co. U.
Ratcliffe, H. B.	.. Bradford, Central ..	Co. U.
Raw, Col.	.. Liverpool, Wavertree ..	Co. U.
*Rawlinson, J. F. P.	.. Cambridge University ..	Co. U.
Ray, H. N.	.. Shipley ..	Co. L.
*Redmond, Capt. W. A.	.. Waterford ..	N.
*Rees, Sir J. D.	.. Nottingham, E. ..	Co. U.
Rees, Capt. J. T.	.. Harnstaple ..	L.
Reid, D. D.	.. Down, East ..	U.
Remer, J. R.	.. Macclesfield ..	Co. U.
*Remnant, Lt.-Col. Sir J. F.	.. Holborn ..	Co. U.
*Rendall, A.	.. Gloucester, Thornbury ..	Co. L.
Renwick, G.	.. Newcastle, Central ..	Co. U.
*Richards, T.	.. Ebb Vale ..	Lab.
*Richardson, A.	.. Kent, Gravesend ..	Co. U.
*Richardson, A. H.	.. Peckham ..	Co. L.
Richardson, R.	.. Houghton-le-Spring ..	Lab.
Roberts, F. O.	.. West Bromwich ..	Lab.
*Roberts, G. H.	.. Norwich ..	Lab.
*Roberts, Sir S.	.. Sheffield, Ecclesall ..	Co. U.
*Robinson, S.	.. Brecon and Radnor ..	Co. L.
Robinson, T.	.. Stretford ..	Co. L.
Rodger, A. K.	.. Lanark, Rutherglen ..	Co. L.
Rogers, Sir H.	.. Birmingham, Moseley ..	Co. U.
Roiste, L. de	.. Cork ..	S.F.
Rose, F. H.	.. Aberdeen, N. ..	Lab.
*Rothschild, Maj. L. de	.. Bucks, Aylesbury ..	Co. U.
Roundell, Lt.-Col. R. F.	.. Skipton ..	Co. U.
*Rowlands, J.	.. Dartford ..	Co. L.
Royce, W. S.	.. Holland with Boston ..	Lab.
Royden, Sir T.	.. Bootle ..	Co. U.
*Royds, Col. E.	.. Grantham ..	Co. U.
*Rutherford, Col. Sir J.	.. Darwen ..	Co. U.
*Rutherford, Sir W. W.	.. Liverpool, Edgehill ..	Co. U.
Ryan, Dr. J.	.. Wexford, S. ..	S.F.
Samuel, A. L.	.. Suffolk, Eye ..	Co. L.
Samuel, A. M.	.. Farnham ..	Co. U.
*Samuel, Sir H. S.	.. Norwood ..	Co. U.
*Samuel, S.	.. Putney ..	Co. U.
*Samuels, A. W.	.. Dublin University ..	U.
*Sanders, Lt.-Col. R. A.	.. Bridgwater ..	Co. U.
*Sassoon, Sir P.	.. Hythe ..	Co. U.
*Scott, A. MacCallum	.. Glasgow, Bridgeton ..	Co. L.
*Scott, L.	.. Liverpool Exchange ..	Co. U.

THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

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MEMBERS.			MEMBERS.		
MEMBERS.	CONSTITUENCIES.	PARTIES.	MEMBERS.	CONSTITUENCIES.	PARTIES.
*Scott, Maj. Sir S. E.	St. Marylebone	Co.U.	Townley, M. G.	Bedford, Mid.	Co.U.
Sears, W.	Mayo, S.	S.F.	*Tryon, Maj. G. O.	Brighton	Co.U.
Seager, Sir W.	Cardiff, E.	L.	*Turton, E. R.	Thirsk and Malton	Co.U.
Seddon, J. A.	Hanley	Co.N.D.P.			
*Seely, Maj.-Gen. J.E.B.	Ilkeston	Co.L.	Vickers, D.	Sheffield, Hallam	Co.U.
Sexton, J.	St. Helens	Lab.	Waddington, R.	Rossendale	Co.U.
Shanahan, P.	Dublin Harbour	S.F.	*Walker, Col. W. H.	Lancs, Widnes	Co.U.
*Shaw, A.	Kilmarnock	Co.L.	Wallace, J.	Dunfermline	Co.L.
Shaw, T.	Preston	Lab.		Burghs	Co.L.
Shaw, Capt. W. T.	Forfar	Co.U.	*Walsh, S.	Lancs, Ince	Lab.
Short, A.	Wednesbury	Lab.	Walters, Sir J. T.	Sheffield, Brightside	Co.L.
*Shortt, E.	Newcastle, West	Co.L.	Walton, J.	Yorks, W. Riding, Don Valley	Co.N.D.P.
Simm, T.	Wallsend	Co.N.D.P.		Barnsley	Co.L.
Sitch, O. H.	Kingswinford	Lab.	*Walton, Sir J.	Hull, North-West	U.
*Smith, Capt. A.	Nelson and Colne	Lab.	Ward, Col. L.	Stoke-on-Trent	Co.L.
*Smith, Sir F. E.	Liverpool, W. Derby	Co.U.	Ward, P. J.	Donegal, South	S.F.
			*Ward, W. Dudley	Southampton	Co.L.
			Ward-Jackson, Major C. L. A.	Hereford, Leominster	Co.U.
*Smith, H.	Warrington	Co.U.		Stockport	Lab.
Smith, W. R.	Wellingborough	Lab.	*Wardle, G. J.	Durham, Blaydon	Co.L.
Smithers, A. W.	Chislehurst	Co.U.	*Waring, Major W.	Lichfield	Co.L.
Spencer, G. A.	Broxtowe	Lab.		Edmonton	Co.U.
*Spender-Clay, Col. H. H.	Tonbridge	Co.U.	*Warner, Sir T. C.	Orkney and Shetland	Co.L.
Spoor, B. C.	Bishop Auckland	Lab.	Warren, Sir A.	Kettering	Co-op.
Sprot, Sir A.	Fife, Eastern	U.	Waterson, A. E.	Stockton-on-Tees	Co.L.
Stack, A.	Kerry, W.	S.F.	*Watson, Capt. J. B.	Newcastle-under-Lyme	Ind.Rad.
Staines, M.	Dublin, St. Michans	S.F.	*Wedgwood, Col. J. C.		
*Stanier, Capt. Sir B.	Salop, Ludlow	Co.U.	*Weigall, Lt.-Col. A. G.	Horncastle	Co.U.
*Stanley, Sir Albert	Ashton-under-Lyne	Co.U.	Welsh, J. J.	Cork	S.F.
			*Weston, Gen. Sir A. Hunter	Bute & Northern	Co.U.
*Stanley, G. F.	Preston	Co.U.		Westmorland	Co.U.
*Stanton, C. B.	Aberdare	Co.N.D.P.	*Weston, Col. J. W.	Faversham	Co.U.
*Starkey, J. R.	Notts, Newark	Co.U.	*Wheeler, G.	Derbyshire, W.	L.
Steel, Maj. S.	Ashford	Co.U.	White, C. F.	Southport	Co.U.
*Steel-Maitland, Sir A.	Birmingham, Erdington	Co.U.	*White, Lt.-Col. D.	Belfast University	U.
			Whittle, Sir W.	Halifax	Co.L.
Stephenson, Lt.-Col. H. K., D.S.O.	Sheffield, Park	Co.L.	*Whitley, J. H.	Yorks, Valley	Span Co.L.
Stevens, M.	Eccles	Co.U.	*Whittaker, Sir T.	Berkshire	Co.U.
*Stewart, G.	Chester, Wirral	Co.U.		Forest of Dean	Lab.
*Stoker, R. B.	Manchester, Rusholme	Co.U.	Wild, Sir E.	West Ham, Upton	Co.U.
				Dundee	Lat.
*Strauss, E. A.	Southwark, N.	Co.L.	*Wilkie, A.	Bradford, South	Co.L.
Sturrock, J. L.	Montrose	Co.L.	Willey, Lt.-Col. F. V.	Durham, Consett	L.
Sugden, Lt. W. H.	Royton	Co.U.	*Williams, A.	Oxford, Banbury	Co.L.
Surtees, Brig.-Gen. H. C.	Gateshead	Co.U.		Dorset, W.	Co.U.
Sutherland, W.	Argyllshire	Co.L.	*Williams, Col. Sir Rhys	Tavistock	Co.U.
Swan, J. C.	Barnard Castle	Lab.	Williams, Lt.-Comdr. C.	Gower	Lab.
Swensay, J.	Donegal, W.	S.F.	Williams, J. L.	Rotherhithe	Co.U.
Sweetman, R.	Wexford, N.	S.F.		Middlesbrough, East	Co.L.
*Sykes, Col. Sir A. J.	Chester, Knutsford	Co.U.	*Williams, T. J.	Swansea, East	Co.L.
			*Williamson, Sir A.	Moray and Nairn	Co.L.
Sykes, Sir C.	Huddersfield	Co.L.	*Willoughby, Lt.-Col. C.	Rutland & Stamford	Co.U.
*Sykos, Sir Mark	Hull, Central	Co.U.		Weston-super-Mare	Co.U.
				Down, W.	U.
*Talbot, Lord E.	Chichester	Co.U.	Wilson, D. M.	South Shields	Co.L.
Talbot, G. A.	Hemel Hempstead	Co.U.	*Wilson, J. Havelock	Stourbridge	L.
			Wilson, J. W.	Reading	Co.U.
Taylor, J.	Dumbarton	Co.N.D.P.	Wilson, Col. L. O.	Bethnal Green, South-West	Co.U.
*Taylor, J. W.	Durham, Chester-le-Street	Lab.	Wilson, Col. Sir M.	Yorks, Richmond	Co.U.
*Terrell, G.	Chippenham	Co.U.			
Terrell, Capt. R.	Henley	Co.U.			
*Thomas, J. H.	Derby	Lab.			
Thomas, Sir Owen	Anglesey	Lab.			
Thomas, Sir R. J.	Wrexham	Co.L.			
*Thomas-Stanford, Charles	Brighton	Co.U.			
Thomson, Sgt. T.	Middlesbro., W.	Co.L.			
Thomson, F. O.	Aberdeen, S.	Co.U.			
*Thomson, Sir W. M.	Maryhill	Co.U.			
Thorne, G. R.	Wolverhampton, E. L.	Lab.			
*Thorne, Will	Plaistow	Lab.			
*Tickler, T. G.	Grimaby	Co.U.			
*Tillett, Ben	Salford, N.	Lab.			
*Tootill, R.	Bolton	Lab.			

House of Commons.

THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

MEMBERS.	CONSTITUENCIES.	PARTIES.
*Wilson, Capt. Stanley	Yorks, Holderness ..	Co.U.
*Wilson, W. T.	Lancs, West Houghton ..	Lab.
*Winfrey, Sir R.	Norfolk, S.-W. ..	Co.L.
*Winterton, Lord	Horsham and Worthing ..	Co.U.
*Wolmer, Lord	Aldershot ..	Co.U.
*Wood, Maj. E. F. L.	Yorks, Ripon ..	Co.U.
*Wood, Sir J.	Stalybridge and Hyde ..	U.
Wood, Sir K.	Woolwich, W. ..	Co.U.
Woods, Sir Robert	Dublin University ...	Ind.

MEMBERS.	CONSTITUENCIES.	PARTIES.
Woolcock, W. J. U.	Hackney, Cent. ..	Co.L.
Worsfold, Dr. T. C.	Mitcham ..	Co.U.
*Worthington - Evans, Sir L.	Colchester ..	Co.U.
Wrightson, Col. H.	Leyton, West ..	Co.U.
*Yate, Col. C. E.	Leicester, Melton ..	Co.U.
*Yeo, Sir A.	Poplar, S. ..	Co.L.
Young, Sir F.	Swindon ..	Co.U.
*Young, Lt.-Cdr. H.	Norwich ..	L.
Young, R.	Newton ..	Lab.
*Young, W.	Perth and Kinross, Perth ..	Co.L.
*Younger, Sir G.	Ayr Burghs ..	Co.U.



# THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1918.

## ITS CAUSES AND RESULTS.



THE thirtieth Parliament of the United Kingdom, which was returned at the General Election of December, 1910, was dissolved on November 25, 1918. Elected for seven years, it reduced its term to five by the Parliament Act. The war made it necessary for Parliament to pass five separate amending Acts for extensions of its life. It outlived all its predecessors since the Act of Union, and came to an end in the last quarter of its eighth year.

The Dissolution took place a fortnight after the signing of the armistice with Germany, which, following the armistices with Bulgaria, Turkey, and Austria-Hungary, brought hostilities in the Great War to an end. But there could not have been an immediate General Election if the second Coalition Government had not seized the opportunity afforded by the Report of the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform to pass into law an agreed Representation of the People Act.

### THE REFORM ACT.

This great measure, which received the Royal Assent in February, 1918, made far-reaching changes in our franchise and election law. It extended the franchise to women, with an age limit of 30 years, and reduced the qualifying age for male voters who had served in the war to 19 years. It abolished plural voting, and provided that no person should vote at a General Election for more than two constituencies on different qualifications. It sanctioned an experiment in proportional representation in the case of Universities returning two or more members. It revolutionized our electioneering practice by providing that all polls at a General Election should be held on the same day. It effected a general redistribution of seats on an equitable basis, and reduced the costs of elections. Finally, it was specially designed to fit in with war conditions, with the introduction of voting by post by soldiers whose names appeared on the Register in a new absent voters' list, and of voting by proxy by soldiers in distant

areas, and sailors, merchant seamen, and fishermen at sea.

### THE NEW REGISTER.

The Act had also greatly simplified the procedure of registration, and the first Register of the new electorate came into operation on October 1, 1918. It was, indeed, the first Register that had been prepared during the war, and there was a widespread feeling even in July, when Parliament prolonged its life for a further term of six months, that this was likely to be the last extension of the series. On the 18th of that month, *The Times* gave the first hint of the probable Dissolution of Parliament in November, and, although the end of the war was not then in sight, political plans were laid in the summer on the assumption that there would be a General Election before the end of the year. The passing of the Reform Act had created an entirely new situation, which was intensified by the appearance of a Register containing the names of two and a half times as many electors as the last. The favourable progress of the war in the wonderful summer campaigns in East and West and the signing of the armistice with Germany apparently clinched the matter.

### THE DISSOLUTION.

No sooner had hostilities ceased than the first overt moves were made. On November 12, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law assembled their Liberal and Unionist supporters at separate meetings, and outlined a policy for the continuance of the Coalition Government during the peace negotiations and the period of reconstruction. Mr. Asquith and the Liberals who recognized him as their leader maintained their position as a separate entity outside the Coalition, on which the Government was based. The Labour Party, which had terminated the party truce for by-elections in the summer, now decided to resume its complete independence by the withdrawal of the Labour Ministers from the Government. On November 14, Mr. Bonar Law



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announced in the House of Commons that Parliament would be dissolved on the 25th of that month, and that the polls for the General Election would be held on December 14. The business of the Session was quickly wound up, and the Parliament which had seen the war through from Sir Edward Grey's historic declaration on August 3, 1914, to Mr. Lloyd George's announcement of the terms of the armistice with Germany on November 11, 1918, came to a quiet end.

**THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN.**

The Election campaign was the quietest on record. Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law appealed to the electorate to support the Coalition Government in the achievement of a peace settlement commensurate with the greatness of the national sacrifice, and in the prosecution of a radical policy of reform in the period of reconstruction. The outstanding feature of the campaign, in which Mr. Lloyd George made several vigorous speeches in different parts of the country, was a widespread determination to ensure that Germany should pay the cost of the war, that the Kaiser should be brought to trial, and that no opportunity should be afforded for any future penetration of this country by potential enemy agents. Mr. Asquith's wing of the Liberal Party and in less degree the Labour Party, objected to the holding of a General Election at this time. Both parties put forward schemes of industrial amelioration and social reform, but there was no opposition to the war and peace aims of the Government, except from the so-called "pacifist" minority in each camp.

Nominations were taken on December 4, and 107 members, including Mr. Balfour, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and Mr. J. W. Lowther, were returned unopposed to the new House of Commons. There was an extraordinary multiplicity of candidates for the remaining 600 seats. Over 1,500 candidates were nominated, and there were more three-cornered contests than at any previous election.

**THE LABOUR EFFORT.**

The Labour Party made the biggest effort in its history and put into the field 362 candidates. Labour had only recently appeared in the political field as an integral fighting force in full battle array. It was the old Labour Party reconstituted and enlarged by the recognition of the interests of all producers, "by hand or by brain," without distinction of class or occupation, as proper objects of the party's protection. Admission to the party had been confined before to trade unions, Socialist organizations and cooperative societies. Under the new constitution adopted by the party early in 1918 these general organizations were reinforced by the formation of local branches of the party in

**GENERAL ELECTION OF 1918.**

the constituencies to which individual members were admitted, with separate representation at national conferences and on the National Executive. Another innovation was the provision that before every General Election the party programme should be laid down by the National Executive, and that every candidate must adopt it. This procedure was put into operation for the first time on the eve of the General Election.

The polls were held on December 14, and there was a larger vote in the aggregate than had been expected. Nearly 11,000,000 votes were recorded, and quite 60 per cent. of those qualified to vote exercised the franchise. The new women voters polled in great strength, and an Act passed in the closing days of the Session enabled women for the first time to stand as candidates. In all, 17 women took advantage of this new privilege. The votes were not counted until December 28, as time had to be allowed for the collection of the ballot papers of soldiers on the Western front, who had voted by post. Few proxies for soldiers in distant theatres of war and sailors at sea appeared at the polling booths. This was the only innovation made in the Representation of the People Act which can be definitely set down as a disappointment.

**MINISTERS' SUCCESSES.**

When the results of the poll were declared, it was found that the Coalition had swept the country and scored the most remarkable triumph ever recorded in our political annals. Mr. Lloyd George was confirmed in power with a majority of 249 over all the non-Coalition members. No fewer than 478 official Coalition candidates, 334 Unionists, 134 Liberals, and 10 members of the National Democratic Party—the new Labour wing—were elected for the 602 seats in Great Britain.

Every Minister who had to face a contest was returned, almost invariably by a sweeping majority. Forty-five Ministers had to face contests from one quarter or another. The majority had only one opponent, usually a Labour candidate. Mr. Lloyd George won his contest against an independent candidate in Carnarvon Boroughs with over 12,000 votes to spare. Mr. Bonar Law had an enormous majority in Glasgow. Mr. Churchill in Dundee had the largest majority—over 15,000—given to a Minister. Mr. Walter Long, Sir Eric Geddes, Mr. Montagu, Dr. Addison, Mr. Shortt, and Sir Gordon Hewart had very comfortable majorities. The only approach to a close contest was in Swansea, where Sir Alfred Mond had to fight hard to secure election against formidable opposition, largely based on personal grounds. London and the Home Counties were almost solid for the Coalition: Scotland and Wales came down heavily on Mr. Lloyd George's

## GENERAL ELECTION OF 1918.

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side: and the Coalition polled far more strongly in the industrial Midlands and North than had been expected. In several great boroughs, headed by Birmingham, they swept the decks.

### EX-MINISTERS DEFEATED.

Very different was the experience of Mr. Asquith and the Liberal Opposition. Mr. Asquith, all his Front Bench lieutenants, and all his Whips were defeated, and, where they were engaged in three-cornered contests, they were usually found at the bottom of the poll. Mr. Asquith's defeat in East Fife, which first returned him to Parliament in 1886, and had remained faithful to him at every election in the intervening 32 years, provided the greatest sensation in a day of surprises. His successful opponent was Sir Alexander Sprot, who had twice before contested the seat against the Liberal leader.

All the Liberal ex-Ministers who followed Mr. Asquith into opposition at the fall of the first Coalition Government were defeated. Other ex-Ministers, who had thrown in their lot with him since, suffered the same fate. His Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. McKenna, two of his Home Secretaries, Mr. Herbert Samuel and Sir John Simon, his President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Runciman, two of his Secretaries for Scotland, Mr. McKinnon Wood and Mr. Tennant, his Postmaster-General, Sir Charles Hobhouse, and his Chief Whip, Mr. Gulland, all failed to secure re-election. Each of these seven ex-Ministers was standing for a seat which he had represented in Parliament for many years under the conditions which obtained before the passing of the Representation of the People Act. Two of them polled less than one-eighth of the total number of votes recorded and forfeited the deposit of £150 made by each candidate on nomination. In all only 28 non-Coalition Liberals were returned to the new House of Commons.

### LABOUR GAINS.

Labour polled strongly and greatly strengthened its Parliamentary representation by securing the return of 63 of its candidates. Next to the Coalition, it is the strongest British combination in the House of Commons. Mr. Barnes, Mr. Hodge, Mr. George Roberts, and the other Labour Ministers who stood by the Coalition in the most critical phases of the war were elected by huge majorities. Mr. Arthur Henderson and the five acknowledged "pacifists" among the Labour members of the last Parliament, including Mr. Snowden and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, were decisively rejected. (Incidentally it may be remarked that all the Liberal members of the "pacifist" group who stood again were defeated.) Labour gained ground in the industrial districts generally. Seats were captured in the Mid-

lands, in the Yorkshire coalfield, in Lancashire, in the Scottish Lowlands, and in South Wales. The miners' candidates did particularly well.

### THE IRISH CONTESTS.

The Irish contests were fought on quite different issues from those in Great Britain, but the results were significant. The Sinn Fein party, standing on a separatist and republican programme, swept the Roman Catholic parts of Ireland, and left the Nationalists with only six seats in the whole country. Mr. Dillon, the Nationalist leader, was defeated by Mr. de Valera, but Mr. Devlin and Capt. Rodmond succeeded in securing re-election. Sinn Finn obtained 73 out of the 105 Irish seats. Sir Edward Carson and his followers strengthened their position in Ulster and secured 25 seats in the new Parliament.

Only one of the 17 women candidates was elected—Madame Markiewicz, the Sinn Feiner, who was returned for a Dublin division. Three of the women candidates for British constituencies made a fairly close fight—Miss Christabel Pankhurst (Women's party), who was defeated by a Labour candidate at Smethwick, Mrs. F. A. Lucas (Unionist), who took her husband's place upon his sudden death after nomination at Kennington, and Mrs. W. C. Anderson (Labour), who was second in a three-cornered contest at Stourbridge.

There was a much larger number of independent candidates than at any previous election. Mr. Bottomley was one of the few to be returned. Among the groups new to electioneering, the National Party secured the election of two members, and the Co-operators and Discharged Soldiers' Federation one each.

### STATE OF PARTIES.

The following is the state of parties at the opening of the new Parliament:—

Coalition :			
Unionists .. .. .	334	}	478
Liberals .. .. .	133		
National Democratic Party	10		
Independent .. .. .	1		
Non-Coalition :			
Labour .. .. .	63	}	249
Unionists .. .. .	23		
Irish Unionists .. .. .	25		
Liberals .. .. .	28		
Sinn Fein .. .. .	73		
Nationalists .. .. .	7		
National Party .. .. .	2		
Independents .. .. .	4		
Ind. Radical .. .. .	1		
Socialist .. .. .	1		
Co-operator .. .. .	1		
Federation of Discharged			
Soldiers .. .. .	1		
COALITION MAJORITY			249

## ANALYSIS OF THE VOTING.

The following is a complete return of the votes recorded in the 600 contests at the General Election:—

## GREAT BRITAIN.

	COALITION.			NON-COALITION.				Total.
	Unionist.	Liberal.	N.D.P.	Unionist.	Liberal.	Labour.	Other.	
London Boroughs ..	343,256	77,204	—	36,965	93,985	119,704	84,160	755,274
English Boroughs ..	1,396,493	475,420	83,479	195,011	437,209	886,247	247,588	3,721,447
English Counties ..	1,380,107	481,033	31,147	79,418	559,550	884,648	141,581	3,557,484
Welsh Boroughs ..	—	61,850	22,824	30,008	16,335	56,153	5,161	192,331
Welsh Counties ..	20,728	145,527	—	9,424	35,121	124,722	2,460	337,982
Scottish Burghs ..	193,131	94,049	24,071	—	87,717	181,266	32,763	612,997
Scottish Counties ..	150,554	115,360	—	18,729	68,891	122,462	36,598	512,594
Total ..	3,484,269	1,450,443	161,521	369,555	1,298,808	2,375,202	550,311	9,690,109
	5,096,233			4,593,876				

## IRELAND.

	U.	N.	S.F.	Other.	Total.
Irish Boroughs .. ..	96,274	59,372	115,223	14,575	285,444
Irish Counties .. ..	192,962	178,021	369,882	2,153	743,018
Total .. ..	289,236	237,393	485,105	16,728	1,028,462

## UNIVERSITIES.

COALITION.		NON-COALITION.						Total.
U.	L.	U.	L.	Lab.	N.	S.F.	Other.	
19,929	5,197	3,996	812	4,890	1,084	1,762	5,464	43,134
25,126		18,008						

Total voting for 600 members .. .. 10,761,705

Total electorate for 707 seats .. .. 21,371,612

## OLD MEMBERS DEFEATED.

The following members of the late Parliament, making a total of 132, were defeated at the polls:—

### COALITION UNIONISTS—8

Brookes, Warwick, Preston.	Lewisham, Lord, West Bromwich.
Currie, G. W., Leith.	Neville, R. J. N., Wigan.
Gastrell, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir W. H., Lambeth, North.	Stirling, Colonel A., Perth and Kinross, Kinross and Western.
Kerry, Lieutenant-Colonel Lord, Derbyshire, Western.	Swift, Rigby, St. Helens.

### COALITION LIBERALS—6

Griffith, Sir E. J., Anglesey.	Toulmin, Sir G., Bury.
Guest, Col. H., Wandsworth, Central.	Webb, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir H., Gloucester, Forest of Dean.
Higham, J. S., Yorkshire, West Riding, Sowerby.	
Pirie, Lieutenant-Colonel D. V., Aberdeen, North.	

### UNIONIST—1

Bowden, Colonel G. H., Derbyshire, North Eastern.

### LIBERALS—69

Alden, P., Tottenham, North.	Jacobsen, T. O., Stalybridge and Hyde.
Allen, A. A., Dumbarton.	Jones, Leif, Nottingham, Rushcliffe.
Asquith, H. H., Fife, East.	Lough, T., Islington, West.
Baker, Harold, Accrington.	McKenna, R., Monmouth, Pontypool.
Baring, Sir G., Isle of Wight.	Maden, Sir J. H., Rossendale.
Barlow, Sir J. E., Somerset, Frome.	Marshall, Sir A. H., Wakefield.
Bentham, G. J., Gainsborough.	Millar, J. D., Lanark, Motherwell.
Black, Sir A. W., Bedford, Mid.	Morgan, G. Hay, Ipswich.
Bliss, J., Lancashire, Lonsdale.	Needham, C. T., Manchester, Hulme.
Booth, F. Handel, Yorkshire West Riding, Wentworth.	Parrott, Sir E., Edinburgh, West.
Brunner, J. F. L., Cheshire, Northwich.	Peel, Maj. G., Holland with Boston.
Buxton, Noel, Norfolk, Northern.	Priestly, Sir W. E. B., Bradford, East.
Carr-Gomm, Capt. H. W., Bermondsey, Rotherhithe.	Fringie, W. M. H., Glasgow, Springburn.
Chancellor, H. G., Shoreditch.	Rea, Walter Russell, Oldham.
Chapple, Major W. A., Stirling and Clackmannan, Clackmannan and Eastern.	Richardson, Arthur, Nottingham, West.
Cotton, H. E. A., Finsbury.	Roberts, Charles, Lincoln.
Craig, H. J., Tynemouth.	Robertson, J. M., Wallsend.
Davies, Ellis, Carnarvon.	Rowntree, A., York.
Davies, Timothy, Louth.	Runciman, W., Dewsbury.
Dickinson, Sir W. H., St. Pancras, North.	Samuel, Herbert, Yorkshire North Riding, Cleveland.
Elverston, Sir H., Gateshead.	Seely, Sir C., Nottingham, Broxtowe.
Essex, Sir R. W., Stoke-on-Trent, Burslem.	Simon, Sir John, Walthamstow, East.
Falconer, J., Forfar.	Smallwood, B., Islington, East.
Ferens, T. R., Kingston-upon-Hull, East.	Smith, H. B. Lees, Yorkshire West Riding, Don Valley.
Fleming, Sir J., Aberdeen, South.	Somervell, W. H., Yorkshire West Riding, Keighley.
Gelder, Sir A., Lindsey, Brigg.	Tennant, H. J., Berwick and Haddington.
Gulland, J. W., Dumfries.	Verney, Colonel Sir H., Buckingham.
Harris, P. A., Leicester, Harborough.	Watt, H. A., Glasgow, Maryhill.
Helme, Sir N., Lancaster.	White, J. Dundas, Glasgow, Tradeston.
Henderson, J. M., Aberdeen and Kincardine, Central.	Whitehouse, J. H., Lanark, Hamilton.
Hill, Sir J., Bradford, Central.	Wiles, T., Islington, South.
Hobhouse, Sir Charles, Bristol East.	Wilson, Lieutenant-Colonel Guy, Kingston-upon-Hull, North-West.
Holmes, D. T., Glasgow, Govan.	Wing, T., Durham, Houghton-le-Spring.
Holt, R. D., Eccles.	Wood, T. McKinnon, Glasgow, St. Rollox.
Howard, Geoffrey, Wiltshire, Westbury.	

## LABOUR—15

Anderson, W. C., Sheffield, Attercliffe.  
 Duncan, C., Barrow-in-Furness.  
 Goldstone, Captain F., Sunderland.  
 Henderson, Arthur, East Ham, South.  
 Hudson, W., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, East.  
 John, E. T., Denbigh (ex-L.).  
 Jowett, F. W., Bradford, East.  
 Lynch, Colonel A., Battersea, South (ex-N.).

MacDonald, J. Ramsay, Leicester, West.  
 Money, Sir L. Chiozza, Tottenham, South (ex-L.).  
 Richardson, T., Leicester, Bosworth.  
 Sheehan, Captain D. D., Stepney, Limehouse  
 (ex-Ind.N.).  
 Snowden, Philip, Blackburn.  
 Strauss, A., Paddington, North (ex-U.).  
 Sutton, J. E., Manchester, Clayton.

## NATIONALISTS—28

Brady, P. J., Dublin, St. Stephen's Green.  
 Byrne, A., Dublin, Harbour.  
 Clancy, J., Dublin, North.  
 Condon, T., Tipperary, East.  
 Crumley, P., Fermanagh, South.  
 Cullinan, J., Tipperary, South.  
 Dillon, John, Mayo, East.  
 Donovan, T. J., Donegal, South.  
 Doris, W., Mayo, West.  
 Duffy, W. J., Galway, South.  
 Esmonde, Sir T. H. G., Wexford, North.  
 Farrell, J. P., Longford.  
 French, P., Wexford, South.  
 Field, W., Dublin, St. Patrick's.

Gwynn, Captain S. L., Dublin University.  
 Hayden, J. P., Roscommon, South.  
 Hazelton, R., Louth.  
 Keating, M., Kilkenny, South.  
 Kilbride, D., Kildare, South.  
 London, T., Limerick, East.  
 Meehan, P., Queen's County.  
 Nugent, J. D., Dublin, St. Michan's.  
 O'Connor, J., Kildare, North.  
 O'Doherty, P., Donegal, North.  
 O'Dowd, J., Sligo, South.  
 O'Malley, W., Galway, Connemara.  
 O'Shee, J., Waterford.  
 Scanlan, T., Sligo, North.

## INDEPENDENTS—5

Mason, D. M., Coventry.  
 Nugent, Sir W., Westmeath.  
 Outhwaite, R. L., Stoke-on-Trent, Hanley.

Ponsonby, A., Dunfermline.  
 Trevelyan, C. P., Yorkshire, West Riding, Elland.



## LIBERAL EX-MINISTERS DEFEATED.

The following Liberal ex-Ministers and Whips, to the number of 18, were defeated:—

Member.	Constituency.	Member.	Constituency.
Asquith, H. H.	.. Fife, East.	Roberts, C.	.. Lincoln.
Baker, Harold	.. Accrington.	Robertson, J. M.	.. Wallsend.
Gulland, J. W.	.. Dumfries.	Runciman, Walter	.. Dewsbury.
Hobhouse, Sir Charles	.. Bristol, East.	Samuel, Herbert	.. Yorkshire, North Riding, Cleveland.
Howard, Geoffrey	.. Wiltshire, Westbury.	Simon, Sir J.	.. Walthamstow, East.
Lough, T.	.. Islington, West.	Tennant, H. J.	.. Berwick and Haddington.
McKenna, R.	.. Monmouth, Pontypool.	Verney, Col. Sir H.	.. Buckingham.
Marshall, Sir A. H.	.. Wakefield.	Wood, T. McKinnon	.. Glasgow, St. Rollox.
Masterman, C. F. G.	.. West Ham, Stratford.		
Rea, Walter Russell	.. Oldham.		



## MINISTERS' MAJORITIES.

Ministers were engaged in 45 contests, four in University constituencies. All were returned, and the following table shows the majority of votes polled in each case:—

Minister.	Constituency.	Maj.	Minister.	Constituency.	Maj.
Churchill, W.	Dundee	15,365	Montagu, E. S.	Cambridgeshire	5,811
Law, A. Bonar	Glasgow, Cen.	12,917	Pretymann, Capt. E. G.	Chelmsford	5,666
George, D. Lloyd	Carnarvon	12,898	Wolmer, Lord	Aldershot	5,413
Forster, H. W.	Bromley	12,501	Morison, T. B.	Inverness	5,061
Pratt, J. W.	Glasgow, Cathcart	11,821	Geddes, Sir A.	Basingstoke	4,941
Astor, Maj. W.	Plymouth, Sutton	11,757	Clyde, J. A.	Edinburgh, N.	4,893
Hewart, Sir G.	Leicester, E.	11,327	Pease, H. Pike	Darlington	4,457
Long, W.	Westminster, St. George's	9,313	Worthington-Evans, Sir L.	Colchester	4,074
Talbot, Lord E.	Chichester	7,786	Baird, Maj. J. L.	Rugby	3,926
Geddes, Sir E.	Cambridge	7,764	Bridgeman, W. C.	Oswestry	3,809
Guest, Capt. F. E.	Dorset, E.	7,623	Compton-Rickett, Sir J.	Pontefract	3,514
Munro, R.	Roxburgh and Selkirk	7,469	Hope, J. F.	Sheffield, Cen.	3,402
Steel-Maitland, Sir A.	Birmingham, Erdington	7,467	Griffith-Boscawen, Sir A.	Dudley	3,080
Illingworth, A.	Heywood and Radcliffe	7,423	Macnamara, Dr.	Camberwell, N.W.	3,039
Kellaway, F. G.	Bedford	6,837	Stanley, Sir A.	Ashton-under-Lyne	2,926
Sanders, Lt.-Col. R. A.	Bridgwater	6,816	Cornwall, Sir E.	Bethnal Green, N.E.	2,136
Shortt, E.	Newcastle-upon- Tyne, W.	6,401	Jones, Towyn	Llanely	1,935
Macpherson, Ian	Ross and Cromarty	6,120	Prothero, R. E.	Oxford Univ.	1,734
Addison, Dr. C.	Shoreditch	6,118	Seely, Maj.-Gen. J.	Ikeston	1,698
Beck, C.	Saffron Walden	6,097	Ward, W. Dudley	Southampton	1,295
Smith, Sir F. E.	Liverpool, W. Derby	6,004	Mond, Sir A.	Swansea, W.	1,181
			Lewis, J. H.	Univ. of Wales	563
			Fisher, H. A. L.	Combined Universities	478
			Samuels, A. W.	Dublin Univ.	447

## THE WOMEN CANDIDATES.

This was the first General Election at which women were entitled to stand at the polls. Seventeen women candidates availed themselves of the privilege, but only one, Mme. MARKIEVICZ, secured election. The complete list, with the constituency and the number of votes received, is as follows:—

ELECTED.				
Name.	Politics.	Constituency.	Poll.	
Markievicz, Mme.	S.F.	Dublin, St. Patrick's	7,835	
NOT ELECTED.				
Anderson, Mrs. W. C. (Miss Mary Macarthur)	Lab.	Stourbridge	7,587	
Ashby, Mrs. M. C.	L.	Birmingham, Ladywood	1,554	
Carney, Miss M.	S.F.	Belfast, Victoria	395	
Carruthers, Mrs. (Miss Violet Markham)	L.	Mansfield	4,000	
Despard, Mrs.	Lab.	Battersea, N.	5,634	
Fox, Mrs. Dacre	Ind.	Richmond	3,615	
Gariand, Miss A. V.	L.	Portsmouth, S.	4,283	
Lawrence, Mrs. Pethick	Lab.	Manchester, Rusholme	2,935	
Lucas, Mrs.	U.	Kennington	3,573	
McEwan, Mrs. J.	L.	Enfield	1,987	
Mackenzie, Hon. Mrs.	Lab.	University of Wales	176	
Martyn, Mrs. How	Ind.	Hendon	2,067	
Murray, Miss E.	Ind.	Glasgow, Bridgeton	991	
Pankhurst, Miss Christabel	Women's Party	Smethwick	8,614	
Phipps, Miss E.	Ind.	Chelsea	2,419	
Strachey, Mrs. O.	Ind.	Brentford and Chiswick	1,263	

The total number of votes cast for women candidates was 58,978.

## THE PARLIAMENTARY LABOUR PARTY.

The following is a list of the 63 Labour members returned to the new House of Commons:—

Member.	Constituency.	Member.	Constituency.
*Abraham, W. ..	Rhondda, W.	Morgan, Major Watts	Rhondda, E.
*Adams, W. (Chairman) ..	Fife, W.	*O'Grady, J. ..	Leeds, S.E.
*Barnes, G. N. ..	Glasgow, Gorbals	Onions, A. ..	Caeaphilly
Bell, J. ..	Ormskirck	*Parker, J. ..	Cannock
*Bowerman, C. W. ..	Deptford	Parkinson, J. ..	Wigan
*Brace, W. ..	Abertillery	*Richards, T. ..	Ebbw Vale
Bromfield, W. ..	Leek	Richardson, R. ..	Houghton-le-Spring
Brown, J. ..	Ayrshire, S.	Roberts, F. O. ..	West Bromwich
Cairns, J. ..	Morpeth	*Roberts, G. H. ..	Norwich
Cape, T. ..	Workington	Rose, F. H. ..	Aberdeen, N.
Carter, W. ..	Mansfield	Royce, W. S. ..	Holland-with-Boston
*Clynes, J. R. (Vice-chairman) ..	Manchester, Platting	Sexton, J. ..	St. Helens
*Crooks, W. ..	Woolwich, E.	Shaw, T. ..	Preston
Davis, A. ..	Clitheroe	Short, A. ..	Wednesbury
Davison, J. C. ..	Smethwick	Sitch, C. H. ..	Kingswinford
Edwards, C. ..	Bedwellty	*Smith, Capt. A. (Junior Whip) ..	Nelson and Colne
*Finney, S. ..	Burslem	Smith, W. R. ..	Wellingborough
Graham, D. ..	Hamilton	Spencer, V. A. ..	Broxtove
Graham, W. ..	Edinburgh, Central	Spoor, B. C. ..	Bishop Auckland
Griffiths, T. (Junior Whip) ..	Pontypool	Swan, J. C. ..	Barnard Castle
Grundy, T. W. ..	Rother Valley	*Taylor, J. W. ..	Chester-le-Street
Guest, J. ..	Hemsworth	*Thomas, J. H. ..	Derby
*Hall, F. (Junior Whip) ..	Normanton	Thomas, Sir Owen ..	Anglesey
Hartshorn, V. ..	Ogmore	*Thorne, Will ..	West Ham, Plaistow
Hayday, A. ..	Nottingham, W.	*Tillett, Ben ..	Salford, N.
*Hodge, John ..	Manchester, Gorton	*Tootill, R. ..	Bolton
Hurst, G. H. ..	Wentworth	*Walsh, S. ..	Ince
Jones, J. J. ..	West Ham, Silvertown	*Wardle, G. J. ..	Stockport
Lunn, W. ..	Rothwell	Wignall, J. ..	Forest of Dean
McLean, N. (Junior Whip) ..	Glasgow, Govan	*Wilkie, A. ..	Dundee
		*Williams, J. ..	Gower
		*Wilson, W. T. (Chief Whip) ..	West Houghton
		Young, R. ..	Newton

## NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The Labour wing of the Coalition in the new Parliament will consist of the following 10 members of the National Democratic Party, formerly known as the British Workers' League:—

Member.	Constituency.	Member.	Constituency.
*Edwards, A. Clement (Chairman) ..	East Ham, S.	Seddon, J. A. ..	Hanley
Green, J. F. ..	Leicester, W.	Simm, T. ..	Wallsend
Hallas, E. ..	Birmingham, Duddleston	*Stanton, C. B. ..	Aberdare
Jesson, C. ..	Walthamstow, W.	Taylor, J. ..	Dumbarton
Loseby, Capt. C. E. (Secretary) ..	Bradford, E.	Walton, J. ..	Don Valley

[Mr. T. W. Casey (Sheffield, Attercliffe), who is described as a Coalition Liberal in the official list, may also act with the National Democratic Party in the House of Commons.]

## STATE OF PARTIES.

The following analysis of the election results shows the state of parties at the opening of the new Parliament:—

### GREAT BRITAIN.

COALITION.

NON-COALITION.

	COALITION.				NON-COALITION.					Total
	Co. U.	Co. L.	Co. N.D.P.	Co. Ind.	U.	L.	Lab.	Other	N.	
London Boroughs .. ..	42	12	—	—	2	3	2	1	—	62
English Boroughs .. ..	107	36	7	—	14	4	20	4	1	193
English Counties .. ..	148	39	1	1	2	13	23	3	—	230
Welsh Boroughs .. ..	—	5	1	—	2	1	2	—	—	11
Welsh Counties .. ..	1	14	—	—	1	—	8	—	—	24
Scottish Burghs .. ..	15	7	1	—	—	5	5	—	—	33
Scottish Counties .. ..	13	17	—	—	2	2	3	1	—	38
English, Welsh, & Scottish Universities .. ..	8	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11
	<b>334</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>602</b>
	478				124					

### IRELAND.

	U.	S.F.	N.	Other.	Total.
Irish Boroughs .. ..	8	11	2	—	21
Irish Counties .. ..	15	61	4	—	80
Irish Universities .. ..	2	1	—	1	4
	<b>25</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>105</b>

### FORMER MEMBERS ELECTED.

The following former members of Parliament secured election, and will return to Westminster after an interval of absence:—

MEMBER.	CONSTITUENCY.
Bottomley, H. (Ind.) .. ..	Hackney, S.
Bowles, Col. H. F. (Co.U.) .. ..	Enfield.
Brackenbury, Capt. H. L. (Co.U.) .. ..	Louth.
Bramsdon, Sir T. (L.) .. ..	Portsmouth, Central.
Brotherton, Col. Sir E. A. (Co.U.) .. ..	Wakefield.
Gray, Major E. (Co.U.) .. ..	Accrington.
Renwick, G. (Co.U.) .. ..	Newcastle, Central.
Seddon, J. A. (Co.N.D.P.) .. ..	Hanley.

### MEMBERSHIP OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

1700.—513 (England and Wales).  
 1707.—558 (after union with Scotland).  
 1801.—658 (after union with Ireland).  
 1885.—670.  
 1919.—707.

### THE FOUR REFORM ACTS.

1832.—500,000 new voters (middle class). Total on Register, 1,000,000 (1 in 24 of the population).

1867.—1,000,000 new voters (working-class in the towns). Total on Register, 2,500,000 (1 in 12 of the population).

1884.—2,000,000 new voters (agricultural labourers, &c.). Total on Register, 5,000,000 (1 in 7 of the population).

1918.—13,000,000 new voters (women, soldiers between 19 and 21 years of age, &c.). Total on Register, 21,000,000 (nearly 1 in 2 of the population).

Exact figures of 1915 and 1918 Registers:—

	1915	1918
England and Wales	6,771,264	17,223,786
Scotland .. ..	884,909	2,211,153
Ireland .. ..	701,475	1,936,673
<b>Total .. ..</b>	<b>8,357,648</b>	<b>21,371,612</b>

# HOUSE OF COMMONS.



## GENERAL ELECTION, DECEMBER, 1918.

The following contractions have been used in the political classification of the candidates:—

"Co.," Coalition	"N.D.P.," National Democratic Party
"U.," Unionist	"N.P.," National Party
"L.," Liberal	"N.," Irish Nationalist
"Lab.," Labour	"S.F.," Sinn Fein
"Soc.," Socialist	"N.F.D.S.S.," National Fed. of Discharged Sailors and Soldiers
"Co-op., Co-operator	"Ind.," Independent
"Agri.," Agricultural candidate	

An asterisk indicates a member of the old Parliament, and the figures in brackets show the total electorate of each constituency.

## LONDON BOROUGHS.

### BATTERSEA

#### NORTH (38,552).

Morris, R. (Co.L.) .. ..	11,231
Despard, Mrs. (Lab.) .. ..	5,634
Coalition majority .. ..	5,597

Mr. RICHARD MORRIS was educated as a schoolmaster, but coming to London in 1891 he devoted his energies to commerce. Helped to establish the county council evening classes in commercial subjects. Connected with a leading firm of engineers.

#### SOUTH (43,036).

Curzon, Viscount (Co.U.) .. ..	15,670
*Lynch, Col. A. (Lab.) .. ..	3,383
Molden, J. W. (L.) .. ..	2,273
Jenkin, J. E. P. (Ind.) .. ..	1,657
Coalition majority .. ..	12,287

VISCOUNT CURZON, son of Earl Howe, has been on active service since the commencement of the war, and is now serving as Commander in the Queen Elizabeth. He took the official photographic record of the surrender of the German Fleet.

### BERMONDSEY.

#### ROTHERHITHE (25,008).

Lort-Williams, J. (Co.U.) .. ..	5,639
*Carr-Gomm, Capt. H. W. (L.) .. ..	3,889
Godfrey, Will (Lab.) .. ..	1,750
Coalition majority .. ..	1,750

Mr. J. LORT-WILLIAMS was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1904, and is a member of the Oxford Circuit. He served six years in Middlesex Imperial Yeomanry. He was a member of the L.C.C., representing Limehouse in 1907, and was vice-chairman of the Housing Committee.

#### WEST (23,100).

*Glanville, H. J. (L.) .. ..	4,260
Scriven, C. R. (Co.L.) .. ..	2,998
Salter, Dr. A. (Lab.) .. ..	1,956
Becker, Lieut. H. (N.F.D.S.S.) .. ..	1,294
Liberal majority .. ..	1,262

Mr. H. J. GLANVILLE was born in Bermondsey 64 years ago, and for over 40 years has taken a foremost part in local affairs. In 1889 he was prominent in a

## LONDON BOROUGHS.

*The Times*

campaign to stop the provision of meals and refreshments to vestrymen and officials at the expense of the rates. In 1910 he was twice returned to Parliament for Bermondsey.

### BETHNAL GREEN

NORTH-EAST (25,253).

*Cornwall, Sir E. (Co.L.) .. ..	4,448
Steel, Lieut. W. L. (N.P.) .. ..	2,312
Shadforth, W. (Health candidate)	1,127
Coalition majority .. ..	2,136

SIR EDWIN CORNWALL was elected Liberal member for North-East Bethnal Green in 1906. In 1916, when Mr. Lloyd George's Coalition Government was formed, he was made Comptroller of the Household and appointed Chairman of the National Insurance Joint Committee. He was Chairman of the L.C.C., 1905-06.

SOUTH-WEST (19,510).

*Wilson, Lieut.-Colonel Sir M. (Co.U.)	4,240
Thurtle, Lt. E. (N.F.D.S.S.) .. ..	1,941
Meyler, Lt.-Col. H. Mowbray, M.C. (L.) .. ..	1,935
Coalition majority .. ..	2,299

LIEUT.-COL. SIR MATHEW RICHARD HENRY WILSON went on active service in 1915; served in Egypt, and took part in Dardanelles campaign. He subsequently served at Salonika, and afterwards in Palestine. He was mentioned in Sir Ian Hamilton's dispatches, and in 1918 was awarded the D.S.O.

### CAMBERWELL.

DULWICH (30,377).

*Hall, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Fred (Co.U.)	12,039
Cooke-Taylor, Lieut. C. R. (L.) .. ..	3,219
Coalition majority .. ..	8,820

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR FRED HALL succeeded Mr. Bonar Law, who left Dulwich in 1910. Soon after the outbreak of war he was invited by Mr. Rogers (Mayor of Camberwell) to raise a brigade of artillery, and he responded by raising a division. He is a member of Lloyd's, and is also an officer in the Honourable Artillery Company.

NORTH (26,416).

Knights, Captain H. Newton (Co.U.)	6,010
Hearn, George (L.) .. ..	2,177
Ammon, C. G. (Lab.) .. ..	2,175
Coalition majority .. ..	3,833

CAPTAIN NEWTON KNIGHTS has been Mayor of Camberwell, and is an enthusiastic supporter of the Volunteer movement. By profession he is an engineer.

NORTH-WEST (29,959).

*Macnamara, Dr. T. J. (Co.L.) .. ..	6,986
Radford, Guy (U.) .. ..	3,947
Coalition majority .. ..	3,039

DR. T. J. MACNAMARA, Financial Secretary of the Admiralty since 1908, is the son of a sergeant in a

Lancashire Regiment. He was trained in Exeter College for the teaching profession. For 15 years was editor of the *Schoolmaster*. In 1896 he was elected president of the National Union of Teachers. Dr. Macnamara was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board in 1907, and in the following year was made Financial Secretary to the Admiralty.

PECKHAM (36,916).

*Richardson, Albion (Co.L.) .. ..	8,764
Hughes, Collingwood (Ind.) .. ..	4,550
Diamond, C. (Lab.) .. ..	2,559
Coalition majority .. ..	4,214

MR. ALBION RICHARDSON is a barrister by profession, and was called to the Bar in 1912. He has represented Peckham since 1910.

CHELSEA (24,822)

*Hoare, Lt.-Colonel Sir S. J. G. (Co.U.)	9,159
Phipps, Miss E. (Ind.) .. ..	2,419
Coalition majority .. ..	6,740

LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR SAMUEL JOHN GURNEY HOARE was elected as Unionist member for Chelsea in 1910. He was assistant private secretary in 1906 to Mr. Lyttelton, then Colonial Secretary. During the war he has been a lieutenant-colonel on the General Staff, 1st Grade, and has been mentioned in dispatches.

CITY OF LONDON (30,719).

- \*Balfour, A. J. (Co.U.)
- \*Banbury, Sir F. (Co.U.)

UNOPOSED.

MR. ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR, O.M., F.R.S., Foreign Secretary, M.P. City of London since 1906, has been President of the Local Government Board, Secretary for Scotland, Chief Secretary for Ireland in the stormy years between 1887 and 1891, First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the House of Commons in 1891-2 and from 1895 to 1905, becoming Prime Minister in 1902.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY, who sat for Peckham from 1892 to 1906, when he was defeated, and elected without opposition for the City in June, 1906, is a director of the Great Northern Railway and of the London and Provincial Bank.

DEPTFORD (51,611).

*Bowerman, C. W. (Lab.) .. ..	14,073
Prestige, Major J. T. (U.) .. ..	9,711
Rumsey, F. A. (N.F.D.S.S.) .. ..	2,106
Labour majority .. ..	4,362

MR. C. W. BOWERMAN represented Deptford since 1906. He was for some years an alderman of the London County Council, and at the present time sits on the governing body of St. Bride's Institute and on the Old-Age Pensions Committee. He was general secretary of the London Society of Compositors from 1893 to 1906, president of the Trade Union Congress 1901, and has since 1911 held the office of secretary of the Congress.



House of Commons.

FINSBURY (34,873).

*Archer-Shee, Lt.-Colonel M. (Co.U.) ..	8,782
*Cotton, H. E. A. (L.) .. .. .	4,981
Coalition majority .. .. .	3,801

LIEUT.-COLONEL MARTIN ARCHER-SHEE, D.S.O., was elected as a Unionist for Central Finsbury in January, 1910. He served in the South African War, including Ladysmith, and was wounded. At the outbreak of the European War he rejoined the 19th Hussars, and he was wounded at Ypres in May, 1915.

FULHAM.

EAST (36,228).

Norris, Sir Henry (Co.U.) .. .. .	10,242
Cook, David (Lab.) .. .. .	2,883
Coysh, F. (L.) .. .. .	1,644
Coalition majority .. .. .	7,359

COLONEL SIR H. G. NORRIS is Mayor of Fulham for the 10th year in succession. During the war he raised a contingent of the Royal Field Artillery, and held an important recruiting appointment. He is a partner in the firm of Messrs. Allen and Norris, builders and contractors, was for some time chairman of directors of the Fulham Football Club, and is now a director of the Woolwich Arsenal Club and of the South Fulham Constitutional Club.

WEST (39,953).

Cobb, Sir Cyril S. (Co.U.) .. .. .	12,182
Gentry, R. M. (Lab.) .. .. .	4,435
Fordham, Sir George (L.) .. .. .	1,139
Allen, W. J. (N.F.D.S.S.) .. .. .	995
Coalition majority .. .. .	7,747

SIR CYRIL COBB, L.C.C., M.V.O., is a barrister, chairman of the London County Council Education Committee, and hon. secretary of St. Saviour's Hospital, Regent's Park. He has travelled extensively, having visited Africa, America, and India.

GREENWICH (43,750).

*Benn, Com. I. Hamilton (Co.U.) .. .. .	14,576
Birmingham, J. (Lab.) .. .. .	6,471
Coalition majority .. .. .	8,105

COMMANDER ION HAMILTON BENN who sat as Unionist member, offered his services at the outbreak of war to the Admiralty, and was engaged in the patrol boat service. Gallantry in motor-launch work gained for him the D.S.O. and C.B., and recently the bronze medal for valour has been presented to him by the King of Italy. Capt. Benn earned mention in the dispatch on the Zeebrugge raid.

HACKNEY.

CENTRAL (27,801).

Woolcock, W. J. U. (Co. L.) .. .. .	
UNOPOSED.	

Mr. WILLIAM JAMES UGLOW WOOLCOCK, O.B.E., is the son of a Nonconformist minister. While acting secretary and registrar to the Pharmaceutical Society, he was lent to the War Office to give expert assistance in connexion with the supply of drugs, medicines, surgical appliances, &c., to the Army.

LONDON BOROUGHS.

NORTH (27,871).

*Greene, Colonel W. Raymond (Co.U.) ..	9,873
Burrows, Lieut. Wright (L.) .. .. .	4,119
Coalition majority .. .. .	5,754

COLONEL W. RAYMOND GREENE has represented North Hackney since 1910. From 1895 to 1905 M.P. for Chesterton. Served in the South African War, and on outbreak of present war was attached to the 9th Lancers. Fought at the first and second battles of Ypres, being wounded and receiving the D.S.O. In 1917 he was made a General Staff Officer.

SOUTH (25,212).

Bottomley, H. (Ind.) .. .. .	11,145
Henri, Arthur (Co.L.) .. .. .	2,830
Ind. majority .. .. .	8,315

Mr. HORATIO W. BOTTOMLEY sat as an Independent Liberal for South Hackney from 1906 to 1912. He has long been a well-known figure in financial, newspaper, and political circles, and is acting Editor of *John Bull*, which he established. He is a nephew of George Jacob Holyoake.

HAMMERSMITH.

NORTH (26,656).

Foreman, H. (Co.U.) .. .. .	5,785
Young, Ernest (L.) .. .. .	2,542
Walker, Major J. C. (N.P.) .. .. .	2,075
Coalition majority .. .. .	3,243

Mr. HENRY FOREMAN, who is serving for the sixth year as Mayor of Hammersmith, raised the Hammersmith Heavy Battery and Ammunition Column, is colonel of the Hammersmith Cadet Corps, and has taken a leading part in the organization of the Hammersmith Division of the Red Cross Society.

SOUTH (27,996).

*Bull, Sir William (Co.U.) .. .. .	8,592
Robertson, T. A. (L.) .. .. .	2,555
Westcott, J. T. (Lab.) .. .. .	1,958
Coalition majority .. .. .	6,037

SIR W. J. BULL, M.P. for Hammersmith since 1900, Parliamentary private secretary to Mr. Walter Long (Secretary of State for the Colonies) since 1904; senior partner in Bull and Bull, solicitors, Essex-street, Strand, represented Hammersmith on the London County Council, 1892-1901; was chairman of the London County Council Bridges Committee during the construction of the Blackwall Tunnel; chairman of J. W. Singer and Sons, bronzefounders, of Frome and London. Born in 1863.

HAMPSTEAD (32,544).

Balfour, George (Co.U.) .. .. .	13,393
MacKay, B. S. (Lab.) .. .. .	3,646
Wrentmore, Lieut. J. H. (N.P.) .. .. .	1,881
Coalition majority .. .. .	9,747

Mr. GEORGE BALFOUR is founder and head of the firm of Balfour, Beatty, and Co., London, and directs a large number of affiliated businesses; has founded and developed many public utility undertakings.

## LONDON BOROUGHS.

The Times

### HOLBORN (20,371).

*Remnant, Lieut.-Colonel Sir J. F. (Co.U.) .. .. .	6,874
Worrall, J. H. (Lab.) .. .. .	1,091
Coalition majority .. .. .	5,783

LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR JAMES FARQUHARSON REMNANT was Unionist member for Holborn from 1900 till the dissolution. He previously served on the L.C.C., and was chairman of the Theatres Committee. He is lieutenant-colonel in the Royal Army Service Corps, having been previously in the 3rd Royal Sussex Regiment.

### ISLINGTON

#### EAST (37,078).

Raper, Lieut. A. Baldwin (Co.U.) .. .. .	9,352
*Smallwood, E. (L.) .. .. .	5,968
Lewer, Maj. A. J. (Lab.) .. .. .	3,122
Copplestone, C. E. (N.P.) .. .. .	575
Wickhart, F. A. (Ind.) .. .. .	147
Coalition majority .. .. .	3,384

LIEUT. A. BALDWIN RAPER, R.F.A., is a partner in a firm of timber merchants of London and Liverpool, and has travelled extensively in Europe, Asia, and Africa. He joined the Air Force early in the war, and for two years has been engaged as a pilot.

#### NORTH (41,769).

*Moore, Maj.-Gen. Sir Newton (Co.U.) .. .. .	14,183
Arnall, J. (Lab.) .. .. .	4,000
Sargant, Norman (L.) .. .. .	2,529
Coalition majority .. .. .	10,183

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR NEWTON J. MOORE, K.C.M.G., born in Western Australia, in 1871, became Prime Minister of the Colony in 1906. From 1911 until the early part of 1918 he was Agent-General in London. He succeeded Sir George Reid as member for St. George, Hanover-square, and was appointed General Officer Commanding the Australian Imperial Force in the United Kingdom.

#### SOUTH (28,976).

Higham, C. F. (Co.U.) .. .. .	6,885
*Wiles, T. (L.) .. .. .	5,883
Coalition majority .. .. .	1,002

Mr. CHARLES FREDERICK HIGHAM is an advertising agent. He was the writer of the recruiting appeals for the new Armies and the Victory War Loan appeals, being assistant organizer of the campaign with Mr. Kennedy Jones. In connexion with the War Loan and other public appeals he has helped to raise large sums of money.

#### WEST (26,197).

Elliott, Sir G. S. (Co.U.) .. .. .	4,996
*Lough, T. (L.) .. .. .	2,616
Sheppard, Jack (Lab.) .. .. .	2,300
Taylor, E. M. (N.F.D.S.S.) .. .. .	1,105
Coalition majority .. .. .	2,380

SIR GEORGE S. ELLIOTT has been Mayor of Islington 13 times. He was born in the borough, and was

elected one of its vestrymen as long ago as 1875. He has been a Poor Law guardian and a member of the Metropolitan Asylums Board and the London County Council. He raised two battalions for service in the war, and as president of the local war charities has helped to obtain £30,000 for various war objects.

### KENSINGTON

#### NORTH (38,045).

*Burgoyne, Lt.-Col. Alan (Co.U.) .. .. .	13,176
Jarrett, W. J. (Lab.) .. .. .	3,653
Coalition majority .. .. .	9,523

LIEUT.-COLONEL ALAN BURGUYNE, M.P. for North Kensington since 1910. He is a director of the firm of P. B. Burgoyne and Co.; owns considerable property in Australia; served in France in the 17th Batt. the King's (Liverpool) Regt. and afterwards the 17th Batt. the Middlesex Regt.

#### SOUTH (30,888).

Davison, Sir W. H. (Co.U.) .. .. .	10,693
Makins, Brig.-Gen. E., C.B., D.S.O. (N.P.) .. .. .	5,306
Coalition majority .. .. .	5,387

SIR W. H. DAVISON, who is a native of Ballymena, Co. Antrim, was called to the bar in 1895. He was one of the first co-opted members of the London Education Committee, and has been a member of the Kensington Borough Council 12 years, an alderman, and the mayor of the borough since 1913.

### LAMBETH

#### BRIXTON (37,745).

*Dalziel, Davison (Co.U.) .. .. .	9,901
Kelley, S. (Ind.) .. .. .	3,641
Norton, Horace (L.) .. .. .	2,594
Coalition majority .. .. .	6,260

Mr. DAVISON DALZIEL, who was Conservative M.P. for this constituency from 1910, was the first to introduce motor-cabs into London. He has been actively engaged in war work, and was thanked by the Government for services rendered in facilitating transport.

### KENNINGTON (37,322).

*Purchase, H. G. (Co.L.) .. .. .	4,705
Lucas, Mrs. (U.) .. .. .	3,573
Glennie, W. (Lab.) .. .. .	2,817
Coalition majority .. .. .	1,132

Mr. HENRY GEORGE PURCHASE was called to the Bar, Middle Temple, in 1913, and is a member of the Northern Circuit. At the end of 1915 he was sent on a special mission to France for the purpose of re-organizing an English and American hospital at Neuilly. In 1917 he came to London to assist in the organization of the enforcement branch of the Ministry of Food, and was shortly afterwards made an assistant director of the Ministry.

## House of Commons.

## NORTH (28,777).

Briant, F. (L.) .. .. .	7,326
*Houghton-Gastrell, Lt.-Col. Sir W. (Co.U.) .. .. .	4,441
Liberal majority .. .. .	2,885

Mr. FRANK BRIANT was born in Lambeth in 1865, and served for 14 years in the Civil Service. He is a member of the L.O.C. He has been a member of Lambeth Board of Guardians for 20 years (chairman for nine years), and of the borough council since its initiation.

## NORWOOD (40,253).

*Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Co.U.) .. .	12,848
Bignold, Harold (N.F.D.S;S.) .. .	6,665
Coalition majority .. .. .	6,183

SIR HARRY SIMON SAMUEL has been Unionist M.P. for this division since 1910. He is one of the chairmen of the Private Bills Committee of the House of Commons. At the outbreak of war he was appointed to the executive of the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, and was chairman until conscription came into force.

## LEWISHAM

## EAST (41,424).

Pownall, Lieut.-Col. Assheton (Co. U.).

## UNOPPOSED.

LIEUT.-COL. ASSHETON POWNALL has represented Lewisham on the L.C.C.

## WEST (39,796).

\*Coates, Major Sir E. (Co.U.)

## UNOPPOSED.

MAJOR SIR EDWARD COATES represented the undivided borough of Lewisham in the Unionist interest for 16 years.

## PADDINGTON

## NORTH (37,067).

Perring, W. G. (Co.U.) .. .. .	5,759
Aston, Capt. G. (N.P.) .. .. .	4,029
Barry, Lt.-Col. E. P. (N.F.D.S.S.)	3,571
Franklin, L. B. (L.) .. .. .	1,831
Bundy, H. (Lab.) .. .. .	1,275
*Strauss, Arthur (Lab.) .. .. .	774
Coalition majority .. .. .	1,730

Mr. WILLIAM GEORGE PERRING is head of the firm of Messrs. William Perring and Co. (Limited), house furnishers. Was Mayor of Paddington, 1911-12. President of the Paddington and Bayswater Chamber of Commerce; serves on War Aims Committee, Food Control, War Savings, V.A.D. and Red Cross, and various other organizations in the borough.

## SOUTH (27,479).

\*Harris, Sir H. P. (Co.U.).

## UNOPPOSED.

SIR HENRY PERCY HARRIS was elected as Unionist member for South Paddington in 1910. As representative of Paddington on the L.C.C. he acted as leader of the Moderate Party, 1904-06.

## LONDON BOROUGHS

## POPLAR

## BOW AND BROMLEY (33,436).

*Blair, Maj. R. (Co.U.) .. .. .	8,109
Lansbury, G. (Lab.) .. .. .	7,248
Dalton, Mark (L.) .. .. .	988
Coalition majority .. .. .	861

MAJOR R. BLAIR is a chartered accountant. He represented Tower Hamlets, Bow and Bromley, in the late Parliament from 1912. He served with the Expeditionary Force in France in 1914 and 1915, and with the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force in 1916. He was mentioned in dispatches.

## SOUTH POPLAR (36,077).

*Yeo, Sir Alfred (Co.L.) .. .. .	8,571
March, G. (Lab.) .. .. .	4,446
Allen, Capt. W. (N.F.D.S.S.) .. .	4,339
Coalition majority .. .. .	4,125

SIR A. YEO was elected as Liberal member for Poplar in February, 1914. He began work in an iron foundry and afterwards went into business in the music trade. He was Mayor of Poplar in 1903. and was knighted in 1918.

## ST. MARYLEBONE (46,775).

\*Scott, Major Sir Samuel E. (Co.U.)

## UNOPPOSED.

MAJOR SIR SAMUEL SCOTT, as a Unionist, sat for West Marylebone from 1898. He fought in the South African War. In the present war he served in Gallipoli, Egypt, and the Sinai Desert.

## ST. PANCRAS

## NORTH (33,747).

Lorden, J. W. (Co.U.) .. .. .	7,260
*Dickinson, Sir W. H. (L.) .. .. .	5,596
Dale, J. G. (Lab.) .. .. .	4,651
Coalition majority .. .. .	1,664

Mr. JOHN WILLIAM LORDEN has been a member of Wandsworth Borough Council since 1900; was mayor 1903-4, and again 1907-8. Alderman of borough since 1906. Was member of London County Council 1909-12. During the war he has been chairman of a section of the local Military Tribunal.

## SOUTH-EAST (27,411).

Hopkins, J. W. W. (U.) .. .. .	4,884
Reiss, Lt. R. L. (L.) .. .. .	3,594
Adams, Percy (Ind.) .. .. .	2,263
Romerill, H. G. (Lab.) .. .. .	2,189
Unionist majority .. .. .	1,290

Mr. JOHN W. W. HOPKINS has had a long experience of business in Buenos Aires, Mexico, Montevideo, and at home, as a Civil Engineer. He is chairman of the Welfare Committee for South American volunteers serving in the Army and Navy. He stood as Unionist candidate at the General Election of 1910.

## LONDON BOROUGHS.

The Times

### SOUTH-WEST (26,882).

*Barnett, Capt. R. W. (Co.U.) ..	7,119
Comyns Carr, A. S. (L.) ..	4,679
Sherrott, J. C. (Ind.) ..	352
Coalition majority ..	2,440

CAPTAIN RICHARD WHELDON BARNETT sat as Conservative member for West St. Pancras from 1916. As representative of Ireland in the match for the Elcho Shield he twice made the record score. He designed the Barnett Optical Sight for the S.M.L.E. Rifle, and was mentioned "for valuable services rendered in connexion with the war" in the War Secretary's list, February, 1917.

### SHOREDITCH (45,686).

*Addison, Dr. C. (Co.L.) ..	9,532
Sievier, R. (U.) ..	3,414
Walton, J. (Lab.) ..	2,072
*Chancellor, H. G. (L.) ..	1,524
Warwick, T. (N.P.) ..	504
Coalition majority ..	6,118

DR. CHRISTOPHER ADDISON, Minister of Reconstruction since July, 1917, has held various medical professorships and appointments. He was elected as a Liberal for the Hoxton Division in January, 1910, and acted successively as Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Munitions, and Minister of Munitions.

### SOUTHWARK.

#### CENTRAL (27,699).

*Gilbert, J. D. (Co.L.) ..	8,060
Guest, Capt. L. H. (Lab.) ..	3,126
Coalition majority ..	4,934

MR. J. D. GILBERT represents West Newington on the London County Council. He is also a member of the Port of London Authority. Was first returned to Parliament at a by-election during the war as member for West Newington.

#### NORTH (22,366).

*Strauss, E. A. (Co.L.) ..	4,254
Harrington, Sir John (Ind.U.) ..	2,183
Isaacs, G. A. (Lab.) ..	2,027
Gebbett, J. J. (N.F.D.S.S.) ..	573
Coalition majority ..	2,071

MR. E. A. STRAUSS is a hop factor, a Freeman and Liveryman of the City of London. He successfully contested West Southwark against Sir William Dunn in 1910.

#### SOUTH-EAST (27,512).

*Dawes, Commander J. A. (Co.L.) ..	7,208
Naylor, T. E. (Lab.) ..	2,718
Coalition majority ..	4,490

COMMANDER J. ARTHUR DAWES is a solicitor and has represented the Walworth Division of Newington

since 1910. He was chairman of the Newington Vestry for three years from 1897, and was the first Mayor of Southwark, filling the same office in 1913-14 and 1914-15. In 1907 he was returned to the L.C.C. as representative for Walworth, and re-elected at subsequent elections. Commander Dawes is a member of the Southwark Borough Council.

### STEPNEY.

#### LIMEHOUSE (29,275).

*Pearce, Sir William (Co.L.) ..	5,860
*Sheehan, Capt. D. D. (Lab.) ..	2,470
Rodwell, Chas. (N.P.) ..	1,455

Coalition majority .. 3,390

SIR WILLIAM PEARCE is a director of a firm of chemical manufacturers, and represented Tower Hamlets in the late Parliament. He was a member of the London County Council from 1892 to 1901, and unsuccessfully contested Limehouse in 1900.

#### MILE-END (22,131).

Preston, W. (Co.U.) ..	6,025
Devenay, W. (Lab.) ..	2,392
Sanders, C. J. O. (L.) ..	1,119

Coalition majority .. 3,633

MR. W. R. PRESTON, an engineer, is a director of Messrs. J. Stone and Co. (Limited), marine and railway engineers, Deptford. He has worked at the Oxford House Settlement, and has travelled considerably. He contested East St. Pancras in January and Mile End in December, 1910. He helped in organizing the production of munitions, and served on a committee to control war expenditure.

#### WHITECHAPEL (23,666).

*Kiley, J. D. (L.) ..	3,025
Ambrose, Dr. (Lab.) ..	2,522
Cohen, G. A. (Co.U.) ..	2,489
Raphael, J. R. (Costers) ..	614

Liberal majority .. 503

MR. JAMES DANIEL KILEY, M.P. for Tower Hamlets (Whitechapel) since 1916, and Mayor of Stepney in 1916-18. Has been chairman of the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, chairman of the Military Service Tribunal, President of the Committee for providing entertainment and comforts for the sick and wounded soldiers at the Mile End Military Hospital, and chairman of the War Savings Committee.

#### STOKE NEWINGTON (20,090).

Jones, G. W. H. (Co.U.) ..	5,918
Ormond, H. J. (Ind.) ..	2,829
Heffer, P. H. (L.) ..	2,181

Coalition majority .. 3,089

MR. GEORGE WILLIAM HENRY JONES is a member of the London County Council, and for five years served on the Hackney Borough Council. He won the certificate of honour at the Bar Final examination, is a Bachelor of Laws, and a Fellow of the Royal Economic Society.

## House of Commons.

## LONDON BOROUGHS.

## WANDSWORTH

BALHAM AND TOOTING (40,212).	
*Denison-Pender, Capt. J. (Co.U.) ..	12,405
Smith, Frank (Lab.) .. ..	3,584
Hurley, A. J. (Ind.Dem.) ..	1,805
Anderson, Capt. Maxwell (L.) ..	1,542
Hunt, W. (U.) .. ..	1,457
Coalition majority .. ..	8,821

CAPTAIN JOHN CUTHBERT DENISON-PENDER was elected as a Unionist for the Newmarket Division in May, 1913. When war broke out he went to France with the Red Cross, and he is now in the A.S.C. He has been a member of the L.C.C. since 1910.

## CENTRAL (27,825).

*Griffiths, Lt.-Col. Sir J. N. (U.) ..	7,796
Blizzard, A. P. (Lab.) .. ..	3,382
*Guest, Col. Henry (Co.L.) ..	2,988
Unionist majority .. ..	4,414

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR J. NORTON GRIFFITHS, K.C.B., D.S.O., elected as a Unionist for Wednesbury, 1910, raised during the war the 2nd King Edward's Horse, and was afterwards engaged in organizing tunnelling companies R.E. Sent on a special mission to Rumania to destroy the oil wells, he was decorated for services on the battlefield.

## CLAPHAM (34,640).

*Du Cros, Sir Arthur (Co.U.) ..	9,776
Beamish, H. H. (N.F.D.S.S.) ..	3,070
Thomas, P. H. (L.) .. ..	2,790
Harvey, Lieut. W. J., M.C. (Ind.)	594
Coalition majority .. ..	6,706

SIR ARTHUR DU CROS is chairman and managing director of the Dunlop Rubber Company. As hon. colonel, 8th Battalion, Royal Warwickshire Regiment, he raised a company from among his own employees. Founded the Parliamentary Aerial Defence Committee. Represented Hastings in the last Parliament.

## PUTNEY (31,437).

*Samuel, Samuel (Co.U.) .. ..	8,677
Jenkins, J. G. (N.P.) .. ..	4,968
Coalition majority .. ..	3,709

Mr. SAMUEL SAMUEL, born 1855, is senior partner in firm of M. Samuel and Co., bankers and merchants, director of Shell Transport and Trading Company, Capital and Counties Bank, and other companies. Lieutenant of City of London. Elected for Wandsworth June, 1913.

## STREATHAM (26,842).

Mitchell, W. Lane (Co.U.) .. ..	11,457
Compston, J. A. (L.) .. ..	2,417
Bellamy, Captain F. H. (N.P.) ..	1,844
Coalition majority .. ..	9,040

Mr. WILLIAM LANE MITCHELL is connected with the firm of John Layton and Co. (Limited), and is the neutral chairman of the Advisory Committee for Wandsworth. Twice mayor of Camberwell.

## WESTMINSTER

## ABBAY (33,935).

*Burdett-Coutts, W. L. (Co. U.)	UNOPPOSED.
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Mr. BURDETT-COUTTS has represented Westminster since 1885. He carried the Hampstead Heath Act.

## ST. GEORGE'S (29,080).

*Long, Walter (Co.U.) .. ..	10,453
Bell Mackenzie (L.) .. ..	1,140
Coalition majority .. ..	9,313

Mr. WALTER LONG, Secretary for the Colonies since 1916, was previously President of the Local Government Board in the Coalition Ministry of Mr. Asquith. He entered Parliament in 1880, and among the many offices he has held are those of President of the Board of Agriculture and Chief Secretary for Ireland.

## WOOLWICH

## EAST (36,027).

*Crooks, Will (Lab.)	UNOPPOSED.
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Mr. WILL CROOKS, born at Poplar in 1852. Worked as a cooper until 1892, when he was elected to the L.C.C. for Poplar. Represented Woolwich in Parliament since 1903, with exception of few months between the two elections of 1910.

## WEST (34,248).

Wood, Sir Kingsley (Co.U.) ..	12,348
Cameron, A. G. (Lab.) .. ..	7,088
Adam, Major W. (U.) .. ..	1,109
Coalition majority .. ..	5,260

SIR H. KINGSLEY WOOD represented Woolwich since 1911 on the L.C.C. Has been chairman of Old Age Pensions Committee and National Health Insurance Committee, and has been an energetic advocate of a Health Ministry. Has been vice-chairman of the special London committee for dealing with separation allowances for dependents of unmarried soldiers and sailors.



## ENGLISH BOROUGHES.

### ACCRINGTON (42,160).

Gray, Major E. (Co.U.) .. ..	13,808
*Baker, Harold (L.) .. ..	8,378
Buxton, C. R. (Lab.) .. ..	6,369
Hammond, W. (N.D.P.) .. ..	738
Coalition majority .. ..	5,430

MAJOR ERNEST GRAY has served as president of the National Union of Teachers, being for several years chairman of its Parliamentary Committee, and is an honorary M.A. of Oxford University. He is a member of the London County Council, and has served as chairman of some of its most important committees. He represented West Ham for a short period in Parliament.

### ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE (25,715).

*Stanley, Sir Albert (Co.U.) .. ..	10,260
Lister, T. F. (N.F.D.S.S.) .. ..	7,334
Coalition majority .. ..	2,926

SIR ALBERT H. STANLEY has had large experience in the management of electrical and other railways in America, as well as of the London Underground system. When Mr. Lloyd George invited him to become President of the Board of Trade two years ago Ashton-under-Lyne found him a seat in Parliament. He has been helpful to the cotton industry, and the establishment of the Cotton Control Board is largely due to him.

### BARNESLEY (34,056).

\*Walton, Sir J. (Co.L.) .. ..  
UNOPPOSED.

SIR JOSEPH WALTON has represented the division for 20 years, is very popular with all parties, and a wealthy coalowner.

### BARROW-IN-FURNESS (37,697).

Chadwick, R. Burton (U.) .. ..	12,608
*Duncan, Charles (Lab.) .. ..	12,309
Unionist majority .. ..	299

Mr. R. BURTON CHADWICK is head of Messrs. Chadwick and Co., shipowners, of Liverpool. He is director of Munitions Overseas Transport and of Ship Supplies under the War Office; a member of Executive of Chamber of Shipping, and also of Lord Mersey's Arbitration Board.

### BATH (31,512).

*Foxcroft, Captain C. (Co.U.) .. ..	15,605
Bethell, A. J. (Lab.) .. ..	5,244
Coalition majority .. ..	10,361

CAPTAIN CHARLES TALBOT FOXCROFT was educated at Eton and at Magdalen College, Oxford. Served during the South African war and in India, but owing to an accident was invalided out in 1916. In September last he was returned unopposed to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Lord Alexander Thynne.

### BATLEY AND MORLEY (38,211).

*France, Lt. Gerald (Co.L.) .. ..	13,519
Turner, Ben (Lab.) .. ..	12,051
Coalition majority .. ..	1,468

LIEUTENANT GERALD FRANCE, who represented this constituency since 1910, is a partner in the firm of Messrs. France and Son, wholesale provision merchants, Newcastle-on-Tyne. He has been a member of the Northumberland County Council. At the outbreak of war he joined the Royal Naval Reserve, in which he held the rank of lieutenant.

### BIRKENHEAD

#### EAST (33,297).

*Bigland, A. (Co.U.) .. ..	13,012
Finigan, J. (Lab.) .. ..	5,399
White, H. Graham (L.) .. ..	1,787
Coalition majority .. ..	7,613

Mr. ALFRED BIGLAND sat as a Unionist for Birkenhead from December, 1910. He raised the Birkenhead "Bantam" battalions of the Cheshire Regiment. He was appointed Controller of the Oils and Fats Branch of the Ministry of Munitions, and undertook a mission to the United States in connexion with food supply and distribution.

#### WEST (30,068).

Grayson, Lt.-Col. H. M. (Co.U.) .. ..	10,881
Egan, W. H. (Lab.) .. ..	5,673
Bickersteth, H. (L.) .. ..	1,755
Coalition majority .. ..	5,208

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL H. M. GRAYSON is head of Messrs. H. and C. Grayson (Limited), shipbuilders. He was appointed Director of Ship Repairs under the British Board of Admiralty, and after having organized the ship-repairing yards in the United Kingdom was charged with similar work in Allied countries and the British Dominions.

### BIRMINGHAM

#### ASTON (35,443).

*Cecil, Evelyn (Co.U.) .. ..	9,997
Banfield, W. (Lab.) .. ..	4,451
Dooley, J. H. (N.F.D.S.S.) .. ..	1,561
Coalition majority .. ..	5,546

House of Commons.

ENGLISH BOROUGHES.

Mr. EVELYN CECIL has represented Aston since 1900. after having sat in the House of Commons for East Herts from 1898. He acted as assistant private secretary to his uncle, the late Lord Salisbury, when Prime Minister in 1891-2 and 1895-1902. Was Chairman in 1901 of the Select Committee on Foreign Steamship Subsidies and their effect on British Trade, and of the Eastern Mail Committee in 1904. In 1905 he was a delegate to the International Railway Congress at Washington, and five years later fulfilled a similar mission at the Congress at Berne.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Value. Includes DERITEND (37,442), Dennis, J. W. (Co.U.), Brampton, A. (L.), and Coalition majority (7,505).

Mr. J. W. DENNIS was appointed by Lord Devonport in 1917 as director of the section of the Ministry of Food dealing with potatoes and other vegetables and fruit. He has been a member of the Tariff Commission since its formation.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Value. Includes DUDESTON (34,167), Hallas, E. (Co.N.D.P.), Crowley, Dr. J. F. (L.), and Coalition majority (6,516).

Mr. ELDRÉD HALLAS is a Yorkshireman, who came to Birmingham 11 years ago as lecturer at the Ethical Church, has engaged in Labour and Socialist work. In 1911 he was returned to the City Council. He is joint secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Gas, Municipal and General Workers. In the early days of the war he took an active part in the recruiting movement.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Value. Includes EDGBASTON (37,013), \*Lowe, Sir F. (Co.U.), Barnsley, Brig.-Gen. Sir J. (L.), and Coalition majority (9,381).

SIR FRANCIS LOWE was born in Edgbaston in 1852, and is a retired solicitor. He has been the Parliamentary representative of his birthplace since 1898. He is a Justice of the Peace for Birmingham and for Warwickshire.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Value. Includes ERDINGTON (34,239), \*Maitland, Sir A. Steel (Co.U.), Tyton, A. E. (Lab.), Somerset, Captain R. (L.), and Coalition majority (7,467).

SIR A. STEEL MAITLAND went into Parliament at the last election for East Birmingham. In 1911 he was appointed organizer of the Conservative Party, resigning in 1915 when he became Under-Secretary for the Colonies. Latterly he has been Director-General of the new Commercial Intelligence Department of the Board of Trade.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Value. Includes HANDSWORTH (37,254), \*Meyssey-Thompson, Lieut.-Col. E. C. (Co.U.), Tiptaft, N. (Ind.), Odell, H. J. (Lab.), and Coalition majority (7,322).

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL E. O. MEYSEY-THOMPSON, born 1859, was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, and went out to New Zealand, where he remained for more than 10 years. In the colony he bought and drained land for the purpose of breeding and rearing cattle and sheep, and also interested himself in the development of the gold mines. During the war he raised and commanded the 175th Brigade, R.F.A. Has represented Handsworth since 1906.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Value. Includes KING'S NORTON (27,117), Austin, Sir H. (Co.U.), Hackett, T. (Co-op.), Birkett, N. (L.), and Coalition majority (3,892).

SIR HERBERT AUSTIN, the chairman of the Austin Motor Company, last year was honoured in recognition of his services in the production of munitions of war. He is connected with several large companies, and is an ex-President of the Institute of Automobile Engineers.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Value. Includes LADYWOOD (33,330), Chamberlain, Neville (Co. U.), Kneeshaw, J. W. (Lab.), Ashby, Mrs. M. C. (L.), and Coalition majority (6,833).

Mr. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN has been identified with public life for many years. He entered the City Council in 1911, becoming Lord Mayor in 1916. He was invited in December, 1916, by Mr. Lloyd George, to become Director-General of National Service, but resigned the position in the following August. Returning to Birmingham he resumed his municipal work, devoting himself particularly to the health and housing of the people.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Value. Includes MOSELEY (41,546), Rogers, Sir Hallelwell (Co.U.), Dunstan, Dr. R. (Lab.), Hill, W. (L.), and Coalition majority (12,372).

SIR HALLELWELL ROGERS has been associated for many years with the municipal, political, and commercial life of the city, of which he has been twice the Lord Mayor. He is identified with several large industrial concerns. Is chairman of the Birmingham Small Arms Company, and a director of Barclay's Bank.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Value. Includes SPARKBROOK (37,123), \*Amery, Lieut.-Col. L. C. S. (Co.U.), Spires, Frank (Co-op.), Hurst, G. J. (L.), and Coalition majority (12,211).

LIEUT.-COLONEL LEOPOLD O. M. S. AMERY was born in India. During the South African War he organized the war correspondence of The Times and was an effective writer upon the fiscal question. In 1911 he was returned for South Birmingham. He has seen active service during the war, has acted as an Assistant Secretary of the War Cabinet, and was on the Staff of the Supreme War Council at Versailles.

## ENGLISH BOROUGHES.

The Times

WEST (35,836).

\*Chamberlain, J. Austen (Co.U.)

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. J. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN was returned unopposed for West Birmingham in 1914 in succession to his father. His first Ministerial appointment was as Civil Lord of the Admiralty and he was afterwards successively Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Postmaster-General, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Secretary for India, and member of the War Cabinet.

YARDLEY (36,575).

Jephcott, A. R. (Co.U.)	..	..	10,960
Shann, G. (Ind.)	..	..	7,466
Jackson, G. (L.)	..	..	1,049

Coalition majority	..	..	3,494
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Mr. A. R. JEPHCOTT was the first working man to enter the City Council, of which he is an Alderman. For about 40 years he has been a member of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and he was president of the district committee for eight years. In 1887, and again in 1899, he was president of the Birmingham Trades Council. At the last election he unsuccessfully contested Dundee.

BLACKBURN (61,972) (2).

*Norman, Sir Henry (Co.L.)	..	..	32,076
Dean, Lieut.-Com. P., V.C. (Co.U.)	..	..	30,158
*Snowden, Philip (Lab.)	..	..	15,274

Coalition majority	..	..	14,884
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MAJOR SIR HENRY NORMAN, Bart., became M.P. for South Wolverhampton in 1900 and Liberal member for Blackburn in 1910. Was appointed Liaison Officer of the Ministry of Munitions with the French Government in April, 1916, and later made exhaustive investigation into the French scheme for restoring maimed and crippled soldiers.

LIEUT.-COMMANDER PERCY THOMPSON DEAN, V.C., who is 40 years of age, is a slate merchant and cotton spinner, and is a member of the town council. In July, 1916, was appointed an officer in the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve and in the Zeebrugge enterprise in April he displayed exceptional gallantry for which he received the V.C.

BLACKPOOL (41,627).

Parkinson, A. L. (Co.U.)	..	..	15,818
Critchley, C. F. (Ind.)	..	..	9,862
Gee, A. (Lab.)	..	..	2,608

Coalition majority	..	..	5,956
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Mr. ALBERT LINDSAY PARKINSON is Mayor of Blackpool and chief partner in Messrs. J. Parkinson and Sons (Limited), Government contractors and builders. He has interested himself in aviation and motor racing.

BOLTON (82,458) (2).

\*Edge, Captain W. (Co.L.)  
\*Tootill, R. (Lab.)

UNOPPOSED.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM EDGE was stated by Lord Derby to be one of the three originators of the Derby recruiting scheme.

Mr. R. TOOTILL was elected unopposed in September, 1914. He commenced work in the mill at eight years of age. He is general secretary of the Machine and General Labourers' Union.

BOOTLE (33,419).

Royden, Sir T. (Co.U.)	..	..	12,312
Cathery, E. (Seamen's)	..	..	5,077

Coalition majority	..	..	7,235
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SIR THOMAS ROYDEN is deputy-chairman of the Cunard Steamship Company. During the war he was one of the chief advisers of the Government on shipping, and he acted as shipping adviser to the British War Mission to the United States.

BOURNEMOUTH (33,079).

*Croft, Brig.-Gen. H. Page (N.P.)	..	..	14,048
Hopkins, Rev. F. J. (Lab.)	..	..	5,302
Keighley, T. D. (L.)	..	..	1,854

N.P. majority	..	..	8,746
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BRIGADIER-GENERAL H. PAGE CROFT, born in 1881, was educated at Eton, Shrewsbury, and Cambridge, and has sat for Christchurch in the Conservative interest since 1910. He was chairman of the Organization Committee of the Tariff Reform League and chairman of the Imperial Mission. He served in the war in 1914-15. One of the founders of the National Party.

BRADFORD

CENTRAL (44,549).

Ratcliffe, H. B. (Co.U.)	..	..	12,434
Leach, W. (Lab.)	..	..	7,636
*Hill, Sir James (L.)	..	..	4,304

Coalition majority	..	..	4,798
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Mr. HENRY BUTLER RATCLIFFE was formerly a butcher in Bradford, and is president of the Yorkshire Federation of Butchers. He is prominently associated with Bradford Parish Church, where he was Sunday school superintendent for 12 years, and leader of class of adults in the parish.

EAST (36,580).

Loseby, Capt. C. E., M.C. (Co.N.D.P.)	..	..	9,390
*Jowett, F. W. (Lab.)	..	..	8,637
*Priestley, Sir W. E. B. (L.)	..	..	4,782

Coalition majority	..	..	753
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CAPTAIN C. E. LOSEBY, M.C., was called to the Bar, Gray's Inn, in 1914. On the outbreak of war he joined the 4th Lancashire Fusiliers (Special Reserve) and was drafted to France in the 2nd Battalion February, 1915, and was gassed in May. He was also wounded at Cambrai, November, 1917, while serving with the 1st Battalion Lancashire Fusiliers.

NORTH (33,038).

Boyd-Carpenter, Maj. A. (Co.U.)	..	..	11,048
Palin, J. H. (Lab.)	..	..	6,499
Binns, E. (L.)	..	..	4,688

Coalition majority	..	..	4,549
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House of Commons.

MAJOR A. BOYD-CARPENTER is the fourth son of the late Bishop Boyd-Carpenter. As member of Imperial Yeomanry when the South African War broke out he received a commission in the Highland Light Infantry, served as A.D.C. to Major-General Lord Chesham, and later to Major-General Belfield. For two years he was Mayor of Harrogate.

SOUTH (41,449).

Willey, Lt.-Col. F. V. (Co.L.) .. ..	11,983
Hirst, W. (Coop.) .. ..	8,182
Muff, G. (L.) .. ..	661
Coalition majority .. ..	3,801

LIEUT.-COLONEL F. V. WILLEY, C.M.G., M.V.O., son of Mr. Francis Willey, member of firm of largest wool merchants in the world, with places of business in Bradford and U.S.A. After service in Egypt and Gallipoli he was posted to the Army Ordnance Department with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In January, 1916, he was appointed official organizer for the purchase of domestic clip, and in January, 1917, Controller of Wool Supplies.

BRIGHTON (82,449) (2).

*Tryon, Maj. G. C. (Co.U.) .. ..	32,958
*Thomas-Stanford, C. (Co.U.) .. ..	32,561
Lewis, T. (Lab.) .. ..	8,971
Canter, G. W. (Lab.) .. ..	8,514
Coalition majority .. ..	23,590

MAJOR TRYON, son of the late Vice-Admiral Sir George Tryon, served in South Africa 1899-1900 (medal with two clasps). During the war with Germany he directed the Officers' Training School at Chelsea Barracks. He sat for Brighton from January, 1910, as a Unionist.

MR. THOMAS-STANFORD, of Preston Manor, Brighton, is a Barrister of the Inner Temple, and was Mayor of Brighton during the three years 1910-11, 1912-13, and 1913-14. He was returned for Parliament unopposed as a Unionist at a by-election in June, 1914.

BRISTOL  
CENTRAL (36,038).

Inskip, T. W. H. (Co.U.) .. ..	12,232
Bevin, E. (Lab.) .. ..	7,137
Coalition majority .. ..	5,095

MR. THOMAS WALKER HOBART INSKIP, K.C., contested the Berwick-upon-Tweed Division against Sir Edward Grey in 1906 and 1910. He was recently appointed on the Government Committee to inquire into enemy breaches of the laws and customs of warfare.

EAST (33,679).

Britton, G. B. (Co.L.) .. ..	9,434
Bateman, Luke (Lab.) .. ..	8,135
*Hobhouse, Sir Charles (L.) .. ..	1,447
Coalition majority .. ..	1,299

MR. G. B. BRITTON is a boot and shoe manufacturer. A year ago he severed his official connexion with the Liberal Party, in which he had been a leader. He has been for many years a member of the City Council.

ENGLISH BOROUGHS.

NORTH (34,657).

Gange, E. S. (Co.L.) .. ..	11,400
Kaylor, J. (Lab.) .. ..	5,007
Petter, E. W. (N.P.) .. ..	2,620
Coalition majority .. ..	6,393

MR. E. STANLEY GANGE was Mr. Birrell's chairman in the division. He is a Bristol merchant and the son of a Baptist minister. He has recently been co-opted a member of the Town Council.

SOUTH (35,663).

*Davies, Sir W. Howell (Co.L.) .. ..	13,761
Lewis, T. C. (Lab.) .. ..	6,409
Coalition majority .. ..	7,352

SIR WILLIAM HOWELL DAVIES is a leather merchant, and has sat for the division since 1906, when he defeated Mr. Walter Long. Is a Bristol Alderman and has been chiefly identified with port development. Was knighted in 1908 on the occasion of the opening of the Royal Edward Dock at Avonmouth.

WEST (35,072).

*Gibbs, Colonel G. A. (Co.U.) .. ..	UNOPPOSED.
COLONEL G. A. GIBBS has sat for Bristol West since 1906. He is son-in-law of Mr. Walter Long; served as an officer of the North Somerset Imperial Yeomanry in the South African War.	

BROMLEY (40,709).

*Forster, H. W. (Co.U.) .. ..	16,840
Knight, Holford (L.) .. ..	4,339
Coalition majority .. ..	12,501

MR. H. W. FORSTER, Financial Secretary to the War Office, has been member for Sevenoaks for 26 years. In the late Coalition Government he has taken a prominent place, and as Financial Secretary of the War Office has been one of the most hard worked members.

BURNLEY (50,870).

Irving, Dan (Soc.) .. ..	15,217
Mulholland, Maj. H. G. H. (Co.U.) .. ..	12,289
Grey, J. H. (L.) .. ..	8,825
Socialist majority .. ..	2,928

MR. DAN IRVING has acted in Burnley as secretary and agent to the Socialist Party for over 20 years, and served on the town council. He has contested Parliamentary elections at Accrington, Rochdale, and North-West Manchester.

BURY (32,666).

Ainsworth, Capt. C. (U.) .. ..	10,043
*Toulmin, Sir G. (Co.L.) .. ..	6,862
Wallace, H. W. (Lab.) .. ..	4,973
Unionist majority .. ..	3,181

## ENGLISH BOROUGHES.

The Times

CAPTAIN CHARLES AINSWORTH joined the 1/5th Lancashire Fusiliers (Bury Territorials). Went to Egypt and the Dardanelles, and was wounded. He is interested in farming and horse-breeding, and is member of the Holcombe Hunt.

### CAMBRIDGE (25,170).

*Geddes, Sir Eric (Co.U.) .. ..	11,553
Williams, Rev. T. R. (Lab.) .. ..	3,789
Coalition majority .. ..	7,764

SIR ERIC CAMPBELL GEDDES, G.C.B., First Lord of the Admiralty, was born in India, 1876, of Scottish parentage, and was educated at Oxford Military College and Merchiston Castle School, Edinburgh. He gained much practical experience in the Southern States of America, in connexion with lumbering and railway administration, and returning to England became associated with the management of the North-Eastern Railway. In 1916-17 he was engaged in France as Director-General of Military Railways and Inspector-General of Transportation. He was then in quick succession made Hon. Major-General, an additional member of the Board of Admiralty, Hon. Vice-Admiral, and finally First Lord of the Admiralty. Promoted G.C.B. January, 1919.

### CARLISLE (23,055).

Carr, W. T. (Co.L.) .. ..	9,511
Lowthian, E. (Lab.) .. ..	4,736
Coalition majority .. ..	4,775

MR. W. THEODORE CARR, chairman of directors of Carrs Flour Mills (Limited). During the war has acted as the millers' representative on the Millers' Tribunal set up under the Ministry of Food. A keen motorist, he was appointed to the command of the Cumberland Army Service Motor Mechanical Transport Volunteers. He was also chairman of the East Cumberland Munitions Committee.

### CHELTENHAM (23,217).

*Agg-Gardner, Sir J. (Co.U.) .. ..	9,602
Davies, Dr. R. (Ind.) .. ..	6,317
Coalition majority .. ..	3,285

SIR J. T. AGG-GARDNER is lord of the manor of Cheltenham, and was made the first freeman of the borough in 1896. This year he commemorated his political jubilee, having contested the borough in the Conservative interest for the first time in 1868. He has fought eight elections, winning five and losing three, while he has been once returned unopposed.

### COVENTRY (62,066).

Manville, E. (Co.U.) .. ..	17,380
Wallhead, R. C. (Lab.) .. ..	10,298
Mansel, Sir C. (L.) .. ..	4,128
Bannington, A. C. (N.F.D.S.S.) .. ..	3,806
*Mason, D. M. (Ind. L.) .. ..	3,145
Coalition majority .. ..	7,082

MR. EDWARD MANVILLE is a member of the firm of consulting engineers which electrified the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway. For about 20 years he has been the head of the Daimler Company, and is the vice-chairman of the B.S.A. Company. He has served on various Government com-

mittees during the war, including the Treasury Committee to inquire into banking amalgamations, the Labour Re-Settlement Committee, and the Commercial Attaches Committee of the Overseas Trade Department.

### CROYDON

#### NORTH (43,660).

Borwick, Major G. O., D.S.O. (Co.U.) .. ..	16,520
Trumble, J. (L.) .. ..	7,094
Coalition majority .. ..	9,426

MAJOR G. O. BORWICK, D.S.O., was educated at Harrow and Oxford, and contested Poplar in 1906 and Limehouse in 1910. Went to the Western front in January, 1915, and afterwards saw much fighting at Salonika. He has been mentioned four times in dispatches.

#### SOUTH (45,115).

*Malcolm, Ian (Co.U.) .. ..	17,813
Muggeridge, H. T. (Lab.) .. ..	7,006
Coalition majority .. ..	10,807

MR. IAN MALCOLM was a member of mission which established Anglo-Russian Hospital in Petrograd, and the Tsar made him an honorary general of Russian Army. He was concerned in establishing prisoners of war parcels system under Red Cross auspices. In April, 1917, he accompanied Mr. Balfour on his American Mission. Has been in Paris at each meeting of Supreme War Council in past year.

### DARLINGTON (28,660).

*Pease, H. Pike (Co.U.) .. ..	11,951
Scott, A. H. (L.) .. ..	7,494
Coalition majority .. ..	4,457

MR. H. PIKE PEASE, Assistant Postmaster-General, since May, 1915, sat as a Unionist for Darlington, with an interval of a few months, from 1898 to the recent dissolution. He was a Unionist Whip for a number of years. He is president of the Church Army.

### DERBY (61,538) (2).

*Thomas, J. H. (Lab.) .. ..	25,145
Green, A. (U.) .. ..	14,920
Rowbotham, W. B. (L.) .. ..	13,408
Smith, Captain H. M. (N.D.P.) .. ..	13,012

Labour majority over Liberal	11,737
Unionist majority over Liberal	1,512

MR. J. H. THOMAS, M.P. Derby since 1910, general secretary, National Union of Railwaymen, president 1910. Commenced work at nine years of age as an errand boy; from that to engine-cleaner, and stage to stage as fireman and engine driver on the Great Western Railway. Formerly a member of Swindon Town Council. P.C. 1917.

MR. ALBERT GREEN, a native of Derby, 45 years old, carries on an extensive business as a silk trimmings manufacturer. In his younger days he was well known throughout the Midlands as a racing cyclist. He is an alderman, and was Mayor of the borough three years ago.



## House of Commons.

## ENGLISH BOROUGHES.

## DEWSBURY (27,592).

Pickering, Lt.-Col. E. W. (Co.U.) ..	7,853
Riley, Ben (Lab.) .. ..	5,596
*Runciman, W. (L.) .. ..	5,130
Coalition majority .. ..	2,257

LIEUT.-COLONEL EMIL W. PICKERING is a partner in the firm of Messrs. Pickering and Greaves, woollen manufacturers, Ravensthorpe. During the war he saw much hard fighting in France, until he was invalided home with double pneumonia. He has been mentioned in dispatches and awarded the D.S.O.

## DUDLEY (25,103).

*Griffith-Boscawen, Sir A. (Co.U.) ..	9,126
Steer, W. B. (Lab.) .. ..	6,046
Coalition majority .. ..	3,080

SIR A. GRIFFITH-BOSCAWEN, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Pensions; M.P. for Tonbridge from 1892 to 1906 and for Dudley since 1910; commanded a battalion of the Royal West Kent Regiment at the beginning of the war; for some months commanded a section of the Thames and Medway defences; served in France, and was twice mentioned in dispatches.

## EALING (28,687).

*Nield, Sir Herbert (Co.U.) .. ..	13,710
Chilton, A. H. (Lab.) .. ..	3,610
Coalition majority .. ..	10,100

SIR HERBERT NIELD, K.C., represented the Ealing Division from 1906. Born in 1862 he was called to the Bar in 1895 and "took silk" in 1913. Was deputy-chairman of the Middlesex Appeal Tribunal. He is deputy-chairman of the Middlesex Quarter Sessions.

## EAST HAM.

## NORTH (34,219).

*Bethell, Sir John (Co.L.) .. ..	9,436
Mann, W. (N.P.) .. ..	6,748
Coalition majority .. ..	2,688

SIR JOHN HENRY BETHELL has a long record of public work in the two eastern metropolitan county boroughs. He has served on the East Ham as well as the West Ham Town Council, and has twice been mayor of each borough. He unsuccessfully contested Romford in 1894 and West Ham (North) in 1900. In 1906 he won the Romford Division.

## SOUTH (32,472).

*Edwards, Clem (Co. N.D.P.) ..	7,972
Hamlett, Frank (U.) .. ..	5,661
*Henderson, Arthur (Lab.) .. ..	5,024
Coalition majority .. ..	2,311

MR. ALLEN CLEMENT EDWARDS, born in Radnorshire, was called to the Bar in 1899. As a Liberal he unsuccessfully contested Tottenham in 1895 and Denbigh in 1900. He won the latter seat in 1906, but lost it in 1910. At the next election he fought and won Glamorgan, East. Chairman of the National Democratic Party in the House of Commons.

## ECCLES (34,702).

Stevens, M. (Co.U.) .. ..	15,821
*Holt, R. D. (L.) .. ..	3,408
Coalition majority .. ..	12,413

MR. MARSHALL STEVENS, former manager of the Manchester Ship Canal and present manager of Old Trafford estate, is one of the best known business men in Manchester. He has special knowledge of the development of big concerns, and is an authority upon all kinds of traffic and traffic rates.

## 'EDMONTON (28,930):

Warren, Sir Alfred (Co.U.) .. ..	6,891
Broad, F. A. (Lab.) .. ..	3,575
Vivian, H. H. (L.) .. ..	2,245
Barrass, H. (Ind.) .. ..	1,223
Coalition majority .. ..	3,316

SIR A. H. WARREN is Mayor of Poplar, where he did good work for recruiting. Was recently knighted.

## EXETER (31,267).

*Newman, Sir R. (Co.U.) .. ..	12,524
Costello, L. W. (L.) .. ..	8,806
Coalition majority .. ..	3,718

SIR ROBERT NEWMAN was first returned last May in succession to Sir Henry Duke. He was then nominated by both Unionists and Liberals. Practically all his life has been devoted to public work in Devon and Exeter. He is member of the Devon County Council and Education Committee, and is associated in some way with almost every public body and institution in the city.

## GATESHEAD (55,443).

Surtees, Brigadier-General H. C., D.S.O. (Co.U.) .. ..	17,215
Brotherton, J. (Lab.) .. ..	7,212
*Elverston, Sir H. (L.) .. ..	5,833
Coalition majority .. ..	10,003

BRIG.-GEN. H. C. SURTEES has had a distinguished military career, and has fought in four campaigns. In the late war he commanded the 52nd Infantry Brigade for nine months in the field, and was subsequently Inspector of Infantry in England. He has been Military Attaché to the British Embassy at Constantinople and Athens.

## GLOUCESTER (25,006).

Bruton, Sir J. (Co.U.) .. ..	8,470
Mordey, T. H. (L.) .. ..	5,246
Edwards, W. L. (Lab.) .. ..	2,860
Coalition majority .. ..	3,224

SIR JAMES BRUTON is serving his ninth year as Mayor of Gloucester. He is chairman of Jas. Reynolds and Co. (Limited), and of the Gloucester Dock Company, and is keenly interested in schemes for the revival of inland waterways.

## ENGLISH BOROUGHES.

*The Times*

### GREAT YARMOUTH (24,585).

*Fell, Sir A. (Co.U.) .. .. .	6,741
Wilson, Lieut. J. Havelock (L.) ..	5,734
McConnell, W. (Lab.) .. .. .	1,848
Dawson, W. H. (N.F.D.S.S.) ..	125
Coalition majority .. .. .	1,007

SIR ARTHUR FELL, who was first elected for Yarmouth in 1906 as a Conservative, is a New Zealander by birth, and by profession a lawyer. He is chairman of the Channel Tunnel Committee.

### GRIMSBY (47,189).

*Tickler, T. G. (Co.U.) .. .. .	13,688
Franklin, C. (Soc.) .. .. .	9,016
Eason, J. W. (Ind.) .. .. .	2,791
Crosby, Major H. (N.F.D.S.S.) ..	1,260
Coalition majority .. .. .	4,673

MR. THOMAS G. TICKLER, head of the firm of T. G. Tickler (Limited), fruit growers and preservers, Grimsby and Southall, succeeded Sir George Doughty as Unionist member for the borough upon his death. Has five officer sons with the forces.

### HALIFAX (49,017).

*Whitley, J. H. (Co.L.) .. .. .	22,136
McManus, A. (Soc.) .. .. .	4,036
Coalition majority .. .. .	18,100

MR. J. H. WHITLEY represented Halifax in Parliament as a Liberal for 18 years. Since 1911 he had been the Deputy-Speaker, and during 1907-10 he was a Junior Lord of the Treasury. He is a native of Halifax and a partner in Messrs. S. Whitley and Co., cotton spinners.

### THE HARTLEPOOLS (39,578).

Gritten, W. G. H. (U.) .. .. .	13,003
Macfarlane, Charles (Co.L.) ..	7,647
Sherwood, W. (Lab.) .. .. .	4,733
Unionist majority .. .. .	5,356

MR. W. G. HOWARD GRITTEN was born in 1870 at Westminster, and is sprung from the ancient family of Howards in Bedford. Educated at Manchester and Oxford, where he took his M.A. in 1896, he was called to the Bar of the Inner Temple. He is vice-president of the Tariff Reform Federation. Mr. Gritten fought the constituency in 1910.

### HASTINGS (24,958).

Lyon, L. (Co.U.) .. .. .	11,210
Butler, J. G. (Lab.) .. .. .	3,556
Coalition majority .. .. .	7,654

MR. LAURANCE LYON, born in Toronto, is proprietor of the London newspaper, *The Outlook*.

### HORNSEY (43,048).

\*Jones, Kennedy (Co.U.).

UNOPPOSED.

MR. KENNEDY JONES was elected for Hornsey as a Unionist in December, 1916. The following year he was appointed Director-General (unpaid) of the Food Economy Department of the Ministry of Food. He took part in founding the *Daily Mail* and edited the *Evening News* from 1894 to 1900.

### HUDDERSFIELD (56,200).

Sykes, Sir Charles (Co.L.) .. .. .	15,234
Snell, H. (Lab.) .. .. .	12,737
Woodhead, E. (L.) .. .. .	11,256

Coalition majority .. .. . 2,497

SIR CHARLES SYKES is a Huddersfield man of the self-made type. A few years ago he became partner in a firm of Colne Valley cloth manufacturers. On the outbreak of the war he became Director of Wool Textile Production. He was a vice-president of the Huddersfield Liberal Association.

### HYTHE (19,896).

*Sassoon, Major Sir P. (Co.U.) ..	8,809
Forsyth, R. (Lab.) .. .. .	3,427

Coalition majority .. .. . 5,382

MAJOR SIR PHILIP ALBERT GUSTAVE DAVID SASSOON was returned as the member for the borough at a by-election in 1912. On the outbreak of hostilities he was mobilized with the Royal East Kent Yeomanry, in which he was a second lieutenant, and later in 1914 he went to France. In 1915 he was appointed on Sir Douglas Haig's staff, and acted as private secretary to the Field Marshal for nearly three-and-a-half years. He has been mentioned in dispatches and has been honoured by the French Government and the King of the Belgians.

### ILFORD (40,749).

Griggs, Sir Peter (Co.U.) .. .. .	15,870
Dunnico, Rev. H. (Lab.) .. .. .	4,621
Garside, T. W. (L.) .. .. .	3,261

Coalition majority .. .. . 11,249

SIR PETER GRIGGS is governing director of W. P. Griggs and Co., and of the South Essex Recorders (Limited). He is a member of the Ilford District Council and an Alderman of the Essex County Council.

### IPSWICH (37,348).

*Ganzoni, Capt. F. J. C. (Co.U.) ..	13,553
Jackson, R. F. (Lab.) .. .. .	8,143
*Morgan, G. H. (L.) .. .. .	3,663

Coalition majority .. .. . 5,410

CAPTAIN F. J. C. GANZONI was called to the Bar in 1906. He has served with the British Expeditionary Force in France, going out with the 4th Suffolks, which he joined as a lieutenant. He remained at the front till 1916, and has since been on the Staff of the Northern Command.

House of Commons.

ENGLISH BOROUGHES.

KINGSTON-UPON-HULL.

CENTRAL (31,421).

*Sykes, Col. Sir Mark (Co.U.) ..	13,805
Kedward, Rev. R. M. (L.) ..	3,434
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Coalition majority ..	10,371

SIR MARK SYKES has been M.P. for Central Hull since 1911. Born in 1879, he was educated at the Ecole des Jesuites, Monaco, Institut St. Louis, Brussels, Jesus College, Cambridge; County Councillor East Riding of Yorkshire; served in South Africa 1902; hon. captain in the Army, 1902; Captain, 3rd Battalion Yorkshire Regiment, 1902-1907; Major, 5th Battalion, 1908; Lieut.-Colonel 1911; member N.R. Territorial Force, 1911.

EAST (31,316).

Murchison, C. K. (Co.U.) ..	9,566
*Ferens, T. R. (L.) ..	4,947
Farrah, R. H. (Lab.) ..	3,725
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Coalition majority ..	4,619

MR. C. K. MURCHISON is the youngest son of the late Dr. Charles Murchison, M.D., F.R.S., physician to the Duke of Connaught. He was Mayor of Hertford 1902-3, and at the General Election in January, 1906, was adopted as a candidate for Stirling Burghs against Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, but owing to illness did not proceed to the poll. Member of L.C.C. for N. Islington 1907-10.

NORTH-WEST (31,417).

Ward, Colonel L., D.S.O. (U.) ..	10,898
*Wilson, Lieut.-Colonel Guy (L.) ..	3,824
Gould, A. (Lab.) ..	3,528
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Unionist majority ..	7,074

COLONEL LAMBERT WARD, D.S.O., of Chiswick, Kent, formerly a member of a well-known shipping firm. He contested the West Hull Division against the sitting member eight years ago. He served in the war from August, 1914, and wears three wounded stripes.

SOUTH-WEST (32,601).

Entwisle, Major (L.) ..	6,724
Bell, J. R. (Co.N.D.P.) ..	5,005
Mell, R. (Lab.) ..	3,121
Shakesby, A. (N.F.D.S.S.) ..	698
Newbound, P. S. (Ind.) ..	650
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Liberal majority ..	1,719

MAJOR ENTWISLE has been engaged in legal work at Bolton and has served in the Army.

KINGSTON-UPON-THAMES (35,656).

Campbell J. G. D. (Co.U.) ..	13,596
Dumper, T. H. (Lab.) ..	2,503
Ely, A. E. (L.) ..	2,325
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Coalition majority ..	11,093

MR. J. G. D. CAMPBELL was educated at Charterhouse and Oxford. Called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, he relinquished law for an appointment at the Board of Education, and for two years was lent to the Siamese Government to organize a system of education in Siam. In 1910 he contested the Mansfield Division of Notts and the Eccles Division of Lancashire.

LEEDS.

CENTRAL (43,496).

*Armitage, Robert (Co.L.) ..	11,474
Terry, Capt. E. (Ind.) ..	2,634
Smith, J. (Co-op.) ..	2,146
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Coalition majority ..	8,840

MR. ROBERT ARMITAGE, is a Farnley ironmaster. Has represented Central Leeds since 1906, when he defeated Mr. Gerald Balfour. Graduated at Cambridge in 1888 and was later called to the Bar. A keen supporter of the Y.M.C.A.; has been lord mayor of Leeds.

NORTH (37,904).

Farquharson, Maj. A. C. (Co.L.) ..	13,863
Thompson, G. H. (Lab.) ..	3,423
Wyatt, W. F. (N.P.) ..	1,282
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Coalition majority ..	10,440

MAJOR A. C. FARQUHARSON, R.A.M.C., was before the war in medical practice at Spennymoor. When war broke out he was gazetted captain and in 1915 was appointed to the Headquarters Staff of the 63rd Division. A year later he took up the post of Deputy Assistant Director of Medical Services on the staff of Surgeon-General Bedford.

NORTH-EAST (36,829).

Birchall, Maj. J. D. (Co.U.) ..	14,450
Bromley, J. (Lab.) ..	4,680
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Coalition majority ..	9,770

MAJOR J. DEARMAN BIRCHALL was educated at Eton and Oxford, where he graduated with history honours. Contested North Leeds in the Unionist interest in 1906 and 1910. Before the war he was a captain in the Gloucestershire Yeomanry.

SOUTH (35,843).

*Middlebrook, Sir W. (Co.L.) ..	10,609
Fountain, F. (Lab.) ..	5,510
Brook, J. A. (Ind.) ..	1,377
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Coalition majority ..	5,099

SIR WILLIAM MIDDLEBROOK first entered Parliament in 1908, on the death of Sir John Lawson Walton. Has been lord mayor of Leeds and twice mayor of Morley, where he lives. A prominent layman in the Wesleyan Methodist Church. He was knighted in 1916.

SOUTH-EAST (36,471).

\*O'Grady, J. (Lab.)

UNOPPOSED.

MR. JAMES O'GRADY, who was elected for East Leeds as a Labour member in 1906, is a furniture maker.

WEST (38,766).

Murray, J. (Co.L.) ..	12,642
Arnott, J. (Lab.) ..	6,020
Chapman, Sgt. H. (Ind.) ..	1,138
Barnes, D. T. (Ind.) ..	619
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Coalition majority ..	6,622

MR. JOHN MURRAY, student and keeper at Christ Church, Oxford. Since the inception of the Ministry

## ENGLISH BOROUGHES.

The Times

of Munitions he has been occupied on labour questions in the Labour Regulation Department.

### LEICESTER.

EAST (37,687).

*Hewart, Sir Gordon (Co.L.) .. ..	18,024
Banton, G. H. (Lab.) .. ..	6,697
Coalition majority .. ..	11,327

SIR GORDON HEWART, Solicitor-General, born in 1870, was educated at Manchester and Oxford. For some years a journalist, he was called to the Bar in 1902, and took silk in 1912. In 1913 he was returned for Leicester at a by-election, and two years ago was appointed Solicitor-General.

SOUTH (35,909).

Blane, T. A. (Co.U.) .. ..	14,988
Riley, F. F. (Lab.) .. ..	5,463
Coalition majority .. ..	13,035

Mr. T. A. BLANE was left an orphan at the age of four, and even as a boy was thrown upon his own resources. At the present time he is a power in the shipping world. He has occupied responsible positions upon various public bodies in London, and for some years has been a City Councillor.

WEST (40,634).

Green, J. F. (Co.N.D.P.) .. ..	20,570
*MacDonald, J. Ramsay (Lab.) .. ..	6,347
Coalition majority .. ..	14,223

Mr. JOSEPH FREDERICK GREEN is secretary of the International Arbitration and Peace Association, and hon. secretary of the Friends of Russian Freedom. Born in London in 1855, he graduated at Oxford, and entered the Church. After a six years' curacy he left the Church, and later joined the Positivist Society. He is chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Democratic Party.

LEIGH (35,912).

*Raffan, P. W. (Co.L.) .. ..	12,892
Jones, R. O. (Lab.) .. ..	11,146
Coalition majority .. ..	1,746

Mr. P. WILSON RAFFAN has been managing director and editor of the *South Wales Gazette*. He is an alderman of the Monmouthshire County Council and a J.P. He is a strong advocate for the taxation of land values and secretary of the Land Values Group in the House of Commons.

### LEYTON.

EAST (26,735).

Malone, Lieut.-Colonel C. L. (Co.L.) ..	4,319
Alexander, E. E. (U.) .. ..	4,119
Carter, W. (Lab.) .. ..	3,669
Coalition majority .. ..	200

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL C. L. MALONE, M.C., served in the Navy in the early days of the war, and was transferred to the Royal Air Force. He was awarded the Military Cross.

WEST (32,567).

Wrightson, Lieut.-Colonel H. (Co.U.) ..	10,956
Newbould, A. E. (L.) .. ..	5,288
Coalition majority .. ..	5,668

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HARRY WRIGHTSON is an underwriter at Lloyd's and a member of the Baltic. During the war he organized the mechanical transport for Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk.

LINCOLN (31,365).

Davies, Alfred (Co.U.) .. ..	11,114
Taylor, Arthur (Lab.) .. ..	6,658
*Roberts, Charles (L.) .. ..	5,550
Coalition majority .. ..	4,456

Mr. ALFRED DAVIES farms 2,000 acres in Sussex, is a director of the Glenbuede Tinsplate Works, Llanelly, of the York Glass Company, of the West Ham Glass Company, and the Aerial Chocolate Company, Stratford. Is a member of St. Pancras Borough Council, organized the All-Welsh service in Westminster Abbey in June last, and is hon. secretary and organizer in London of the Welsh Prisoners of War Fund.

### LIVERPOOL.

EAST TOXTETH.

Rankin, Capt. J. S. (Co. U.).

UNOPPOSED.

CAPTAIN JAMES S. RANKIN was returned unopposed for East Toxteth in 1916. Early in the war he joined the Army in the ranks, but later was promoted and served with the Royal Field Artillery for a long time in France. He is at present in Persia on a military mission.

EDGE HILL (30,683).

*Rutherford, Sir Watson (Co.U.) .. ..	9,832
Tevenan, T. J. (Lab.) .. ..	5,687
Coalition majority .. ..	4,245

SIR WATSON RUTHERFORD is a solicitor, and as a Unionist represented the West Derby Division from 1903. He was appointed on a Committee which was commissioned to visit France and Italy for the purpose of promoting commercial union between the Allies. He was Lord Mayor of Liverpool in 1901-2.

EVERTON (25,606).

*Harmood-Banner, Sir J. S. (Co.U.) ..	6,370
Brooksbank, A. W. (N.F.D.S.S.) ..	5,779
Coalition majority .. ..	591

SIR J. S. HARMOOD-BANNER was first elected as Unionist member for Everton at a by-election in 1905, and was returned again at both elections in 1910. He was formerly chairman of the Liverpool Finance Committee and was Lord Mayor of Liverpool in 1913. He is an accountant by profession.

EXCHANGE (35,625).

*Scott, Leslie (Co.U.) .. ..	10,286
Harford, A. (Ind.) .. ..	8,225
Coalition majority .. ..	2,061

House of Commons.

Mr. LESLIE SCOTT, K.C., sat for the Exchange Division from 1910. He was a British representative at the International Conference at Brussels in 1909 and 1910 for the codification of maritime laws, and he is a member of the Prime Minister's Reconstruction Committee.

FAIRFIELD (27,727).

Cohen, Major J. B. B. (U.) .. ..	7,698
Joseph, Captain F. L. (Co.L.) ..	4,188
Porter, G. (Lab.) .. ..	3,337

Unionist majority .. .. 3,510

MAJOR J. B. BRUNEL COHEN as a Territorial officer went out to France, where in July last he was so badly wounded whilst leading his company to the attack at Ypres that it was necessary to amputate both legs. He has been mentioned in dispatches.

KIRKDALE (30,760).

*Pennefather, D. F. (Co.U.) .. ..	10,380
Mason, S. (Lab.) .. ..	5,012

Coalition majority .. .. 5,368

Mr. D. F. PENNEFATHER, who is a cotton merchant, was elected without opposition for the Kirkdale Division in February, 1915, at a by-election. In 1900 in North Monmouth he opposed Mr. McKenna and reduced his majority. Vice-chairman of the Transhipment Committee of the War Trade Department, a vice-president of the Association of Chambers of Commerce; Unionist hon. treasurer of Parliamentary War Pensions Committee, and one of the hon. secretaries of the Unionist War Committee.

SCOTLAND (32,976).

\*O'Connor, T. P. (N.).

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR was elected for the Scotland Division as far back as 1885, and for over 30 years he has been president of the United Irish League of Great Britain.

WALTON (29,128).

Chilcott, Lt.-Commander H. W. S. (Co.U.) .. ..	11,457
Smith, Dixon (Lab.) .. ..	4,580

Coalition majority .. .. 6,877

LIEUT.-COMMANDER HARRY WARDEN CHILCOTT served with the Royal Naval Air Service in France for 15 months. Since then he has done work for the Ministry of Munitions in Spain and other countries.

WAVERTREE (31,262).

Raw, Dr. Nathan (Co.U.) .. ..	11,326
Wilson, C. (Lab.) .. ..	5,103
Booth, Sir A. (L.) .. ..	2,484

Coalition majority .. .. 6,223

LIEUT.-COLONEL NATHAN RAW, C.M.G., is a Liverpool doctor who has given special attention to combating tuberculosis. During the war he has been engaged in hospital work in France. He has been mentioned in dispatches, and has been decorated for his services.

WEST DERBY (31,276).

*Smith, Sir F. E. (Co.U.) .. ..	11,622
Nelson, G. (Lab.) .. ..	5,618

Coalition majority .. .. 6,004

ENGLISH BOROUGHES.

SIR F. E. SMITH, Attorney-General, was Unionist member for the old Walton Division from 1906, and was appointed Attorney-General in 1915. During the war he acted as Director of the official Press Bureau for some time, served on special duty with the Expeditionary Force, and went on a mission to the United States.

WEST TOXTETH (35,806).

*Houston, R. P. (Co.U.) .. ..	13,083
Robinson, W. A. (Lab.) .. ..	6,850

Coalition majority .. .. 6,233

Mr. R. P. HOUSTON was first returned to the House of Commons as the Unionist member for West Toxteth so long ago as 1892. He is one of the leading shipowners of Liverpool, and has been a keen critic of the Government during the war on the question of shipping and its organization.

MANCHESTER.

ARDWICK (37,214).

Hailwood, A. (Co.U.) .. ..	8,641
Lowth, T. (Lab.) .. ..	5,670
Stephenson, Lt.-Col. (N.P.) .. ..	3,510

Coalition majority .. .. 2,971

Mr. AUGUSTINE HAILWOOD is the head of a firm of bakers, a member of the city council, and prominently associated with charitable organizations in the district.

BLACKLEY (24,857).

Briggs, H. (U.) .. ..	7,997
Townend, A. (Lab.) .. ..	3,659
Oliver, P. M. (L.) .. ..	2,986

Unionist majority .. .. 4,338

Mr. HAROLD BRIGGS is managing director of a firm of soft goods merchants and manufacturers and a member of a family who have long been prominent in the city for public and philanthropic work.

CLAYTON (34,659).

Hopkinson, E. (U.) .. ..	12,285
*Sutton, J. (Lab.) .. ..	7,654

Unionist majority .. .. 4,631

Mr. EDWARD HOPKINSON is the fourth son of a former mayor of Manchester, an electrical engineer, and the designer of the plant for the pioneer London Tube railway.

EXCHANGE (34,569).

*Randles, Sir J. S. (Co.U.) .. ..	12,290
Howarth, Sir A. (L.) .. ..	5,326

Coalition majority .. .. 6,964

SIR JOHN RANDES has been member for North-West Manchester for six years. Formerly member for Cocker mouth. Devoted his energies to the iron trade, and in Parliament has been a prominent member of the commercial group.



## ENGLISH BOROUGHES.

The Times

### GORTON (33,382).

*Hodge, John (Lab.) .. .. .	13,047
White, H. (Ind.) .. .. .	5,005
Murphy, J. T. (Soc.) .. .. .	1,300

Labour majority .. .. . 8,042

Mr. JOHN HODGE was for years Secretary of the Steel Smelters, Minister for Labour in 1916, and succeeded Mr. Barnes as Pensions Minister in 1917. He carried out various reforms; secured increases for pensioners, and founded the King's Fund for Disabled Sailors and Soldiers.

### HULME (38,148).

Nall, Major J. (U.) .. .. .	10,805
*Needham, C. T. (L.) .. .. .	5,969
Hilton, A. (Lab.) .. .. .	2,572
Milner, G. (Ind.) .. .. .	729

Unionist majority .. .. . 4,836

MAJOR JOSEPH NALL, D.S.O., went to Egypt with the East Lancashire Division in September, 1914; fought in Gallipoli, Palestine, and France, where he won distinction and was wounded. He is a Manchester man and member of a firm of carriers.

### MOSS SIDE (32,648).

Hurst, Major G. B. (U.) .. .. .	10,621
Stott, T. (L.) .. .. .	5,708

Unionist majority .. .. . 4,913

MAJOR GERALD B. HURST is an author and barrister, who has been actively engaged in social and educational work in the poorer districts of Manchester. On the outbreak of war was in command of a Manchester Volunteer Battalion and served in Gallipoli, Egypt, and in Flanders.

### PLATTING (38,920).

\*Clynes, J. R. (Lab.)

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. J. R. CLYNES, at one time the Secretary to the Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union. When he was appointed Assistant Food Controller, he quickly established a high reputation, and on the death of Lord Rhondda he succeeded to the Food Control leadership by unanimous assent.

### RUSHOLME (30,421).

*Stoker, R. B. (Co.U.) .. .. .	12,447
Butterworth, W. (L.) .. .. .	3,699
Lawrence, Mrs. Pethick (Lab.) .. .. .	2,985

Coalition majority .. .. . 8,748

Mr. R. B. STOKER is President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, managing director of the Manchester Liners, director of the Manchester Ship Canal. When a vacancy was caused in the representation of South Manchester by the death on active service of Major Glazebrook he was returned unopposed.

### WITHINGTON (27,601).

Carter, R. A. D. (U.) .. .. .	11,677
Burditt, G. F. (L.) .. .. .	5,166

Unionist majority .. .. . 6,511

Mr. R. A. D. CARTER is a bank manager, who has been actively associated with the management of public bodies for many years. He is an alderman of the City Council.

## MIDDLESBROUGH.

### EAST (25,286).

*Williams, Col. Penry (Co.L.) .. .. .	8,470
Carey, Lt. F. W. (Lab.) .. .. .	3,776

Coalition majority .. .. . 4,694

COLONEL PENRY WILLIAMS, youngest son of the late Mr. Edward Williams, one of the pioneers of the Cleveland iron trade, is joint managing director of the Linthorpe-Dinsdale Smelting Company (Limited). He joined the 1st North Riding Yorkshire Volunteer Artillery in 1885, and became Colonel of the regiment, retiring in 1908. He was first elected for Middlesbrough in January, 1910.

### WEST (32,286).

Thomson, Sgt. Trevelyan (Co.L.) .. .. .	10,958
Cramp, C. T. (Lab.) .. .. .	5,350

Coalition majority .. .. . 5,608

Mr. TREVELYAN THOMSON has been a member of the Middlesbrough Town Council since 1904. He joined the Yorkshire Labour Battalion and went to France, and has returned a sergeant.

### MORPETH (39,773)

Cairns, John (Lab.) .. .. .	7,677
Thornborough, F. C. (Co.L.) .. .. .	7,140
Meares, C. H. (U.) .. .. .	4,320
Newton, Captain G. (Ind.) .. .. .	2,729
Allison, Major T. M. (N.D.P.) .. .. .	511

Labour majority .. .. . 537

Mr. JOHN CAIRNS, financial secretary of the Northumberland Miners' Association; secretary of the men's side of the Joint Committee in the Northumberland Coal Trade, and president of the Northumberland Aged Mine-Workers' Homes Association.

### NELSON AND COLNE (43,381).

*Smith, Capt. A. (Lab.) .. .. .	14,075
Greenwood, F. (L.) .. .. .	8,623

Labour majority .. .. . 5,452

CAPTAIN ALBERT SMITH was member for the old Clitheroe Division since 1910. He is secretary of the Nelson Overlookers' Association, and was Mayor of the borough 1908-10. He saw service in Gallipoli.

### NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME (29,657).

\*Wedgwood, Col. J. C., D.S.O. (Ind.Rad.)

UNOPPOSED.

COL. J. C. WEDGWOOD, D.S.O. member for the division since 1906, is a direct descendant of Josiah Wedgwood, the famous potter. He served in the South African War. In the present war he saw heavy fighting in Belgium, and afterwards took part in the Gallipoli landing, being severely wounded.

## House of Commons.

## NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

## CENTRAL (32,796).

Renwick, G. (Co.U.) .. ..	9,414
Smith, James (Lab.) .. ..	4,976
Coalition majority .. ..	4,438

Mr. GEORGE RENWICK, of Messrs. Fisher, Renwick, and Co., shipowners, is one of the promoters of a new shipyard that is to be started at Hebburn. He sat in Parliament for Newcastle from 1900 to 1906.

## EAST (30,719).

Barnes, Major H. (Co.L.) .. ..	8,682
*Hudson, W. (Lab.) .. ..	5,195
Thompson, J. (N.F.D.S.S.) .. ..	1,079
Coalition majority .. ..	3,487

MAJOR HARRY BARNES has been identified with the local Liberal organization. When the war broke out he threw himself into the work of the Citizens' Training Corps, which was ultimately superseded by the Northumberland Volunteer Regiment, of which he was Adjutant.

## NORTH (32,272).

Doyle, N. Gratton (Co.U.) .. ..	11,347
Lunn, Sir George (L.) .. ..	4,322
Wilson, R. J. (Lab.) .. ..	3,102
Coalition majority .. ..	7,025

Mr. N. GRATTON DOYLE was one of the founders of the Northern Tariff Reform Federation, and was for some years its honorary secretary. Mr. Doyle contested Gateshead at the General Election in 1910.

## WEST (33,527).

*Shortt, E. (Co.L.) .. ..	12,812
Adams, David (Lab.) .. ..	6,411
Coalition majority .. ..	6,401

Mr. EDWARD SHORTT, Chief Secretary for Ireland, had a successful career at Durham University, and was called to the Bar in 1890, joining the North-Eastern Circuit. Mr. Shortt's first Parliamentary contest in Newcastle was in 1908 at a by-election. He was then defeated, but two years later he was returned.

## NORTHAMPTON (46,007).

*McCurdy, C. A. (Co.L.) .. ..	18,010
Halls, Walter (Lab.) .. ..	10,735
Coalition majority .. ..	7,275

Mr. C. A. McCURDY is a barrister. He has done a great deal of war work, first in the writing of pamphlets, and later in addressing meetings of munition workers. He is one of the founders of the League of Free Nations Association, now merged in the League of Nations Union.

## NORWICH (60,342) (2).

*Roberts, G. H. (Lab.) .. ..	26,642
*Young, Lieut.-Comdr. E. Hilton (L.) .. ..	25,555
Witard, H. E. (Lab.) .. ..	6,856
Labour majority .. ..	19,786
Liberal majority .. ..	18,699

## ENGLISH BOROUGHES.

Mr. GEORGE HENRY ROBERTS, Minister of Labour, was elected for Norwich in 1906. He is a compositor, and was for many years officially connected with the local Typographical Association. He was Labour Whip and Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade before his appointment as Minister of Labour in 1917.

LIEUT.-COMMANDER E. HILTON YOUNG, D.S.O., was elected for Norwich in February, 1915. He was a member of the Naval Mission to Serbia in 1915. Decorated for gallantry at the battle of Semendria; was present at several actions with the Harwich force in 1917; and took part in the Zeebrugge Mole attack, losing an arm.

## NOTTINGHAM.

## CENTRAL (32,460).

Atkey, A. R. (Co.U.) .. ..	10,552
Huntsman, E. (L.) .. ..	3,988
Kitson, Arthur (N.P.) .. ..	1,999
Coalition majority .. ..	6,564

Mr. A. R. ATKEY was born in Nottingham, where he received a Board School education, and afterwards was employed in the Corporation Water Department. For many years he has carried on a motor engineering business in Nottingham.

## EAST (29,377).

*Rees, Sir J. D. (Co.U.) .. ..	9,549
Proctor, Tom (Lab.) .. ..	2,817
Brookes, D. (Ind.) .. ..	2,166
Coalition majority .. ..	6,732

SIR J. D. REES was first returned to Parliament for Montgomery as a Liberal, but became a convert to Unionism, in which cause he unsuccessfully contested Kilmarnock Burghs against Mr. W. G. O. Gladstone.

## SOUTH (30,528).

*Cavendish-Bentinck, Lord H. (Co.U.) .. ..	10,881
Mills, H. (Ind.) .. ..	3,738
Coalition majority .. ..	7,143

LORD HENRY CAVENDISH-BENTINCK, half brother of the Duke of Portland, has represented South Nottingham since 1895, except for the period from 1906 to January, 1910. He fought as a volunteer in the Boer war, and in the present war saw service at the Dardanelles until his health broke down.

## WEST (30,105).

Hayday, A. (Lab.) .. ..	7,286
*Richardson, Arthur (L.) .. ..	5,552
Labour majority .. ..	1,734

Mr. ARTHUR HAYDAY is president of the Nottingham Trades Council and the principal organizer of the General Labourers' Union for the East Midlands. In his earlier days he was a stoker on an Atlantic liner, has laboured in a gasworks, and before coming to Nottingham was an alderman of the West Ham Town Council.

## ENGLISH BOROUGHES.

The Times

### OLDHAM (71,378) (2).

*Bartley-Denniss, E. R. (Co.U.) ..	26,568
*Barton, Sir W. (Co.L.) ..	26,254
Robinson, W. C. (Lab.) ..	15,178
*Rea, W. Russell (L.) ..	9,323
Coalition majority ..	11,076

Mr. EDMUND ROBERT BARTLEY-DENNISS is a barrister. Before representing Oldham he had large experience of public affairs, having been a member of the Middlesex County Council and the London Chamber of Commerce. He is a member of the Commercial Committee of the House of Commons.

SIR WILLIAM BARTON is engaged in the cotton industry in Manchester, and was formerly a member of the Manchester City Council. He has sat as Liberal member for Oldham since 1910.

### OXFORD (25,134).

*Marriott, J. A. R. (Co.U.) ..	9,805
Higgins, Capt. H. (L.) ..	4,057
Coalition majority ..	5,748

Mr. J. A. R. MARRIOTT was educated at Repton and New College, Oxford, and is a Fellow of Worcester College and Lecturer and Tutor in Modern History and Economics. He is a prolific writer on historical and other subjects. On the retirement of Lord Valentia from the representation of Oxford City two years ago he was returned unopposed.

### PLYMOUTH.

#### DRAKE (42,833).

*Benn, Sir A. Shirley (Co.U.) ..	17,188
Dobson, T. W. (L.) ..	6,265
Coalition majority ..	10,923

SIR A. SHIRLEY BENN is managing director of Hunter, Benn, and Co., timber shippers, and has spent many years in the United States and Canada. In December, 1910, he was elected for Plymouth, and he was knighted in 1918.

#### DEVONPORT (31,687).

*Kinloch-Cooke, Sir C. (Co.U.) ..	13,240
Bramley, Fred (Lab.) ..	4,115
Lithgow, Samuel (L.) ..	3,930
Coalition majority ..	9,125

SIR C. KINLOCH-COOKE was first elected for Devonport in January, 1910, and has taken great interest in emigration as chairman of the Central Emigration Board. He has written a Life of Queen Mary and the Authorized Life of Princess Mary Adelaide Duchess of Teck.

#### SUTTON (43,444).

*Astor, Major Waldorf (Co.U.) ..	17,091
Gay, W. T. (Lab.) ..	5,334
Ransom, Capt. S. (L.) ..	3,488
Coalition majority ..	11,757

MAJOR WALDORF ASTOR, son of Lord Astor, was elected as a Unionist for Plymouth in December, 1910. From December, 1914, to January, 1917, he was engaged in military work in the Southern Com-

mand and the London district. In July last he was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food.

### PORTSMOUTH.

#### CENTRAL (35,964).

Bramsdon, Sir T. (L.) ..	10,929
Dupree, Col. Sir W. (Co.U.) ..	6,008
Hinshelwood, H. (Lab.) ..	4,004
Liberal majority ..	4,921

SIR THOMAS BRAMSDON, borough coroner at Portsmouth since 1884, was first elected a member for the borough in 1900. Acted as National Service Commissioner for Portsmouth and East Hants and for parts of Surrey and Berks, and the Minister of Labour recently appointed him chairman of the Portsmouth Advisory Committee of the Employment Exchange.

#### NORTH (35,367).

*Falle, Sir Bertram (Co.U.) ..	11,427
Yexley, Lionel (Ind.) ..	7,063
Coalition majority ..	4,364

SIR BERTRAM GODFRAY FALLE, who represented Portsmouth since 1910, was called to the Bar, and afterwards appointed to the post of Enroller Deed in His Majesty's Office of Works, and became Judge of the Native Tribunal at Cairo. Served for three years and a half at home and in France in the Royal Artillery, attaining the rank of Major.

#### SOUTH (37,427).

Cayzer, Major H. R. (Co.U.) ..	15,842
Garland, Miss Alison (L.) ..	4,283
Lacey, J. (Lab.) ..	3,070
Coalition majority ..	11,559

MAJOR HERBERT ROBIN CAYZER is the vice-chairman of the Clan Line steamers and a director of a number of shipowners' associations. For 15 years he served in the Q.O.R. Glasgow Yeomanry. He commanded the 24th Divisional Mounted Troops for a year in France, and took part in the battle of Loos. He was mentioned in dispatches in May, 1916. Admiral Lord Jellicoe and Admiral Sir Charles Madden are brothers-in-law of Major Cayzer.

#### PRESTON (57,795) (2).

Shaw, Tom (Lab.) ..	19,213
Stanley, Col. G. F. (Co.U.) ..	18,970
O'Neill, Lt. J. J. (L.) ..	18,485
*Brookes, Warwick (Co.U.) ..	17,928

Labour majority over Lib...	728
Coalition majority over Lib.	485

Mr. TOM SHAW started life as a tenter in a cotton mill. Secretary of the International Congress of Textile Workers since 1911. His broad outlook and patriotic views have had considerable weight and steady influence at various congresses of workers. Relinquished office of Director of National Service for the Birmingham area to take up candidature.

COLONEL GEORGE FREDERICK STANLEY, C.M.G., has been the senior member for Preston since 1910, and is a brother of the Earl of Derby. Took part in

House of Commons.

the South African campaign, and from 1904 to 1908 was adjutant of the Honourable Artillery Company. Has seen considerable service in France and has received the Croix de Chevalier of the Order of the Legion of Honour and the Ordre de la Couronne.

READING (45,379).

*Wilson, Lt.-Col. Leslie (Co.U.) ..	15,204
Morris, T. C. (Lab.) ..	8,410
Thoresby, F. (L.) ..	3,143
Quelch, L. E. (Soc.) ..	1,462
Coalition majority ..	6,794

LIEUT.-COLONEL LESLIE WILSON, C.M.G., D.S.O., served in South African War, and on outbreak of the war mobilized with the Berks R.H.A., but in January, 1916, transferred to the Royal Naval Division, assuming command of the Hawke Battalion with temporary rank of lieutenant-colonel. Served through Gallipoli operations (mentioned in dispatches, C.M.G.); then in France with the 63rd (R.N.) Division, until wounded severely in November, 1916. In May, 1917, received appointment at Admiralty, and in March, 1918, appointed Parliamentary Assistant Secretary of the War Cabinet.

RICHMOND (32,900).

Edgar, Clifford (Co.U.) ..	8,364
Fox, Mrs. Dacre (Ind.) ..	3,615
Morrison, R. J. (L.) ..	3,491
Crotch, Walter (Ind.) ..	2,220
Coalition majority ..	4,749

Mr. CLIFFORD B. EDGAR is chairman of the Surrey County Council, chairman of the Richmond Education Committee, and has been Mayor of Richmond three times. He is well known in the commercial world as deputy-chairman of the Niger Company and a director of the Bank of Nigeria. He is also treasurer of the University of London.

ROCHDALE (46,598).

Law, A. J. (Co.U.) ..	14,229
Phillips, Vivian (L.) ..	6,452
Tawney, R. H. (Lab.) ..	4,926
Terrett, J. J. (N.D.P.) ..	2,358
Jones, Major (Ind.) ..	1,992
Coalition majority ..	7,777

Mr. ALFRED J. LAW is a local manufacturer. For about six years he has been the prospective Unionist candidate.

ROCHESTER.

GILLINGHAM (27,899).

*Hohler, G. F. (Co.U.) ..	12,455
Tapp A. W. (Lab.) ..	4,705
Cronin J. (Ind.) ..	1,001
Coalition majority ..	7,750

Mr. GERALD F. HOHLER, who has represented Chatham since 1910, was called to the Bar (Inner Temple) in 1888, and was made a King's Counsel in 1906.

ENGLISH BOROUGHES.

CHATHAM (31,000).

Brabazon, Col. T. C. M. (Co.U.) ..	11,454
Hubbard, Dan (Lab.) ..	4,134
Woodcock, H. B. Drysdale (L.) ..	2,778
Coalition majority ..	7,320

COLONEL T. T. C. MOORE BRABAZON was born in 1884. He was the first Englishman successfully to fly a biplane. In 1909 he won the £1,000 offered by the Daily Mail for the first to fly a mile on an all-English-made machine. In 1915 he started the movement for photography in the Flying Corps, and has been at the head of it ever since.

ROSSENDALE (35,717).

Waddington, R. (Co.U.) ..	8,907
Jones, Gilbert (Lab.) ..	7,984
*Maden, Sir Henry (L.) ..	5,837
Coalition majority ..	923

Mr. R. WADDINGTON has taken a prominent part in local municipal life.

ROTHERHAM (40,523).

Kelley, Major F. (Co.U.) ..	11,473
Walker, J. (Lab.) ..	9,757
Kenworthy, J. M. (L.) ..	3,805
Bardsley, E. S. (N.D.P.) ..	564
Coalition majority ..	1,716

MAJOR FRED KELLEY has been one of the principal National Service representatives in South Yorkshire area. Is interested in brewery concerns. Was for several years a member of the Sheffield City Council, and has unsuccessfully contested Hallamshire and Spen Valley.

ST. HELENS (44,379).

Sexton, J. (Lab.) ..	15,583
*Swift, Rigby (Co.U.) ..	11,689
Labour majority ..	3,894

Mr. JAMES SEXTON, like his opponent, was born at St. Helens. Ran away to sea when he was a boy and had an adventurous career. In 1890 he became secretary of the National Union of Dock Labourers, and has retained that position ever since. Has stood for Parliament several times.

SALFORD.

NORTH (34,490).

*Tillett, Ben (Lab.) ..	12,079
Rycroft, F. W. Roe (L.) ..	4,155
Labour majority ..	7,924

Mr. BEN TILLET, "the Dockers' man," is one of the best known of the Labour leaders. He is secretary of the Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union, and organizer of the General Federation of Trades. He succeeded Sir William Byles as representative of the constituency.

## ENGLISH BOROUGHES.

*The Times*

### SOUTH (37,301).

*Barlow, Sir Montague (Co.U.) ..	14,265
Gorman, J. (Lab.) ..	3,807
Norris, Captain F. (L.) ..	1,994
Coalition majority ..	10,458

SIR C. A. MONTAGUE BARLOW has worked for the dependents of soldiers untiringly throughout the war. He has had also much to do with recruiting, especially for the Salford battalions of the Lancashire Fusiliers, and for his services in this connexion the honour of knighthood was conferred upon him.

### WEST (33,035).

Astbury, Lt.-Cdr. F. W. (U.) ..	9,478
Stephens, Sir W. (Co.L.) ..	5,554
Davies, R. J. (Lab.) ..	4,503
Unionist majority ..	3,924

LIEUT.-COMMANDER FREDERICK W. ASTBURY is a member of the Prestwich Urban Council and the Lancashire County Council. He volunteered for the naval service in 1915, and has been hon. recruiting officer for Manchester and East Lancashire, which has passed no fewer than 120,000 men and boys into the Royal Navy. He is chairman of a firm of calico printers.

### SHEFFIELD.

#### ATTERCLIFFE (35,923).

Casey, T. W. (Co.L.) ..	12,308
*Anderson, W. C. (Lab.) ..	6,539
Coalition majority ..	5,769

Mr. T. W. CASEY is general secretary of the Winding and General Engineers' Society. Holds a position in labour circles of Sheffield, but has not previously sought public work.

#### BRIGHTSIDE (36,453).

*Walters, Sir Tudor (Co.L.) ..	12,164
Jones, R. E. (Lab.) ..	6,781
Coalition majority ..	5,383

SIR J. TUDOR WALTERS is the son of John Tudor Walters. His grandfather and great-grandfather were Wesleyan ministers, the latter during the life of John Wesley. By profession an architect and surveyor, and first chairman of the Leicester Education Committee under the Act of 1902. Has sat for the Brightside Division since 1906, and is specially interested in housing and land reform.

#### CENTRAL (37,076).

*Hope, J. F. (Co.U.) ..	9,361
Bailey, A. J. (Lab.) ..	5,959
Murray, R. G. (Soc.) ..	643
Coalition majority ..	3,402

Mr. J. F. HOPE was member for the Brightside Division of Sheffield, 1900-1906, and for Sheffield Central since 1908. Is a Junior Lord of the Treasury, member of Lord Newton's Prisoners of War Committee, and chairman of the Prisoners of War Employment Committee.

### ECCLESALL (30,297).

\*Roberts, Sir Samuel (Co.U.)  
UNOPPOSED.

SIR SAMUEL ROBERTS has held many important public offices in Sheffield, including that of Lord Mayor, 1899-1900.

### HALLAM (31,467).

Vickers, Douglas (Co. U.).  
UNOPPOSED.

Mr. DOUGLAS VICKERS is a member of the family which has conducted the famous armament firm for several generations past, and has recently become chairman of the company.

### HILLSBOROUGH (36,384).

Neal, Arthur (Co.L.) ..	11,171
Lockwood, A. (Co-op.) ..	4,050
Coalition majority ..	7,121

Mr. ARTHUR NEAL is a solicitor and member of the City Council and chairman of the Insurance Committee. A teetotaler and active temperance worker. Opposed Mr. C. B. Stuart Wortley (now Lord Stuart of Wortley) in the Hallam Division of Sheffield twice in 1910.

### PARK (31,241).

Stephenson, Lt.-Col. H. K., D.S.O. (Co.L.) ..	12,339
Barton, A. (Soc.) ..	3,167
Coalition majority ..	9,172

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL H. K. STEPHENSON, D.S.O., is a member of the firm of Stephenson, Blake, and Co., typefounders. Has twice been Lord Mayor of Sheffield. An old officer of the Sheffield Territorial Artillery, and holds the Volunteer Decoration. Was in France over three years, commanding the 4th (West Riding) Howitzer Brigade. Received the D.S.O. in recognition of his services.

### SMETHWICK (32,908).

Davison, J. E. (Lab.) ..	9,389
Pankhurst, Miss Christabel (Women's Party) ..	8,614
Labour majority ..	775

Mr. J. E. DAVISON is a Sheffield man, and is an official of the Ironfounders' Society.

### SOUTHAMPTON (75,334) (2).

*Philipps, Maj.-Gen. Sir Ivor (Co.L.) ..	26,884
*Ward, W. Dudley (Co.L.) ..	16,843
Perkins, Col. E. K. (U.) ..	15,548
Lewis, T. (Lab.) ..	7,828
Perriman, F. (Lab.) ..	6,776
Coalition majority ..	1,295

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR IVOR PHILIPPS, K.C.B., D.S.O., has represented the borough in Parliament since January, 1906. He raised the 115th Brigade of the Welsh Army Corps in 1914, and in 1915 took over command of all the troops being raised by the Welsh Army Corps Committee. In the same year

House of Commons.

he became Parliamentary Military Secretary of the Ministry of Munitions, but, at Lord Kitchener's special request, vacated that appointment to complete the training of his division—the 38th Welsh—which he took over to France. Chairman of the Liberal War Committee.

Mr. W. DUDLEY WARD represented the borough since January, 1906, being returned unopposed in December, 1917, on being appointed Vice-Chamberlain of the Household. In the capacity of Lieut.-Commander, R.N.V.R., he had been on active service during the war.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA (36,357).

*Guinness, Rupert (Co.U.) .. ..	12,392
Francis, J. (Ind.) .. ..	4,424
Hubbard, C. (L.) .. ..	2,965

Coalition majority .. .. 7,968

CAPTAIN RUPERT GUINNESS, C.B., C.M.G., R.N.V.R., has been member for the South-Eastern Division of Essex since 1912. He has been on naval service during the last four and a half years, having been mobilized two days before war broke out.

SOUTHPORT (33,150).

*White, Lt.-Col. G. D. (Co.U.) .. ..	14,707
Greenwood, A. (Lab.) .. ..	5,727

Coalition majority .. .. 8,980

LIEUT.-COLONEL GODFREY DALRYMPLE WHITE served for two years in the South African campaign. He has been Lieut.-Colonel Commanding Reserve Batt. Grenadier Guards since August, 1914.

SOUTH SHIELDS (50,584).

*Wilson, J. Havelock (Co.L.) .. ..	19,514
Rowe, Geo. (Lab.) .. ..	6,425

Coalition majority .. .. 13,089

Mr. JOSEPH HAVELock WILSON about 35 years ago commenced organizing seamen and firemen. For many years he was general secretary, and is now president of the National Seamen's and Firemen's Union. He sat for Middlesbrough from 1892 until 1900, and from 1906 until 1910. He was returned unopposed for South Shields in October last.

STOCKPORT (2) (60,777).

*Hughes, S. L. (Co.L.)
*Wardle, G. J. (Lab.)

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. SPENCER LEIGH HUGHES has represented the constituency since 1910. He was educated at Woodhouse Grove School, near Leeds, and as a journalist has been connected with several London newspapers.

Mr. GEORGE JAMES WARDLE entered the service of the Midland Railway as clerk at 15 years of age, and in 1898 was appointed editor of the *Railway Review*. Represented Stockport since 1906, and is now Parliamentary Secretary to Board of Trade.

STOCKTON-ON-TEES (36,373).

*Watson, Captain J. B. (Co. L.)
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UNOPPOSED.

CAPTAIN BERTRAND WATSON is a solicitor, and deputy coroner for Durham County. He was Mayor of Stockton, 1915-16.

ENGLISH BOROUGHES.

STOKE-ON-TRENT.

BURSLEM (29,866).

*Finney, S. (Lab.) .. ..	7,474
Walker, S. (Co.U.) .. ..	6,301
*Essex, Sir Walter (L.) .. ..	3,108

Labour majority .. .. 1,173

Mr. S. FINNEY is secretary and agent of the North Stafford Miners' Federation. In 1916 he was returned unopposed at a by-election in North-West Staffordshire, and represented that division till the dissolution. He is a member of the Stoke-on-Trent County Borough Council, and a magistrate for the borough.

HANLEY (33,789).

Seddon, J. A. (Co.N.D.P.) .. ..	8,032
Parker, H. (Lab.) .. ..	7,697
*Outhwaite, R. L. (Ind.L.) .. ..	2,703
Grimwade, L. L. (L.) .. ..	1,459

Coalition majority .. .. 335

Mr. J. A. SEDDON was born at Prescot in 1868, and was successively apprentice, shop assistant, commercial traveller, president of the Shop Assistants' Union, and, in the first war year, president of the Trade Union Congress. A visit to the United States enabled him to represent to organized labour in America the reasons for the British workers' support of the war.

STOKE (40,059).

*Ward, Lieut.-Col. John (Co.L.)
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UNOPPOSED.

LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN WARD, who has represented the constituency since 1906, is in Siberia with the 25th Middlesex Regiment. He worked on the Manchester Ship Canal as a navy, and in 1885 volunteered for the Sudan campaign.

SUNDERLAND (73,121) (2).

*Greenwood, Sir Hamar (Co.L.) .. ..	27,646
Hudson, R. M. (U.) .. ..	25,698
*Goldstone, F. (Lab.) .. ..	9,578

Coalition majority .. .. 18,068

Unionist majority .. .. 16,120

SIR HAMAR GREENWOOD, late senior member, raised and commanded at the front the 10th (Service) Batt. South Wales Borderers, and was recalled by Lord Derby in January, 1916, and made D.A.A.G. on his staff at the War Office. Relinquished his appointment on completion of his work and returned to Parliamentary duties.

Mr. R. MILBANKE HUDSON is a Sunderland ship-owner, and chairman of the River Wear Commission.

TOTTENHAM.

NORTH (34,463).

Prescott, Major W. H. (Co.U.) .. ..	11,891
*Alden, Percy (L.) .. ..	7,293

Coalition majority .. .. 4,598

MAJOR W. H. PRESCOTT has for 20 years been the chief engineer of Tottenham, and is also a barrister. In 1915 he went to France with the Tottenham Division of Royal Engineers, and was invalided after a fall from his horse. He is a past president of the Institution of Sanitary Engineers.



## ENGLISH BOROUGHES.

The Times

### SOUTH (34,474).

Malone, Major P. B. (U.) ..	6,632
*Chiozza Money, Sir L. (Lab.) ..	5,779
Harvey, A. E. (N.D.P.) ..	1,916
Jay, A. E. (N.F.D.S.S.) ..	1,295
Unionist majority ..	853

MAJOR P. B. MALONE has been connected with public affairs in Tottenham for 30 years. He has been chairman of the War Pensions Committee since it was set up. He is chairman of the Finance Committee of the Metropolitan Water Board.

### TYNEMOUTH (26,467).

Percy, Charles (Co.U.) ..	5,883
*Craig, H. J. (L.) ..	5,434
Humphries, G. H. (Lab.) ..	2,566
Gregg, H. (Ind.) ..	2,495
Scott, D. (Ind.) ..	517
Coalition majority ..	449

MR. CHARLES PERCY is a solicitor, and Coroner for North Northumberland. He has travelled extensively in Europe. He has been a keen supporter of friendly society work and of the provision of free homes for aged miners in Northumberland.

### WAKEFIELD (24,203).

Brotherton, Col. Sir E. A. (Co.U.) ..	9,128
Bellamy, A. (Lab.) ..	5,882
*Marshall, Sir Arthur (L.) ..	2,448
Coalition majority ..	3,246

COLONEL SIR E. A. BROTHERTON, member for Wakefield, 1902-10, is a manufacturer of ammonia. Was recently appointed Lord Lieutenant of West Riding.

### WALLASEY (42,174).

McDonald, Dr. B. F. P. (Co.U.) ..	14,633
Citrine, W. M. (Lab.) ..	4,384
Hay, J. M. (L.) ..	4,055
Owen, T. D. (Ind.) ..	3,407
Coalition majority ..	10,249

DR. BOUVERIE F. P. McDONALD, well-known medical practitioner. During the war he has worked on 71 committees, including the Wirral recruiting committee, the Wallasey recruiting committee, the local national relief fund, the committee of the Soldiers, Sailors, and Firemen's Association.

### WALLSEND (36,739).

Simm, M. T. (Co.N.D.P.) ..	10,246
Chapman, J. (Lab.) ..	6,835
*Robertson, J. M. (L.) ..	3,047
Coalition majority ..	3,411

MR. M. T. SIMM was an advocate during the war of the British Workers' League in the counties of Northumberland and Durham, and an opponent of the peace-by-negotiation policy.

### WALSALL (42,900).

*Cooper, Sir Richard (N.P.) ..	14,491
Thickett, S. (Lab.) ..	8,336
Brown, W. H. (L.) ..	4,914
National party majority ..	6,155

SIR RICHARD COOPER, of Wm. Cooper and Nephews, chemical manufacturers, was elected as a Unionist for Walsall in 1910. He was secretary of an unofficial committee of members which this year submitted a striking report on various aspects of the enemy alien question to the Prime Minister.

### WALTHAMSTOW.

#### EAST (28,363).

Johnson, L. S. (Co.U.) ..	9,992
*Simon, Sir John (L.) ..	5,781
Coalition majority ..	4,211

MR. L. S. JOHNSON stood for the undivided Walthamstow Division against Sir John Simon in January, 1910, and at a memorable by-election in November of the same year.

#### WEST (30,225).

Jesson, C. (Co.N.D.P.) ..	7,330
McEntee, V. la T. (Lab.) ..	4,167
Horniman, E. J. (L.) ..	2,707
Coalition majority ..	3,163

MR. C. JESSON is secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Musicians and a Labour representative on the London County Council.

### WARRINGTON (33,912).

*Smith, Harold (Co.U.) ..	10,403
Peacock, Sir P. (L.) ..	8,011
Brassington, I. (Lab.) ..	5,377
Coalition majority ..	2,392

MR. HAROLD SMITH has been member since 1910. Until the end of 1908 he was a partner in a firm of surveyors and valuers in Liverpool and Birkenhead. Before his election for Warrington he contested Huddersfield in the Conservative interest.

### WEDNESBURY (34,415).

Short, A. (Lab.) ..	11,341
Maconochie, A. W. (Co.U.) ..	10,464
Simpson, R. L. G. (L.) ..	988
Labour majority ..	877

MR. A. SHORT belongs to Sheffield, and is an officer of the Boilermakers' Society, secretary of the Sheffield Trades Council, chairman of the Labour Advisory Council, and a member of the Sheffield City Council.

### WEST BROMWICH (32,777).

Roberts, F. O. (Lab.) ..	11,572
*Lewisham, Lord (Co.U.) ..	9,863
Labour majority ..	1,709

MR. F. O. ROBERTS has spent a great part of his life in the trade union movement. He is connected with the Typographical Association, and is secretary of the Milland group of districts.

House of Commons.

ENGLISH BOROUGHES.

WEST HAM.

PLAISTOW (33,890).

*Thorne, Will (Lab.) .. ..	12,156
Lupton, A. (Ind.) .. ..	657

Labour majority .. .. 11,499

LIEUT.-COLONEL WILL JAMES THORNE, associated with West Ham for over 30 years. He is an alderman of the town council, on which he has sat for 27 years. He was a founder of the Gas Workers and General Labourers' Union, of which he is general secretary, and for many years has been a member of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, of which in 1911-1912 he was chairman. He has sat for West Ham (South) since 1906.

SILVERTOWN (31,943).

Jones, J. J. (Lab.) .. ..	6,971
Carthew, Lt.-Col. Thomas, D.S.O. (Co.U.) .. ..	4,259
Davis, D. J. (Lab.) .. ..	2,278

Labour majority .. .. 2,712

Mr. JOHN JOSEPH JONES is an out-and-out Socialist, but during the war has consistently advocated the cause of the Allies. He has been a member of the West Ham Board of Guardians and has sat on the West Ham Town Council since 1904. In 1906 he was Socialist candidate for the Camborne Division.

STRATFORD (31,458).

Lyle, C. E. L. (Co.U.) .. ..	8,498
Masterman, C. F. G. (L.) .. ..	4,821

Coalition majority .. .. 3,677

Mr. C. E. LEONARD LYLE, managing director of the Silvertown branch of Abram Lyle and Sons, was educated at Harrow and Cambridge and has taken a keen interest in philanthropic work in West Ham. As chairman of the management committee of Queen Mary's Hospital he was instrumental in securing a Royal Charter for the institution, to which his father has given £10,000.

UPTON (30,752).

Wild, Sir E. E. (Co.U.) .. ..	8,813
Gardner, B. W. (Lab.) .. ..	3,186
Nicholson, J. C. (L.) .. ..	2,380

Coalition majority .. .. 5,627

SIR ERNEST EDWARD WILD, K.C., educated at Norwich and Cambridge, was called to the Bar in 1893, and took silk in October, 1912. In 1897 he was appointed Judge of the Guildhall Court of Record at Norwich, where he twice stood for Parliament. In 1910 and 1911 he unsuccessfully contested West Ham (North). He sat on the London County Council for Holborn, 1907-10.

WIGAN (38,811).

Parkinson, J. A. (Lab.) .. ..	12,914
*Neville, R. J. N. (Co.U.) .. ..	11,584
Alstead, Robert (L.) .. ..	2,434

Labour majority .. .. 1,330

Mr. JOHN ALLEN PARKINSON is the miners' agent for the St. Helens district of Lancashire. In 1915 he

was returned as the first direct miners' representative on the Lancashire County Council. In 1911 he was elected a member of the executive committee of the Miners' Federation.

WILLESDEN.

EAST (38,801).

*Mallaby-Deeley, H. (Co.U.) .. ..	12,044
Lincoln, H. J. (Lab.) .. ..	4,947
Doree, H. J. (L.) .. ..	2,757

Coalition majority .. .. 7,097

Mr. H. MALLABY-DEELEY; born 1863. Educated at Shrewsbury and Trinity College, Cambridge; director of Norwich Union Insurance Society; chairman of the Mitcham Common Conservators. Has sat for the Harrow Division of Middlesex. Well known in connexion with great purchases of London estates.

WEST (36,449).

Pinkham, Col. Charles (Co.U.) .. ..	10,503
Viant, S. (Lab.) .. ..	7,217
Crone, Dr. J. S. (L.) .. ..	1,697

Coalition majority .. .. 3,286

COLONEL CHARLES PINKHAM was formerly a working carpenter and developed a large building business at Willesden. He has been several times chairman of the Willesden District Council, and is an alderman of the Middlesex County Council. He is hon. colonel of the Willesden Volunteers.

WIMBLEDON (36,258).

Hood, Joseph (Co.U.) .. ..	13,652
Jones, E. (Ind.) .. ..	3,079

Coalition majority .. .. 10,573

Mr. JOSEPH HOOD, who began his career as a solicitor in Liverpool, is deputy-chairman of the British-American Tobacco Company (Limited) and a member of the Tobacco Control Board. He has travelled extensively and given service in one of the sections of the Ministry of Information.

WOLVERHAMPTON.

BILSTON (28,504).

*Hickman, Brig.-General T. E., C.B., D.S.O. (Co.U.) .. ..	10,343
Kynaston, Major (Lab.) .. ..	6,744

Coalition majority .. .. 3,599

BRIG.-GENERAL THOMAS EDGE-CUMBE HICKMAN has served in Egypt, Dongola, Sudan, and South Africa. He joined the Worcestershire Regt. in 1881; commanded Middleburg district, Cape Colony, as Brig.-General, 1902-8. He was elected for South Wolverhampton in 1910.

EAST (30,437).

*Thorne, G. R. (L.) .. ..	7,660
Shaw, Rev. J. A. (Co.N.D.P.) .. ..	7,138

Liberal majority .. .. 522

Mr. GEORGE RENNIE THORNE, who has sat for the division since 1908, is a solicitor. He was Mayor of Wolverhampton, 1902-3.

## ENGLISH BOROUGHS.

*The Times*

### WEST (37,097).

*Bird, A. F. (Co.U.) .. ..	13,329
Walkden, A. G. (Lab.) .. ..	10,158

Coalition majority .. .. 3,171

Mr. ALFRED FREDERICK BIRD was elected for the division in 1910. A Birmingham manufacturer, he retired from business in 1905. He is a member of the Alpine Club and has travelled all over the world.

### WORCESTER (22,667).

*Goulding, Sir E. A. (Co.U.) .. ..	9,443
Fairbairn, R. R. (L.) .. ..	4,889

Coalition majority .. .. 4,554

SIR EDWARD ALFRED GOULDING has represented the city in the Unionist interest for 10 years. He has taken a leading part in promoting Tariff Reform.

### YORK (38,340).

*Butcher, Sir J. G. (Co.U.) .. ..	16,269
*Rowntree, A. (L.) .. ..	5,363
Gill, T. H. (Lab.) .. ..	4,822

Coalition majority .. .. 10,906

SIR JOHN GEORGE BUTCHER, K.C., is the son of an Irish Bishop. During the last Parliament he was active on the aliens' question, serving on several committees, and was chiefly instrumental in obtaining legislation which closed enemy businesses and banks.

## WELSH BOROUGHS.

### CARDIFF.

#### CENTRAL (36,557).

Gould, J. C. (U.) .. ..	8,542
Edmunds, J. E. (Lab.) .. ..	4,663
Forsdike, G. F. (L.) .. ..	4,172
Hughes, R. (Ind.) .. ..	3,419

Unionist majority .. .. 3,879

Mr. JAMES O. GOULD has made himself in a few years one of the leading shipowners of Cardiff. He gave his late residence at Radyr as a hostel for wounded soldiers.

#### EAST (30,164).

Seager, Sir W. (L.) .. ..	7,963
Crichton-Stuart, Lord C. (U.) .. ..	5,978
Williams, A. J. (Lab.) .. ..	5,554

Liberal majority .. .. 1,985

SIR WILLIAM SEAGER is a ship stores merchant and shipowner at Cardiff and has taken a prominent part in temperance and religious movements. He was knighted two years ago.

#### SOUTH (28,307).

*Cory, J. H. (U.) .. ..	8,090
Clatworthy, J. T. (Lab.) .. ..	4,940
Curran, E. (L.) .. ..	4,200

Unionist majority .. .. 3,150

Mr. JAMES HERBERT CORY was elected as a Unionist for Cardiff in November, 1915. He is a director of John Cory and Sons (Limited) shipowners, Cardiff, of the Bute Shipbuilding, Engineering, and Dry Dock Company, and other companies. He was High Sheriff of Glamorgan in 1913.

### CARNARVON (23,787).

*George, D. Lloyd (Co.L.) .. ..	13,993
Harrison, Austin (Ind.) .. ..	1,095

Coalition majority .. .. 12,898

Mr. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE (Prime Minister), son of the late William George, formerly master of the Hope-street Unitarian Schools, Liverpool, was born at Manchester, 1863; educated at Llanystumdwy Church Schools and privately. Admitted a solicitor June, 1884. Was President of the Board of Trade 1906-8, Chancellor of the Exchequer 1908-15, Minister of Munitions 1915-16, Secretary of State for War July to December, 1916, First Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister December 7, 1916, member of the War Cabinet and of the Imperial War Council. Sat for Carnarvon district since April, 1890.

### MERTHYR TYDFIL.

#### ABERDARE (41,651).

*Stanton, C. B. (Co.N.D.P.) .. ..	22,824
Nicholas, Rev. T. (Lab.) .. ..	6,229

Coalition majority .. .. 16,595

Mr. C. B. STANTON was before the war a miners' agent, but in 1915 his robust patriotism brought him into collision with a number of his Socialist colleagues. He resigned his position as miners' agent, and at a by-election in the old Merthyr Borough won a striking victory over Mr. James Winstone.

#### MERTHYR (35,049).

*Jones, Sir E. (Co.L.) .. ..	14,127
Winstone, J. (Lab.) .. ..	12,682

Coalition majority .. .. 1,445

## House of Commons.

Sir EDGAR REES JONES was first elected senior member of the old borough in 1910. During the war he held voluntary office at the Priority Department, which he left in July last.

## NEWFORT (40,146).

*Haslam, L. (Co.L.) .. .. .	14,080
Bowen, J. W. (Lab.) .. .. .	10,234
Thomas, B. P. (Ind.) .. .. .	647
Coalition majority .. .. .	3,846

Mr. LEWIS HASLAM has represented the Monmouth District Boroughs for 12 years. In 1892 he contested the West Houghton Division of Lancashire, and eight years later he fought the Stamford Division of Lincolnshire. He is a director of cotton spinning and manufacturing concerns.

## RHONDDA.

## EAST (38,632).

Morgan, Maj. D. Watts, D.S.O. (Lab.).

## UNOPPOSED.

MAJOR D. WATTS MORGAN is a miners' leader. Though formerly a pacifist, he was quick on the outbreak of war to recognize the righteousness of the Allied cause, and rendered services with his "pick and shovel brigade" at Cambrai in November, 1917, for which he received the D.S.O.

## WELSH BOROUGHS.

## WEST (34,389).

\*Abraham, W. (Lab.).

## UNOPPOSED.

Mr. WILLIAM ABRAHAM is the Welsh miners' leader, well known by the name of Mabon.

## SWANSEA.

## EAST (27,185).

*Williams, T. J. (Co.L.) .. .. .	11,071
Williams, D. (Lab.) .. .. .	6,341

Coalition majority .. .. . 4,730

Mr. T. J. WILLIAMS, the elder son of the late Mr. W. Williams, at one time M.P. for Swansea District, is largely interested in the tinplate industry. A barrister by profession, he does not now practise. He was elected M.P. for Swansea District in succession to Sir D. Brynmor Jones.

## WEST (31,884).

*Mond, Sir A. (Co.L.) .. .. .	8,579
Davies, D. (U.) .. .. .	7,398
Powlesland, J. (Lab.) .. .. .	5,510

Coalition majority .. .. . 1,181

SIR ALFRED MOND, First Commissioner of Works, is the son of the late Dr. Ludwig Mond, F.R.S. Born in 1868, he was called to the Bar in 1894, but did not practise, preferring industrial and political work. In 1906 he was elected M.P. for Chester, and in 1910 for Swansea Town.

## SCOTTISH BURGHS.

## ABERDEEN.

## NORTH (33,075).

Ross, F. (Lab.) .. .. .	6,128
*Pirie, Lieut.-Colonel D. V. (Co.L.) .. .. .	5,918

Labour majority .. .. . 210

Mr. FRANK H. ROSE, of Manchester, worked as an operative engineer until he was 36 years of age, and afterwards became a trade union organizer and later a journalist. In 1906 he contested Stockton-on-Tees, and in January, 1916, Crewe, both unsuccessfully.

## SOUTH (38,716).

Thomson, F. C. (Co.U.) .. .. .	10,625
*Fleming, Sir J. (L.) .. .. .	3,535
Watson, J. Robertson (Ind.) .. .. .	2,868

Coalition majority .. .. . 7,090

Mr. F. C. THOMSON joined the Scottish Horse, afterwards embodied in the Lovat Scouts, and saw a great deal of active service in the war. He was severely wounded in Salonika, and after his recovery received an appointment on the staff of the War Office.

## AYR (31,229).

*Younger, Sir George (Co.U.) .. .. .	9,565
Wood, Major M. (L.) .. .. .	5,410
Stephen, Rev. C. (Lab.) .. .. .	4,534

Coalition majority .. .. . 4,155

SIR GEORGE YOUNGER, born in 1851, represented the Ayr District of Burghs since 1906. For several years has discharged the duties of Scottish Unionist Whip, and when the Coalition Government was formed he accepted the chairmanship of the Unionist Party organization. A partner of the firm of George Younger and Son (Limited), brewers, Alloa.

## DUMBARTON (31,678).

Taylor, J. (Co.N.D.P.) .. .. .	11,734
Kirkwood, D. (Lab.) .. .. .	10,566

Coalition majority .. .. . 1,168

Mr. J. TAYLOR has been provost of the shipbuilding burgh of Clydebank for several years. In business he is a house painter and decorator.

## SCOTTISH BURGHS.

*The Times*

### DUNDEE (83,677) (2).

*Churchill, Winston (Co.L.) .. ..	25,788
*Wilkie, A. (Lab.) .. ..	24,822
Scrymgeour, G. (Ind.) .. ..	10,423
Brown, J. S. (Lab.) .. ..	7,769
Coalition majority .. ..	15,365
Labour majority .. ..	14,399

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL has represented Dundee since 1908. He entered the Army in 1895, and was elected member for Oldham in 1900. He attained the rank of colonel in 1916, and retired the same year. He has been Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, President of the Board of Trade, Home Secretary, First Lord of the Admiralty, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and is at present Minister of Munitions. In 1914 Mr. Churchill was Rector of Aberdeen University, and he is an Elder Brother of Trinity House.

Mr. ALEXANDER WILKIE has represented Dundee for 12 years. General Secretary of the Ship Constructors' and Shipwrights' Association; Companion of Honour; member of Newcastle City Council. Contested Sunderland in 1900.

### DUNFERMLINE (27,997).

Wallace, J. (Co.L.) .. ..	6,886
Watson, W. McLean (Lab.) .. ..	5,076
*Ponsonby, A. (Ind. Dem.) .. ..	3,491
Coalition majority .. ..	1,810

Mr. J. WALLACE, who is a native of Kirkcaldy, is the London manager of a Kirkcaldy firm and represents large commercial interests.

### EDINBURGH.

#### CENTRAL (30,867).

Graham W. (Lab.) .. ..	7,159
Dobbie, J. (Co.L.) .. ..	6,795
Labour majority .. ..	364

Mr. WILLIAM GRAHAM was born at Peebles in 1887. He has been for five years representative of a working-class ward on the Edinburgh Town Council. He had a brilliant career as a student at Edinburgh University, taking his M.A. degree with honours in Economic Science and the degree of LL.B.

#### EAST (25,895).

*Hogge, J. M. (L.) .. ..	8,460
Balfour, Capt. A. (Co.N.D.P.) .. ..	5,136
Liberal majority .. ..	3,324

Mr. J. M. HOGGE, a native of Edinburgh, was educated for the ministry of the United Presbyterian Church. When at the university he was president of the Students' Representative Council, and later founded the Young Scots' Society, a political organization which for a number of years was very active.

#### NORTH (35,611).

*Clyde, J. A. (Co.U.) .. ..	11,879
Johnston, J. (L.) .. ..	6,986
Coalition majority .. ..	4,893

Mr. J. A. CLYDE, K.C., born in 1863, was called to the Bar in 1887. In appointing him Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, his colleagues at the Bar conferred upon him the highest distinction in their

power. In 1909 he was returned unopposed for West Edinburgh, and was re-elected in 1910. He followed, as Lord Advocate, Mr. Robert Munro, the Scottish Secretary.

#### SOUTH (32,087).

Murray, Major C. D. (Co.U.) .. ..	14,854
Caird, D. (L.) .. ..	4,955
Coalition majority .. ..	9,899

MAJOR C. D. MURRAY, K.C. was called to the Bar in 1889. Early in the war he devoted himself to national service, becoming eventually Director for Scotland, National Service Department. As a member of Mr. A. J. Balfour's Mission, Mr. Murray did valuable work in America. He unsuccessfully contested South Edinburgh in 1910.

#### WEST (33,835).

Jameson, Capt J. G. (Co.U.) .. ..	9,144
*Parrott, Sir E. (L.) .. ..	6,166
Young, J. A. (Lab.) .. ..	2,622
Coalition majority .. ..	2,978

CAPTAIN JOHN GORDON JAMESON, son of the late Lord Ardwall, was called to the Scottish Bar in 1903. Contested East Edinburgh against Mr. J. M. Hogge in 1912. Volunteered for service in the Boer War, and, on the outbreak of the present war, rejoined the colours, receiving a commission in the Scottish Horse. He has seen much service in France.

### GLASGOW.

#### BRIDGETON (37,980).

*Scott, A. MacCallum (Co.L.) .. ..	10,887
Maxton, J. (Lab.) .. ..	7,860
Murray, Miss E. A. (Ind.) .. ..	991
Coalition majority .. ..	3,027

Mr. A. MACCALLUM SCOTT is a barrister, and was elected for Bridgeton in 1910. He acted as private secretary to Lord Pentland when the latter was Secretary for Scotland, 1909-10.

#### CAMLACHIE (37,319).

*Mackinder, H. J. (Co.U.) .. ..	13,645
Guthrie, H. B. (Lab.) .. ..	7,192
Browning, D. (L.) .. ..	860
Coalition majority .. ..	6,453

Mr. H. J. MACKINDER has represented the constituency since 1910. In 1895 he was President of the Geographical Section of the British Association. He is a keen student of economics and political science.

#### CATHCART (34,293).

*Pratt, J. W. (Co.L.) .. ..	16,310
Clark, Dr. G. B. (Lab.) .. ..	4,489
Coalition majority .. ..	11,821

Mr. J. W. PRATT has represented Linlithgow since 1913. Previous to that he was prominently identified with municipal politics in Glasgow, serving for several years on the Town Council. Was appointed a Junior Lord of the Treasury in 1916.

## House of Commons.

## CENTRAL (42,329).

*Law, A. Bonar (Co.U.) .. ..	17,653
Quin, D. J. M. (Lab.) .. ..	4,736
Coalition majority .. ..	12,917

Mr. A. BONAR LAW, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Leader of the House of Commons, and member of the War Cabinet, though born in Canada, is to all intents and purposes a Glasgow man, as it is the city of his adoption. He was in business for many years in Glasgow before retiring to devote himself entirely to politics. First returned to Parliament in 1900, he has represented Bootle since 1911.

## GORBALS (40,765).

*Barnes, G. N. (Lab.) .. ..	14,247
Maclea, J. (Lab.) .. ..	7,436
Labour majority .. ..	6,811

Mr. GEORGE N. BARNES has represented Blackfriars and Hutchesontown since 1906. He devoted considerable time to the question of old-age pensions. Was a member of the Government Committee on Soldiers' and Sailors' Pensions and Allowances, and acted as Pensions Minister from 1916 to his appointment to the War Cabinet in the following year. Though he has severed his connexion with the Labour Party, owing to its opposition to the Coalition Government, he continues to be keenly interested in the Labour movement. Was General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers from 1896 to 1906, and served on the Mosely Commission to the United States.

## GOVAN (31,652).

Maclea, Neil (Lab.) .. ..	9,577
McClure, A. (Co.U.) .. ..	8,762
*Holmes, D. T. (L.) .. ..	1,678
Labour majority .. ..	815

Mr. NEIL MACLEAN has for a long time been identified with the cooperative movement. He is the propagandist organizer of the Scottish Cooperative Wholesale Society.

## HILLHEAD (26,798).

Horne, Sir Robert (Co.U.) .. ..	12,803
Izett, J. (Lab.) .. ..	4,186
Coalition majority .. ..	8,617

SIR ROBERT S. HORNE is a prominent K.C. with an extensive practice at the Scottish Bar. During the war he has held several important offices. He is at present Third Civil Lord of the Admiralty.

## KELVINGROVE (39,702).

*MacLeod, J. M. (Co.U.) .. ..	13,648
Leachman, W. G. (Ind.) .. ..	5,012
MacPherson, G. (L.) .. ..	2,582
Coalition majority .. ..	8,036

Mr. JOHN M. MACLEOD retired from the Central Division to make way for Mr. Bonar Law. A partner of a large firm of accountants in the city, he is a member of a well-known West of Scotland family.

## SCOTTISH BURGHS.

## MARYHILL (34,622).

*Mitchell-Thomson, Sir W. (Co.U.) ..	11,913
Muir, J. W. (Lab.) .. ..	5,531
*Watt, H. A. (L.) .. ..	2,363
Coalition majority .. ..	6,382

SIR W. MITCHELL-THOMSON has represented North Down since 1910. A member of the legal profession, qualifying as an advocate in 1902, he has been engaged for some years in West India business.

## PARTICK (28,376).

*Balfour, Sir R. (Co.L.) .. ..	12,156
Mackie, W. (Lab.) .. ..	5,173
Coalition majority .. ..	6,983

SIR ROBERT BALFOUR was elected for the Partick Division of Lanark in 1906. He is a member of the firm of Balfour, Williamson, and Co.

## POLLOK (30,686).

\*Gilmour, Col. J. (Co.U.).

## UNOPOSED.

COLONEL JOHN GILMOUR represented East Renfrewshire in the Unionist interest for eight years. He has seen much service in the present war.

## ST. ROLLOX (38,439).

Murray, Gideon (Co.U.) .. ..	10,844
Stewart, J. (Lab.) .. ..	6,147
*Wood, T. McKinnon (L.) .. ..	1,521

Coalition majority .. .. 4,697

Mr. GIDEON MURRAY is a brother of Lord Murray, and came to Glasgow recently as Food Commissioner for the district. He has seen a good deal of official service abroad.

## SHETTLESTON (31,488).

Adair, Rear-Admiral (Co.U.) .. ..	9,901
Wheatley, J. (Lab.) .. ..	9,827

Coalition majority .. .. 74

ADMIRAL ADAIR is the head of the gun department of Messrs. W. Beardmore and Co. (Limited), Parkhead Forge, and previously served in the Navy. He is a native of Ulster.

## SPRINGBURN (33,599).

Macquisten, F. A. (Co.U.) .. ..	10,786
Hardie, G. D. (Lab.) .. ..	7,996
*Pringle, W. M. R. (L.) .. ..	1,669

Coalition majority .. .. 2,790

Mr. F. A. MACQUISTEN is a graduate of Glasgow University, and was a solicitor in the city for a number of years. Called to the Bar, he has now a large practice as an advocate.

## TRADESTON (35,960).

Henderson, Major V. L., M.C. (Co.U.) ..	12,250
McDougall, J. D. (Lab.) .. ..	3,751
*White, J. Dundas (L.) .. ..	3,369

Coalition majority .. .. 8,499



## SCOTTISH BURGHS.

The Times

MAJOR VIVIAN L. HENDERSON has seen much service during the present war, and has won the Military Cross.

### GREENOCK (34,182).

*Collins, Colonel G. P. (L.) .. ..	10,933
Chapman, S. (Co.U.) .. ..	7,246
Shaw, F. (Soc.) .. ..	2,542
Haughey, N. (Lab.) .. ..	2,050
<hr/>	
Liberal majority .. ..	3,687

COLONEL GODFREY P. COLLINS, who represented Greenock throughout the term of the last Parliament, is a member of the firm of Messrs. Wm. Collins, Son, and Co. (Limited), publishers, Glasgow. Prior to his election in 1910 he served for some years in the Navy, and did useful work during the war.

### KIRKCALDY (30,419).

\*Dalziel Sir H. (Co.L.).

#### UNOPOSED.

SIR HENRY JAMES DALZIEL was elected as Liberal member for Kirkcaldy Burghs in 1892; controls the *Daily Chronicle*, *Pail Mall Gazette*, and *Reynolds's Newspaper*.

### LEITH (42,507).

*Benn, Captain Wedgwood (L.) ..	10,338
*Currie, G. W. (Co.U.) .. ..	7,613
Burgess, S. (Lab.) .. ..	4,251
<hr/>	
Liberal majority .. ..	2,725

CAPTAIN WEDGWOOD BENN, D.S.O., was M.P., for St. George's-in-the-East. He has served in the war as a pilot in the Royal Air Force, and has won seven de-

corations. Withdrew from St. George's to avoid splitting the Liberal vote.

### MONTROSE (24,954).

Leng-Sturrock, J. (Co.L.) .. ..	9,309
Brailsford, H. N. (Lab.) .. ..	2,940
<hr/>	
Coalition majority .. ..	6,369

Mr. J. LENG-STURROCK is a grandson of the late Sir John Leng, for many years a member for Dundee. By profession he is a journalist, and he has taken part in many forms of political activity.

### PAISLEY (38,507).

*McCallum, Sir J. (L.) .. ..	7,542
Biggar, J. M. (Co-op.) .. ..	7,436
Taylor, John (Co.N.D.P.) .. ..	7,201
<hr/>	
Liberal majority .. ..	106

SIR JOHN M. MCCALLUM is a soap manufacturer of Paisley. He has taken an active interest in the social and religious work of the town, has served on the town council, and is a county magistrate.

### STIRLING AND FALKIRK (23,628).

*Macdonald, J. A. M. (L.) .. ..	9,350
Logan, A. (Lab.) .. ..	5,201
<hr/>	
Liberal majority .. ..	4,149

Mr. J. A. MURRAY MACDONALD represented the former Falkirk Burghs constituency from 1906 as a Liberal, and successfully fought four elections, obtaining a clear majority on the occasion of a three-cornered contest over Unionist and Labour votes combined. He previously sat for the Bow and Bromley Division, where he is still president of the Liberal Association.

## ENGLISH COUNTIES.

### BEDFORD.

#### BEDFORD (33,257).

*Kellaway, F. G. (Co.L.) .. ..	10,933
Burrige, Henry (Ind.) .. ..	4,096
<hr/>	
Coalition majority .. ..	6,837

Mr. FREDERICK GEORGE KELLAWAY, Parliamentary and Financial Secretary to the Ministry of Munitions, began public work at Lewisham, where he edited local newspapers. He was elected as a Liberal for Bedford Borough in 1910. When Dr. Addison was Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Munitions, Mr. Kellaway was his private secretary.

### LUTON (37,051).

*Harmsworth, Cecil (Co.L.) .. ..	13,501
Ball, Willet (Lab.) .. ..	5,964
<hr/>	
Coalition majority .. ..	7,537

Mr. CECIL BISSHOPP HARMSWORTH was Liberal member for South Bedfordshire from 1911, and previously sat for Droitwich, 1906-10. For some months during 1915 he served as Parliamentary Under-Secretary to the Home Office.

### MID (29,961).

Townley, Major Max G. (Co.U.) ..	9,073
*Black, Sir A. W. (L.) .. ..	7,352
<hr/>	
Coalition majority .. ..	1,721

MAJOR MAXIMILIAN TOWNLEY is a brother of the British Minister at The Hague. In 1911 he was adopted candidate for North Cambridgeshire, but afterwards stood aside owing to the political truce. Early in the war Mr. Townley was appointed for special duty on the Headquarters Staff (Home Defence).

## House of Commons.

## ENGLISH COUNTIES.

## BERKSHIRE.

ABINGDON (26,280).

Wigan, Brig.-Gen. J. T. (Co.U.).

UNOPPOSED.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL (temp. Brigadier-General) JOHN TYSON WIGAN, C.M.G., D.S.O., born in 1877, served in the South African War, and has been on war service since 1914.

NEWBURY (29,367).

\*Mount, W. A. (Co.U.).

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. W. A. MOUNT has sat for the Newbury Division from 1910, and previously from 1900 to 1906.

WINDSOR (33,378).

\*Gardner, E. (Co.U.) .. .. 10,073  
Edgerley, C. S. (Ind.) .. .. 4,448

Coalition majority .. .. 5,625

Mr. ERNEST GARDNER, born in 1846, was Mayor of Maidenhead 1892-93, and Master of the Drapers Company 1901-2. He is an authority on agriculture. He was elected for East Berks as a Unionist in 1900.

## BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

AYLESBURY (34,965).

\*Rothschild, Maj. L. de (Co.U.).

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. LIONEL DE ROTHSCHILD has been member for the division since 1910. He is the eldest son of Leopold de Rothschild, and has served with the Bucks Imperial Yeomanry.

BUCKINGHAM (36,434).

Bowyer, Capt. G. W. E. (Co.U.) .. 12,441  
Scurr, John (Lab.) .. .. 7,481  
\*Verney, Colonel Sir H. (L.) .. 3,250

Coalition majority .. .. 4,960

CAPT. G. W. E. BOWYER, after distinguished service in the Army during the war, for which he received the Military Cross, was employed in the Admiralty Housing and Labour Department.

WYCOMBE (42,028).

\*Du Pre, Col. W. B. (Co.U.).

UNOPPOSED.

COL. BARING DU PRE is a member of a Bucks family of landowners who have been in the county for over 200 years.

CAMBRIDGE (37,410).

\*Montagu, E. S. (Co.L.) .. .. 12,497  
Stubbs, A. E. (Lab.) .. .. 6,686

Coalition majority .. .. 5,811

Mr. EDWIN SAMUEL MONTAGU, Secretary of State for India, second son of the first Lord Swaythling, was born in 1879. He was educated at Clifton, City of London School, and Trinity College, Cambridge. Entered Parliament in 1906, and was

Parliamentary Secretary to Mr. Asquith whilst Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime Minister. He has held in succession the offices of Under-Secretary for India, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Minister of Munitions, and now Secretary of State for India.

## CHESTER.

ALTRINCHAM (42,912).

\*Hamilton, Major C. G. (Co.U.) .. 20,421  
Middleton, A. (Lab.) .. .. 7,685

Coalition majority .. .. 12,736

MAJOR HAMILTON, of the Queen's Westminsters, is a son of the late Ven. George Hans Hamilton, Archdeacon of Northumberland and Canon of Durham. He is an electrical engineer. In 1913 he was elected for the Division. Performed valuable work for the Ministry of National Service.

CITY OF CHESTER (27,369).

\*Philipps, Sir Owen (Co.U.) .. .. 10,043  
Paul, Edward (L.) .. .. 4,993  
Mason, Arthur (Lab.) .. .. 2,799

Coalition majority .. .. 5,050

SIR OWEN PHILIPPS, G.C.M.G., is a brother of Lord St. Davids and chairman of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company and other companies. He became Unionist member for Chester in 1916, having sat from 1906 to 1910 for Pembroke and Haverfordwest district. He has rendered public service in many capacities. Was chairman of the Unionist Committee on Enemy Influence, which issued several important reports.

CREWE (34,818).

Davies, Sir Joseph (Co.L.) .. .. 13,392  
Brownlie, J. T. (Lab.) .. .. 10,439

Coalition majority .. .. 2,953

SIR JOSEPH DAVIES was adopted as prospective Liberal candidate in 1913. He has rendered assistance to the Government in various ways during the war, and in recognition of his services he was made a K.B.E. in January last. He accompanied the British Labour Mission to America in May, 1917.

EDDISBURY (22,377).

\*Barnston, Maj. H. (Co.U.).

UNOPPOSED.

MAJOR H. BARNSTON has seen active service in France, and was previously a captain in the Cheshire Yeomanry.

KNUTSFORD (34,205).

\*Sykes, Col. Sir A. J. (Co.U.).

UNOPPOSED.

COLONEL SIR A. J. SYKES was elected for Knutsford as a Unionist in 1910. He was formerly lieutenant-colonel commanding the 6th Battalion Cheshire Regiment.

MACCLESFIELD (36,577).

Remer, J. (Co.U.) .. .. 14,277  
Pimblott, W. (Lab.) .. .. 10,253

Coalition majority .. .. 4,024

## ENGLISH COUNTIES.

The Times

Mr. J. B. REMER, timber merchant, of Liverpool, grandson of a Cheshire farmer, was treasurer of the Liverpool branch of the Life and Liberty Movement, and a Sunday School superintendent.

### NORTHWICH (39,269).

Dewhurst, Lt.-Cdr. H. (Co.U.) ..	15,444
*Brunner, J. F. L. (L.) ..	9,723

Coalition majority ..	5,721
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LIEUT.-COMMANDER HARRY DEWHURST, of the firm of Groote, Dewhurst, cotton spinners and manufacturers, is a member of the Cheshire Hunt, and has served during the war as a remount officer in England and France. Later he has acted as a King's Messenger for the Admiralty with the rank of lieutenant-commander.

### STALYBRIDGE AND HYDE (43,711).

*Wood, Sir John (U.) ..	13,462
Fowden, W. (Lab.) ..	6,508
*Jacobsen, T. O. (L.) ..	6,241

Unionist majority ..	6,954
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SIR JOHN WOOD was called to the Bar, Inner Temple, 1883, and elected for the division of Stalybridge in 1910.

### WIRRAL (31,264).

\*Stewart, G. (Co.U.).

#### UNOPPOSED.

Mr. GERSHOM STEWART was for many years in business in Hong-kong, was a member of the Legislative Council, and held various offices in the Colony.

### CORNWALL.

#### BODMIN (30,279).

*Hanson, Sir Charles (Co.U.) ..	12,288
Foot, Isaac (L.) ..	8,705

Coalition majority ..	3,583
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SIR CHARLES A. HANSON, who was returned unopposed on the retirement of Sir Reginald Pole-Carew, has a seat in the constituency at Fowey, of which port he is a native. He has just concluded a most successful year of office as Lord Mayor of London, and was created a baronet a few months ago.

#### CAMBORNE (32,575).

*Acland, F. D. (L.) ..	7,078
Nicholls, G. (Lab.) ..	6,546

Liberal majority ..	532
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Mr. F. D. ACLAND was Financial Secretary to the War Office from 1908 to 1910. In December, 1910, he was elected for the Bodmin Division, and under the first Coalition was Under-Secretary for Agriculture. Recently he was appointed chairman of the Interim Forest Authority.

#### NORTHERN (26,767).

\*Marks, Sir G. Croydon (Co.L.).

#### UNOPPOSED.

SIR GEORGE CROYDON MARKS sat as Liberal member for North-East Cornwall from 1906. He is a consulting engineer and patent agent.

### PENRYN AND FALMOUTH (35,074).

Nicholl, Sir E. (Co.U.) ..	10,050
Carkeek, Sir A. (L.) ..	9,815

Coalition majority ..	235
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SIR EDWARD NICHOLL is a Cardiff shipowner, a commander in the R.N.R., and the president of the Merchant Seamen's League, the Bristol Channel Shipowners' Association, and the Glamorgan Agricultural Society.

### ST. IVES (28,537).

*Cory, Sir Clifford (Co.L.) ..	8,059
Dunn, A. E. (Lab.) ..	5,659
Mitchell, T. F. T. (Ind.) ..	436

Coalition majority ..	3,000
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SIR CLIFFORD J. CORY, Bt., represented the St. Ives Division as a Liberal from 1906, and is a prominent figure in the Welsh coal industry. He was formerly a captain in the 3rd Welsh Regiment, and has been High Sheriff of Monmouthshire.

### CUMBERLAND.

#### NORTHERN (21,796).

Lowther, Maj. Christopher (Co.U.).

#### UNOPPOSED.

MAJOR CHRISTOPHER LOWTHER, eldest son of the Speaker of the House of Commons, at the beginning of the war went out with the Westmorland and Cumberland Yeomanry, and was very seriously wounded.

#### PENRITH AND COCKERMOUTH (20,741).

\*Lowther, J. W. (Co.U.).

#### UNOPPOSED.

Mr. JAMES WILLIAM LOWTHER, Speaker of the House of Commons since June, 1905, was elected for the Penrith Division as a Unionist in 1886. After serving the House as Chairman of Committees in quiet times, he became Speaker in the strenuous days which began with the Liberal revival in 1906. Has been in the chair for three complete Parliaments and for part of a fourth.

#### WHITEHAVEN (27,440).

*Grant, J. A. (Co.U.) ..	10,736
Duffey, T. G. (Lab.) ..	9,016

Coalition majority ..	1,720
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Mr. J. A. GRANT was elected as a Unionist for Egremont in January, 1910, after several unsuccessful attempts to enter Parliament for other constituencies. He was private secretary to Mr. G. Balfour when the latter was Irish Chief Secretary. For Cecil Rhodes he carried out pioneer work in Central Africa.

#### WORKINGTON (28,691).

Cape, Tom (Lab.) ..	10,441
Mason, Lieut.-Colonel D. J.,	
D.S.O. (U.) ..	5,946
Stewart, Major R. S. (Co.L.) ..	2,988
Millican, R. (Ind.) ..	943

Labour majority ..	4,495
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Mr. TOM CAPE is the secretary of the Cumberland Miners' Association and a Primitive Methodist local preacher.

## House of Commons.

## DERBY.

BELPER (30,146).

\*Hancock, J. G. (Co.L.).

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. J. G. HANCOCK was elected as Labour member for Mid Derby in 1909. He is agent to the Notts miners and a Methodist local preacher.

CHESTERFIELD (32,307).

\*Kenyon, B. (Co. L.).

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. BARNET KENYON, born 1853, began life as a collier. For 26 years checkweighman at Southgate Colliery, Clowne; 10 years chairman of Derbyshire Miners' Association.

CLAY CROSS (29,182).

Broad, T. T. (Co.L.) .. .. .	7,987
Hall, Frank (Lab.) .. .. .	6,766

Coalition majority .. .. . 1,221

Mr. THOMAS TUCKER BROAD is an ex-Congregational minister, and served for many years on the Sheffield Board of Guardians. His offer to serve as a Chaplain with the Forces being declined has devoted his attention to lecturing to the men from overseas.

HIGH PEAK (33,075).

*Hill-Wood, Major S. (Co.U.) .. .. .	12,118
Brooks, Captain C. (L.) .. .. .	8,504

Coalition majority .. .. . 3,614

MAJOR S. HILL-WOOD has represented the division since 1911; is a native of Derbyshire, and has considerable business interests in the county and in Lancashire.

ILKESTON (28,889).

*Seely, Major-General J. E. B. (Co.L.) .. .. .	9,660
Oliver, G. H. (Lab.) .. .. .	7,962

Coalition majority .. .. . 1,698

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN EDWARD BERNARD SEELY, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Parliamentary Under-Secretary to Ministry of Munitions (Deputy Minister of Munitions), born 1868, was called to the Bar 1897. Is a colonel in the Hampshire Yeomanry; commanded 41st Company Imperial Yeomanry in South Africa, 1900-1; on special service with Expeditionary Force 1914; brigadier-general 1915; temporary major-general 1918. Was Under-Secretary for the Colonies 1908-11, and Under-Secretary of State for War 1911-12. Secretary of State for War 1912-14. First sat as M.P. for Isle of Wight as a Conservative; elected for Ilkeston Division as a Liberal, March, 1910.

NORTH-EASTERN (33,564).

Holmes, J. S. (L.) .. .. .	6,117
Lee, Frank (Lab.) .. .. .	5,560
*Bowden, Colonel Harland (Ind.U.) .. .. .	5,049
Hartington, Lord (Co.U.) .. .. .	2,738

Liberal majority .. .. . 557

Mr. STANLEY HOLMES, born in London, a member of the London County Council since 1910; chartered accountant to late Lord Rhondda, chairman for three

## ENGLISH COUNTIES.

years of London Old-Age Pensions Committee, chairman of Shoreditch Technical Institute, member of the Staff Investigation Committee of the Ministry of Munitions.

SOUTHERN (41,102).

Gregory, Holman (Co.L.) .. .. .	15,504
Truman, S. (Lab.) .. .. .	7,923

Coalition majority .. .. . 7,581

Mr. HOLMAN GREGORY, K.C., born at Bath in 1864, practised as a solicitor at Bristol before being called to the Bar in 1897. He joined the Western Circuit, and soon became one of the busiest junior counsel. He took silk in 1910.

WESTERN (29,344).

White, C. F. (L.) .. .. .	10,752
*Kerry, Lord (Co.U.) .. .. .	8,592

Liberal majority .. .. . 2,160

Mr. CHARLES F. WHITE, formerly a bootmaker, gave up his trade to devote himself to politics, and was for several years Liberal agent in the division, which he once unsuccessfully contested against Lord Kerry. Latterly he has been acting as agent for Mr. Barnet Kenyon, the Derbyshire Miners' Association candidate at Chesterfield.

## DEVON.

BARNSTAPLE (31,790).

Tudor-Rees, Captain J. T. (L.) .. .. .	11,281
Parker, C. S. (U.) .. .. .	10,679

Liberal majority .. .. . 602

CAPTAIN J. T. TUDOR-REES is a solicitor and a Welshman. He is particularly interested in the housing question and the reform of the jury system. At the outbreak of war he organized a recruiting campaign, and joined the Welsh Regiment in February, 1915.

HONITON (27,839).

\*Morrison-Bell, Maj., A. C. (Co.U.).

UNOPPOSED.

MAJOR A. CLIVE MORRISON-BELL joined the Scots Guards in 1890; served through the South African War; was A.D.C. to Lord Minto, Governor-General of Canada, 1900-04. Rejoined Army at outbreak of the war, and was taken prisoner.

SOUTH MOLTON (28,139).

*Lambert, Geo. (L.) .. .. .	10,424
Sparkes, H. W. (Co.U.) .. .. .	8,093

Liberal majority .. .. . 2,331

Mr. GEORGE LAMBERT farms a very large agricultural estate in Devon, and is an Alderman of the county. He has represented the division since 1891. In 1905 he was appointed Civil Lord of the Admiralty, and held that office until May, 1915.

TAVISTOCK (25,979).

Williams, Lt.-Cdr. C. (Co.U.) .. .. .	9,157
Geen, H. (L.) .. .. .	7,005

Coalition majority .. .. . 2,152

LIEUT.-COMM. C. WILLIAMS, R.N.V.R., is son of the Lord-Lieutenant of Cornwall. In the elections

## ENGLISH COUNTIES.

The Times

of 1910 he stood as Unionist candidate successively for Northwich and Truro. Since September, 1914, he has held a commission in the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve, and has been on active service.

### TIVERTON (25,925).

*Carew, Charles (Co.U.)	..	..	9,598
Penton, Sir E. (L.)	..	..	4,827
Fraser, Rev. D. (Lab.)	..	..	2,377

Coalition majority .. .. 4,771

Mr. CHARLES CAREW was elected member for the division, without opposition, in November, 1915. He is a descendant of a baronial family who came to England with the Normans and settled in Devonshire in 1300. He resided for some years in Ceylon.

### TORQUAY (32,584).

*Burn, Col. C. R. (Co.U.)	..	..	14,068
Trestrail, Major A. E. (Lab.)	..	..	4,029
Cooke, Capt. Russell (L.)	..	..	3,173

Coalition majority .. .. 10,039.

COLONEL C. R. BURN represented the Torquay Division as a Unionist from December, 1910. He is an aide-de-camp to the King. His war service includes fighting on the Indian frontier and in the South African War, where he commanded a mounted brigade.

### TOTNES (39,042).

*Mildmay, Lt.-Col. F. B. (Co.U.)	..	..	14,680
Cairns, J. A. (L.)	..	..	10,266

Coalition majority .. .. 4,414

COLONEL F. B. MILDMAY has represented the Totnes Division for 33 years. He has been serving with the forces ever since the outbreak of the war, and is now serving on the General Staff of the Second Army in Germany.

## DORSET.

### EASTERN (29,988).

*Guest, Capt. F. E., D.S.O. (Co.L.)	..	..	11,944
Smith, A. (Lab.)	..	..	4,321

Coalition majority .. .. 7,623

CAPTAIN FREDERICK E. GUEST has been Chief Whip since May, 1917. Whilst attached to the Reserve of Officers, 1st Life Guards, he was an extra aide-de-camp to Field-Marshal Sir John French during the early progress of hostilities, and was the recipient of the Croix de Chevalier of the Legion of Honour from the French President. He afterwards took part in the German East Africa campaign, and was invalided home with malaria. He was awarded the D.S.O. in 1917.

### NORTHERN (24,334).

Colfox, Major W. P. (Co.U.)	..	..	7,532
Emlyn-Jones, J. E. (L.)	..	..	7,320

Coalition majority .. .. 212

MAJOR WILLIAM PHILLIPS COLFOX, R.F.A., M.C., has seen service in India, East Africa, France, and Belgium. He won the Military Cross for gallantry in action in the autumn of 1917, when he was wounded. Recently, owing to the deficiency of masters at Eton, he offered his services, but withdrew in order to stand as a Parliamentary candidate.

### SOUTHERN (28,224).

*Hambro, Capt. A. V. (Co.U.)	..	..	11,175
Morgan, Brett (Lab.)	..	..	5,159

Coalition majority .. .. 6,016

CAPTAIN ANGUS V. HAMBRO is a son of Sir E. A. Hambro, of Milton Abbey, Dorset. He has represented this division since 1910. When war broke out he joined the Dorset Yeomanry, but his health failed and he was not sent to the front. He then accepted an appointment at the War Office.

### WESTERN (23,621).

\*Williams, Col. Sir R. (Co.U.)

#### UNOPPOSED.

COLONEL SIR ROBERT WILLIAMS, who has represented this division since 1895, is a director of Williams Deacon's Bank and of the London and South-Western Railway.

## DURHAM.

### BARNARD CASTLE (19,954).

Swan, J. (Lab.)	..	..	5,468
Rogerson, Capt. J. E. (Co.U.)	..	..	3,837
Hillary, A. E. (L.)	..	..	2,180
Monkhouse, O. (Ind.)	..	..	1,274

Labour majority .. .. 1,631

Mr. J. E. SWAN has been a miner and is at present engaged as a check-weighman. He has taken a keen interest in miners' affairs, and was one of the men chosen by the Miners' Federation to contest certain divisions in the County of Durham.

### BISHOP AUCKLAND (32,689).

Spoor, B. G. (Lab.)	..	..	10,060
Vick, Capt. G. R. (Co.L.)	..	..	7,417
Rutherford, Dr. V. H. (L.)	..	..	2,411

Labour majority .. .. 2,643

Mr. BEN G. SPOOR is in business as a builders' merchant. He was educated at a York school and Manchester University. He is associated with the Primitive Methodist body at Auckland and a local preacher among them. Soon after war broke out he joined the Y.M.C.A. staff and was subsequently given an appointment as a Commissioner for that organization in the Mediterranean.

### BLAYDON (32,811).

*Waring, Major W. (Co. L.)	..	..	9,937
Whiteley, W. (Lab.)	..	..	7,844
Graham, T. A. (L.)	..	..	1,064

Coalition majority .. .. 2,093

MAJOR WALTER WARING served in the Boer War and in the recent European war. In 1907 he was elected as a Liberal for Banffshire. When Sir E. Strachey was Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Agriculture he acted as his Parliamentary Private Secretary, and he was Master of the Horse to the Lord, Lieutenant of Ireland, 1908-7.

### CHESTER-LE-STREET (35,156).

\*Taylor, J. W. (Lab.)

#### UNOPPOSED.

Mr. JOHN WILLIAMSON TAYLOR has been member for Chester-le-Street since 1906. A blacksmith.

House of Commons.

CONSETT (34,395).

*Williams, Aneurin (L.) .. ..	7,576
Gee, Capt. Robert, V.C., M.C. (Co. N.D.P.) .. ..	7,283
Stuart-Bunning, G. H. (Lab.) ..	7,268
Liberal majority .. ..	293

Mr. ANEURIN WILLIAMS was elected Liberal member for North-West Durham in 1914, having previously sat a short time for Plymouth. Is a director First Garden City (Limited); chairman of Executive International Cooperative Alliance; hon. secretary Labour Co-partnership Association; and hon. secretary, League of Nations Society.

DURHAM (28,338).

*Hills, Major J. W. (Co.U.) .. ..	9,027
Ritson, J. (Lab.) .. ..	8,809
Coalition majority .. ..	218

MAJOR J. W. HILLS is a solicitor by profession. In 1906 he successfully contested Durham City as a Unionist. Early in the war he obtained a commission in the Durham Light Infantry, and when in command of his battalion was wounded.

HOUGHTON-LE-SPRING (32,552).

Richardson, R. (Lab.) .. ..	7,315
*Wing, T. (L.) .. ..	6,626
Lindsley, J. (Co.N.D.P.) .. ..	6,185
Labour majority .. ..	689

Mr. ROBERT RICHARDSON is a miner who has worked at all kinds of jobs in the pit.

JARROW (37,389).

*Palmer, Major Godfrey (Co.L.) ..	12,544
Hill, John (Lab.) .. ..	8,034
Coalition majority .. ..	4,510

MAJOR GODFREY MARK PALMER has represented the constituency since January, 1910. He is the fifth and youngest son of the late Sir Charles Mark Palmer, Bt., the founder of the shipbuilding and iron and steel works of Palmer's Company.

SEAHAM (36,700).

*Hayward, Major E. (L.) .. ..	12,754
Lawson, J. (Lab.) .. ..	8,988
Liberal majority .. ..	3,766

MAJOR EVAN HAYWARD is a solicitor by profession, and represented the old South-East Durham Division as a Liberal from January, 1910. During the war he helped to raise two battalions, and went to the front as second in command of one of them (14th Worcesters). He was severely injured in France.

SEDGEFIELD (24,861).

Burdon, Col. Rowland (Co.U.) .. ..	6,627
Herriotts, J. (Lab.) .. ..	5,801
Starmer, Sir Charles (L.) .. ..	3,333
Coalition majority .. ..	826

ENGLISH COUNTIES.

COLONEL ROWLAND BURDON is a native of Castle Eden. He has done useful work on the county council. Greatly interested in the coalmining industry, he wields a great influence in the district. As a landowner, agricultural questions have also claimed much of his attention. Colonel Burdon has previously contested the South-East Durham constituency unsuccessfully.

SPENNYMOOR (31,517).

*Galbraith, S. (L.) .. ..	9,443
Batey, J. (Lab.) .. ..	8,196
Liberal majority .. ..	1,247

Mr. SAMUEL GALBRAITH, O.B.E., is a self-educated Durham miner. Was a miners' agent before being elected for Mid-Durham during the war. Has been a member of the Durham County Council since 1888.

ESSEX.

CHELMSFORD (33,429).

*Pretyman, E. G. (Co.U.) .. ..	11,217
Toynbee, W. F. (Lab.) .. ..	5,551
Coalition majority .. ..	5,666

Mr. ERNEST GEORGE PRETYMAN, Civil Lord of the Admiralty, has represented Mid Essex as a Conservative and Unionist since 1908. He sat for Woodbridge, Suffolk; from 1895 to 1906. In the last Conservative Government he held office as Civil Lord of the Admiralty. He was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade in the first Coalition Government, and in December, 1916, became Civil Lord of the Admiralty. He has large landed interests, and farms 4,000 acres.

COLCHESTER (30,372).

*Worthington-Evans, Sir L. (Co.U.) ..	11,186
Conley, A. (Lab.) .. ..	7,112
Coalition majority .. ..	4,074

SIR L. WORTHINGTON-EVANS, Minister of Blockade, elected for Colchester in 1910, came into prominence as a critic of the Insurance Bill. During the war he has held an appointment in the Northern Command, been Financial Secretary to the Ministry of Munitions, and he succeeded Lord Robert Cecil as Minister of Blockade.

EPPING (38,519).

*Colvin, Brig.-General R. B. (Co.U.) ..	14,668
Horner, A. L. (L.) .. ..	4,164
Conneley, J. (Lab.) .. ..	1,367
Coalition majority .. ..	10,504

BRIGADIER-GENERAL RICHARD BEALE COLVIN, C.B., D.L., represented the division since 1917. Served with distinction in the South African War. In 1914 he commanded the 2nd Battalion of the 1st Essex Yeomanry, is chairman of the Essex County Territorial Forces Association and of the Lea Valley Drainage Commission. Went to France as commander of the 2nd London Mounted Brigade, and was mentioned in dispatches.

HARWICH (27,421).

*Newton, Major H. K. (Co.U.) .. ..	8,261
Digby, Commander E. Aylmer (L.) ..	7,064
Coalition majority .. ..	1,197

MAJOR H. K. NEWTON, only son of Sir Alfred Newton, won the Harwich Division as a Unionist.



## ENGLISH COUNTIES.

The Times

in 1910. In 1914 he was appointed to the command of the Chatham and Thames Medway Defence Area, and later to the Headquarters Staff of the Eastern Command, as Deputy Assistant Director of Supplies and Transport.

### MALDON (28,127).

*Flannery, Sir J. Fortescue (Co.U.) ..	8,138
Dallas, G. (Lab.) .. ..	6,315
Tanner, E. W. (L.) .. ..	1,490

Coalition majority .. .. 1,823

SIR J. FORTESCUE FLANNERY sat as a Unionist for the Shipley Division of the West Riding from 1895 to 1906 and represented the Maldon Division from 1910. He is the head of the firm of Flannery, Baggallay, and Johnson (Limited), marine consulting engineers, and has been president of the Institution of Marine Engineers.

### ROMFORD (37,055).

Martin, A. E. (Co.L.) .. ..	10,300
Letts, W. H. (Lab.) .. ..	5,044
Whiting, A. (Lab.) .. ..	2,580

Coalition majority .. .. 5,256

MR. A. E. MARTIN is the head of a firm of merchants at Southend-on-Sea. He is now a member of the Barking Town Council and has been chairman of the Food Control Committee.

### SAFFRON WALDEN (31,682).

*Beck, Cecil (Co.L.) .. ..	10,628
Mallon, J. J. (Lab.) .. ..	4,531

Coalition majority .. .. 6,097

MR. CECIL A. BECK for nearly eight years sat for this division as Liberal member. He has filled the office of Whip, and more recently that of Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of National Service.

### SOUTH-EASTERN (36,213).

Hilder, Lieut.-Colonel F. (Co.U.) ..	11,703
Cotter, J. (Lab.) .. ..	5,343
Robinson, S. W. (L.) .. ..	1,372

Coalition majority .. .. 6,360

LIEUT.-COLONEL FRANK HILDER, of Huskards, Ingatstone, was originally an officer of the Essex Yeomanry and subsequently commanded a local artillery company. He has served throughout the war. His house, Huskards, has been a Red Cross hospital.

### GLOUCESTER.

#### CIRENCESTER AND TEWKESBURY (35,049).

Davies, Thomas (Co.U.) .. ..	11,171
Allpass, J. H. (Ind.) .. ..	8,546

Coalition majority .. .. 2,625

MR. THOMAS DAVIES was formerly the Conservative agent for the Cirencester Division. He is secretary to the Cirencester Conservative Benefit Society, and vice-chairman of the Gloucestershire Education Committee.

### FOREST OF DEAN (27,624).

Wignall, James (Lab.) .. ..	9,731
*Webb, Lieut.-Col. Sir H. (Co.L.) ..	5,765

Labour majority .. .. 3,966

MR. JAMES WIGNALL is one of the national organizers of the Dockers' Union and attended various labour conferences abroad. He has been vice-chairman of the Swansea School Board.

### STROUD (34,885).

Lister, Sir Ashton (Co.L.) .. ..	12,734
Kendell, Capt. C. W. (Lab.) .. ..	8,522

Coalition majority .. .. 4,212

SIR ASHTON LISTER founded the business of R. A. Lister and Co. (Limited), agricultural implement makers. He fought the old Tewkesbury Division three times in the Liberal interest. He has travelled extensively and has served on Gloucestershire County Council.

### THORNBURY (33,862).

*Rendall, A. (Co.L.) .. ..	9,999
Pilcher, Maj.-Gen. T. C. (N.P.) ..	6,132

Coalition majority .. .. 3,867

MR. ATHELSTAN RENDALL has sat for the division since 1906. He is a solicitor by profession, and has served on various Parliamentary Committees.

### HAMPSHIRE.

#### ALDERSHOT (25,228).

*Wolmer, Captain Lord (Co.U.) ..	8,755
Ainger, H. (L.) .. ..	3,342

Coalition majority .. .. 5,413

CAPTAIN LORD WOLMER, who is the eldest son of the Earl of Selborne, was elected Unionist member of Parliament for the Newton Division of Lancashire in December, 1910. At the outbreak of war he was found unfit for active service, and afterwards took up war work as Assistant Director in the War Trades Department and Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Blockade.

#### BASINGSTOKE (31,687).

*Geddes, Sir Auckland (Co.U.) ..	11,218
Close, A. (Lab.) .. ..	6,277

Coalition majority .. .. 4,941

SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES, President of the Local Government Board, an office to which he was appointed a few weeks ago, is best known to the public through his discharge of the duties of Director of Civil Recruiting, which he undertook in 1917. He is a Doctor of Medicine, and was for a time Professor of Anatomy in the McGill University, Canada, and Assistant Professor of Anatomy in Edinburgh University. In the early days of the war he served on the Western front.

#### FAREHAM (33,780).

\*Davidson, Major-General J. H. (Co.U.)

#### UNOPOSED.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JOHN HUMPHREY DAVIDSON, K.C.M.G., was mentioned nine times in dispatches, and awarded the French Legion of Honour. At the

## House of Commons.

time of his unopposed election for the Fareham Division last summer, he was Director of Military Operations in France under Sir Douglas Haig, K.C.M.G., January 1, 1919.

## NEW FOREST AND CHRISTCHURCH (34,719).

\*Perkins, W. F. (Co.U.)

## UNOPPOSED.

Mr. W. FRANK PERKINS, who sat for the New Forest Division since January, 1910, is a resident of the division and a Hampshire man.

## PETERSFIELD (28,473).

\*Nicholson, Col. W. G. (Co.U.) .. 10,730  
Pile, J. (Lab.) .. .. 4,267

Coalition majority .. .. 6,463

COLONEL W. G. NICHOLSON was first elected for the division at a by-election in June, 1897, and has represented it since. He is a county alderman and was formerly lieutenant-colonel and hon. colonel commanding the 3rd Battalion, Hants Regiment.

## WINCHESTER (32,747).

Hennessy, Major J. R. G. (Co.U.) .. 10,166  
West, Capt. W. J. (L.) .. .. 5,569

Coalition majority .. .. 4,597

MAJOR J. R. G. HENNESSY volunteered for service on the outbreak of war and has served in France since the spring of 1915. He is well known in connexion with county business, was High Sheriff a few years since, and for years has been a member of the Hampshire County Council.

## HEREFORD.

## HEREFORD (28,246).

\*Pulley, C. T. (Co.U.) .. .. 11,680  
Box, Sydney (Lab.) .. .. 3,730

Coalition majority .. .. 7,950

Mr. C. T. PULLEY is the late member for South Herefordshire. He has had 30 years' experience on the London Stock Exchange, and has fine herds of Hereford cattle and Shropshire sheep. He is an ex-High Sheriff.

## LEOMINSTER (26,184).

Ward-Jackson, Maj. C. L. A. (Co.U.) .. 8,306  
Lamb, E. (Ind. Rad.) .. .. 5,291  
Langford, E. W. (Agricultural) .. 2,870

Coalition majority .. .. 3,015

MAJOR C. L. A. WARD-JACKSON volunteered and fought with the Yorkshire Hussars (Yeomanry) in the South African War. In August, 1914, he volunteered for service, and was appointed second in command of his old regiment. He served in France until March, 1918, and was awarded the Chevalier de la Merite Agricole by the French President.

## HERTFORD.

## HEMEL HEMPSTEAD (25,752).

Talbot, G. A. (Co.U.) .. .. 10,070  
Hawkes, J. (Lab.) .. .. 2,913

Coalition majority .. .. 7,157

## ENGLISH COUNTIES.

Mr. G. A. TALBOT has travelled much abroad, and now resides at Hemel Hempstead, where for several years he has held the office of Mayor of the borough.

## HERTFORD (32,158).

\*Billing, N. Pemberton (Ind.) .. 9,628  
Barnard, E. B. (N.P.) .. .. 7,158  
Harding, Cyril (Lab.) .. .. 1,679

Independent majority .. 2,470

Mr. NOEL PEMBERTON BILLING fought in the South African War and is a retired squadron commander in the Royal Naval Air Service. He first sought Parliamentary honours in 1916, when he contested Mile End in support of a strong aerial policy, and won East Herts in the same year. He is the founder and editor of *Aircraft* and for some time ran a paper called the *Imperialist* at Hertford.

## HITCHIN (29,820).

\*Cecil, Lord Robert (Co.U.) .. 9,828  
Green, R. (Lab.) .. .. 5,661  
Humm, G. (N.F.D.S.S.) .. .. 722

Coalition majority .. 4,167

LORD ROBERT CECIL served in the Coalition Government during the war first as Blockade Minister and later as Assistant Secretary of Foreign Affairs. He resigned the latter position owing to opposition to the policy of the Government with regard to the Church in Wales.

## ST. ALBANS (32,633).

\*Carlile, Sir E. Hildred (Co.U.)

## UNOPPOSED.

SIR EDWARD HILDRED CARLILE has represented this division since 1906.

## WATFORD (32,780).

Herbert, Dennis (Co.U.) .. 11,155  
Latham, G. (Lab.) .. .. 4,952  
Gray, Frank (L.) .. .. 3,395

Coalition majority .. 6,203

Mr. DENNIS HERBERT is a solicitor. He has been prominently identified with the Conservative and Unionist Party in West Herts since 1908. He is a member of the Herts County Council and has been before the constituency as prospective Conservative candidate since April.

## HOLLAND-WITH-BOSTON (41,700).

Royce, W. S. (Lab.) .. .. 8,788  
Belcher, Major E. A. (Co.U.) .. 7,718  
\*Peel, Major G. (L.) .. .. 5,557

Labour majority .. 1,070

Mr. WILLIAM STAPLETON ROYCE is a native of Spalding. For several years he was concerned in large railway and building contracts in South Africa. He twice contested the Spalding Division as a Unionist. Until recently he was president of the Holland-with-Boston Unionist Association. He is a considerable landowner in the constituency.

## ENGLISH COUNTIES.

The Times

### HUNTINGDON (27,347).

*Locker-Lampson, Commander (Co. U.) .. .. .	10,760
Grey, R. C. (L.) .. .. .	6,416
Coalition majority .. .. .	4,344

COMMANDER OLIVER LOCKER-LAMPSON was Unionist member for North Huntingdonshire from January, 1910. He is a son of Frederick Locker-Lampson (author of "London Lyrics"), and during the war served with the British Armoured Car Squadron on the Eastern front.

### ISLE OF ELY (34,132).

\*Coote, Capt. Colin (Co. L.).

UNOPPOSED.

CAPTAIN COLIN COOTE is the son of Mr. Howard Coote, of Stukeley Hall, Huntingdon, Lord-Lieutenant of Huntingdonshire.

### ISLE OF WIGHT (42,013).

*Hall, Captain Douglas (Co. U.) .. .. .	16,274
*Baring, Sir Godfrey (L.) .. .. .	11,235
Coalition majority .. .. .	5,039

CAPTAIN DOUGLAS B. HALL, R.E., has been engaged on war work since the outbreak of hostilities. He organized the first flotilla of ambulance barges for the conveyance of British wounded on the river Seine, under the patronage of Princess Beatrice, and was then given a commission in the Royal Engineers. He afterwards took over the work of inspecting and supervising the output of explosives in a large district in the North of England, and latterly was transferred back to the R.E. Department for inland Water Transport and Docks.

## KENT.

### ASHFORD (32,349).

Steel, Major S. S. (Co. U.) .. .. .	10,258
Deedes, Wm. (Ind.) .. .. .	2,408
Coalition majority .. .. .	7,850

MAJOR STRANG STEEL has served during the war both in Salonika and in Mesopotamia.

### CANTERBURY (31,453).

*McNeill, Ronald (Co. U.) .. .. .	11,408
Palmer, E. T. (Lab.) .. .. .	2,719
Coalition majority .. .. .	8,689

Mr. RONALD MCNEILL is an Ulsterman, was educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford, and called to the Bar. He afterwards edited the *St. James's Gazette*. He contested West Aberdeen in 1906 as a Tariff Reformer, and at a by-election in July, 1911, was returned unopposed for the St. Augustine's Division.

### CHISLEHURST (26,801).

Smithers, A. W. (Co. U.) .. .. .	8,314
Edmunds, Captain Alfred (N.P.) .. .. .	2,507
Coalition majority .. .. .	5,807

Mr. ALFRED W. SMITHERS is chairman of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada. He lives at

Knockholt, near Sevenoaks, and is a keen agriculturist.

### DARTFORD (45,666).

*Rowlands, J. (Co. L.) .. .. .	15,626
Ling, W. (Lab.) .. .. .	6,506
Coalition majority .. .. .	9,120

Mr. JAMES ROWLANDS was elected for the division in 1910, and was member for East Finbury, 1886-95. He is secretary of the Land Law Reform Association.

### DOVER (35,170).

*Duncannon, Captain Lord (Co. U.) .. .. .	11,249
Livingstone, Lieut. A. M. (L.) .. .. .	5,121
Coalition majority .. .. .	6,128

CAPTAIN LORD DUNCANNON is the eldest son of the Earl of Bessborough. Born in 1880, he was educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge. He was a Conservative Whip on the L.C.C. for three years. He succeeded the late Mr. George Wyndham as member for Dover. He has seen service in France and on the Italian and Russian fronts.

### FAVERSHAM (37,473).

*Wheler, Lieut.-Colonel G. C. H. (Co. U.) .. .. .	12,826
Morgan, Rev. S. (Lab.) .. .. .	5,981
Coalition majority .. .. .	6,845

LIEUT.-COLONEL GRANVILLE WHEELER has represented this division since 1910. He has served in the Quartermaster-General's Services, Western Command, and at the same time kept in touch with his Parliamentary duties. He is President of the Central Chamber of Agriculture, and of the National Fruit Growers' Federation.

### GRAVESEND (31,070).

*Richardson, Alexander (Co. U.) .. .. .	7,841
Butts, J. (Lab.) .. .. .	3,254
Davis, H. E. (Ind.) .. .. .	1,817
Best, C. E. (L.) .. .. .	1,271
Hinkley, H. (N.P.) .. .. .	985
Coalition majority .. .. .	4,587

Mr. A. RICHARDSON succeeded Sir Gilbert Parker as the representative of the old borough constituency of Gravesend in June last. Nearly 30 years ago he joined the staff of *Engineering*, and he is a member of the Council of the Institution of Naval Architects.

### ISLE OF THANET (26,943).

\*Craig, Lieut.-Comm. Norman (Co.U.).

UNOPPOSED.

LIEUT.-COMMANDER NORMAN CRAIG, K.C.R.N.V.R., represented the old constituency as a Conservative from January, 1910. He was one of the members of the Shackleton Expedition to Spitsbergen.

### MAIDSTONE (30,747).

*Bellairs, Commander Carlyon (Co.U.) .. .. .	11,819
Burgess, F. G. (Lab.) .. .. .	6,269
Coalition majority .. .. .	5,550

COMMANDER CARLYON BELLAIRS was elected as a Unionist for the borough of Maidstone in February.

## House of Commons.

1915. He sat as a Liberal for King's Lynn from 1906 to 1910, when he seceded from the Liberal Party. He served in the Navy from 1884 to 1902. He is the founder of the Parliamentary Navy Committee.

## SEVENOAKS (30,189).

Bennett, T. J. (Co.U.) .. ..	10,650
Skinner, J. E. (Lab.) .. ..	3,323

Coalition majority .. .. 7,327

Mr. THOMAS JEWELL BENNETT, C.I.E., who has spent 25 years in India, is the principal proprietor of *The Times of India*, and is a director of the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway Company. At the last General Election he unsuccessfully contested the Brigg Division of Lincolnshire.

## TONBRIDGE (37,448).

*Clay, Lt.-Col. H. H. Spender (Co.U.)	14,622
Palmer, J. (Lab.) .. ..	5,006
Buxton, Captain T. F. (L.) .. ..	1,851

Coalition majority .. .. 9,616

LIEUT.-COLONEL H. H. SPENDER CLAY has represented this division, which is little altered under the rearrangement of boundaries, since 1910. He was in the 2nd Life Guards from 1896 till 1902, serving in South Africa from 1899 to 1900. On the outbreak of the European War he rejoined, and gained promotion in recognition of his services on the Western front.

## KESTEVEN AND RUTLAND.

## GRANTHAM (35,462).

*Royds, Lt.-Colonel E. (Co.U.) .. ..	9,972
Pattinson, R. (L.) .. ..	8,701
Harris, W. B. (Agricultural) .. ..	1,927

Coalition majority .. .. 1,271

LIEUT.-COLONEL EDMUND ROYDS represented the Sleaford Division (now incorporated in the Grantham Division) since 1910. He is senior partner in the firm of Royds, Rawstone, and Co., solicitors, Bedford-square, a director of the Life Assurance Association of Scotland, and chairman of the Lukwah Tea Company (Limited). He is lieutenant-colonel of the Lincolnshire Yeomanry and county commandant of the Lincolnshire Volunteer Force. A practical agriculturist, he holds the position of chairman of the Lincolnshire Chamber of Agriculture.

## RUTLAND AND STAMFORD (26,647).

*Willoughby, Colonel Claud (Co.U.) .. ..	8,838
Eccles, Fleming (Lab.) .. ..	7,639

Coalition majority .. .. 1,199

COLONEL CLAUD H. D. WILLOUGHBY is brother of the Earl of Ancaster, and third son of the late earl, and was member for the old Stamford Division. He entered the Coldstream Guards in 1891, served in the South African war, receiving the Queen's and King's war medals, and has been on active service in the present war.

## LANCASTER.

## CHORLEY (35,274).

Hacking, Captain D. H. (Co.U.) .. ..	13,059
Sandham, E. (Lab.) .. ..	6,222

Coalition majority .. .. 6,837

## ENGLISH COUNTIES.

CAPTAIN DOUGLAS H. HACKING, East Lancashire Regiment, has had considerable experience in public affairs in Rishton, having been chairman of the Rishton Urban Council and vice-chairman of the Accrington Conservative Party executive. At the outbreak of war Captain Hacking obtained a commission and has seen active service in France.

## CLITHEROE (32,339).

Davis, Alfred (Lab.) .. ..	9,578
Hartley, E. L. (U.) .. ..	8,419
Batty, J. H. (Co.L.) .. ..	3,443

Labour majority .. .. 1,159

Mr. ALFRED DAVIS is an operative spinner, of Hollingworth.

## DARWEN (31,151).

*Rutherford, Colonel Sir John (Co.U.)	9,014
Hindle, F. G. (L.) .. ..	8,031
MacGurk, John (Lab.) .. ..	5,211

Coalition majority .. .. 983

SIR JOHN RUTHERFORD, of Scotch descent, was born in Blackburn in 1854, and educated at Lancaster Grammar School and Glasgow University. For 30 years he served in the Duke of Lancaster's Own Yeomanry, and was in command from 1906 till 1912. Sat for Darwen from 1895 to January, 1910, when he was defeated; re-elected December, 1910. Mayor of Blackburn 1888-9. President of Blackburn and East Lancashire Royal Infirmary.

## FARNWORTH (34,160).

Bagley, Capt. E. A. (U.) .. ..	10,237
Greenall, T. (Lab.) .. ..	9,740
Fliteroft, Sir T. (L.) .. ..	3,893

Unionist majority .. .. 497

CAPTAIN E. ASHTON BAGLEY before the war was one of the most prominent Tariff Reform speakers and workers. On the war breaking out, he offered his services to his country, and speedily attained the rank of captain.

## FYLDE (35,943).

*Ashley, Colonel W. W. (Co.U.) .. ..	13,670
Tout, W. J. (Lab.) .. ..	7,400

Coalition majority .. .. 6,270

COLONEL W. W. ASHLEY represented the old Blackpool Division since January, 1906. Soon after the outbreak of war he commanded the Liverpool Pals' Battalion, but had to relinquish his command owing to ill-health. For some time he was one of the Unionist Whips and up till recently was private secretary to Mr. Forster, Financial Secretary to the War Office.

## HEYWOOD AND RADCLIFFE (40,597).

*Illingworth, A. H. (Co.L.) .. ..	14,250
Nobbs, Horace (Lab.) .. ..	6,827

Coalition majority .. .. 7,423

Mr. ALBERT HOLDEN ILLINGWORTH has a large experience in commerce and industry. He was elected unopposed for the Heywood Division in 1915, to fill the vacancy created by the death of Captain H. T. Cawley, who was killed in Gallipoli; and when Mr. Lloyd George became Prime Minister was appointed Postmaster-General.

## ENGLISH COUNTIES.

*The Times*

### INCE (30,749).

*Walsh, Stephen (Lab.) .. ..	14,882
Paul, W. (Soc.) .. ..	2,231

Labour majority .. .. 12,651

Mr. STEPHEN WALSH, Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board in the Coalition Government, has represented Ince since the General Election of 1906. Beginning life as a pit boy Mr. Walsh passed through all the grades of colliery life. Before entering Parliament he had had considerable experience of local government. For some years he has been chairman of the Workmen's Section of the Mining Conciliation Board for England and North Wales.

### LANCASTER (36,970).

Hunter, Gen. Sir Archibald (Co.U.) ..	14,403
*Helme, Sir Norval (L.) .. ..	9,778

Coalition majority .. .. 4,625

GENERAL SIR ARCHIBALD HUNTER, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., D.S.O., A.D.C., served in the Sudan campaign under Lord Kitchener. He was chief of staff to Sir George White in the South African War, being shut up in Ladysmith, and later he commanded the army which caused the surrender of Prinsloo. During the present war he trained one of the new armies, recently retiring from the Aldershot command. Lord Kitchener was best man at his wedding.

### LONSDALE (27,848).

*Lowther, Colonel Claude (Co.U.) ..	9,662
Hunter, David (Lab.) .. ..	4,472
*Bliss, Joseph (L.) .. ..	4,276

Coalition majority .. .. 5,190

COLONEL CLAUDE LOWTHER went through the Boer war with the Westmorland and Cumberland Yeomanry and was made A.D.C. to Sir Charles Warren and recommended for the V.C. When war broke out he raised 5,000 men in Sussex, who became known as "Lowther's Lambs." Illness prevented Colonel Lowther from going to the front.

### MIDDLETON AND PRESTWICH (36,593).

*Adkins, Sir Ryland (Co.L.) .. ..	14,831
Battle, J. B. (Lab.) .. ..	6,501

Coalition majority .. .. 8,330

SIR WILLIAM RYLAND DENT ADKINS, born 1862, Recorder of Nottingham since 1911. Is vice-chairman, Northamptonshire County Council, and vice-chairman of Council of County Courts Association. Knighted 1911. First elected for Middleton Division 1906.

### MOSSLEY (40,371).

*Hopkinson, A. (Co.L.) .. ..	16,158
Brown, W. H. (Co-op.) .. ..	5,227

Coalition majority .. .. 10,931

Mr. A. HOPKINSON was returned unopposed as Government candidate for Prestwich at a by-election in October, 1918. When he was introduced to the House of Commons he took his seat wearing the uniform of a private,

### NEWTON (24,397).

Young, Robert (Lab.) .. ..	9,808
Lygon, Major H. (Co.U.) .. ..	8,014

Labour majority .. .. 1,794

Mr. ROBERT YOUNG has been for some years one of the leading figures in trade-union circles, notably for his work in connexion with the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

### ORMSKIRK (28,874).

Bell, James (Lab.) .. ..	6,545
Fernor-Hesketh, Major T. (Co.U.) ..	6,080
Hurst, S. (Agricultural) .. ..	4,989

Labour majority .. .. 465

Mr. JAMES BELL is an Oldham Labour leader.

### ROYTON (35,292).

Sugden, Lt. W. H. (Co.U.) .. ..	12,434
Crinion, J. (Lab.) .. ..	4,875
Fullerton, H. (L.) .. ..	4,451

Coalition majority .. .. 7,559

LIEUT. W. H. SUGDEN was elected to the Oldham Town Council in 1913. He joined the Army in 1915, and after being wounded was called to a technical department at the War Office. He is head of a firm of constructional engineers, and has travelled extensively in Europe and Africa.

### STRETFORD (36,191).

Robinson, T. (Co.L.) .. ..	17,161
Hallsworth, J. (Lab.) .. ..	5,216

Coalition majority .. .. 11,945

Mr. T. ROBINSON has been prominently connected with municipal work in Stretford, and has been chairman of the Urban District Council.

### WATERLOO (26,810).

Buckley, Lieut.-Col. A. (Co.U.) ..	13,255
Reeves, S. (Lab.) .. ..	2,619

Coalition majority .. .. 10,636

LIEUT.-COL. A. BUCKLEY, D.S.O., is a partner in the firm of Messrs. E. Buckley and Sons, wool brokers, Liverpool. He served both in the South African War and throughout the present war with the King's Liverpool Regiment. During the latter campaign he was more than once wounded.

### WESTHOUGHTON (30,111).

*Wilson, W. Tyson (Lab.) .. ..	11,849
Tonge, James (Ind.) .. ..	6,697

Labour majority .. .. 5,152

Mr. W. T. WILSON first came into prominence when he defeated Lord Stanley (now Lord Derby) in 1906. He has since done a lot of committee work in the House. In 1893 he became a member of the executive council of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, and in 1899 was elected chairman of that body.

## House of Commons.

## WIDNES (30,668).

*Walker, Col. W. Hall (Co.U.)	..	11,515
Williamson, T. (Lab.)	..	7,821
Coalition majority	..	3,694

COLONEL WILLIAM HALL WALKER, born 1856, represented Widnes Division in Parliament since 1900. Is managing director of the firm of Peter Walker and Son (Limited), brewers; Hon. Colonel of the Lancashire Artillery and Hon. Colonel (T.D.) of 9th King's Liverpool; founder and donor of "The National Stud."

## LEICESTER.

## BOSWORTH (32,242).

*McLaren, H. D. (Co.L.)	..	12,545
*Richardson, T. (Lab.)	..	6,344
Coalition majority	..	6,201

The HON. HENRY DUNCAN MCLAREN, eldest son of Lord Aberconway, was educated at Eton and Oxford, and joined the Bar. He was member for West Staffordshire 1906-10; Parliamentary private secretary to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1910 he was returned for Bosworth. During the war he has been at the Ministry of Munitions.

## HARBOROUGH (27,742).

Fraser, Major Sir Keith (Co.U.)	..	8,465
*Harris, Percy A. (L.)	..	4,608
Barker, W. J. (Lab.)	..	4,495
Coalition majority	..	3,857

MAJOR SIR KEITH ALEXANDER FRASER entered the Army in 1888, serving in the 7th Hussars, and retiring in 1903. With the outbreak of the war he again offered his services to the Government, and has been serving in Ireland with the rank of major.

## LOUGHBOROUGH (30,581).

Guest, Major O. M. (Co.L.)	..	11,918
Hallam, H. W. (Lab.)	..	6,381
Coalition majority	..	5,537

MAJOR OSCAR GUEST, R.A.F., is brother of the present Lord Wimborne. On the outbreak of war he joined the Lothian and Border Horse, and later transferred to the Royal Flying Corps. While flying over Roulers he was wounded in an aerial combat. On recovering he resumed flying, and is now a Staff Officer in the Air Ministry.

## MELTON (30,277).

\*Yate, Col. C. E. (Co.U.)

## UNOPPOSED.

COLONEL C. E. YATE, C.S.I., C.M.G., served in the Afghan War in 1880. A member of the Afghan Frontier Commission and British representative at Panjdeh during the Russian attack on the Afghan troops in 1887.

## LINDSEY.

## BRIGG (29,054).

McLean, Lieut.-Col. C. W. W. (Co.U.)	..	8,310
Quibell, D. J. (Lab.)	..	4,789
*Gelder, Sir A. (L.)	..	4,475
Coalition majority	..	3,521

## ENGLISH COUNTIES.

LIEUT.-COLONEL CHARLES WESLEY WELDON McLEAN arrived in this country from France quite recently. He has been fighting in France and Flanders for over four years, and possesses the 1914-15 Star. He has been twice wounded, and has gained the D.S.O. with two Bars.

## GAINSBOROUGH (27,503).

Molson, Maj. J. E. (Co.U.)	..	8,634
*Bentham, G. J. (L.)	..	6,556
Coalition majority	..	2,078

MAJOR JOHN EISDALE MOLSON, R.A.M.C., who had retired from practice, at the outbreak of the war volunteered for service and went to Egypt, where he has been in charge of a military hospital. He is a member of the British Medical Association and was formerly medical adviser to the Convent of Holy Sepulchre and senior house surgeon to the Middlesex Hospital.

## HORNCastle (23,854).

*Weigall, Lt.-Col. A. G. (Co.U.)	..	8,826
Pattinson, S. (L.)	..	7,433
Coalition majority	..	1,393

LIEUT.-COLONEL A. G. WEIGALL has filled a number of important posts under the Government. Petwood, Woodhall Spa, the home of Colonel Weigall, was run as a Red Cross hospital.

## LOUTH (27,572).

Brackenbury, Capt. H. L. (Co.U.)	..	9,055
*Davies, Timothy (L.)	..	7,559

Coalition majority .. .. 1,496

CAPTAIN HENRY LANGTON BRACKENBURY was elected Unionist member for Louth in 1910. He was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1902, and holds a commission in the Lincolnshire Regiment. He is High Steward of the Borough of Louth.

## MIDDLESEX.

## ACTON (29,542).

Brittain, Sir Harry (Co.U.)	..	11,671
Dunsmore, R. (Lab.)	..	4,241
Coalition majority	..	7,430

SIR HARRY BRITTAI, K.B.E., was educated at Repton and Worcester College, Oxford. He is well known for his work in promoting Anglo-American relations. He was one of the founders of the Pilgrims, organized the first Imperial Press Conference, and is Chairman of the British Hospitality Committee for American officers.

## BRENTFORD AND CHISWICK (26,416).

Morden, Lt.-Col. Grant (Co.U.)	..	9,077
Haywood, W. (Lab.)	..	2,620
Strachey, Mrs. Oliver (Ind.)	..	1,263

Coalition majority .. .. 6,457

LIEUT.-COLONEL GRANT MORDEN, a Canadian officer, has become connected with industrial operations in England. He is largely interested in the manufacture of aeroplanes, and is chairman of the British Cellulose Company.



## ENGLISH COUNTIES.

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### ENFIELD (30,031).

Bowles, Col. H. F. (Co.U.) .. ..	8,290
Hill, W. E. (Lab.) .. ..	6,176
McEwan, Mrs. J. (L.) .. ..	1,987

Coalition majority .. .. 2,114

COLONEL H. F. BOWLES, of Forty Hall, Enfield, was for 16 years member for the old Enfield Division, but was defeated in 1906. He is Commandant of Middlesex Volunteers, hon. Colonel of the Battalion (T.) Middlesex, chairman, Edmonton Petty Sessional Division, and an Alderman, Middlesex County Council.

### FINCHLEY (28,884).

*Newman, Major J. R.. P. (Co.U.) .. ..	11,849
Leslie, J. R. (Lab.) .. ..	3,140
Martin, W. E. (L.) .. ..	2,221

Coalition majority .. .. 8,709

MAJOR J. R. PRETYMAN NEWMAN served in the 5th Battalion, Munster Fusiliers, and became High Sheriff of Cork County, a deputy lieutenant, and a J.P. During the present war Major Newman joined the Sportsman Battalion and served at the front until he was invalided out. In 1906 he unsuccessfully contested the South-East Division of Essex, but was later returned for Enfield.

### HARROW (33,643).

Mosley, Lt. O. E. (Co.U.) .. ..	13,959
Chamberlayne, A. R. (Ind.) .. ..	3,007

Coalition majority .. .. 10,952

LIEUTENANT OSWALD MOSLEY is the son of Sir Oswald Mosley, Burton-on-Trent, and is 22 years of age. He is an officer in the 16th Lancers and has served twice in France during the war—in the Flying Corps—and again with his regiment in the trenches where he was wounded.

### HENDON (33,308).

Greame, Major P. Lloyd, M.C. (Co.U.) .. ..	14,431
Bailey, Frank (Lab.) .. ..	3,159
Martyn, Mrs. How (Ind.) .. ..	2,067

Coalition majority .. .. 11,272

MAJOR LLOYD GREAME, M.C., has seen service in France, and was invalided home. Afterwards held office under the Minister of National Service. While there he employed women in higher posts than they have ever been employed in before in any Government Department.

### SPELTHORNE (34,929).

Pilditch, Sir Philip (Co.U.) .. ..	12,423
Horton, T. E. (Lab.) .. ..	2,418
Leonard, A. W. (N.F.D.S.S.) .. ..	1,143

Coalition majority .. .. 10,005

SIR PHILIP PILDITCH is the head of the firm of Pilditch, Chadwick and Co., architects, Westminster. He is a member of the London County Council and also of the Westminster City Council. He unsuccessfully contested East Islington in the Unionist interest at the last General Election.

### TWICKENHAM (34,929).

*Joynson-Hicks, W. (Co.U.) .. ..	14,015
Chalmers, Rev. H. (Lab.) .. ..	2,823

Coalition majority .. .. 11,192

Mr. W. JOYNSON-HICKS, Unionist member for Brentford since 1911, is well known in legal and Church circles. In 1908 he succeeded in beating Mr. Winston Churchill at a by-election in North-West Manchester. He is a member of the House of Laymen, chairman of the Automobile Association and Motor Union of Great Britain and Ireland, and also chairman of the Belgian Field Ambulance Service.

### UXBRIDGE (29,442).

Peel, Col. Sidney (Co.U.) .. ..	9,814
Gosling, H. (Lab.) .. ..	6,251
Snowball, N. M. (L.) .. ..	545

Coalition majority .. .. 3,563

COLONEL SIDNEY PEEL, D.S.O., born 1870, third son of the first Lord Peel, educated at Eton and New College, Oxford. Went to South Africa with the Imperial Yeomanry in 1900 as a trooper; proceeded with his regiment to France, where he served until 1916; then became Financial Adviser to the Foreign Office. Is a director of the National and Agricultural Banks of Egypt and Trust and Loan Company of Canada.

### WOOD GREEN (45,692).

*Locker-Lampson, G. (Co.U.) .. ..	19,217
Rhys, Tudor (Lab.) .. ..	4,539
Holding, H. B. (L.) .. ..	2,957

Coalition majority .. .. 14,678

MR. GODFREY LAMPSON TENNYSON LOCKER-LAMPSON was elected to Parliament in 1910. He held a commission with the Royal Wiltshire Yeomanry, and served in France in 1915 with the Divisional Cavalry, and in the following year as A.D.C. to the General Commanding the 4th Corps. He became Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Home Secretary in 1917.

### NORFOLK.

#### EASTERN (31,578).

Falcon, Capt. M. (Co.U.) .. ..	7,030
Henderson, F. (L.) .. ..	6,691
Taylor, W. B. (Agricultural) .. ..	1,926

Coalition majority .. .. 339

CAPTAIN MICHAEL FALCON has been captain of the Cambridge University and Norfolk Cricket Elevens, and of the Harrow Rugby football team. He went to France with the Norfolk Territorial Artillery in November, 1915. He was afterwards sent to Egypt and has taken part in the fighting in Palestine.

#### KING'S LYNN (33,349).

*Jodrell, N. P. (Co.U.) .. ..	10,146
Walker, R. B. (Lab.) .. ..	9,780

Coalition majority .. .. 366

Mr. NEVILLE PAUL JODRELL was called to the Bar in 1885, and practised for some years in London and on the south-eastern circuit. He contested

House of Commons.

ENGLISH COUNTIES.

North-West Norfolk in January and December, 1910, and again at a by-election in May, 1912. He was recently returned as member for the old Mid-Norfolk Division.

NORTHERN (30,179).	
King, Commander Douglas (Co. Ind.)	9,274
*Buxton, Noel (L.)	9,061
Coalition majority	213

COMMANDER HENRY DOUGLAS KING, R.N.V.R., twice unsuccessfully fought the North Norfolk Division in 1910. Was with the Royal Naval Division in Antwerp, and in the trenches at El Kantara in March, 1915. Later he was awarded the D.S.O. for services on the Gallipoli Peninsula. Subsequently he was with his battalion in France, then served afloat for three months, and later with the naval siege guns in Flanders. He was decorated by the French Government with the Croix de Guerre. Since his return to England he has been employed at the Admiralty in charge of the North Atlantic section of the convoy system.

SOUTHERN (32,796).	
Cozens-Hardy, W. H. (L.)	11,755
Edwards, G. (Lab.)	6,536
Liberal majority	5,219

Mr. W. H. COZENS-HARDY, K.C., is the eldest son of Lord Cozens-Hardy, ex-Master of the Rolls. He was educated at New College, and was President of the Union. He was called to the Bar, Lincoln's Inn, in 1893, and took silk in 1912. From 1914 to 1918 he has been serving as a Commander, R.N.V.R., on the Admiralty War Staff.

SOUTH-WESTERN (31,695).	
*Winfrey, Sir R. (Co.L.)	

UNOPPOSED.

SIR RICHARD WINFREY, joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Agriculture since December 15, 1916, was elected for South-West Norfolk in 1906.

NORTHAMPTON.	
DAVENTRY (30,288).	
*Fitzroy, E. A. (Co.U.)	11,176
Rogers, W. (Lab.)	7,824
Coalition majority	3,352

CAPTAIN EDWARD ALGERNON FITZROY is a son of the third Lord Southampton. Formerly in the 1st Life Guards he rejoined his regiment immediately after the outbreak of war, and was wounded in 1915.

KETERING (34,624).	
Waterson, A. E. (Co-op.)	10,299
Buxton, Capt. L. (Co.L.)	7,761
Ferguson, Brigadier-General A.	
F. H. (N.P.)	4,489
Co-operative majority	2,538

Mr. A. E. WATERSON lives at Derby, where he is well known as a worker for trade unionism.

PETERBOROUGH (34,676).	
*Brassey, Major H. L. C. (Co.U.)	9,516
Mansfield, J. (Lab.)	8,832
Slate, T. T. (L.)	3,214
Coalition majority	684

MAJOR H. L. C. BRASSEY has represented North Northamptonshire, practically the whole of which is now in the Peterborough Division, since 1910. He is a practical agriculturist, and his estate at Apethorpe comprises some 7,000 acres. Since the outbreak of war Major Brassey has been attached to the Northants' Imperial Yeomanry.

WELLINGBOROUGH (31,669).	
Smith, W. R. (Lab.)	10,290
Gray, Milner (Co.L.)	9,313
Labour majority	977

Mr. W. R. SMITH is one of the organizers of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, and as such is well known in Wellingborough, and in all the large shoemaking villages in the division. He is also president of the Rural Workers and Agricultural Labourers.

NORTHUMBERLAND.	
BERWICK-UPON-TWEED (28,173).	
*Blake, Sir Francis (L.)	6,721
Watson-Armstrong, Capt. W. J. M. (Ind.)	4,397
Liberal majority	2,324

SIR FRANCIS DOUGLAS BLAKE succeeded Sir Edward Grey when the latter went to the Lords. He is a barrister by profession, and has been colonel of the Berwick Artillery Militia. He is chairman of Northumberland County Council, and largely identified with local public work.

HEXHAM (25,431).	
Brown, Capt. D. Clifton (Co.U.)	7,763
Weir, W. (Lab.)	4,168
Beaumont, Major W. H. C. (L.)	3,948
Coalition majority	3,595

CAPT. DOUGLAS CLIFTON BROWN, late of the Dragoon Guards, unsuccessfully contested St. George's-in-the-East in 1910. Has served in South Africa and India and during the European war in Flanders.

WANSBECK (42,750).	
*Mason, R. (Co.L.)	14,065
Edwards, E. (Lab.)	10,666
Coalition majority	3,399

Mr. ROBERT MASON was elected Liberal member for Wansbeck in May last, in succession to Mr. Fenwick, the Northumberland miners' representative.

NOTTINGHAM.	
BASSETLAW (30,919).	
*Hume-Williams, Sir W. E. (Co.U.)	

UNOPPOSED.

SIR W. E. HUME-WILLIAMS, K.C., has represented the division since 1910, after having contested North Monmouthshire, Frome, and North Kensington. Recorder of Bury St. Edmunds, 1901-5, and of Norwich, 1905.

## ENGLISH COUNTIES.

*The Times*

### BROXTOWE (35,826).

Spencer, G. A. (Lab.) .. .. .	11,150
*Seely, Sir Charles (L.) .. .. .	4,681
Whaite, H. H. (Co.N.D.P.) .. .. .	4,374

Labour majority .. .. . 6,469

Mr. GEORGE A. SPENCER, who has been president of the Notts Miners' Association, was born in the district, and has served on the Urban District Council and the Education Committee, as well as on the Military Tribunal. Like most miners' officials, he worked for many years down the pit, and ultimately became a checkweighman. He has also been a local preacher.

### MANSFIELD (39,041).

Carter, W. (Lab.) .. .. .	8,957
Jarrett, G. W. S. (Co.N.D.P.) .. .. .	6,678
Carruthers, Mrs. (Miss Violet Markham)	
(L.) .. .. .	4,000
Tarachand, Dr. N. (Ind.) .. .. .	878

Labour majority .. .. . 2,279

Mr. WILLIAM CARTER, who is an official of the Notts. Miners' Association, was in his earlier days checkweighman at a local colliery, and was for some years a member of the Mansfield Town Council. He sat on the local appeal tribunal, and is a member of the Executive of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

### NEWARK (28,875).

\*Starkey, J. R. (Co. U.).

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. J. R. STARKEY has represented the constituency in the Unionist interest since the retirement of Lord Newark (now Earl Manvers).

### RUSHCLIFFE (34,974).

Betterton, H. B. (Co.U.) .. .. .	10,848
Harris, C. (Lab.) .. .. .	6,180
*Jones, Leif (L.) .. .. .	3,673

Coalition majority .. .. . 4,668

Mr. HENRY B. BETTERTON, who belongs to a well-known Leicestershire family, was called to the Bar, but has never practised. He has acted as *liaison* officer between the Trade Intelligence Department, the Admiralty, the War Office, and the Ministry of Munitions, for which service he was recently made an Officer of the Order of the British Empire.

### OXFORD.

#### BANBURY (35,460).

\*Williams, Col. Sir Rhys (Co. L.).

UNOPPOSED.

COLONEL SIR RHYNS WILLIAMS has performed distinguished service since the war began, first as a sniper, then as a recruiting officer, when he got many Rhondda men to join the Welsh Guards. He led his regiment in a charge against the Germans on Hill 70, and was awarded the D.S.O.

#### HENLEY (30,457).

Terrell, Capt. R. (Co.U.) .. .. .	10,757
Macnaghten, Capt. E. L. (L.) .. .. .	5,138

Coalition majority .. .. . 5,619

CAPTAIN REGINALD TERRELL is the younger son of Mr. George Terrell, who sat for the Chippenham Division of Wiltshire. Educated at Harrow he passed to the London and North-Western Works at Crewe. He joined the Grenadier Guards in 1915, and after being wounded on the Somme in 1917 was engaged on special railway work at the front.

### SALOP.

#### LUDLOW (24,551).

\*Stanier, Capt. Sir Beville (Co. U.).

UNOPPOSED.

SIR BEVILLE STANIER, of Peplow Hall, is a landowner and chairman of the Sugar Beet Growers' Society.

#### OSWESTRY (31,977).

*Bridgeman, W. C. (Co.U.) .. .. .	12,276
Morris, T. (Lab.) .. .. .	8,467

Coalition majority .. .. . 3,809

Mr. WILLIAM CLIVE BRIDGEMAN represented the constituency since 1906, and had been Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour since 1916. Was a Lord Commissioner of the Treasury 1915-16, and Assistant Director of the War Trade Department, 1916. He is chairman of the governors of Shrewsbury School.

#### SHREWSBURY (25,459).

*Lloyd, G. Butler (Co.U.) .. .. .	9,825
Taylor, A. (Lab.) .. .. .	5,542

Coalition majority .. .. . 4,284

Mr. GEORGE BUTLER LLOYD has been twice Mayor of Shrewsbury. He was a partner in the Salop Old Bank, afterwards absorbed by the London Capital and Counties Bank, of which he is now a director. He was elected Unionist member for Shrewsbury in 1913.

#### THE WREKIN (32,128).

\*Henry, Sir Charles (Co.L.).

UNOPPOSED.

SIR CHARLES HENRY who as a Liberal represented the Wellington Division from 1906, is a son of the late Mr. J. S. Henry, of Adelaide, Australia.

### SOMERSET.

#### BRIDGWATER (29,413).

*Sanders, Lieut.-Colonel R. A. (Co.U.)	12,587
Plummer, S. J. (Lab.) .. .. .	5,771

Coalition majority .. .. . 6,816

LIEUT.-COLONEL R. A. SANDERS, Treasurer of the Household, was elected for Bridgwater in January, 1910, and was a Unionist Whip, 1911-15. During the war he commanded the Royal North Devon Hussars in Gallipoli and Egypt and the 16th Battalion of the Devon Regiment in Palestine.

#### FROME (35,223).

Hurd, P. A. (Co.U.) .. .. .	11,118
Gill, Captain E., M.C. (Lab.) .. .. .	10,454
*Barlow, Sir J. E. (L.) .. .. .	2,004
Smith, Colonel Kincaid (N.P.) .. .. .	258

Coalition majority .. .. . 664

House of Commons.

Mr. PERCY A. HURD was born at Berkeley in 1864. He was editor of the *Outlook* for six years. He twice visited France for the purpose of reporting to the Royal Agricultural Society upon the best means of assisting the peasants in the devastated areas.

TAUNTON (28,847).

*Boles, Lt.-Colonel Dennis F. (Co.U.)	12,619
Woods, Rev. G. S. (Lab.)	4,816
Coalition majority	7,803

LIEUT.-COLONEL DENNIS F. BOLES was elected as a Unionist for West Somerset in July, 1911. During the war he has commanded a battalion of the Devon Regiment, and been stationed at Exeter and Devonport. He is Master of the West Somerset Foxhounds.

WELLS (26,952).

*Greer, H. (Co.U.)	9,786
Morland, J. C. (L.)	6,935
Hodgson, Major G. C. S. (N.P.)	804
Coalition majority	2,851

Mr. HARRY GREER, who at the time of the Dissolution was the member for the Clapham Division, which he contested successfully at a by-election, is connected with a commercial company which possesses colonial ramifications, especially in the Far East. He has on several occasions travelled round the world, principally on commercial missions.

WESTON-SUPER-MARE (33,898).

*Wills, Lieut.-Colonel Sir G. (Co.U.)	13,494
Thruston, Lt.-Colonel E. H. (L.)	7,104
Coalition majority	6,390

LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR GILBERT ALAN HAMILTON WILLS has represented Taunton since 1912. He is a major in the Royal North Devon Hussars, and acting lieut.-colonel Machine-Gun Corps. He was extra A.D.C. to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1908-12. Sir Gilbert saw active service in Gallipoli in 1915. He is a J.P. for Somerset, and owns about 1,500 acres.

YEOVIL (33,734).

*Herbert, Col. Aubrey (Co.U.)	10,522
Kelly, W. T. (Lab.)	7,589
Brough, J. R. (L.)	2,743
Coalition majority	2,933

COLONEL AUBREY HERBERT has very intimate knowledge of the East, which he has placed at the service of the Government during the war in Gallipoli and elsewhere. He has travelled extensively in Japan, China, Turkey, Macedonia, the Balkans, Yemen, &c.

STAFFORD.

BURTON (34,343).

*Gretton, Col. J. (Co. U.)	
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UNOPOSED.

COLONEL JOHN GRETTON was elected as Unionist member for Rutland in 1907, but previously sat for about ten years for South Derbyshire. He is chairman of Bass, Ratcliff, and Gretton (Limited).

ENGLISH COUNTIES.

CANNOCK (37,284).

*Parker, James (Lab.)	8,068
Rees, Sir B. (L.)	7,493
Labour majority	575

Mr. JAMES PARKER, Lord of the Treasury, sat as Labour member for Halifax for 13 years. As a boy he worked on the land, and later as a navvy on the construction of waterworks at Halifax. He was awarded the Companionship of Honour for services in recruiting and War Savings efforts.

KINGSWINFORD (37,924).

Sitch, T. H. (Lab.)	10,397
Beck, A. E. (U.)	7,509
Brown, H. E. (L.)	3,943
Labour majority	2,888

Mr. T. H. SITCH, a student of Ruskin Hall, is secretary of the Anchormiths' Society and other trades unions in the Black Country.

LEEK (30,055).

Bromfield, W. (Lab.)	10,510
Gaunt, Rear-Admiral Sir Guy (Co.L.)	9,832
Labour majority	678

Mr. WILLIAM BROMFIELD has taken a leading part in organizing the silk and other textile operatives of Leek and district. Recently he has been devoting his energies to the amalgamation of the various textile trade unions of the district.

LICHFIELD (29,535).

*Warner, Sir T. Courtenay (Co.L.)	9,677
Riley, T. (Lab.)	5,548
Coalition majority	4,129

COLONEL SIR T. COURTENAY WARNER, who is Lord Lieutenant of Suffolk, represented the old Lichfield Division since 1896. During the war he has been Director of National Service for 13 Eastern and Midland counties, and his Suffolk seat, Brettenham Park, has been run as a V.A.D. hospital under the personal direction of Lady Warner.

STAFFORD (23,140).

*Ormsby-Gore, Capt. W. (Co.U.)	8,304
Meakin, Lt. W. (L.)	4,203
Coalition majority	4,101

CAPTAIN WM. G. A. ORMSBY-GORE, M.P. for Denbigh District since 1910, and member of the Canterbury House of Laymen, saw service in Egypt in 1916, and was mentioned in dispatches in connexion with Intelligence work in Arabia. In 1917 he was temporarily recalled for Eastern work on the Staff of the War Cabinet, also acting as an assistant secretary to Lord Milner.

STONE (26,113).

Child, Brigadier-General Sir Hill (Co.U.)	7,568
Townsend, G. (L.)	5,573
Lamb, J. Q. (Farmers)	3,056
Coalition majority	1,995

BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR HILL CHILD, C.M.G., D.S.O., M.V.O., served in the South African War.

## ENGLISH COUNTIES.

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After retiring from the Service he accepted command of the 2nd North Midland Brigade, R.F.A. (T.F.), and went to France in March, 1915. Three times mentioned in dispatches, and awarded the C.M.G. and D.S.O. for services in the field.

### EAST SUFFOLK.

#### EYE (33,399).

Samuel, A. Lyle (Co.L.) .. ..	10,072
French, F. W. (U.) .. ..	6,362

Coalition majority .. .. 3,710

MR. ALEXANDER LYLE SAMUEL is a member of the Middle Temple. He was in America when war broke out, and came home to serve. He was rejected many times, but ultimately succeeded in getting a commission, and served for nearly 18 months before being invalided out.

#### LOWESTORT (32,657).

\*Beauchamp, Sir Edward (Co.L.)

UNOPPOSED.

SIR EDWARD BEAUCHAMP was born at Chedgrave, Suffolk, where his father was rector. He served in the Navy from 1862 to 1867.

#### WOODBIDGE (30,413).

*Peel, Col. R. F. (Co.U.) .. ..	8,654
Elleston, Major R. (L.) .. ..	6,842

Coalition majority .. .. 1,812

COLONEL ROBERT PEEL served in the South African War and the present war. He was elected member for the Woodbridge Division in 1910.

### WEST SUFFOLK.

#### BURY ST. EDMUNDS (30,767).

\*Guinness, Maj. W. E. (Co. U.)

UNOPPOSED.

MAJOR WALTER EDWARD GUINNESS, third son of the first Lord Iveagh, was elected as a Unionist in 1907 for the old borough.

#### SUDBURY (26,437).

Howard, S. G. (L.) .. ..	6,656
Proby, Capt. R. G., M.C. (Co.U.) .. ..	5,746
Hicks, J. R. (Lab.) .. ..	390

Liberal majority .. .. 910

MAJOR S. G. HOWARD, C.B.E., farms extensively. He is an officer in the 2nd Battalion Suffolk Volunteer Regiment.

### SURREY.

#### CHERTSEY (34,917).

*Macmaster, Donald (Co.U.) .. ..	13,531
Linsey, F. T. (Lab.) .. ..	3,232

Coalition majority .. .. 10,299

MR. DONALD MACMASTER, K.C., who represented the old Chertsey Division since 1910, had a brilliant career at the Bar in Canada, and sat in the Canadian House of Commons before coming to this country. He was president of the Quebec Bar in 1904, and was twice elected president of the McGill Society. Mr. Macmaster was admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1906.

### EASTERN (22,556).

*Coats, Sir Stuart (Co.U.) .. ..	8,795
Hayler, Guy (L.) .. ..	1,830

Coalition majority .. .. 6,965

SIR STUART COATS represented the Wimbledon Division after the elevation of Mr. Chaplin to the peerage. He was at one time a partner in the firm of J. and P. Coats; and has rendered useful service as chairman of the board of management of the Italian Hospital.

#### EPSOM (32,590).

Blades, Sir George R. (Co.U.) .. ..	13,556
Ede, Sergeant J. C. (Lab.) .. ..	4,796

Coalition majority .. .. 8,760

SIR GEORGE ROWLAND BLADES is a joint senior partner in the firm of Blades, East, and Blades, printers, London. He is a member of the London County Council, and was Senior Sheriff for the City last year. He is a member of the Labour Advisory Board of the Ministry of National Service.

#### FARNHAM (32,720).

Samuel, A. M. (Co.U.) .. ..	7,558
Hayes, Corporal J. (Lab.) .. ..	3,534
Harris, J. H. (Ind.) .. ..	3,289

Coalition majority .. .. 4,024

MR. ARTHUR MICHAEL SAMUEL was Lord Mayor of Norwich in 1912-13, and presented the George Borrow (Lavengro) Museum to that city. He contested the Stretford Division of Lancs twice in 1910 without success.

#### GUILDFORD (36,427).

*Horne, W. E. (Co.U.) .. ..	13,149
Bennett, W. (Lab.) .. ..	5,078

Coalition majority .. .. 8,071

MR. WILLIAM EDGAR HORNE, who represented the constituency since January, 1910, is a director of the Prudential Assurance Company and a Fellow of the Surveyors' Institute. During the war he has served on the Public Expenditure Committee, being on the sub-committee which dealt with the Ministry of Munitions.

#### MITCHAM (28,952).

Worsfold, Dr. T. C. (Co.U.) .. ..	7,651
Barrow, S. (L.) .. ..	4,968

Coalition majority .. .. 2,683

DR. CATO WORSFOLD is a solicitor by profession, and for some years has been an ardent worker in the Unionist Party in the division. He is actively associated with the public life of Mitcham as churchwarden, National Service representative, and in many other ways.

#### REIGATE (30,747).

Cockerill, Brig.-Gen. G. K. (Co.U.)

UNOPPOSED.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL G. K. COCKERILL, C.B., Sub-Director of Military Intelligence, was recently appointed a member of the Committee to inquire into breaches of law and customs of war committed by the forces of Germany and her allies, and the constitution and procedure of a tribunal appropriate to the trial of these offences. He issued striking reports on methods of detecting espionage.

House of Commons.

ENGLISH COUNTIES.

EAST SUSSEX.

EASTBOURNE (29,863).

*Gwynne, Rupert (Co.U.) .. ..	11,357
Hasdell, T. B. (Lab.) .. ..	4,641
Callaghan, Sir A. (L.) .. ..	1,852
Coalition majority .. ..	6,716

Mr. RUPERT SACKVILLE GWYNNE was called to the Bar, Inner Temple, 1898. He has represented Eastbourne in Parliament since 1910.

EAST GRINSTEAD (35,955).

*Cautley, H. S. (Co.U.) .. ..	12,584
Pole, Major Graham (Lab.) .. ..	6,208
Coalition majority .. ..	6,376

Mr. H. STROTHER CAUTLEY represented East Grinstead for eight years. He is a barrister and Recorder of Sunderland, but also a practical farmer. He was chairman of the Farmers' Committee in the House of Commons, and for a short time Director of Pig Production.

LEWES (22,500).

*Campion, Lt.-Col. W. R. (Co.U.) .. ..	7,792
Pargiter, T. (Lab.) .. ..	4,164
Gardiner, Lt. A. E. (Ind.) .. ..	452
Coalition majority .. ..	3,628

LIEUT.-COLONEL W. R. CAMPION, D.S.O., M.P. for Mid-Sussex since June, 1910, is in command of one of the battalions of the Royal Sussex Regiment on the Western Front. He also commanded his present battalion in Gallipoli. In addition to being twice mentioned in dispatches he has been awarded the Distinguished Service Order.

RYE (27,153).

*Courthope, Maj. G. L. (Co.U.) .. ..	10,378
Ellis, George (L.) .. ..	4,034
Coalition majority .. ..	6,344

MAJOR G. L. COURTHOPE, M.C., M.P. Rye Division since 1906; major 5th Battalion (Cinque Ports) Royal Sussex Regiment; barrister; J.P. for Sussex. Served in France and was wounded; is now Assistant Controller of Timber Supplies and chief liaison officer with the Canadian Forestry Corps. President Royal English Arboricultural Society.

WEST SUSSEX.

CHICHESTER (42,131).

*Talbot, Lord Edmund (Co.U.) .. ..	14,491
Green, F. E. (Lab.) .. ..	6,705
Coalition majority .. ..	7,786

LORD EDMUND TALBOT was appointed Deputy Earl Marshal of England in 1917 on the death of his brother, the Duke of Norfolk. He was appointed a Unionist Whip in 1905. Since May, 1915, he has been the Chief Unionist Whip of the Coalition Government. Served in the South African war on the Staff, and rose to the command of the 11th Hussars. Lieut.-Colonel, D.S.O., M.V.O.

HORSHAM AND WORTHING (43,142).

*Winterton, Lord (Co.U.) .. ..	15,644
Rodocanachi, E. M. (Ind.) .. ..	2,544
Coalition majority .. ..	13,100

LORD WINTERTON represented the old Horsham Division since 1904, was educated at Eton and New College, Oxford; served for 17 years in the Sussex Yeomanry, with which he went out to Gallipoli; for the last 18 months has been second in command of a battalion of the Imperial Camel Corps in Egypt and Palestine.

WARWICK.

NUNEATON (43,458).

Maddocks, H. H. (Co.U.) .. ..	11,198
Gregory, I. (Lab.) .. ..	6,269
Grant, W. H. (L.) .. ..	5,707
Dyson, W. (N.D.P.) .. ..	1,101
Coalition majority .. ..	4,929

Mr. HENRY MADDOCKS, after having practised as a solicitor for many years at Coventry, was admitted to the Bar in 1903, and joined the Midland Circuit. In his previous attempts to win the seat he was twice defeated in 1910.

RUGBY (31,726).

*Baird, Major J. L. (Co.U.) .. ..	11,325
Maclagan, O. F. (L.) .. ..	7,399
Coalition majority .. ..	3,926

MAJOR JOHN LAWRENCE BAIRD, C.M.G., D.S.O., has represented the division since 1910. He was private secretary to Mr. Bonar Law. When war broke out he joined the Scottish Horse and was Intelligence Officer on the Headquarters Staff. In 1916 he was Parliamentary Secretary to the Air Board and is a member of the present Air Ministry.

TAMWORTH (32,908).

*Fox, H. Wilson (Co. U.) .. ..	
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UNOPPOSED.

Mr. H. WILSON FOX was elected unopposed as Unionist member for Tamworth in February, 1917. Born in London, and called to the Bar, he went to South Africa. He is a director and member of the Executive Committee of the British South Africa Company.

WARWICK AND LEAMINGTON (41,351).

*Pollock, Sir E. (Co. U.) .. ..	
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UNOPPOSED.

SIR ERNEST POLLOCK, K.C., who belongs to a well-known legal family, represented Warwick and Leamington as a Unionist from 1910. He was appointed chairman of the Contraband Committee

WESTMORLAND (29,568).

*Weston, Col. J. W. (Co.U.) .. ..	
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UNOPPOSED.

COLONEL J. W. WESTON was elected M.P. for South Westmorland at a by-election in 1913.



## ENGLISH COUNTIES.

The Times

### WILTSHIRE.

#### CHIPPENHAM (27,013).

*Terrell, George (Co.U.) .. ..	8,786
Bennett, A. J. (L.) .. ..	4,839
George, R. (Lab.).. ..	2,939
Coalition majority .. ..	3,947

Mr. GEORGE TERRELL has represented the division for nine years. Has been the hon. secretary to the Unionist War Committee.

#### DEVIZES (25,091).

Bell, Lt.-Col. W. C. H., D.S.O. (Co.U.) ..	8,512
Currie, James (L.) .. ..	4,823
Coalition majority .. ..	3,689

LIEUT.-COLONEL W. C. HEWARD BELL, D.S.O., is son of Mr. W. Heward Bell, of Seend, Wilts. He served through the South African War, and went to France in November, 1914. He has successively commanded his battery and a brigade, the latter with the acting rank of Lieut.-Colonel.

#### SALISBURY (29,144).

*Morrison, H. (Co.U.).. ..	9,168
Brown, Lieut. E., M.C. (L.) .. ..	8,018
Coalition majority .. ..	1,150

Mr. HUGH MORRISON was returned unopposed for South Wilts on the elevation of Sir Charles Bathurst to the Peerage. A native of Wiltshire, he is a member of the County Council, the Tisbury Rural District Council, and other bodies. He was High Sheriff of the county in 1904.

#### SWINDON (31,406).

Young, Sir Frederick (Co.U.) .. ..	10,180
Compton, J. (Lab.) .. ..	8,393
Walker, H. (L.) .. ..	2,460
Coalition majority .. ..	1,787

SIR FREDERICK W. YOUNG was until recently Agent-General for South Australia. Before coming to this country in 1915 he sat in the South Australian Parliament, where, as Commissioner of Crown Lands and Immigration, he was primarily responsible for the passage of a Land Settlement Act and an Act dealing with boy immigrants.

#### WESTBURY (29,208).

Palmer, Brigadier-General G. L. (Co.U.) ..	9,261
*Howard, Geoffrey (L.) .. ..	6,064
Bennett, Captain E. N. (Lab.).. ..	3,537
Coalition majority .. ..	3,197

BRIG.-GEN. GEORGE LLEWELLEN PALMER is son of the late Mr. Michael Palmer. He has twice before contested the division. He commanded the Royal Wilts Yeomanry Regiment, and since the war has commanded a home brigade.

### WORCESTER.

#### BEWDLEY (25,172).

\*Baldwin, Stanley (Co. U.).

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. STANLEY BALDWIN has been for nearly two years Financial Secretary to the Treasury.

#### EVESHAM (28,931).

*Eyres-Monsell, Commander (Co.U.).. ..	10,479
Ellis, W. P. (L.) .. ..	3,570
Fielding, W. M. (Lab.) .. ..	2,863
Coalition majority .. ..	6,909

COMMANDER BOLTON MEREDITH EYRES-MONSELL went to sea as midshipman in 1894. He returned to the Navy after the declaration of war. Has represented the division since 1910, and was unopposed at the last election. Unionist Whip in 1911.

#### KIDDERMINSTER (39,798).

*Knight, Major E. (Co.U.) .. ..	13,497
Baker, J. (Lab.) .. ..	9,760
Coalition majority .. ..	3,737

MAJOR ERIC A. KNIGHT has represented the old borough of Kidderminster since 1910. He is a major in the Worcestershire Yeomanry, fought through the Boer War, and has been on military duty during the greater part of the war. He contested the Droitwich Division in 1906, when Mr. Cecil Harmsworth was elected as Liberal member.

#### STOURBRIDGE (42,205).

*Wilson, J. W. (L.) .. ..	8,920
Anderson, Mrs. W. C. (Miss Mary Macarthur) (Lab.) .. ..	7,587
Fisher, Victor (Co.N.D.P.) .. ..	6,690
Liberal majority .. ..	1,333

Mr. JOHN WILLIAM WILSON has represented North Worcestershire—out of which the new division has been carved—for 23 years. He is a director of the Great Western Railway, and a partner in a firm of chemical manufacturers at Oldbury. He is a magistrate for Herefordshire and Worcestershire. He presided over the Home Office Committee on the Summer Time Act, 1916.

### YORKSHIRE — EAST RIDING

#### BUCKROSE (27,288).

Moreing, Captain A. H. (Co.U.) .. ..	9,310
Dawson, G. H. (Lab.) .. ..	3,178
Taylor, Austin (L.) .. ..	2,792
Coalition majority .. ..	6,132

CAPTAIN ALGERNON H. MOREING, R.F.A., is a partner in his father's firm of Bewick, Moreing, and Co., mining engineers, and was educated at Winchester and Trinity College, Cambridge. He has served on the Western front throughout the war, and has been a member of General Sir Julian Byng's Staff.

## House of Commons.

## HOLDERNESS (25,741).

*Wilson, Captain A. Stanley (Co.U.)..	9,387
Maddison, F. (L.) .. .. .	5,521

Coalition majority .. .. . 3,866

CAPTAIN A. STANLEY WILSON sat as a Unionist for the Holderness Division from 1900. He is the eldest son of Mr. Arthur Wilson, Tranby Croft. During the war he was captured by the Austrians at sea whilst carrying dispatches. On inquiry into the affair he has been exonerated from blame.

## HOWDENSHERE (23,481).

*Jackson, Lieut.-Colonel F. S. (Co.U.)	9,023
Fenby, T. D. (L.) .. .. .	4,384

Coalition majority .. .. . 4,639

LIEUT.-COLONEL FRANCIS STANLEY JACKSON, a son of the first Lord Allerton, is well known as a cricketer, having played with the Cambridge Eleven (captain 1892-3), the Yorks Eleven, and All-England teams. He served in the South African War. He was elected as a Unionist for the Howdenshire Division in 1915.

## YORKSHIRE — NORTH RIDING

## CLEVELAND (36,843).

Goff, Sir R. Park (Co.U.) .. .. .	8,701
Dack, Harry (Lab.) .. .. .	8,610
*Samuel, Herbert (L.) .. .. .	7,089

Coalition majority .. .. . 91

SIR PARK GOFF has, as honorary King's Messenger, acquired extensive knowledge of men and matters in many parts of the world. He has visited Russia on 12 occasions during the war. Sir Park had a distinguished career at Oxford, both as scholar and athlete. He is a barrister.

## RICHMOND (30,640).

Wilson, Lieut.-Colonel M. J. (Co.U.)	9,857
Parlour, W. (Ind.) .. .. .	4,907

Coalition majority .. .. . 4,950

LIEUT.-COLONEL MURROUGH WILSON has commanded the 2/5 Battalion of the Yorkshire Regiment during the present war. He is a director of the North-Eastern Railway, on which he was formerly employed, and a member of the North Riding County Council.

## SCARBOROUGH AND WHITBY (34,578).

*Beckett, Major Gervase (Co.U.) ..	11,764
Sitwell, Captain O. (L.) .. .. .	7,994
Rowntree, J. W. (Lab.) .. .. .	1,025

Coalition majority .. .. . 3,770

MAJOR GERVAASE BECKETT, second son of the late William Beckett, M.P., and brother to Lord Grimthorpe, was born in 1866. He is a partner in Beckett and Co., bankers, Leeds, and a late captain of the Yorkshire Hussars. He represented the Whitby Division, now absorbed in the Scarborough and Whitby Division, for 13 years.

## THIRSK AND MALTON (26,765).

*Turton, E. R. (Co.U.) .. .. .	9,656
Lockwood, Lieut. S. S. (L.) .. ..	4,317

Coalition majority .. .. . 5,339

## ENGLISH COUNTIES.

Mr. EDMUND R. TURTON is a director of the North Eastern Railway. He was called to the Bar, Inner Temple, 1882, and joined the North-Eastern Circuit. His only son was killed in the war.

## YORKSHIRE — WEST RIDING

## BARKSTON ASH (32,919).

*Lane-Fox, Major G. R. (Co.U.) ..	12,362
Rhodes, J. A. (L.) .. .. .	6,809
Milner, D. (Ind.) .. .. .	1,035

Coalition majority .. .. . 5,553

MAJOR GEORGE RICHARD LANE-FOX represented Barkston Ash since 1906; called to the Bar in 1895; a member of West Riding County Council since 1898. Major Yorkshire Hussars; served with Expeditionary Force in France, 1915, 1916, and 1917.

## COLNE VALLEY (39,085).

*Mallalieu, F. W. (Co.L.) .. .. .	13,541
Whiteley, W. (Lab.) .. .. .	9,473

Coalition majority .. .. . 4,068

Mr. F. W. MALLALIEU, who succeeded the late Dr. Leach in the representation of the division, is a member of the firm of Messrs. H. Mallalieu and Sons, woolen manufacturers, Delph. An alderman of the West Riding County Council, he is chairman of the Finance Committee.

## DONCASTER (35,114).

Nicholson, R. (Co.L.) .. .. .	15,431
Morley, R. (Lab.) .. .. .	5,153

Coalition majority .. .. . 10,278

Mr. REGINALD NICHOLSON is the seventh son of the late Mr. W. N. Nicholson, senior Master in Lunacy. Traffic manager of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, 1895, a position from which he had to retire on account of the climate. Returning to England he became connected with the management of newspapers, and was appointed manager of *The Times* on the death of Mr. Moberly Bell. He retired in 1915, and has since been doing work for the Ministry of Munitions and other Government Departments.

## DON VALLEY (28,724).

Walton, J. (Co.N.D.P.) .. .. .	6,095
*Smith, H. B. Lees (L.) .. .. .	3,868
Hough, C. (Lab.) .. .. .	3,226

Coalition majority .. .. . 2,227

Mr. JAMES WALTON is a Don Valley man, and a miner at Wath, near Mexborough. He has been secretary of the Mexborough Trades Council and a delegate to the Yorkshire Miners' Association.

## ELLAND (34,584).

Ramsden, Lieutenant G. T. (Co.U.) ..	8,917
Dawson, H. (L.) .. .. .	7,028
Hardaker, D. (Lab.) .. .. .	5,923
*Trevelyan, C. P. (Ind.) .. .. .	1,286

Coalition majority .. .. . 1,889

Mr. GEORGE TAYLOR RAMSDEN has previously contested (unsuccessfully) two elections. He

## ENGLISH COUNTIES.

The Times

is managing director of Messrs. Thomas Ramsden and Sons, brewers, of Halifax, of which county borough he has twice been mayor. At the outbreak of war he joined the Forces.

### HEMSWORTH (25,137).

Guest, J. (Lab.) .. .. .	8,102
Scholefield, J. (Co.U.) .. .. .	6,490

Labour majority .. .. . 1,612

Mr. JOHN GUEST is vice-president of the Yorkshire Miners' Association.

### KEIGHLEY (34,934).

Clough, R. (Co.U.) .. .. .	8,820
*Somervell, W. H. (L.) .. .. .	7,709
Bland, W. (Lab.) .. .. .	6,324

Coalition majority .. .. . 1,111

Mr. ROBERT CLOUGH has taken considerable part in local public life, and was Mayor of Keighley 10 years ago. He is one of the leading business men of the town, being head of the Colonial Combing Company (Limited) and governing director of the Keighley Gas and Oil Engine Company (Limited).

### NORMANTON (30,449).

\*Hall, F. (Lab.)

#### UNOPPOSED.

Mr. FRED HALL represented Normanton Division since 1906; treasurer, Yorkshire Miners' Association, 1898; agent since 1904.

### PENISTONE (31,928).

*Arnold, S. (L.) .. .. .	7,338
Smith, Major Philip (Co.U.) .. .. .	5,744
Southern, F. W. (Lab.) .. .. .	4,556

Liberal majority .. .. . 594

Mr. SYDNEY ARNOLD represented the Holmfirth Division (of which Penistone formed part) in the late Parliament. He acted as Parliamentary private secretary to the President of the Board of Education.

### PONTEFRACT (29,841).

*Compton-Rickett, Sir J. (Co.L.) .. .. .	8,561
Burns, Isaac (Lab.) .. .. .	5,047

Coalition majority .. .. . 3,514

SIR J. COMPTON-RICKETT, Paymaster-General since December, 1916, sat as a Liberal for Scarborough, 1895-1906, and afterwards for Osgoldcross. He was formerly chairman of Rickett, Cockerell, and Co. (Limited). He has been chairman of the Congregational Union, and is the author of several religious books.

### PUDSEY AND OTLEY (31,487).

Barrand, A. R. (Co.L.) .. .. .	13,860
Carter, G. R. (Lab.) .. .. .	4,583

Coalition majority .. .. . 9,277

Mr. A. R. BARRAND has been before the Pudsey Division as prospective Liberal candidate for some years. He is well known in the insurance world.

### RIPON (34,230).

\*Wood, Maj. E. F. L. (Co. U.).

#### UNOPPOSED.

MAJOR E. F. L. WOOD is the eldest son of Viscount Halifax. A lieutenant in the Yorkshire Dragoons when war broke out, Major Wood went with his regiment on active service.

### ROTHER VALLEY (31,965).

Grundy, T. W. (Lab.) .. .. .	9,917
Bearcroft, E. G. (Co.N.D.P.) .. .. .	4,894
Turner, A. E. M. (L.) .. .. .	3,177

Labour majority .. .. . 5,023

Mr. T. W. GRUNDY is a leading man in the municipal life of Rotherham, where he is an official of the Miners' Association.

### ROTHWELL (33,899).

Lunn, W. (Lab.) .. .. .	9,998
Wilson, Lt.-Col. H. C. B. (Co.U.) .. .. .	6,621
Yonge, J. A. (L.) .. .. .	4,909

Labour majority .. .. . 3,377

Mr. WILLIAM LUNN is a checkweighman.

### SHIPLEY (35,566).

Rae, H. N. (Co.L.) .. .. .	16,700
Snowden, T. (Lab.) .. .. .	5,690

Coalition majority .. .. . 11,010

Mr. H. N. RAE is a wool merchant living at Harrogate.

### SKIPTON (35,722).

Roundell, Lieut.-Colonel R. F. (Co.U.) .. .. .	12,599
Brigg, W. A. (L.) .. .. .	10,318

Coalition majority .. .. . 2,281

MR. LIEUT.-COLONEL R. F. ROUNDELL has contested the division on three occasions, has served in the Northumberland Fusiliers, was on garrison duty at Malta during the Boer War, and has been on home service during the present war.

### SOWERBY (34,286).

Barker, Major R. (N.F.D.S.S.) .. .. .	8,287
Ogden, J. W. (Lab.) .. .. .	7,306
*Higham, J. S. (Co.L.) .. .. .	6,778

N.F.D.S.S. majority .. .. . 981

MAJOR ROBERT H. BARKER was formerly a well-known member of the Lancashire County Rugby football team.

### SPEN VALLEY (38,827).

*Whittaker, Sir Thomas (Co.L.) .. .. .	10,664
Myers, T. (Lab.) .. .. .	8,508

Coalition majority .. .. . 2,156

SIR T. P. WHITTAKER, son of the late Mr. Thomas Whittaker; from 1882 to 1892 he acted as editor of newspapers. In the latter year he became member for the Spen Valley Division; was a member of the Royal Licensing Commission in 1896-99; and was sworn of the Privy Council 1908.

### WENTWORTH (36,004).

Hirst, G. H. (Lab.) .. .. .	13,029
Mitchell, Colonel T. W. H. (Co.U.) .. .. .	5,315
*Booth, F. Handel (L.) .. .. .	3,453

Labour majority .. .. . 7,714

Mr. G. H. HIRST is a prominent member of the Yorkshire Miners' Association.

## WELSH COUNTIES AND MONMOUTH.

## ANGLESEY (25,836).

Thomas, Brig.-Gen. Sir Owen (Lab.)	9,038
*Griffith, Sir E. J. (Co.L.)	8,898

Labour majority .. .. 140

BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR OWEN THOMAS raised a body of Welsh cavalry during the South African War, and in the early months of the present war showed great energy in forming the Welsh Army Corps. He raised and officered the 113th (Service) Infantry Brigade and four additional battalions, and afterwards commanded the 14th (Reserve) Infantry Brigade.

## BRECON AND RADNOR (37,771).

\*Robinson, Sidney (Co.L.).

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. SIDNEY ROBINSON has been Liberal member for Breconshire since 1906.

## CARDIGAN (30,368).

\*Davies, M. L. Vaughan (Co. L.).

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. MATTHEW LEWIS VAUGHAN DAVIES has represented Cardigan since 1895.

## CARMARTHEN

CARMARTHEN (35,150).

\*Hinds, J. (Co.L.).

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. JOHN HINDS, M.P. for West Carmarthenshire since 1910, founded Hinds and Co. (Limited), director of the Drapers' Mutual Fire Insurance Corporation, President of the Drapers' Chamber of Trade.

## LLANELLY (44,657).

*Jones, Towyn (Co.L.)	16,344
Williams, Dr. J. H. (Lab.)	14,409

Coalition majority .. .. 1,935

Mr. TOWYN JONES, for years a Congregational minister and missionary, closely identified himself with Welsh Disestablishment, and was on Mr. Lloyd George's first platform in 1891. He acted as election agent for the late Mr. Abel Thomas, K.C., and became his successor in Parliament. Mr. Towyn Jones was appointed Junior Lord of the Treasury in 1916.

## CARNARVON (36,460).

Breese, Major C. E. (Co.L.)	10,488
Jones, R. T. (Lab.)	8,145
*Davies, Ellis (L.)	4,937

Coalition majority .. .. 2,343

MAJOR CHARLES E. BREESE, a solicitor belonging to a well-known Carnarvonshire family. He is a

Liberal Churchman. For some years he has been a member of the Carnarvonshire County Council and is interested in the North Wales slate industry. He served in the forces during the war.

## DENBIGH

DENBIGH (30,448).

Davies, Sir D. S. (Co.L.)	14,773
*John, E. T. (Lab.)	2,958

Coalition majority .. .. 11,815

SIR D. S. DAVIES is a Manchester merchant, who has taken a leading part in county council and educational work in Denbighshire.

## WREXHAM (39,259).

Thomas, Sir R. J. (Co.L.)	20,874
Hughes, Hugh (Lab.)	6,500

Coalition majority .. .. 14,374

SIR ROBERT J. THOMAS is a ship and insurance broker, carrying on business in London and Liverpool, and a generous supporter of various war funds.

## FLINT (46,528).

\*Parry, Lt.-Col. T. H. (Co.L.).

UNOPPOSED.

LIEUT.-COLONEL T. H. PARRY, a barrister on the Chester and North Wales Circuit, was returned for the Flint Boroughs at the last election. When war broke out he was a lieutenant in the R.W.F., and went to the Dardanelles, where he was wounded.

## GLAMORGAN

ABERAVON (30,415).

Edwards, Major J. (Co.L.)	13,635
Williams, R. (Lab.)	7,758
Jones, T. G. (N.F.D.S.S.)	324

Coalition majority .. .. 5,877

MAJOR JACK EDWARDS is a schoolmaster. He served for four years in the Army and saw a good deal of active service.

## CAERPHILLY (32,790).

Onions, A. (Lab.)	11,496
Edmunds, W. R. (L.)	9,482

Labour majority .. .. 2,014

Mr. ALFRED ONIONS is treasurer of the South Wales Miners' Federation and chairman of the Monmouth County Council. He was the South Wales representative at the second International Miners' Conference at Paris in 1891.

## WELSH COUNTIES.

The Times

GOWER (27,667).			
*Williams, J. (Lab.)	..	..	10,109
Williams, D. H. (L.)	..	..	8,353

Labour majority .. .. 1,756

Mr. JOHN WILLIAMS has represented Gower in the Labour interest in three Parliaments. He is a member of the executive of the South Wales Miners' Federation, and holds a prominent position as men's leader in the Western coalfield.

LLANDAFF AND BARRY (34,041).			
Cope, Major W. (Co.U.)	..	..	13,307
Jones, Capt. R. (Lab.)	..	..	6,607
Sexmith, C. F. (Ind.)	..	..	1,539

Coalition majority .. .. 6,700

MAJOR WILLIAM COPE, son of a Cardiff shipowner, was second in command of the third line Glamorgan Yeomanry during the war, and served on the East Coast. Whilst at Cambridge he was a conspicuous Rugby player, and represented Wales against Scotland and Ireland in 1896.

NEATH (38,929).			
*Edwards, J. Hugh (Co.L.)	..	..	17,818
Morgan, Rev. H. (Lab.)	..	..	9,670

Coalition majority .. .. 8,148

Mr. JOHN HUGH EDWARDS successfully contested the Mid-Glamorgan Division in December, 1910. Has been for many years editor of the *Welsh National Magazine* ("Wales"); is a biographer of the Premier, and is now a student reading for the Bar at the Middle Temple. Member of the town council at Aberystwith and vice-chairman of the Purley Urban District Council.

OGMORE (35,910).			
Hartshorn, V. (Lab.)	..	..	8,148

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. VERNON HARTSHORN, O.B.E., the Welsh Miners' leader served on the Coal Trade Organization Committee and also on the Coal Controllers' Advisory Committee.

PONTYPRIDD (34,778).			
Lewis, Lt. T. A. (Co.L.)	..	..	13,327
Davies, D. L. (Lab.)	..	..	10,152
Seaton, A. (U.)	..	..	260

Coalition majority .. .. 3,175

LIEUT. T. ARTHUR LEWIS was formerly a school teacher and has been private secretary to Captain Frederick Guest, Government Whip.

MERIONETH (21,450).			
*Jones, Haydn (Co.L.)	..	..	260

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. Henry Haydn Jones, who is an ironmonger, sat as Liberal member for Merionethshire from January, 1910.

MONMOUTH.			
ABERTILLERY (32,197).			
*Brace, W. (Lab.)	..	..	260

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. WILLIAM BRACE was Under-Secretary to the Home Office in 1915, a position which he held till the Labour Party decided to withdraw from the Coalition Government.

BEDWELLY (30,938).			
Edwards, C. (Lab.)	..	..	11,730
Williams, Capt. H. (Co.L.)	..	..	10,170

Labour majority .. .. 1,560

Mr. CHARLES EDWARDS was one of the Miners' Federation candidates. He began work in the coal-mines early in life. Twelve years ago he was elected sub-miners' agent for the Tredegar Valley District of the South Wales Miners' Federation, and later was appointed miners' agent. He has taken part in the settlement of important industrial disputes in Wales and in the work of various local authorities.

EBBW VALE (30,305).			
*Richards, T. (Lab.)	..	..	1,560

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. THOMAS RICHARDS began work in a coalpit at 12 years of age. He has been secretary of the South Wales Miners' Federation for many years.

MONMOUTH (27,575).			
Forestier-Walker, L. (U.)	..	..	9,164
Martineau, H. (L.)	..	..	6,189

Unionist majority .. .. 2,975

Mr. LEOLIN FORESTIER-WALKER, of Rhiwderin, is a son of the late Sir George Forestier-Walker. He is an authority on agriculture and is a director of a number of public companies in the county of Monmouth, including the Alexandra Docks and Railway Company at Newport.

PONTYPOOL (30,002).			
Griffiths, T. (Lab.)	..	..	8,438
Llewelyn, Sir L. (Co.U.)	..	..	7,421
*McKenna, R. (L.)	..	..	6,160

Labour majority .. .. 1,017

Mr. THOMAS GRIFFITHS is secretary to the South Wales branch of the Steel-smelters Union. He has twice been an unsuccessful candidate for the Neath Town Council.

MONTGOMERY (24,949).			
*Davies, Maj. D. (Co.L.)	..	..	1,017

UNOPPOSED.

MAJOR DAVID DAVIES succeeded unchallenged to the representation of his native county in 1906. Mobilized with the Territorials at the outbreak of war, he saw active service in France.

PEMBROKE (42,808).			
Jones, Sir Evan (Co.L.)	..	..	19,200
Gwynne, Ivor (Lab.)	..	..	7,712
Thomas, G. B. (Soc.)	..	..	597

Coalition majority .. .. 11,488

SIR EVAN D. JONES is a director of the well-known engineering firm of Topham, Jones, and Raiton, contractors, Westminster. He is an Alderman of the Pembrokeshire County Council, chairman of the Buildings Committee of the Welsh National Library, and was High Sheriff of Pembrokeshire during the Coronation year of King George.

## SCOTTISH COUNTIES.

## ABERDEEN AND KINCARDINE.

## CENTRAL (26,264).

Gordon, Lt.-Col. A. T. (Co.U.) .. ..	6,546
*Henderson, J. M. (L.) .. ..	5,908

Coalition majority .. .. 638

LIEUT.-COLONEL A. T. GORDON saw active service in the South African War. During the present war he has acted as head of the Forage Department of the War Office for the Scottish District. He is a successful breeder of Shorthorn cattle and an expert judge of the breed.

## EASTERN (25,718).

*Cowan, Sir W. H. (Co.L.) .. ..	4,430
Wallace, F. L. (Ind.) .. ..	4,343

Coalition majority .. .. 87

SIR W. H. COWAN is a director of the firm of Parkinson and W. and B. Cowan, manufacturers, Edinburgh, London, Sydney, &c. He was member of Parliament for the Guildford Division of Surrey from 1906 to 1910, when he was elected as Liberal member for East Aberdeenshire. He was knighted in 1917.

## KINCARDINE AND WESTERN (20,699).

\*Murray, Lieut.-Col. A. C. (Co. L.).

## UNOPPOSED.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. C. MURRAY, D.S.O., fourth son of Lord Elibank. He served with the Expeditionary Force, and was awarded the D.S.O.

## ARGYLL (28,273).

Sutherland, W. (Co.L.) .. ..	11,970
Weir, L. MacNeill (Lab.) .. ..	2,733

Coalition majority .. .. 9,237

SIR WILLIAM SUTHERLAND, private secretary to the Prime Minister, has made a special study of the land question. K.C.B., January 1, 1919.

## AYR AND BUTE.

## BUTE AND NORTHERN (35,294).

*Hunter-Weston, Lt.-Gen. Sir A. G. (Co.U.) .. ..	12,638
Smith, R. (Lab.) .. ..	5,848
Campbell, H. F. (L.) .. ..	2,059

Coalition majority .. .. 6,790

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR AYLMER HUNTER-WESTON, of Hunterston, Ayrshire; K.C.B., D.S.O., D.L. (for Ayrshire), born in 1864, served in Indian expeditions, Egyptian War, South African War, and for his services in France in the present war has been awarded the Croix de Guerre and the Legion of Honour. He is at present in France in charge of an Army Corps. He was returned for North Ayrshire on the death of Captain D. F. Campbell, D.S.O.

## KILMARNOCK (32,329).

*Shaw, A. (Co.L.) .. ..	13,568
Malcolm, P. (Co-op.) .. ..	6,652

Coalition majority .. .. 6,916

MR. ALEXANDER SHAW is a barrister by profession, and a son of Lord Shaw of Dunfermline. After the death in action of Mr. W. G. C. Gladstone, grandson of Mr. W. E. Gladstone, Mr. Shaw was returned as member for the Kilmarnock Burghs.

## SOUTH Ayrshire (27,696).

Brown, J. (Lab.) .. ..	6,358
M'Call, Brig.-General Pollok (Co.U.) ..	5,495
Robertson, W. (L.) .. ..	4,555
Wallace, H. R. (Ind.) .. ..	627

Labour majority .. .. 863

MR. JAMES BROWN is secretary of the Ayrshire Miners' Union, and has rendered valuable assistance in the recruitment of men for the Army, and in connexion with various war agencies. He is closely associated with the work of the Scottish Mine Workers' Union.

## BANFF (24,900).

\*Barrie, C. C. (Co.L.).

## UNOPPOSED.

MR. CHARLES C. BARRIE, C.B.E., was recently returned unopposed for the Elgin Burghs. He joined the transport department of the Admiralty.

## BERWICK AND HADDINGTON (32,879).

*Hope, J. D. (Co.L.) .. ..	8,584
Foulis, R. W. (Lab.) .. ..	4,783
*Tennant, H. J. (L.) .. ..	2,567

Coalition majority .. .. 3,801

MR. JOHN DEANS HOPE has sat for Haddingtonshire since early in 1911. Aged 59, and son of the late James Hope, of East Bains, the noted East Lothian authority on agriculture, he won West Fife in 1900, and again in 1906. Mr. Hope has served on many occasions on Private Legislation (Scotland) Commissions.

## CAITHNESS AND SUTHERLAND (21,205).

*Harmsworth, Sir R. L. (Co.L.) .. ..	6,769
Robertson, F. J. (U.) .. ..	4,036

Coalition majority .. .. 2,733

SIR ROBERT LEICESTER HARMSWORTH has represented Caithness since 1900. Created a baronet, 1918. A steadfast supporter of the aims of the Liberal War Committee. Has taken a deep personal interest in the care of the wounded during the war.



## SCOTTISH COUNTIES.

The Times

### DUMBARTON (34,630).

Raeburn, Sir Wm. (Co.U.) .. ..	12,765
Martin, W. H. (Lab.) .. ..	7,072
*Allen, A. A. (L.) .. ..	3,048
Coalition majority .. ..	5,693

SIR WILLIAM RÆBURN is a Glasgow shipowner, and was for two years president of the Chamber of Shipping, from which position he retired a few months ago, when he was knighted. He was succeeded in that office by Lord Inchcape.

### DUMFRIES (36,394).

Murray, Major W. (Co.U.) .. ..	13,345
*Gulland, J. W. (L.) .. ..	7,562
Coalition majority .. ..	5,783

MAJOR WILLIAM MURRAY has contested Dumfries-shire on several occasions in the Unionist interest. He has an estate, Murraywhaite, in the county.

### FIFE.

#### EAST (31,115).

Sprot, Colonel Sir A. (U.) .. ..	8,996
*Asquith, H. H. (L.) .. ..	6,994
Morgan, W. P. (Ind.) .. ..	591
Unionist majority .. ..	2,002

SIR ALEXANDER SPROT is the owner of the estate of Stravithie, near St. Andrews, and is a popular county laird. On two previous occasions he contested the constituency against Mr. Asquith. Sir Alexander came direct from France, where he has been serving for four years, to fight the seat on the present occasion.

#### WEST (29,405).

*Adamson, W. (Lab.).. ..	10,664
Menzies, Captain J. H. (Co.U.)..	4,020
Labour majority .. ..	6,644

MR. W. ADAMSON, born in 1863, worked as a miner for 27 years. He was assistant secretary of the Fife and Kinross and Clackmannan Miners' Association 1902 to 1908, when he became general secretary. He was elected chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party in 1917. He entered Parliament at the end of 1910.

### FORFAR (24,722).

Shaw, Captain W. T. (U.) .. ..	5,697
*Falconer, J. (L.) .. ..	5,179
Unionist majority .. ..	518

CAPTAIN W. T. SHAW has served with the Army Service Corps during the war, and for the last three years has been forage purchasing officer for Forfarshire and Perthshire.

### GALLOWAY (32,020).

\*McMicking, Maj. G. (Co.L.).

UNOPPOSED.

MAJOR GILBERT McMICKING is a Liberal, and sat for Kirkcudbrightshire from 1906. He served in the Royal Artillery, and commanded a C.I.V. battery.

### INVERNESS AND ROSS AND CROMARTY.

#### INVERNESS (29,263).

*Morison, T. B. (Co.L.) .. ..	7,991
Bruce, G. J. (Highland Land League) .. ..	2,930
Coalition majority .. ..	5,061

MR. THOMAS BRASH MORISON, K.C., Solicitor-General for Scotland, member for Inverness-shire for the past two years, was born in Edinburgh in 1868; was called to the Scottish Bar in 1891 and to the English Bar in 1899; was Senior Advocate-Depute 1908-10, and Deputy-Chairman of the Fishery Board for Scotland, 1910-13.

#### ROSS AND CROMARTY (20,695).

*Macpherson, J. I. (Co.L.) .. ..	8,358
Munro, Hector (Lab.) .. ..	2,238
Coalition majority .. ..	6,120

MR. J. I. MACPHERSON, Deputy-Secretary for War, contested Wigtownshire in 1910, East Renfrew in the same year, and succeeded the late Mr. Galloway Weir as member for Ross and Cromarty in 1911. Became private secretary to Mr. Tennant, and then Under-Secretary for War.

#### WESTERN ISLES (18,237).

Murray, Dr. D. (Ind.).. ..	3,765
Cotts, W. D. Mitchell (Co.L.) ..	3,375
MacGowan, H. (Highland Land League) .. ..	809
Independent majority .. ..	390

DR. DONALD MURRAY was born in Stornoway in 1862, being educated there until proceeding to Glasgow University, where he was President of the Medico-Chirurgical Society and of the University Liberal Club; is medical officer of health for Lewis and the borough of Stornoway as well as school medical officer for Lewis and the western portion of Ross-shire.

### LANARK.

#### BOTHWELL (27,642).

MacDonald, D. H. (Co.U.) .. ..	9,359
Robertson, J. (Lab.) .. ..	9,027
Coalition majority .. ..	332

MR. D. H. MACDONALD has been for many years chairman of the North-East Lanark Unionist Association and has taken a leading part in the public life of Motherwell.

#### COATBRIDGE (31,549).

Buchanan, Lieut.-Col. A. L. H. (Co.U.)	13,188
Coyle, Owen (Lab.) .. ..	7,254
Coalition majority .. ..	5,934

LIEUT.-COLONEL A. L. H. BUCHANAN served for 25 years in the Gordon Highlanders, and for three years commanded the third battalion of the regiment. He served through the Boer War. During the present war he commanded the Gordon Highlanders' dépôt at Aberdeen, and held an appointment at the base in France.

## House of Commons.

## HAMILTON (25,113).

Graham, D. M. (Lab.) .. ..	6,988
Keith, H. S. (Co.U.) .. ..	4,819
Gilmour, D. (N.D.P.) .. ..	4,297
*Whitehouse, J. H. (L.) .. ..	504
Labour majority .. ..	2,169

Mr. DUNCAN MACGREGOR GRAHAM is a Lanarkshire miners' agent, and has been associated with the Hamilton district for a number of years.

## LANARK (27,431).

Elliot, Captain W. E. (Co.U.) .. ..	12,976
Welsh, J. C. (Lab.) .. ..	5,821
Coalition majority .. ..	7,155

CAPTAIN WALTER ELIOT ELLIOT has been connected with the R.A.M.C. and attached to the Scots Greys. He was recently wounded in France, and won the M.C. as well as a French decoration.

## MOTHERWELL (27,818).

Nelson, R. F. W. R. (Co.U.) .. ..	6,972
*Millar, J. D. (L.) .. ..	4,817
Newbold, J. W. (Lab.) .. ..	4,135
Fergusson, Hugh (Ind.) .. ..	1,923
Coalition majority .. ..	2,155

Mr. R. F. W. R. NELSON is one of the directors of the firm of Messrs. Hurst, Nelson, and Co. (Limited), Motherwell Rolling Stock and Wagon Building Works. His firm is one of the largest employers of labour in the constituency.

## NORTHERN (27,442).

McLaren, R. (Co.U.) .. ..	7,175
Sullivan, J. (Lab.) .. ..	5,673
Hill, Captain Erskine (L.) .. ..	3,068
Auld, J. R. (Ind.) .. ..	710
Coalition majority .. ..	1,502

Mr. ROBERT MCLAREN was until last year senior inspector of mines for the Scotland division. He is pledged to secure reforms in mining legislation. As a mines inspector in the East and West of Scotland he came into prominence for his rescue work in several pit disasters.

## RUTHERGLEN (31,332).

Rodger, A. K. (Co.L.) .. ..	12,641
Regan, W. (Lab.) .. ..	8,759
Coalition majority .. ..	3,882

Mr. A. K. RODGER has been Provost of Rutherglen and is associated with temperance work. He is the manager of the Scottish Temperance Life Assurance Company.

## LINLITHGOW (33,178).

Kidd, James (Co.U.) .. ..	12,898
Shenwell, E. (Lab.) .. ..	8,723
Coalition majority .. ..	4,175

Mr. JAMES KIDD is a solicitor.

## SCOTTISH COUNTIES.

## MID LOTHIAN AND PEEBLES.

## NORTHERN (25,308).

*Hope, Colonel Sir J. A. (Co.U.) .. ..	7,719
Cadzow, J. B. (Ind.) .. ..	4,198
Coalition majority .. ..	3,521

COLONEL SIR JOHN AUGUSTUS HOPE, was the sitting member for Mid Lothian at the dissolution of Parliament, served in the South African War, and also in the present war, and has been mentioned in dispatches. He succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his uncle, Sir Alexander Hope, of Pinkie.

## PEEBLES AND SOUTHERN (23,322).

*Maclean, Sir D. (L.) .. ..	7,429
Gold, J. (Lab.) .. ..	4,829
Liberal majority .. ..	2,600

SIR DONALD MACLEAN represented the united counties of Peebles and Selkirk in the last Parliament, and was also deputy chairman of committees in the House of Commons. From 1906 to 1910 he sat for Bath. Sir Donald came into prominence as chairman of the House of Commons Appeal Tribunal.

## MORAY AND NAIRN (23,344).

\*Williamson, Sir A. (Co. L.)

## UNOPPOSED.

SIR A. WILLIAMSON, Bt., member for Moray and Nairn since 1906, is head of the firm of Messrs. Balfour, Williamson, and Co.

## ORKNEY AND SHETLAND (19,963).

\*Wason, J. Cathcart (Co. L.)

## UNOPPOSED.

Mr. J. CATHCART WASON, represented Orkney and Shetland since 1900. Formerly a member of the New Zealand Parliament.

## PERTH AND KINROSS.

## KINROSS AND WESTERN (26,970).

Gardiner, J. (L.) .. ..	7,579
*Stirling, Col. A. (Co.U.) .. ..	6,975

Liberal majority .. .. 604

Mr. JAMES GARDINER, a native of West Perthshire and the son of a crofter, is one of the largest potato growers in Scotland, and occupies an extensive farm on the estate of the Earl of Ancaster.

## PERTH (37,263).

\*Young, W. (Co. L.)

## UNOPPOSED.

Mr. WILLIAM YOUNG is the son of an Aberdeenshire farmer, and the head of the firm of William Young and Co., merchants and bankers.

## RENFREW.

## EASTERN (28,064).

Johnstone, Joseph (Co.L.) .. ..	13,107
Spence, R. (Lab.) .. ..	5,048

Coalition majority .. .. 8,059

## SCOTTISH COUNTIES.

The Times

Mr. JOSEPH JOHNSTONE is the head of a furniture manufacturing concern whose works are situated at Lochwinnoch.

WESTERN (28,530).			
*Greig, Col. J. W. (Co.L.)	..	..	11,524
Murray, R. (Lab.)	..	..	7,126
Coalition majority			4,398

COLONEL GREIG was elected for West Renfrewshire in January, 1910. Born in London in 1859, he is a graduate of London University, and also studied at the Sorbonne and College de France, Paris. Called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1882, he practised at the Parliamentary and Equity Bars. He commanded the London Scottish, and did much recruiting work during the war.

### ROXBURGH AND SELKIRK (34,173).

*Munro, Robert (Co.L.)	..	..	13,043
Hamilton, T. (Lab.)	..	..	5,574
Coalition majority			7,469

Mr. ROBERT MUNRO made his first appearance in Parliament in January, 1910, when he was returned as Liberal member for Wick; Lord Advocate for Scotland from 1913 to December, 1916, when he was made Secretary for Scotland. During the last two years his most important work in Parliament has been in connexion with the Scottish Education Bill, which was under his charge.

## STIRLING AND CLACKMANNAN.

### CLACKMANNAN AND EASTERN (31,910)

Glyn, Major R. (Co.U.)	..	..	6,771
May, H. J. (Co-op.)	..	..	5,753
*Chapple, Major W. A. (L.)	..	..	5,040
Coalition majority			1,018

MAJOR RALPH GLYN, Rifle Brigade, is a son of the Bishop of Peterborough, and a grandson of the late Duke of Argyll. He has served on the General Staff in Gallipoli, Rumania, Russia, and France, and is at present attached to the British Mission associated with the American Expeditionary Force. In 1910 Major Glyn made three unsuccessful attempts to enter Parliament for Scottish constituencies.

### WESTERN (18,861).

*Hope, Harry (Co.U.)	..	..	6,893
Johnston, T. (Lab.)	..	..	3,809
Graham, R. B. Cunninghame (L.)	..	..	2,582
Coalition majority			3,084

Mr. HARRY HOPE sat as Unionist member for Buteshire. The eldest son of the late Mr. James Hope, one of Scotland's leading agriculturists, he is recognized as the most representative agriculturist in Scotland. He has sat on several Royal Commissions, and has also devoted much of his time to local public work.

## IRISH BOROUGHS.

### BELFAST.

#### CROMAC.

*Lindsay, W. A. (U.)	..	..	11,459
Freeland, J. (Lab.)	..	..	2,508
Savage, A. (S.F.)	..	..	997
Unionist majority			8,951

Mr. W. A. LINDSAY was elected Unionist member for South Belfast in July, 1917. He represented the Belfast Chamber of Commerce in the efforts made some years ago to retain Queenstown as a port of call for Cunard liners and recently suggested an aeroplane service between Great Britain and Ireland.

#### DUNCAIRN.

*Carson, Sir E. (U.)	..	..	11,637
Davey, W. H. (N.)	..	..	2,449
McNabb, Dr. Russell (S.F.)	..	..	271
Unionist majority			9,188

SIR EDWARD CARSON is a prominent member of the English and Irish Bars, was elected for Dublin University in 1892, and has been the leader of the Irish Unionist Party since 1911. When Mr. Asquith introduced the Home Rule Bill he organized the opposition to the measure in Ulster which culminated in the signing of the Ulster Covenant. Sir E. Carson

was First Lord of the Admiralty from December, 1916, to July, 1917, and a member of the War Cabinet without portfolio for six months afterwards. He has been Solicitor-General for Ireland and Solicitor-General and Attorney-General for England.

#### FALIS.

*Devlin, J. (N.)	..	..	8,488
*de Valera, E. (S.F.)	..	..	3,245
Nationalist majority			5,243

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN, who was Nationalist member for West Belfast from 1906, is general secretary of the United Irish League and president of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. He was one of the Nationalist representatives at the Irish Convention.

#### ORMEAU.

Moles, T. (U.)	..	..	7,460
Stewart, W. J. (Ind.U.)	..	..	4,833
Dobbyn, S. (S.F.)	..	..	338
Unionist majority			2,627

Mr. THOMAS MOLES is a member of the editorial staff of the *Belfast Evening Telegraph*. He was one of the secretaries of the Ulster group of members in the Irish Convention.

## House of Commons.

POTTINGER.			
Dixon, Capt. H. (U.)	..	..	8,574
Porter, S. C. (Lab.)	..	..	2,513
Bennett, Y. (Lab.)	..	..	659
Campbell, B. (S.F.)	..	..	393
Unionist majority	..	..	6,061

CAPTAIN HERBERT DIXON is well known in sporting circles as the owner of a number of good racehorses. He served with distinction through the South African campaign, and has been in charge of the Ulster remount department at Balmoral since the outbreak of war in 1914.

ST. ANNE'S.			
Burn, T. H. (U.)	..	..	9,155
Alexander, W. H. (Ind.)	..	..	1,752
Barnes, D. (S.F.)	..	..	1,341
Unionist majority	..	..	7,403

Mr. THOMAS H. BURN is a Belfast trade unionist, and was secretary of the Belfast branch of the Lithographic Printing Society. He has taken part in the work of the Belfast Discharged Soldiers' and Sailors' Association.

SHANKILL.			
McGuffin, S. (Lab.U.)	..	..	11,840
Kyle, Samuel (Lab.)	..	..	3,674
Carolan, M. (S.F.)	..	..	534
Unionist majority	..	..	8,166

Mr. SAMUEL MCGUFFIN carries on business as a draper, but has had much experience in the spinning industry. He is president of the Belfast (No. 12) Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

VICTORIA.			
Donald, T. (Lab.U.)	..	..	9,309
Waugh, R. (Lab.)	..	..	3,469
Carney, Miss M. (S.F.)	..	..	395
Unionist majority	..	..	5,840

Mr. THOMPSON DONALD served as an apprentice shipwright with Messrs. Workman Clark and Co., shipbuilders, and has held various trade union offices. He was a member of the Unionist Labour deputation which visited London in opposition to Home Rule. He is hon. secretary of the Ulster Unionist Labour Association.

WOODVALE.			
Lynn, R. J. (U.)	..	..	12,232
Hoskins, R. (S.F.)	..	..	1,247
Unionist majority	..	..	10,985

Mr. R. J. LYNN is editor of the *Northern Whig*, Belfast. He is a member of the Ulster Unionist Council.

CORK CITY (2).			
Walsh, J. J. (S.F.)	..	..	20,801
O'Roisite, L. (S.F.)	..	..	20,506
Talbot-Crosbie, Major M. (N.)	..	..	7,480
O'Sullivan, R. (N.)	..	..	7,162
Williams, D. (U.)	..	..	2,519
Farrington, T. (U.)	..	..	2,254
Sinn Fein majority	..	..	13,026

## IRISH BOROUGHS.

Mr. J. J. WALSH was a member of the telegraphic staff in Cork Post Office. He was prominently connected with the Irish Rebellion and sentenced to death. The sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life, and he was subsequently released.

Mr. LIAM O'ROISITE (Wm. ROCHE) is employed by Cork County Committee of Technical Instruction as itinerant commercial teacher.

DUBLIN.			
CLONTARF.			
Mulcahy, R. (S.F.)	..	..	5,974
Shorthall, Sir P. (N.)	..	..	3,228
Sinn Fein majority	..	..	2,746

Mr. R. MULCAHY was formerly in the engineering department of the Post Office, and was deported to England after the Easter week rising.

COLLEGE GREEN.			
O'Kelly, J. T. (S.F.)	..	..	9,662
Briscoe, J. C. (Ind.N.)	..	..	2,853
Sinn Fein majority	..	..	6,809

Mr. JOHN T. O'KELLY is the Secretary of the Gaelic League, and has been a member of the Dublin Corporation for many years.

DUBLIN HARBOUR.			
Shanahan, Philip (S.F.)	..	..	7,708
*Byrne, A. (N.)	..	..	5,386
Sinn Fein majority	..	..	2,322

Mr. PHILIP SHANAHAN is a licensed trader in the City of Dublin, and a well-known worker in the interests of Sinn Fein.

ST. JAMES'S.			
McGrath, J. (S.F.)	..	..	6,256
Kelly, J. (N.)	..	..	1,556
Sinn Fein majority	..	..	4,700

Mr. JOSEPH MCGRATH was a commercial clerk in Dublin. He is at present interned in England, and was deported after the rebellion. He was a prominent worker in the Sinn Fein movement in the Dolphin's Barn district of Dublin City.

ST. MICHAEL'S.			
Staines, M. (S.F.)	..	..	7,553
*Nugent, J. D. (N.)	..	..	3,996
Sinn Fein majority	..	..	3,557

Mr. MICHAEL STAINES is a director of the New Ireland Insurance Company. He took part in the rebellion, and was afterwards sent to Frongoch. While there he was elected commandant by the prisoners in one of the two camps.

ST. PATRICK'S.			
Markiewicz, Mme. (S.F.)	..	..	7,835
*Field, W. (N.)	..	..	3,752
Kelly, J. J. (Ind. N.)	..	..	312
Sinn Fein majority	..	..	4,083

## IRISH BOROUGHES.

The Times

Mme. **MARKIEWICZ** is a sister of Sir Josslyn Gore-Booth, Lissadell, County Sligo, and is married to a Polish count. She has been prominently identified with the Sinn Fein movement for a number of years, and took part in the Dublin rebellion, and commanded the rebellion in the Royal College of Surgeons, and was sentenced to a long term of penal servitude, but was released under the general amnesty.

### ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN.

Kelly, T. (S.F.) .. .. .	8,461
*Brady, P. J. (N.) .. .. .	2,902
Hanna, H. (U.) .. .. .	2,755

Sinn Fein majority .. .. . 5,559

Mr. **THOMAS KELLY** has been a member of the Dublin Corporation for many years, and has been identified with the temperance movement in Dublin for the greater part of his life. \*Although he has been connected with the Sinn Fein movement from the beginning he took no active part in the rebellion.

### LIMERICK CITY.

Colivet, P. (S.F.)

UNOPPOSED.

## LONDONDERRY.

MacNeill, J. (S.F.) .. .. .	7,335
Anderson, Sir R. N. (U.) .. .. .	7,020
Davey, Major W. H. (N.) .. .. .	120

Sinn Fein majority .. .. . 315

Mr. **JOHN MACNEILL**, B.A., is Professor of Early History in the University College of the National University, Dublin. He was organizer of the Irish Volunteers. At the time of the Rebellion in Easter week, 1916, he did not sign the proclamation for mobilizing the Volunteers, but issued an order against mobilization. He was sentenced to penal servitude for life, but afterwards released.

## WATERFORD.

*Redmond, Capt. W. A. (N.) .. .. .	4,915
White, Dr. V. (S.F.) .. .. .	4,431

Nationalist majority .. .. . 484

**CAPTAIN WILLIAM ARCHER REDMOND**, D.S.O., of the Irish Guards, is the only son of the late Mr. John Redmond, leader of the Irish Party. He was called to the Irish Bar in 1910. He served in the war with distinction. In March, 1918, he resigned his seat for East Tyrone, which he had held since 1910, and standing for his father's constituency, Waterford City, beat his Sinn Fein opponent.

## IRISH COUNTIES.

### ANTRIM.

#### NORTH.

*Kerr-Smiley, Major P. (U.) .. .. .	9,621
McCorry, P. (S.F.) .. .. .	2,673

Unionist majority .. .. . 6,948

**MAJOR P. KERR-SMILEY**, who has represented North Antrim since 1910, was gazetted to the 21st Lancers in 1900 and took part in the South African campaign. He served in the 15th Battalion Royal Irish Rifles (Young Citizen Volunteers), and held various Staff appointments in France and Egypt during the war.

#### MID.

*O'Neill, Major (U.) .. .. .	10,711
Connolly, D. J. (S.F.) .. .. .	2,791

Unionist majority .. .. . 7,920

**MAJOR R. W. HUGH O'NEILL** in 1914 succeeded his brother—one of the first members of Parliament to be killed in the war—in the representation of this division. He is a member of the Bar, and contested Stockport in 1906. Formerly a lieutenant in the North of Ireland Imperial Yeomanry, he became a captain and afterwards a major in the Royal Irish Rifles. He is serving in Palestine.

### EAST.

*McCalmont, Brigadier-General (U.) .. .. .	15,206
Dunican, D. (S.F.) .. .. .	861

Unionist majority .. .. . 14,345

**BRIGADIER-GENERAL R. C. A. MCCALMONT** has represented the constituency since 1913. He served in the South African War, was appointed to the Irish Guards on its formation in 1900, and became captain and adjutant in 1904 and major in 1910. From 1909-11 he was adjutant of the Eton College O.T.C. He formed the 12th (Central Antrim) Battalion of the Royal Irish Rifles from the Ulster Volunteers on the outbreak of war, and went to France with the battalion. From 1915 to 1917 he commanded the 1st Battalion Irish Guards with the British Expeditionary Force and received the D.S.O. for service in the field.

### SOUTH.

*Craig, Capt. C. C. (U.) .. .. .	13,270
O'Shiel, Kevin (S.F.) .. .. .	2,318

Unionist majority .. .. . 10,952

**CAPTAIN CHARLES CURTIS CRAIG** has represented South Antrim since 1903. He went to France with the battalion of the Royal Irish Rifles formed from the South Antrim Ulster Volunteers, and was wounded

## House of Commons.

and captured at Thiepval in June, 1916. After remaining a prisoner in Germany for some time, he was interned in Holland and finally repatriated.

## ARMAGH.

## NORTH.

*Allen, Lt.-Col. W. J. (U.) .. ..	10,239
Blythe, E. (S.F.) .. ..	2,860

Unionist majority .. .. 7,379

LIEUT.-COLONEL WILLIAM J. ALLEN represented Armagh, North, for 12 months in the last Parliament. A leading member of the Orange Institution, he has taken an active part in Irish affairs. He helped to raise the Pioneer Battalion of the Royal Irish Rifles, and served with it in France, first as adjutant, afterwards as second in command, and was given command of the battalion in April, 1918. Was awarded the Legion of Honour (Chevalier de Croix), and has been wounded.

## MID.

*Lonsdale, J. R. (U.) .. ..	8,431
O'Brien, L. (S.F.) .. ..	5,688

Unionist majority .. .. 2,743

Mr. JAMES ROLSTON LONSDALE, first elected member for Mid Armagh in January this year, was High Sheriff of County Armagh in 1907.

## SOUTH.

*Donnelly, P. (N.) .. ..	4,345
McKee, Dr. (S.F.) .. ..	79

Nationalist majority .. .. 4,266

Mr. P. DONNELLY, who has represented Armagh, South, since February last, is a solicitor at Newry.

## CARLOW.

Lennon, J. (S.F.)

UNOPPOSED.

## CAVAN.

EAST.

Griffith, A. (S.F.)

UNOPPOSED.

## WEST.

Galligan, P. (S.F.)

UNOPPOSED.

## CLARE.

EAST.

\*de Valera, E. (S.F.)

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. EDMUND DE VALERA, the recognized leader of the Sinn Fein movement, was born in America, and is of Spanish extraction on his father's side. His mother was a native of Co. Limerick. He was a Professor of Mathematics in Co. Dublin, and took an active interest in the Irish Volunteers, and during the rebellion was in charge of a post known as Bolands Mills.

## WEST.

O'Higgins, B. (S.F.)

UNOPPOSED.

## IRISH COUNTIES.

## CORK.

EAST.

Kent, D. (S.F.)

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. DAVID KENT belongs to the farming community, and is a native of county Cork.

MID.

MacSwiney, T. (S.F.)

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. TERENCE MCSWINEY is an active Sinn Fein organizer and propagandist, and was repeatedly deported.

NORTH.

O'Keefe, P. (S.F.)

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. P. O'KEEFE is at present interned in an English prison.

NORTH-EAST.

Hunter, T. (S.F.)

UNOPPOSED.

SOUTH.

Collins, M. (S.F.)

UNOPPOSED.

SOUTH-EAST.

Lynch, D. (S.F.)

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. DIARMID LYNCH is known as the Sinn Fein Food Controller. He organized a raid on a drove of pigs about to be exported to England, had them slaughtered, paid the owners their value, and had the dressed carcasses exhibited for sale by retailers.

WEST.

Hayes, J. (S.F.)

UNOPPOSED.

Mr. JEAN HAYES has played an active part as propagandist of the Republican movement.

## DONEGAL.

NORTH.

O'Doherty, J. (S.F.) .. ..	7,003
*O'Doherty, P. (N.) .. ..	3,075

Sinn Fein majority .. .. 3,928

Mr. JOSEPH O'DOHERTY is a Derryman. He was interned as a suspect after the Sinn Fein rebellion.

WEST.

Sweeney, J. (S.F.) .. ..	6,712
McMenamin, D. (N.) .. ..	4,116

Sinn Fein majority .. .. 2,596

Mr. JOSEPH SWEENEY was arrested in connexion with the Sinn Fein rebellion and sentenced to 10 years' penal servitude, which was afterwards reduced to two years. He was subsequently released.



## IRISH COUNTIES.

The Times

EAST.			
*Kelly, E. (N.)	..	..	7,596
Moore, R. (U.)	..	..	4,797
O'Flaherty, S. O. (S.F.)	..	..	40

Nationalist majority .. 2,799

Mr. E. J. KELLY, who is a barrister, has represented the constituency since 1910.

SOUTH.			
Ward, P. J. (S.F.)	..	..	5,787
Donovan, J. P. (N.)	..	..	4,752

Sinn Fein majority .. 1,035

Mr. P. J. WARD is a solicitor practising in Donegal

DOWN.			
EAST.			
Reid, D. D. (U.)	..	..	6,007
Johnston, M. J. (N.)	..	..	4,312
McNab, Dr. (S.F.)	..	..	3,876

Unionist majority .. 1,695

Mr. D. D. REID was educated at Queen's College, Belfast, and New College, Oxford, where he graduated with first-class honours in history. He is a member of the English Bar, and contested East Tyrone against Captain W. A. Redmond in 1910.

MID.			
*Craig, Colonel Sir J. (U.)	..	..	10,639
Robinson, J. (S.F.)	..	..	707

Unionist majority .. 9,932

COLONEL SIR JAMES CRAIG has sat as member for East Down since 1906. He was a captain in the 3rd Battalion, Royal Irish Rifles, and served in the South African War with the 46th Company Ulster Imperial Yeomanry. He was A.A. and D.M.G. of the 36th (Ulster) Division, which he largely helped to form from the Ulster Volunteer Force, but owing to ill-health he was unable to proceed with the division to France.

NORTH.			
Brown, T. W. (U.)	..	..	9,200
Davison, J. A. (Ind.)	..	..	2,153

Unionist majority .. 7,047

Mr. T. W. BROWN is a member of the North-East Circuit and was one of the leading junior barristers in Belfast. He took silk a few years ago, and has since enjoyed an extensive practice in the High Courts, Dublin.

SOUTH.			
*MacVeagh, J. (N.)	..	..	8,756
Johnston, Capt. J. J. A. W. (U.)	..	..	5,573
Fisher, A. (Ind.)	..	..	436
*de Valera, E. (S.F.)	..	..	33

Nationalist majority .. 3,183

Mr. JEREMIAH MACVEAGH has been M.P. for South Down since 1902. He has been engaged in journalism, principally in London, for some years.

WEST.			
Wilson, D. M. (U.)	..	..	10,559
Campbell, B. (S.F.)	..	..	1,725

Unionist majority .. 8,834

Mr. DANIEL M. WILSON, K.C., is a son of a former moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly. At the outbreak of war he joined the 9th Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers and was granted a commission. He was not, however, permitted to proceed to France for reasons of age.

DUBLIN.			
NORTH.			
Lawless, F. (S.F.)	..	..	9,138
*Clancy, J. J. (N.)	..	..	4,428

Sinn Fein majority .. 4,710

Mr. FRANK LAWLESS is a farmer, and a member of a widely connected North County family. He was deported after the rising, and is now on parole, which has been extended indefinitely on account of the state of his health.

SOUTH.			
Duffy, G. G. (S.F.)	..	..	5,133
Robinson, Sir T. (U.)	..	..	4,354
Clarke, T. (N.)	..	..	3,819

Sinn Fein majority .. 779

Mr. GEORGE GAVAN DUFFY is a son of the late Sir George Charles Gavan Duffy, and was formerly a practising solicitor in London. He prepared the defence in the case of Roger Casement. He is now a member of the Irish Bar.

PEMBROKE.			
Fitzgerald, D. (S.F.)	..	..	6,114
Good, J. P. (U.)	..	..	4,138
O'Neill, C. P. (N.)	..	..	2,629

Sinn Fein majority .. 1,976

Mr. DESMOND FITZGERALD is a native of County Kerry, and a man of independent means. He was tried by Court-martial after the rebellion and sent to prison in England, but was released under the general amnesty. At present he is interned in England.

RATHMINES.			
Dockrell, Sir M. (U.)	..	..	7,400
Little, P. J. (S.F.)	..	..	5,566
Moonan, G. A. (N.)	..	..	1,780

Unionist majority .. 1,834

SIR MAURICE DOCKRELL is head of the firm of Dockrell, Sons and Co., Dublin. A County Dublin man, he was educated at Trinity College and was a member of some of the public bodies in the city for many years. He is a Deputy Lieutenant of the county.

FERMANAGH.			
NORTH.			
*Archdale, E. M. (U.)	..	..	6,768
O'Shiel, Kevin (S.F.)	..	..	6,236

Unionist majority .. 532

## House of Commons.

Mr. EDWARD MERVYN ARCHDALE, chairman of the Standing Committee of the Ulster Unionist Council since 1904, represented North Fermanagh from 1898 to 1903, when he resigned. He was re-elected in 1916. He is Deputy Lieutenant for County Fermanagh. Served in the Royal Navy from 1866 to 1880.

## SOUTH.

O'Mahoney, J. (S.F.) .. ..	6,673
Cooper, J. (U.) .. ..	4,524
*Crumley, P. (N.) .. ..	132

Sinn Fein majority .. .. 2,149

Mr. O'MAHONEY was arrested after the Dublin rebellion and deported. He is a commercial traveller and proprietor of a temperance hotel.

## GALWAY.

## CONNEMARA.

O'Maille, U. (S.F.) .. ..	11,754
*O'Malley, W. (N.) .. ..	3,482

Sinn Fein majority .. .. 8,272

## EAST.

Mellowes, L. (S.F.).

## UNOPPOSED.

Mr. L. MELLOWES is in the United States, where he escaped in a tramp steamer after the abortive rebellion.

## NORTH.

Cusack, Dr. F. (S.F.) .. ..	8,896
Sloyan, T. (N.) .. ..	3,999

Sinn Fein majority .. .. 4,897

DR. CUSACK is at present interned in England with one of his brothers.

## SOUTH.

Fahy, F. (S.F.) .. ..	10,621
Duffy, W. J. (N.) .. ..	1,744

Sinn Fein majority .. .. 8,877

Mr. FRANCIS FAHY is a native of Co. Galway. He is B.A. (Hons.) R.U.I., Higher Dipl. in Educ. N.U.I., Double Diplôme in Science, and his place as teacher of Irish, Latin and Science is still open on the staff of St. Vincent's College, Castleknock, where he was engaged up to his midnight arrest last May.

## KERRY.

## NORTH.

Crowley, N. J. (S.F.).

## UNOPPOSED.

## WEST.

Stack, A. (S.F.).

## UNOPPOSED.

## SOUTH.

Lynch, F. (S.F.)

## UNOPPOSED.

## EAST.

Beasley, P. (S.F.)

## UNOPPOSED.

## IRISH COUNTIES

Mr. BEASLEY is a Dublin journalist and contributor to Sinn Fein and Gaelic League newspapers. He was sentenced to penal servitude for his association with the Easter Rebellion.

## KILDARE.

## NORTH.

Bucksley, D. (S.F.) .. ..	5,979
*O'Connor, J. (N.) .. ..	2,722

Sinn Fein majority .. .. 3,257

Mr. BUCKSLEY is a Maynooth shopkeeper, who was deported after the rebellion.

## SOUTH.

O'Connor, A. (S.F.) .. ..	7,104
*Kilbride, Denis (N.) .. ..	1,545

Sinn Fein majority .. .. 5,559

Mr. O'CONNOR is an engineer and an active member of the Irish Volunteers.

## KILKENNY.

## NORTH.

\*Cosgrove, W. P. (S.F.).

## UNOPPOSED.

Mr. COSGROVE is an official in the Public Health Department of the Dublin Corporation. Sentenced to death for his part in the Easter rebellion, he was reprieved, and subsequently amnestied.

## SOUTH.

O'Mara, J. (S.F.) .. ..	8,685
*Keating, M. (N.) .. ..	1,855

Sinn Fein majority .. .. 6,830

Mr. O'MARA has been acting as Director of Elections for the Sinn Fein organization.

## KING'S COUNTY.

\*McCartan, Dr. (S.F.).

## UNOPPOSED.

Dr. PATRICK MCCARTAN is "Envoy in the United States of the Provisional Government of Ireland." He has sent to the Government at Washington notice of the establishment of the "Republic" of Ireland.

## LEITRIM.

Dolan, J. N. (S.F.) .. ..	17,711
Farrell, G. (N.) .. ..	3,096

Sinn Fein majority .. .. 14,615

Mr. DOLAN is a well-known leader of the Sinn Fein movement in County Leitrim.

## LIMERICK.

## WEST.

Collins, C. (S.F.)

## UNOPPOSED.

## EAST.

Hayes, Dr. (S.F.) .. ..	12,750
*Lundon, T. (N.) .. ..	3,608

Sinn Fein majority .. .. 9,142

## IRISH COUNTIES.

The Times

DR. HAYES, who was a dispensary medical officer, was sentenced to 20 years' penal servitude after the rebellion, but was released in June, 1917. Is at present deported.

### LONDONDERRY.

#### NORTH.

Anderson, H. A. (U.) .. ..	10,530
McGilligan, P. (S.F.) .. ..	3,951

Unionist majority .. .. 6,579

Mr. HUGH A. ANDERSON has been many years solicitor to the North Derry Unionist Association.

#### SOUTH.

*Henry, D. S. (U.) .. ..	8,942
Conway, Professor (N.) .. ..	3,981
Walsh, L. J. (S.F.) .. ..	3,425

Unionist majority .. .. 4,961

Mr. DENIS STANISLAUS HENRY, who was elected member for Londonderry, South, in 1916, had previously twice unsuccessfully attempted to enter Parliament for North Tyrone. Called to the Irish Bar in 1885, he took silk in 1896, and became a Bencher, King's Inns, in 1898. Deputy Lieutenant for County Londonderry, Commissioner of Charitable Donations and Bequests, Ireland. Chairman of the Dublin Riots Commission.

### LONGFORD.

McGuinness, J. P. (S.F.) .. ..	11,122
*Farrell, J. P. (N.) .. ..	4,173

Sinn Fein majority .. .. 6,949

Mr. MCGUINNESS was sentenced to three years' penal servitude after the rebellion, but was released after serving a year of his sentence.

### LOUTH.

O'Kelly, *J. J. (S.F.) .. ..	10,770
*Hazelton, R. H. (N.) .. ..	10,515

Sinn Fein majority .. .. 255

Mr. O'KELLY is the editor of the *Catholic Bulletin*, Dublin.

### MAYO.

#### NORTH.

Crowley, Dr. (S.F.) .. ..	7,429
*Boyle, D. (N.) .. ..	1,761

Sinn Fein majority .. .. 5,668

Dr. CROWLEY is a dispensary doctor.

#### WEST.

McBride, J. (S.F.) .. ..	10,195
*Doris, W. (N.) .. ..	1,568

Sinn Fein majority .. .. 8,627

Mr. JOSEPH MCBRIDE is a brother of the late "Major" John McBride, who was executed after the rebellion.

#### EAST.

*de Valera, E. (S.F.) .. ..	8,975
*Dillon, J. (N.) .. ..	4,514

Sinn Fein majority .. .. 4,461

#### SOUTH.

Seares, W. (S.F.)

#### UNOPOSED.

### MEATH.

#### NORTH.

Mellowes, L. (S.F.) .. ..	6,982
Cusack, Dr. (N.) .. ..	3,758

Sinn Fein majority .. .. 3,224

#### SOUTH.

Duggan, E. J. (S.F.) .. ..	6,371
O'Donoghue, T. P. (N.) .. ..	2,680

Sinn Fein majority .. .. 3,691

Mr. DUGGAN is a solicitor, who was released from prison after serving one year of a three years' sentence for his share in the rebellion.

### MONAGHAN.

#### NORTH.

Blythe, E. (S.F.) .. ..	6,842
Knight, Dr. (U.) .. ..	4,497
Turley, J. J. (N.) .. ..	2,709

Sinn Fein majority .. .. 2,345

Mr. ERNEST BLYTHE was editor of the *Southern Star*, Skibbereen, until it was suppressed, and an organizer of the Irish Volunteers.

#### SOUTH.

MacEntee, J. (S.F.) .. ..	7,524
Campbell, T. J. (N.) .. ..	4,413

Sinn Fein majority .. .. 3,111

Mr. JOHN MACENTEE was sentenced to death after the rebellion. The sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life, and he was released in June, 1917.

### QUEEN'S COUNTY.

Higgins, K. (S.F.) .. ..	13,452
*Meehan, P. J. (N.) .. ..	6,480

Sinn Fein majority .. .. 6,972

Mr. K. HIGGINS is a member of the Irish Bar.

### ROSCOMMON.

#### NORTH.

\*Plunkett, Count (S.F.)

#### UNOPOSED.

COUNT PLUNKETT is a native of Dublin City and a Count of the Holy Roman Empire. During the Parnellite "split" he was an active follower of the deposed chief. One of his sons was executed after

House of Commons.

the Dublin Rebellion, and Count Plunkett and his wife resided in England for some time.

SOUTH.

Boland, H. (S.F.) .. .. .	10,685
*Hayden, J. P. (N.) .. .. .	4,232
<b>Sinn Fein majority .. .. .</b>	<b>6,453</b>

Mr. HARRY BOLAND is a merchant tailor and one of the general secretaries of the Sinn Fein movement.

SLIGO.

NORTH.

Clancy, J. J. (S.F.) .. .. .	9,030
*Scanlan, T. (N.) .. .. .	4,242
<b>Sinn Fein majority .. .. .</b>	<b>4,788</b>

Mr. CLANCY holds a position under the Sligo County Council.

SOUTH.

McCabe, A. (S.F.) .. .. .	9,113
*O'Dowd, J. (N.) .. .. .	1,988
<b>Sinn Fein majority .. .. .</b>	<b>7,125</b>

Mr. ALEXANDER McCABE, who was arrested before the rebellion for having explosives in his possession, is a school teacher.

TIPPERARY.

EAST.

McCann, P. (S.F.) .. .. .	7,487
*Condon, T. (N.) .. .. .	4,794
<b>Sinn Fein majority .. .. .</b>	<b>2,693</b>

Mr. P. McCANN is a farmer.

MID.

Burke, J. A. (S.F.).

UNOPPOSED.

NORTH.

McDonagh, J. (S.F.).

UNOPPOSED.

SOUTH.

Maloney, P. J. (S.F.) .. .. .	8,744
*Cullinan, J. (N.) .. .. .	2,701
<b>Sinn Fein majority .. .. .</b>	<b>6,043</b>

Mr. P. J. MALONEY is a chemist.

TYRONE.

NORTH-EAST.

*Harbison, T. J. S. (N.) .. .. .	11,605
Houston, K. (U.) .. .. .	6,681
Melroy, J. (S.F.) .. .. .	56
<b>Nationalist majority .. .. .</b>	<b>4,924</b>

IRISH COUNTIES.

Mr. T. J. S. HARBISON has been closely associated with the Nationalist movement in Ulster. His return was mainly due to the compact between the Sinn Feiners and the Nationalists arranged for Ulster by Cardinal Logue.

NORTH-WEST.

Griffith, A. (S.F.) .. .. .	10,442
Miller, T. (U.) .. .. .	7,696
<b>Sinn Fein majority .. .. .</b>	<b>2,746</b>

Mr. ARTHUR GRIFFITH is one of the leaders of Sinn Fein in Dublin and the principal advocate of the policy of abstention from Parliament. Early in life he worked as a compositor, but for some years past he has been the editor and manager of some Sinn Fein newspapers. He took no active part in the rebellion. Is at present interned in England.

SOUTH.

*Coote, W. (U.) .. .. .	10,616
M'Cullagh, D. (S.F.) .. .. .	5,437
Skeffington, J. (N.) .. .. .	2,602
<b>Unionist majority .. .. .</b>	<b>5,179</b>

Mr. W. COOTE was first elected for Tyrone in 1916. Managing director of the Ballygawley Woollen Mills.

WATERFORD.

Brugha, C. (S.F.) .. .. .	12,890
O'Shea, J. J. (N.) .. .. .	4,217
<b>Sinn Fein majority .. .. .</b>	<b>8,673</b>

Mr. C. BRUGHA, who is a commercial traveller, was severely wounded during the rising.

WESTMEATH.

*Ginnell, L. (S.F.) .. .. .	12,435
Weymes, P. H. (N.) .. .. .	3,458
*Nugent, Sir W. (Ind.) .. .. .	603
<b>Sinn Fein majority .. .. .</b>	<b>8,977</b>

Mr. LAURENCE GINNELL, member for Westmeath, North, since 1906, first as a Nationalist, later as an Independent Nationalist, and more recently as a member of the Sinn Fein Party. He is a barrister, called at the Middle Temple 1893 and at the Irish Bar 1906. He was one of the founders of the Irish Literary Society, London.

WEXFORD.

NORTH.

Sweetman, R. (S.F.) .. .. .	10,162
*Esmonde, Sir T. Grattan (N.) .. .. .	7,189
<b>Sinn Fein majority .. .. .</b>	<b>2,973</b>

SOUTH.

Ryan, Dr. J. (S.F.) .. .. .	8,729
*Ffrench, P. (N.) .. .. .	8,211
<b>Sinn Fein majority .. .. .</b>	<b>518</b>

Dr. J. RYAN was deported to England for his share in the rebellion.

## IRISH COUNTIES.

The Times

### WICKLOW.

EAST.	
Etchingam, J. R. (S.F.) .. ..	5,916
Keene, H. Parker (U.) .. ..	2,600
Cogan, D. J. (N.) .. ..	2,466
Sinn Fein majority .. ..	3,316

Mr. ETCHINGHAM, a journalist, was sentenced to five years' penal servitude after the rebellion. Released after one year, he was deported to England.

### WEST.

Barton, R. C. (S.F.) .. ..	6,239
O'Mahony, The (N.) .. ..	1,370
Sinn Fein majority .. ..	4,869

Mr. R. C. BARTON is a farmer and miller who joined the Army soon after the start of the war, but subsequently retired.

## THE UNIVERSITIES.

### OXFORD (7,907) (2).

*Cecil, Lord Hugh (Co.U.) .. ..	2,771
*Prothero, R.E. (Co.U.) .. ..	2,546
Murray, Professor Gilbert (L.) ..	812
Furniss, H. S. (Lab.) .. ..	351
Coalition majority over Liberal..	1,734
Coalition majority over Labour..	2,195

LORD HUGH CECIL, Lieutenant, R.A.F., 1916, has been a Burgess of the University since 1910. Born in 1869, he is the fifth son of the third Marquess of Salisbury. He was educated at Eton and University College, Oxford, and is a Fellow of Hertford College. He was private secretary to his father, and represented Greenwich from 1895 to 1906.

Mr. ROWLAND EDMUND PROTHERO, a Burgess of the University since 1914, was editor of the *Quarterly Review* from 1894 to 1899, and agent in chief to the Duke of Bedford. He is a barrister. Born in 1852, he was educated at Marlborough and Balliol College, Oxford. He sat on various Royal Commissions. He was appointed President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries in 1917.

### CAMBRIDGE (9,282) (2).

*Rawlinson, J. F. P. (Co.U.) .. ..	2,034
*Larmor, Sir Joseph (Co.U.) .. ..	1,986
Whetham, W. C. D. (Ind.) .. ..	1,229
Squire, J. C. (Lab.) .. ..	641
Coalition majority over Independent	757
Coalition majority over Labour ..	1,345

The number of valid votes received was 5,785, and there were two members to be elected. The quota or number of votes sufficient to secure the election of a candidate was therefore 1,929. On the first count the number of votes for each candidate was:—Mr. Rawlinson, 2,034; Sir J. Larmor, 1,891; Mr. Whetham, 1,220; Mr. Squire, 640. Mr. Rawlinson was therefore first elected. He had 105 votes in excess of the quota, and these were distributed to the other candidates, Sir J. Larmor receiving 95, Mr. Whetham nine, and Mr. Squire one.

Mr. JOHN FREDERICK PEEL RAWLINSON, K.C., LL.M., Barrister-at-Law, one of the University members since 1906, Commissary of the University since 1900, and Deputy High Steward. Has been the Recorder of Cambridge Borough for 20 years, a magistrate for the county for 17 years, and contested Ipswich as a Conservative in 1900. A staunch Churchman.

SIR JOSEPH LARMOR, M.A., D.Sc. (London), LL.D. (Glasgow), F.R.S., F.R.A.S., has been Fellow of St. John's College since 1880, in which year he was Senior Wrangler in the Mathematical Tripos and first Smith's Prizeman. Held important mathematical appointments in Ireland, returned to Cambridge as University Lecturer in Mathematics, and in 1903 was elected to the Lucasian Professorship. Represented the University since 1911.

### LONDON (10,096).

*Magnus, Sir Philip (Co.U.) .. ..	2,810
Webb, Sidney (Lab.) .. ..	2,141
Somerville, A. A. (Teachers) .. ..	885
Herringham, Sir W. (Ind.) .. ..	715
Nordon, C. L. (Ind.) .. ..	210
Coalition majority .. ..	669

SIR PHILIP MAGNUS was elected as a Unionist for London University in 1906. He is a member of the Senate and Fellow of the University, and has occupied various important educational offices. He was a member of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, 1881-84.

### COMBINED ENGLISH (2,357) (2).

*Fisher, H. A. L. (Co.L.) .. ..	959
Conway, Sir Martin (Co.U.) .. ..	777
Hobson, J. A. (Ind.) .. ..	481
Williams, H. G. (U.) .. ..	410
Coalition majority .. ..	296

On the first count the figures were:—Mr. Fisher, 959; Mr. Williams and Mr. Hobson, 366 each; and Sir M. Conway, 303. Mr. Fisher was accordingly

*House of Commons.*

declared elected, and his surplus votes transferred to the other candidates, with the result shown above.

Mr. H. A. L. FISHER, President of the Board of Education since 1916, when he was elected as Liberal member for the Hallam Division of Sheffield, has already grappled with the problem of educational reform and secured the passage of a Bill in the Session just ended. Formerly Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University.

SIR MARTIN CONWAY is an authority on art and an explorer, who has climbed to great heights in the Himalayas and the Andes. He was made Director-General of the National War Museum in 1917. In 1895 he contested Bath as a Liberal.

## WALES (1,066).

*Lewis, H. (Co.L.) .. .. .	739
Mackenzie, Hon. Mrs. (Lab.) ..	176
Coalition majority .. .. .	563

Mr. JOHN HERBERT LEWIS, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education since May, 1915, entered Parliament as Liberal member for Flint District in 1892. He has served as a Liberal whip and was for six years Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board.

## SCOTLAND (27,322) (3).

*Cheyne, Sir Watson (Co.U.) .. ..	3,719
Cowan, D. M. (Co.L.) .. .. .	3,499
*Craik, Sir Henry (Co.U.) .. .. .	3,286
Macdonald, Dr. P. (Lab.) .. .. .	1,581
Smith, Professor W. R. (Ind.) .. ..	850
Coalition majority .. .. .	1,705

SIR WATSON CHEYNE sat as a Coalition member for Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities in the late Parliament from August, 1917. He has been President of the Royal College of Surgeons, was consulting surgeon to the British Army in the South African campaign, and in 1914 was appointed a surgeon-general in the Navy.

Mr. DUGALD M'COIG COWAN, M.A., of Glasgow, has had 20 years' experience as headmaster of a large primary and secondary school, and has taken part in other spheres of educational activity.

SIR HENRY CRAIK was elected Unionist member for Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities in 1906. He was Secretary of the Scottish Education Department, 1885-1904. Is author of "Life of Swift,"

## THE UNIVERSITIES.

"The State and Education," "Century of Scottish History," and "Life of Clarendon," K.O.B., 1897. P.C. 1913.

## DUBLIN (2).

*Samuels, A. W. (U.) .. .. .	1,273
Woods, Sir R. (Ind.) .. .. .	1,094
Jellett, W. M. (U.) .. .. .	826
*Gwynn, Capt. S. L. (N.) .. .. .	271
Unionist majority .. .. .	447
Independent majority .. .. .	268

The result of the count of the first preference votes was :—Samuels, 1,273; Woods, 793; Jellett, 631; Gwynn, 257. The quota being 985 Mr. Samuels was declared elected. When his surplus votes were transferred, the figures were :—Woods, 888; Jellett, 810; Gwynn, 271. None of the continuing candidates having obtained the quota, Capt. Gwynn was declared not elected, and the second preference votes on his papers were transferred with the following result :—Woods, 1,094; Jellett, 826. Sir R. Woods was then declared elected.

Mr. ARTHUR WARREN SAMUELS, K.C., was appointed Solicitor-General for Ireland in 1917. He was called to the Irish Bar in 1877. He has published works dealing with Irish social and political questions; and is an advocate of the reform of the procedure in relation to Irish Private Bills at Westminster.

SIR ROBERT WOODS is a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, Ireland, and Professor of Laryngology and Otology, Trinity College, Dublin. He has published several contributions to surgical literature.

## NATIONAL.

MacNeill, J. (S.F.) .. .. .	1,644
Conway, Professor A. W. (N.) .. ..	813
Sinn Fein majority .. .. .	831

## QUEEN'S, BELFAST.

Whitla, Sir W. (U.) .. .. .	1,487
Dolan, S. (S.F.) .. .. .	118
Unionist majority .. .. .	1,369

SIR WILLIAM WHITLA is a Belfast physician and Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics in Queen's University. He was president of the British Medical Association 1909-10. Sir William Whitla is a leading Irish Methodist and was one of the Government nominees upon the Irish Convention.



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# HOME RULE FOR INDIA LEAGUE

BRITISH AUXILIARY

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LEAFLET NO. 2

## PROGRESS OF EDUCATION IN INDIA UNDER BRITISH RULE

IT is well known that our modern education system in India had its origin in the year 1854, when the famous dispatch was published accepting the principle that the education of the people of India was a State duty. Before 1854 there were nearly 900,000 pupils receiving education in indigenous schools uncontrolled by the State. In 1882, from the enquiries made by the Education Commission appointed by the Government of Lord Ripon, it was found that there were nearly 2,500,000 pupils under instruction—*i.e.*, 1·2% of the whole population of India at that time. The Education Commission recommended that the extension and improvement of the elementary education of the masses should be “that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should be directed in still larger measure than before,” and also that “an attempt should be made to secure the fullest possible provision for an expansion of primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each province.” In 1910, after a lapse of 28 years, the total number of pupils in recognised and unrecognised schools was 4,500,000—*i.e.*, nearly 1·9% of the whole population; that is during 28 years there was an increase of only 7%. The expenditure on education for the whole of British India with a

population of 208 millions was only £240,000 in 1882. In 1910, while the population rose to 237 millions, the expenditure was £620,000. Thus the State spent a little over a farthing per head of the population on education in 1882 and nearly three farthings in 1910. We must remember that during the same period the land revenue increased by nearly £5,300,000. The rise in the expenditure on education was only £380,000, while the military expenditure rose by nearly £8,600,000, expenditure on civil departments increased by nearly £5,300,000, that on railways by £10,000,000. One need only take a cursory glance over the figures given above to realise the attitude of the Government of India towards the education of the people.

Let us now look at the achievements of other civilised countries. In England the first step towards making education compulsory was taken in 1870 by introducing what was called permissive compulsion. Ten years later the compulsion was made absolute. In 1871 43·3% of the school-going population was under instruction, in 1876 66%, and by 1892 every child that should have been at school was at school. The problem of Mass education was solved in 12 years.

In Japan before 1872 only 28% of the school-going population was at school, and by 1900 nearly 90% was under instruction. Turning to Russia, in 1880 only 1·2% of the total population was at school (the percentage is, curiously, the same as in India in 1882); in 1906-7 the percentage had risen to 4·5 as against the 1·9 of India. In the United States in 1910 21% of the whole population was receiving elementary education; in Canada, in Australia, in Switzerland, in Great Britain and Ireland, the percentage varied from 20 to 17. In Germany, in Austria-Hungary, in Norway and in the Netherlands the proportion was from 17 to 15%. In France it was slightly above 14%, in Sweden 14%, in Denmark 13%, in Belgium 12%, in Japan 11%, in Italy, Greece, and Spain from 8 to 9%, in Portugal and Russia it was between 4 and 5%, and in *British India* it was only 1·9%.

The case of the Philippine Islands is interesting. The Philippines passed under the rule of America at the close of the last century. In 1903 nearly 2% of the population was at school. In 1908 there was nearly 5% at school. During the same period—a period of phenomenal progress in Indian education as the officials there declare—the percentage rose from 1·6 to 1·9%.

The relative expenditure on education per head of the population is instructive. It is highest in the United States, being no less than 16s. ; in Switzerland it is 13s. 8d. per head ; in Australia, 11s. 3d. ; in England and Wales, 10s. ; in Canada, 9s. 9d. ; in Scotland, 9s. 7½d. ; in Germany, 6s. 10d. ; in Ireland, 6s. 5d. ; in the Netherlands, 6s. 4½d. ; in Sweden, 5s. 7d. ; in Belgium, 5s. 4d. ; in Norway, 5s. 1d. ; in France, 4s. 10d. ; in Austria, 3s. 1½d. ; in Spain, 1s. 10d. ; in Italy, 1s. 7½d. ; in Serbia and Japan, 1s. 2d. ; in Russia, 7½d. ; while in *British India* it is 1d.

There are those who are anxious to prove that Indians should ever be grateful to England for the blessings of her rule, that without England India could never manage her affairs so well. So let us see what the various semi-dependent Indian States have done for their subjects.

In Baroda, the enlightened ruler of that State, in the year 1893, began experimenting in the matter of introducing compulsory and free education in ten villages. In 1906 Primary Education was made free and compulsory for boys between the ages of 6 and 12 and for girls between 6 and 10 (subsequently the age limit for girls was raised to 11). In 1909 nearly 8·6% of the total population was at school as against 1·9 in British India, or nearly 79·6% of the male school-going population, as against 21·5% in British India, while 47·6% of girls of school-going age was under instruction as against 4% in British India. At the end of 1914-1915 each town or village had at least one institution and 100% of the boys of school-going age and 81·6% of the girls of school-going age are under instruction.

The other Indian States are less advanced than Baroda, but very much more advanced than British India. In Travancore, in 1911, nearly 6·6% of the total population was under instruction, or 43·8% of the school-going population; in Cochin, 7·4% of the total population, or 49·3 of the school-going population; in Mysore, 3·28 of the total population, or 21·9% of the school-going population.

A comparison of the expenditure on education in the various Indian States and in British India is also instructive. Baroda spent in 1900 nearly 6½d. per head of the population. In 1913 Travancore spent 7½d. per head, Cochin 6d. per head, and Mysore 1s. per head, while in British India the expenditure on education is only 1d. per head.

The facts tell their own story. When the late Mr. Gokhale pleaded before the Viceroy's Council for the introduction of free and compulsory elementary education in British India, and placed all these facts before the Government of India, he made the following striking observation :

“The Hon. Mr. Butler (the Member for Education) declines to accept my analogies, and says that the state of things in this country is different from what it is elsewhere; and as regards Baroda, he says that it is governed autocratically, and that makes a great difference. Western countries will not do, because they are governed democratically! Baroda will not do, because it is governed autocratically! I suppose the Hon. Member will not be satisfied unless I produce the analogy of a country governed bureaucratically; but as there is no other country governed as India is, he is safe in insisting on such an analogy, and I must say I give it up.”

Mr. Gokhale need not have given it up in despair, for Mr. Butler could not have more strongly proved the failure of Bureaucracy and the necessity of Home Rule for India.

## AN INDIAN PRINCIPAL.

(Form *New India*, Madras.)

Home Rule for India League, 1 Robert Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.

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# INDIAN MUHAMMADANS AND HOME RULE

## HINDU-MUHAMMADAN ANTAGONISM.

### THE FALLACIES OF THE HOME RULE AGITATION.

1. The small clique of Brahmans and Indian lawyers engaged in agitating for the grant of "Home Rule" to India constantly relies upon the fallacious statement that the Muhammadans of India are in favour of the Congress and Moslem League programme and that, linked by close ties of sentiment with the Hindus, they are striving jointly with the latter to bring about self-government and the abolition of British authority in the political and economic administration of India. Mr. C. R. Das, one of the most extreme Bengali advocates of Mrs. Besant's dangerous propaganda, remarked in a speech at Calcutta that "we (the Hindus) embrace the Muhammadans as brothers," while Mr. Mahomedali Jinnah, a Khoja lawyer from Bombay City, wrote as follows in an article which he contributed to the *Manchester Guardian* of March 28, 1918:—

"I may point out here that in December, 1916, the Congress and All-India Moslem League adopted a scheme of reforms jointly. Thus we solved the greatest internal problem which India had, because it clearly indicates that the people at large, both Hindus and Musalmans, demanded the reforms which were adumbrated and jointly adopted by their two great organisations at Lucknow in 1916."

2. Those who are strangers to India would naturally infer from these statements—as, indeed, Messrs. Das and Jinnah intend that they should—that (a) the Hindus and Muhammadans now stand united by the strongest ties of common sentiment, mutual sympathy and joint political objective, (b) that the Muhammadans of India recognise and accept the All-India Moslem League as representing their aims and interests and (c) that the Muhammadans as a body desire Home Rule. No greater perversion of the truth can be imagined. Weigh the statements of Messrs. Das and Jinnah ever so lightly, and their misrepresentation of the situation is at once made manifest, as the following facts will explain.

3. In regard to the first matter, the history of India is replete with instances of violent religious and communal antagonism between the Hindus and the Muhammadans, and this antagonism still exists in its most bitter and abiding form. The annual recurrence of the Bakri Id, at which, in commemoration of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, the Muhammadans are accustomed to slaughter cattle, sheep and goats, is fraught with danger to the public peace in several parts of India, owing to the hatred of the festival evinced by the Hindus and their never-ending attempts to interfere with the free celebration of this Musalman holiday. Similarly the great festival of the Muharram, or mourning for Hassan and Hussein,



has frequently served both to emphasise and aggravate the mutual distrust and hostility of Muhammadan and Hindu. Were it not for the impartial authority of the British Government the disturbances arising from their antagonism would be even more serious than they have been. No province of India has been wholly free from outbursts of religious fanaticism, and the rioting which has taken place on the occasion of the Bakri Id in Bengal is based upon the same inveterate hostility which provoked the grave Hindu-Muhammadan riots of 1893 in Bombay, when British troops had to be quartered for ten days in the city and the Muhammadans, exasperated beyond all control by the behaviour of the Hindus, broke into the temples of the latter and publicly defiled their idols. Other and similar outbursts of ill-feeling have occurred since that date and are bound to continue as long as the Hindus endeavour to close all avenues of political and economic progress to outsiders and aggravate religious differences by studied disregard of Muhammadan views and interests in every-day life.

As recently as the autumn of 1917, at the very moment when the lawyers of the Congress and the Moslem League were loudly proclaiming the brotherhood of Hindu and Muhammadan, the Hindus of the province of Behar and Orissa were committing the most shocking outrages upon inoffensive Muhammadan villagers. The judgment of the Court of Commissioners of the special tribunal of Arrah, delivered in December, 1917, emphasises the fact that "These disturbances were the result of a deliberately planned and widely extended conspiracy in the district to loot, terrorise, and crush the Muhammadan minority. The outrageous treatment to which the unfortunate Muhammadan women were exposed by mobs of men, of whom the highest Hindu castes formed a large proportion, has left indelible disgrace both on those who engineered these disturbances and on those who took part in them. . . . It is quite clear that the mobs, who were led by men of position in the neighbourhood, such as Patwaris, Tehsildars, and petty Zemindars, committed almost the most serious crimes that such mobs could commit short of actual murder."

In the Shahabad district alone more than 100 villages were looted. Over large areas Hindus of every class, from leading Zemindars down to sweepers "combined in thousands" (to quote the judgment of the Special Court) to attack Moslem villages or the Moslem houses in the mixed villages. Before troops could be brought to the scene by Government, murder, arson, and the pillage and destruction of entire villages were perpetrated in such fashion as to lead an eye-witness to declare that the worst excesses of the Germans in Belgium were equalled, if not surpassed. In spite of the Viceroy's appeal to "recognised leaders" of the Hindus to lend their influence to prevent a recurrence of these outbursts of barbarism, not a single expression of repugnance and horror was uttered by those leaders of the Congress who unceasingly proclaim a Hindu-Muhammadan entente, and demand the subversion of British authority in India!

"The brotherly embrace of Hindu and Muhammadan" so confidently asserted by Mr. Das and the community of interests advertised by Mr. Jinnah, have been terribly falsified by the spectacle of the injured men and outraged women of the ruined Muhammadan villages of Behar!

4. In regard to the second point, it may be stated at once that the All-India Moslem League does not in any way represent the views of 66½ millions of Indian Muhammadans, but merely those of a small body of Muhammadan lawyers and their satellites, who belong largely to the Shia sect. Under the ægis of Mrs. Besant, Mr. Tilak, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Das, and other political agitators of extreme views have for some time been engaged in endeavouring to manufacture public opinion by such methods as were recently disclosed in the issue of the London "Times" of April, 1918. But the bulk of the Muhammadan population, from His Exalted Highness the Nizam down to the lowliest Muhammadan villager in Bengal, cherishes conservative instincts, and is unquestionably loyal to the British Government in India. This contention can be amply proved from the memorials and addresses presented to Mr. Montagu by various Muhammadan Associations, and from the proceedings of mass-meetings of Muhammadans held in various parts of India at the close of 1917. Extracts

from two of these which appeared in the public Press, are here given, as being typical of the general Muhammadan feeling regarding the All-India Moslem League :—

(i) The address of the **Muthiapet Moslem Anjuman** stated :—

“ We have no sympathy whatever with the Home Rule movement. We disagree with the memorandum of the nineteen and the Congress-Moslem League scheme, both of which are a practical paraphrase of the Home Rule idea of transferring power from the British Government to Indians.”

(ii) At a mass-meeting of the **Muhammadans of Muzaffarpur (Bengal)** it was resolved :—

“ That we Muhammadans disapprove of the action of the All-India Moslem League in co-operating with the Congress on the question of Home Rule for India, because the League does not represent the true views of Moslems.”

5. As regards the third assertion that the Muhammadans of India desire Home Rule or Self-Government, as “ adumbrated ” by the Congress and Moslem League, one has only to peruse the addresses presented to the Secretary of State to be assured of the falsity of the claim. The keynote of the Muhammadan memorials from Bengal, the United Provinces, the Panjab, Bombay, Madras, Behar, and Sind is the vital need for Muhammadan welfare of preserving intact the existing British element in the administration of India. Even the small clique of “ advanced ” Muhammadan lawyers of the All-India Moslem League, who in 1915-16 identified themselves with the Hindus of the Congress in a joint scheme of self-government, have already shown some uneasiness at the obvious intention of the Congress to establish an upper-class Hindu oligarchy. No one knows better than the intelligent Muhammadan that if a Home Rule Bill were passed and self-government were now granted to India, the Muhammadans as a class would be condemned for all time to play an inferior and humiliating rôle in the public and religious life of India. The very insistent demand by the lawyers of the Moslem League for separate communal representation on all Councils and Boards indicates how deeply they distrust the Hindu majority.

An experienced Muhammadan administrator gives the views of the masses in the following words :—

“ The political agitators are taking advantage of the present crisis to push their hobby of ‘ Home Rule.’ As a native of India, with thirty-five years’ experience in many capacities, I can realise the true effects of this artificial agitation of a few hundred persons. The so-called Moslem League, a mere creature of the Congress, does not represent real Muhammadan opinion. The same is the case with the Congress. The masses are quite indifferent to political agitation. They are quite happy if the rains be timely and sufficient to secure good crops, and if they have a good Talati (native revenue official), an honest Mamlatdar (superior native magistrate and revenue official), and a just Faujdar (native superintendent of police).”

These views are strengthened by the public pronouncements of Muhammadan associations and leagues in all parts of India. Three extracts will suffice to show the general trend of Muhammadan feeling :—

(i.) The **South India Islamia League**, in an address to Mr. Montagu, remarked :—

“ Nothing should be done which will weaken British authority in any manner whatsoever, and hand over the destinies of the Moslem community to classes which have no regard for their interests and no respect for their sentiments. It is one thing to co-operate with other classes under the presiding care of the British Government, and quite another to be at the tender mercy of these classes with the British Government stripped of its powers, standing by and looking on helpless and unable to act.”

(ii.) At a mass-meeting of **Muhammadans of Bengal** it was resolved :—

“ That the present Home Rule agitation is untimely as well as detrimental to the religious, social, and political interests of the Indian Muhammadans.

“ That the Ullamas (doctors of Muhammadan religious law) of the various sects of Islam be requested to issue their “ Fatwas ” against Home Rule.”

(iii.) At a mass-meeting of the Muhammadans of Behar it was resolved :-  
"That the views and sentiments of the Indian National Congress are radically opposed and inimical to the views and sentiments of Moslems, and it is on that account that the religious prejudices, enmity, and hatred of the Congressmen against the Moslems are increasing. The growing atrocities in the riots at Bakri-Id are the obvious outcome of the National Congress. An apt specimen of the brutalities and atrocities inflicted upon the Moslems has been witnessed in the districts of Arrah, Gaya and Patna."

6. In view of the evidence given above, it is clearly impossible to accept the statements of the Home Rule party as affording a correct or trustworthy view of Muhammadan feeling in India. It is obviously most important that the British Parliament and public should not alienate true and loyal Muhammadan sentiment by weak concessions to the selfish demands of a small group of political agitators. The Muhammadans of India have a great historical past behind them; they have always shown deep loyalty to the British Government, even at a time when sentimental attachment to the Sultan of Turkey as "Amir-ul-Momenin" might have alienated their sympathy with Imperial needs. Muhammadans of the very classes, whose opinions and protests have been quoted above, have furnished some of the bravest soldiers and ablest civil police officers in the service of the British Government in India. The whole social teaching of the Koran, which is to the Musalman what the Bible is to the Christian, is directly opposed to the social code of the Brahman, with its naked glorification of caste-superiority and caste-privilege. That fact, coupled with the constant attempts of the Hindus to obstruct the social and educational advancement of the Muhammadans, is responsible for the bitter antagonism existing between the two communities, and for the repeated prayers of the Muhammadan millions that the British administration in India may be preserved intact and unshaken. Surely the requests of the classes which have furnished to the Empire such servants as Mir Dost, V.C., and the Indian Cavalry who fought at Cambrai, deserve more consideration than the revolutionary demands of a narrow and unrepresentative coterie of lawyers!

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SELF-  
DETERMINATION  
*for*  
INDIA



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CAPTAIN WILSON: Hullo! What about India?  
PASSPORT OFFICER (Ll--d G----e): No passport, Captain.

# SELF-DETERMINATION FOR INDIA



**T**HE war is ended and peace is restored. The ravages of war will be repaired by the industries of peace. The world is familiar with this painful process of destruction and reconstruction by war-makers and peace-makers. But the present desolation and slaughter have so staggered mankind that the human heart craves for the blessings of peace for all time to come. The Congress of Peace will have not only to deal with the questions of retribution, restoration, indemnities and repair of ravages, but also to satisfy the cravings of mankind for durable peace on earth by extending the rule of right against might throughout the globe. No higher or holier work was ever entrusted to the Congress of Peace. It is a task which demands self-sacrifice as anticipated by President Wilson: "All who sit at the Peace Conference," says he, "must be ready to pay the price, and the price is impartial justice, no matter whose interest is crossed." To realise this noble object it would have been better if all countries, including India, Ireland and Egypt, were represented not by official nominees, but by men who command the confidence of their compatriots. The exclusion of India is the exclusion of one-fifth of the human race vitally affected by the discussions and decisions of the Congress. We apprehend, that in the absence of such adequate representation, and on account of the multiplicity and complexity of the questions arising for solution, it is possible that the gravity of the Indian Problem may be overlooked or underestimated. We therefore venture to expound the case of India with the view of placing it before the British Statesmen and the British public, and through them before the Peace Congress, in the hope that it will contribute in some measure to the right solution of the world-wide problems of Peace, Freedom, and Democracy.

## CAUSES OF WAR

We welcome the formation of a League of Nations as a permanent political organisation for maintaining the peace of the world, and fostering the development of different nationalities on the principle of Self-Determination; but we believe that no League will ever accomplish these noble objects without first removing the root causes of war amongst nations. A glance at the political history of Europe will reveal that wars have been occasioned by certain ideals, charged with tremendous energy as motive forces which cannot



be ignored without disaster to the future peace of the world. These dynamic forces are: (1) Imperialism—*i.e.*, the desire to form Empires by conquest of other countries; (2) Nationalism—*i.e.*, the aspiration of a people to overthrow foreign domination and unite into one and the same State; (3) Democracy—*i.e.*, the people's aspirations to replace Governments by Autocracy or Bureaucracy by Governments of the people, by the people, and for the people; and lastly (4) Trade rivalries or political jealousies amongst the premier Nations of Europe to keep other parts of the world in subjection under the guise of being trustees, custodians of order, or mandatories of civilisation. We believe every one of these causes plays an important part in the relations of one nation with another. The League will have to eliminate every one of these causes of war if it is to accomplish the greatest and most durable of its work—*viz.*, the Peace of the World. The relation of one nation with another must first be settled on the principle of justice, giving effect to ideals which promote peace and repressing forces which make for war. Without doing so the League of Nations will ultimately degenerate into an instrument of oppression, especially to those nations who are not free at present. We believe the principle of Self-Determination alone can solve the great problem of peace, and we claim the application of this principle to the case of India, which has contributed so much in men, money and materials to the triumph of the Allied Arms. We do not advocate dismemberment or severance. We desire partnership on the footing of equality of status with the Oversea-Dominions. Under the British ægis, we demand "an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development" for India similar to that accorded to the various nationalities within the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires under President Wilson's "fourteen points" assented to by the British Government with the approval of the people. Our claim is founded upon the ideals and rights of Self-Determination, Nationalism, Freedom of Nations, National dignity and self-respect. These immortal principles have infused a new life into India during the war, and the supreme objective of this war, the peace of the world, cannot be achieved unless full scope be given to the principles of Self-Determination for gratifying the internal aspirations of India, and ending the external ambitions of foreign nations in relation to India. Without it the world can never be made safe for Democracy.

#### MONROE DOCTRINE FOR INDIA

There is no doubt that India has long been the centre of gravity of the premier Powers of Europe. They have cast furtive glances at the brightest gem in the Crown of England. They have envied the fair fields and pastures vast for British employment, enterprise and exploitation. But before this war not even England really knew the boundless potentialities of India as the emporium of raw materials for the industries of Europe. Unfortunately, under the conditions created by the war this new factor will generate new forces threatening to disturb the stability of peace so long as India is governed autocratically from Whitehall as a mere Dependency. The British Empire in the East was built by

British merchants, and British merchants are not philanthropists. Although Indian administration is divorced from Indian trade, British policy is more or less dominated by commercial influences and proprietary principles. "At bottom," says Seeley, "it implies the idea of an estate" (*Expansion of England*). This is the habit contracted on the American Plantations during 150 years of British exploitation. "It was only by slow degrees, however, that England learned the right policy towards her colonies. She began, as Rome did, by regarding her possessions as estates, to be farmed for her own selfish benefit. Nothing less than the loss of America sufficed to teach her how short-sighted her policy was" (Woodrow Wilson: *The State*). But the idea still survives in the Indian policy even according to Seeley. It is certainly unworthy of a great people. But apart from its unworthiness, the economic supremacy, which the Indian resources secure for England, will unquestionably intensify the worst passions and jealousies already excited against her by her maritime supremacy and imperial control of half the globe. Rivalry leads to militarism, despotism, and wars of conquest. The economic attractions will, therefore, aggravate the temptation of India for conquering heroes and States. Her former fame as the mart and mint of the world allured invaders by land from the days of Alexander the Great. But the land invasion ended with the Mohammedan occupation. The capture of Constantinople by the Ottomans in blockading the land way of Europe to India stimulated the mariners of Spain and Portugal to find a waterway. In the process Columbus discovered America and Vasco De Gama went to India. Then America and India both became the battle-fields of European nations. "The Mahratta (? Indian) hordes were slaughtered on the rice-fields of India to decide the struggle which ended only on the plains of Abraham" between France and England. America has fortunately ceased to be the direful curse of European quarrels. The attitude of the United States with its "Monroe Doctrine" saved the Southern American Republics for self-development. The American Union with laudable self-abnegation refrained from coercing them into the Union. But India has not fared so well. England, no doubt, drove the Dutch and the French from India and consolidated her power. But Russia and Germany in turn planned the conquest of India. Few will have the temerity to deny that the present war was partly caused by German designs on her. According to the *Times* of January 23rd, 1918, the ex-Kaiser is reported to have said "We shall not merely occupy India, but shall conquer it; and the vast revenues that the British allow to be taken by the Indian Princes will, after our conquest, flow in a golden stream into the Fatherland." The loyalty of India, and particularly of the intelligentsia of India, frustrated the German attempts to foment conspiracies. But clearly these external ambitions and internal aspirations render it absolutely imperative to settle Indian problems by enunciating a "Monroe Doctrine" for Asia and Africa, and emancipating India from pupillage and democratising the Government of India so as to remove rivalries and assure the world that India is governed by the sons of India, for the benefit of India and the common welfare of all mankind.

## BRITISH POLICY

Regarding the internal questions, the latest British policy towards India was announced in the House of Commons on August 20th, 1917, in answer to an interpellation in these terms:—

“The policy of His Majesty’s Government, with which the government of India are in complete accord, is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible.”

This policy was qualified by the Secretary of State for India in his said answer as follows:—

“I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be the judges of the time and measure of each advance.”

The policy, as qualified by the Secretary of State for India, evidently denies the application of Self-Determination to India. The denial is founded upon the assumptions—first, that India is not a nation, and therefore unfit for Self-Determination; and secondly, that she requires a prolonged period of Trusteeship with the view of gradually training her for the ultimate goal of Self-Government. This policy was, however, announced by Government without any mandate from the people and before the principle of Self-Determination was enunciated by President Wilson, or accepted by the British Government. But after this declaration and acceptance, its maintenance would be inconsistent with high-minded statesmanship and political wisdom, and is calculated to create great discontentment, especially as the underlying assumptions are untenable and unjust. We therefore propose to examine these assumptions in this brochure.

## INDIA, A NATION

It is argued that India is not a nation, but congeries of nations, not a country but a continent. These epigrams obscure the truth and delude the ignorant. What do we mean by a nation? Do the English, the French, the Poles severally constitute a nation? Then the Bengalis, the Punjabis, the Rajputs and the Mahrattas do also form a nation. The Bengalis inhabit the same region with a distinct name. Ethnologically they are descended from the same race. They have the same blood, the same language, the same civilisation, literature, customs, and traditions. These are the essential elements that constitute nationality in the popular sense. Castes do not divide a nation any more than classes do in

England. Creeds do not rend a nation in two. If it did religious toleration would be impossible. There is less antagonism between the creeds of India than there is between the various sects of Christianity in England. There are hundreds of such sects in England, but there are five religions in the whole of India. Two of these cover 95 per cent. of the population. The statement about the Bengali group is equally true of all the other groups in India. There are about 12 such groups. Historically up to the advent of British rule each of them formed a distinct State, more or less exclusively governed by themselves. These distinct States were in some measure disturbed by the artificial arrangement of the Provinces by the British Government. Nevertheless the spirit of nationalism pervades every one of them, and manifests itself when violently attacked or assailed, as it did when Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal. Historically, each of these groups form a nation in the same sense as the English, the French, the Belgians and the Poles do. They are therefore entitled to Self-Determination, and upon that principle also to federate to form the United States of India.

We have so far confined ourselves to the definition of nation in the popular sense of the word in dealing with the aforesaid groups. But as a matter of fact, in the broad sense of the word, the whole of India is one nation. India is said to be an epitome of the world; but there is unity in diversity. "India, encircled by seas and mountains, is indisputably a geographical unit" (V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*). "There is no part of the world better marked out by nature as a region by itself than India exclusive of Burmah" (Chisholm : Geography). Ethnologically they belong to same Aryan race, except in some parts of India, but even there they have been assimilated. The whole of India was Hinduised long before Alexander invaded India in 315 B.C. The Hindoo religion absorbed into its fold all the non-Aryan races, with the result that Hindoo culture became the predominant culture of India. This culture was based upon the ancient traditions, impulses and sentiments preserved and sung in the great Epic of India, the Mahabharata, which is translated in most of the modern vernaculars. Sanskrit was once the *lingua franca* of India. It was the language of the learned, as Latin was in Europe in the Middle Ages. "India, though it has more than 500 dialects, has only one sacred language, only one sacred literature, accepted and revered by all adherents of Hinduism alike, however diverse in race, dialect, rank and creed. That language and literature is Sanskrit, the most ancient language in the world" (Monier Williams). Three-fourths of the population speak dialects derived from Sanskrit, as French, Spanish and Portuguese are derived from Latin. Though there are many dialects, there are only about twelve which cover the whole of India. Politically, the whole of India is now practically united, and had been so also in the past, notably in the days of Asoka. But the ancient Emperors of India, more liberal than the modern Tsars or Kaisers, never used force to standardise language, culture, creed or caste, but left each group to self-development suitable to its environments. India, therefore, possesses all the elements of nationality—viz., same blood, same culture, same tradi-

tions, and same faith. This Hindoo nationality was to a certain extent disturbed by the Mohammedan invasion and Moghul rule, but the overwhelming majority of Moslems are the descendants of Hindoos who embraced Mohammedanism, and as such they have retained the language and customs of their respective regions, and are still influenced by the immemorial Hindoo culture except in religious matters. "Century after century our departed ancestors have fashioned our ideas and sentiments" (Le Bon). The change of faith cannot obliterate the work of centuries. "Beneath the manifold diversities of physical and social type, language, and customs and religion, which strike the observer in India, there can still be discerned a certain underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin" (Sir Herbert Risley). The civilisation of India "has many features which differentiate from that of all other regions of the world, while they are common to the whole country in a degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unit in the history of human social and intellectual development" (V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*). So intense is the feeling of unity throughout India that any attempt to divide the country into independent States would provoke indignant remonstrances. In fact, so deep is this feeling that even a proposal to create racial Provinces is regarded by some Indians as a malicious manœuvre at disruption. The allegation that India is not a nation is therefore untenable and unjustifiable. In political science, "A nation is no longer what it had been in the ancient world, a progeny of common ancestors, or the aboriginal product of a particular religion, a result of merely physical and material causes, but a moral and political being; not the creation of geographical or physiological unity, but developed in the course of history by the action of the State. It is derived from the State and not supreme over it. A State may, in the course of time, produce a nationality, but that a nationality should constitute a State is contrary to the nature of modern civilisation" (Lord Acton). Such a nationality is constituted when the people are animated by sympathies which make them co-operate with one another more willingly than with other people and desire to be under the same Government. Such a desire for co-operation exists throughout India and has been accelerated and accentuated by British domination. Indeed, according to Sir Henry Maine, "the idea of Nationality was first derived from India, and it travelled westwards." It is this feeling that makes federal union feasible. In this respect the Bengalis, the Mahrattas, the Madrasses, the Sikhs and other groups in India are more anxious to federate than the nations under the Dual Monarchy, or the defunct Russian Empire, or even the Irish and the English, or any other European nations. The Concordat between the Hindoos and Mohammedans at Lucknow in 1916 illustrates the facility with which the Indians left to themselves settle differences. But to require races of India to coalesce into a nation with *one* religion and *one* tongue, is midsummer madness. It would revive the mediæval idea of one Empire, one people and one church, which engendered despotisms of the blackest dye. The world is now happily rid of such tyranny. America has presented to the world the principle of

federalism, the last of the political principles, but the richest in promise of peace and freedom. According to Lord Acton, it renders possible and practicable "the highest degree of organisation, which Government is capable of receiving, with the fullest security for the preservation of local customs and ancient rights, where liberty would achieve its most glorious results, while centralisation and absolutism would be destruction." There is no justification whatever for the assumption that India is not capable of such organisation. On the contrary, the conditions and capacity, postulated by Lord Acton, exist in a remarkable degree in India. If such federal organisation has not hitherto been evolved in India it must be attributed to the neglect and the freezing and sterilising influences of the Indian Bureaucracy with its excessive centralisation, resulting from its rigid methods and notions of trusteeship.

### POLITICAL TRUSTEESHIP

The theory of trusteeship predicates that the trustee himself is fit. But can the West be a fit trustee for the East? Can materialism be a fit trustee for spiritualism? The two civilisations are so distinct and different that an English poet exclaimed "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet." "Indian civilisation lives apart. As well try to graft an Oak on a Banyan as attempt to develop it on English lines. In the phrase of the day India must have the right of Self-Determination" (Bernard Houghton in the *Positivist*, December 1918). It is manifest that England cannot be a fit trustee for India, for a trustee, unlike an executor, enforces his own will as to what is good for the ward. The result is deplorable. India lags far behind Germany or Japan. In 150 years of British rule the progress in India is less than the progress in Germany or Japan in 50 years. Indians have as much intelligence and capacity as the Germans or the Japanese. The rapid strides of Germany in commerce and industry have made her one of the greatest workshops in the world. India, with her unrivalled resources is still in industrial swaddling clothes. A century ago the percentage of literates in India was about the same as in England. To-day 95 per cent. can read and write in England, while in India scarcely 6 per cent. can do so. It is unnecessary for us to specify other grave defects. As a tree cannot grow in the shade so a nation cannot really prosper under an overshadowing trusteeship or overlordship. But the Bureaucracy still stubbornly cling to their "ideal of trusteeship."

Englishmen do not realise the deep wound inflicted on Indian sensitiveness by insisting on such trusteeship. Trustees are appointed for minors. India is not an infant nation, not a primitive people, but the eldest brother in the family of man, noted for her philosophy and for being the home of religions that console half of mankind. Trustees are in civil law appointed during the period of minority, so that trusteeship comes to an end by the efflux of time. Having regard to the frailty of man one shudders to think what would be the state of the society if self-made trusteeships could come to an end only when the trustees thought their wards capable. No trustee would renounce his trust voluntarily under such circum-



stances unless the trust estate proved to be a sort of a *damnosa hereditas*. Political trustees in the same way would find countless excuses to prolong their trusteeship till the crack of doom. Trusteeship is opposed to Self-Determination, Liberty and Democracy. It is much better that people should govern themselves, even if they blunder in the process. Left to themselves, Indians will solve their problems as effectively as Japan has done in the short time of 40 years. No alien, even supposing that he is perfectly selfless, can do it in hundreds of years, for he is incapable of really understanding the needs and aspirations of the people. No foreign governor can train the governed for self-government. Even the apologists of Bureaucracy admit that it has failed to prepare Indians for self-government, and profess to believe that they are now about to make an earnest beginning in training them for responsible government. But a foreign agency is not the proper method. Indigenous agency is the right way. "To hold in political bondage a nation possessing so ancient, complex and deep-rooted civilisation, to fetter it from free development on its own lines and free solution of its own problems, is not merely a political blunder of the first magnitude, but a treason against humanity" (Bernard Houghton in the *Positivist*, December 1918). Under these circumstances the least that the Congress can do is to fix a time limit for the termination of the self-imposed trusteeship, as America did in the Philippines. Without such a time limit British trusteeship is only another name for *patria potestas*, from which Rome escaped after long travail by the efforts of liberal jurists. India has determined, at the Sessions of the Indian National Congress, and at the meeting of the All-India Moslem League held in August 1918, for the special purpose of considering the official proposals of reform contained in the Montague-Chelmsford report, that this period shall not exceed fifteen years under any circumstances whatever.

The period of fifteen years naturally implies some beginning. The Government of India is an exceedingly centralised autocracy. "The Viceroy of India and the Czar of Russia are sometimes said to be the two great autocrats of the modern world" (Prof. Lowell, *Government of England*). India has determined that the first instalment of reform in the Indian constitution shall be made by the Congress League Scheme. The British Government proposes to maintain intact autocracy in the Government of India, and to convert only the subordinate Provincial Governments into a diarchy, placing the people on the lowest rung of the administrative ladder, and contemplating progress *step by step* towards the goal of self-government by periodic official inquisitions into the capacity of the people every ten years. This is no place to discuss the details, but we resent the implied slur on the patriotism, intelligence and capacity of the people of India. The people of India are admittedly as shrewd, law-abiding and intelligent as the people of Europe. The venerable civilisation of India has moulded their character and made them fit for citizenship in any civilised State. The only argument against their capacity is that a large majority of them cannot read and write. But this is no fault of theirs. It is a grievance against Bureaucracy. It was their duty to teach them to read and write during the past 150 years

of their rule. All other countries have done so during this period including, Great Britain and Japan. India is left behind. As a matter of fact the bureaucracy recently opposed even the partial application of the compulsory principle in primary education advocated by Indians in a private Bill. Under these circumstances, to urge illiteracy as an excuse for withholding political rights is to add insult to injury. But apart from this insult, the scheme does not realise that the first requisite of progress is liberty for self-development. We may have progress step by step, but we cannot have liberty step by step. The slave cannot be emancipated step by step. The chains of slavery cannot be struck off link by link. We cannot have liberty link by link. Liberty must be given at once and at one stroke, and then progress will follow. It is true that this progress must be by stages covering the intervening space. But in these days of Escalators, Lifts, and Aeroplanes the step must not be a "ten years'" step. We are told that the British took six hundred years to reach the present form of government. But Athens did it in a generation and France in six months. Lord Acton says "During six months, from January 1789 to the fall of the Bastille in July, France travelled as far as England in the 600 years between the Earl of Leicester and Lord Beaconsfield." Once the ground is explored and rails laid down the wanderer can travel with the speed of the Flying Dutchman. Many centuries elapsed before Newton discovered the law of gravity. Every schoolboy now learns it without much difficulty. As in Physics so in Politics. When a Positive State "is once definitely established in any single centre, its extension to the race requires in no case a repetition of the phases proper to the primary movement" (Auguste Comte, *Positive Polity*). Left to themselves there can therefore be no doubt that Indians are quite capable of solving their Domestic Problems on democratic principles within a short time. It must not be easily assumed that Orientals are wedded to autocracy. The truth is that Democracy is older than Autocracy in India. Our ancestors were fully accustomed to democratic institutions. The great Epic of India not only mentions, but describes Indian democracies, and the Buddhist literature fully testifies to their existence in those early days. The Greeks found village republics in full force. For over 2,000 years, five hundred thousand (500,000) village republics, composed of all castes in the village, flourished in India from Megasthenes to Munro, till exterminated by Anglo-Indian centralisation. The vigorous Caste Panchayat of to-day contains the germs of republicanism. No people in the world have had a wider or longer experience in working popular institutions. It is therefore absurd to presume that Indians are incapable of working democratic institutions. Absolute freedom for autonomous development would enable India to advance as Japan did, by leaps and bounds, thereby becoming a source of strength to Great Britain and a valued contributor to the civilisation of mankind. India is anxious to restore her pristine glory. Of this there is no doubt. Liberty will infuse a new soul into her. It is therefore hoped that the high-minded statesmanship of England will rise to the occasion and support this demand of India at the Congress of Peace and give her the longed-for opportunity of working, on her own lines, democratic institutions, and thereby becoming a source of strength to the British Commonwealth.

## CONCLUSION

Upon the principles we have discussed we claim that the British Parliament should enact a complete Constitution for India conceding autonomy within the British Commonwealth, with transitory provisions for bringing the whole constitution into full operation within the time specified by the Congress and the Moslem League. The autonomy we advocate may be briefly sketched as follows:—The Peninsula of India should be divided into a number of provinces on the principle of nationality. The Province should administer the internal affairs of the Province and be entrusted with all powers requisite for the administration. The form of Government should be democratic. These Provinces should be federated to form the United States of India, with democratic Central Executive and Legislative bodies having powers to deal with the internal affairs of the whole of India. The United States of India should form a unit of the British Commonwealth with equal status with any other constituent unit thereof. There should be a supreme commonwealth Executive and Legislature dealing with concerns common to the whole commonwealth, such as war, peace, army, navy, and foreign affairs. In this pyramid every part of the British Empire would be united with full freedom for self-development of the constituent parts. Such a system has received the benediction of Lord Acton, who says: "Where different races inhabit the territories of one Empire composed of several smaller States, it is, of all possible combinations, the most favourable to the establishment of a highly-developed system of freedom. . . . These are conditions necessary for the very highest degree of organisation which government is capable of receiving. In such a country as this liberty would achieve its most glorious results, while centralisation and absolutism would be destruction." Such a system embodies a higher and a nobler ideal—viz., the ideal of a world-wide "Empire of amity and not an Empire of enmity" (Herbert Spencer). The problem of Ulster has brought the federal principle to the forefront in British politics. The refashioning of the British commonwealth cannot be achieved by patchwork. It demands drastic changes on federal lines. We believe the autonomy we advocate would place the British Commonwealth on the firmer foundation of the affection of peoples, destroying jealousies and promoting the happiness and welfare not only of India, but of all mankind. In this hope we appeal to all for sympathy and adequate measures.



FATHER XMAS (M-nt-g-e): Madam, allow me. . . .  
LADY INDIA: No thanks. No sugar in it.  
FATHER XMAS: Sorry. It is rationed at present, Madam.

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