

will be of a public character and will be made known to you all in good time.

Meanwhile I say most strongly that the state of things which at present exists is both unjust and injurious to the interests of Behar; that Government ought to set before itself consistently and definitely the determination to give due recognition to the claims of Behar and to provide in Behar a public service, as far as possible, of the people themselves. There is not one of all the departments to which I have referred in which the mere fact of being a Beharee is not itself a claim to appointment in Behar. It is not the only claim that must be considered; and you will have to see it that other qualifications are forthcoming; but it is a claim which ought not to be ignored. A man is a better judge, he is a better executive officer, he is a better school master, if he talks the vernacular of the people among whom he is working, if he understands them and sympathises with them thoroughly. Other claims, other qualifications are necessary; but this claim is a

greater qualification for service and is certainly not one which ought to be ignored. Gentlemen, as I have said that it is necessary for the Government to keep this determination to do right consistently and definitely before it in making appointments. So I say to you that you ought to remain united in your determination to advance the interests of Behar, and that you ought to be ready at all times, in a courteous and reasonable way such as you have adopted at the present time, to lay your views before the Head of the Government and the officers who work amongst you.

The next subject on which you touch is the subject of education. This is of the highest importance; because without education it will be impossible for the Beharees to obtain the qualifications which are necessary for the public service and for other honourable spheres of activity which certainly ought to be open to them. Your remarks in regard to education have, in many respects, my complete sympathy. But they do not entirely exhaust the requirements

of the situation. It is easy to make a general demand for money to be spent on education; and the fact that Behar has probably been to some extent neglected in the past makes such a demand specially reasonable in this case. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the supply of colleges and high schools must depend on the demand for higher education, and that the demand for this has hitherto in Bihar been much less than in Bengal. You are waking up now to the necessity for higher education; but you cannot expect to be able to get rid easily and at once of the effects of ages of apathy. The new Universities Act has also imposed so much additional expenditure on existing schools and colleges, whether Government or private institutions, that it is difficult to find money for starting new schools and colleges at all. At the same time you know that the needs of Bihar have of recent years been receiving particular attention. A scheme is in progress for bringing the Patna College and Collegiate School up to the highest condition of

efficiency, while the Arts College at Ranchi, which there is every reason to believe will shortly be founded, and the transfer there of the Sibpur Engineering College, will give to Beharis opportunities which they have not had in the past of securing the highest literary and technical education. As regards the private colleges special grants have recently been made to the Behar National College, the Bhumihar Muzafferpur College and the Tej Narain Jubilee College at Bhagalpur. It is certainly that Government will continue to make to those private colleges such grants as are permitted by the rules of the Education Department, and as their own merits and the funds at the disposal of the Government justify. I do not think that you need be afraid that Government will not do its duty by Behar in this connection.

In this, however, I am bound to add, the Government may naturally expect very considerable assistance from the wealthy inhabitants of Behar. It is in this respect that your statement of the case is defective. You

look only to Government and forget the help which some among you may well be expected to give. There are great landholders in Behar, some of whom are deeply interested in education, and all of whom are, or ought to be, deeply interested in the advancement of the province to which they belong. These men must realise that without education Behar cannot possibly push forward into the position which it ought to occupy; and they ought to be not only willing but anxious to aid, as far as they possibly can, in helping forward educational institutions. I know, and I can tell them, how much many of the people of Behar object to send their boys to the colleges in Calcutta or to other institutions in Bengal for their education. They feel that the climate of Bengal is not conducive to the health of the Beharee; and they feel far more strongly that many of the influences at work now among Bengali students are such as they do not wish to reach their boys. Surely with such feelings as these, the Zemindars and wealthy residents of

Behar ought to have the deepest sympathy ; and they ought to be willing to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Government in the work of advancing education in Behar.

So much for the general question of college education, which is dealt with under the first four heads of this part of your address. Then follow one or two particular matters, on which it is necessary only to say a few sentences. In regard to the curriculum for the Matriculation Examination I will only say this, that the old system was absolutely pernicious, and that the changes which have been proposed are entirely in the interests of sound education. There seems, however, to be good reason to doubt whether the University authorities were sufficiently aware, at the time when they drew up the new Regulations, of the exceedingly unsatisfactory and backward character of many of our institutions for higher education. I do not think that any one who is interested in education will desire to go back to the 'old system ;' but I have consulted the Vice Chancellor of the

University. I find that he thinks that it is just possible that it may be found that the improvements which are under contemplation are being pushed forward too rapidly for the means at our disposal. The new Regulations were published in August 1906; and the first examination under them will take place early in March 1910. I propose to appoint a Committee consisting of the Commissioner of the Division, the Director of Public Instruction, the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga, the Hon'ble Babu Gajadhar Prasad and Mr. Ali Imam to consider this question with the heads of some of the institutions in Behar, and then to meet the Vice-Chancellor and lay the matter before him. After they have discussed it with him, they will inform me of the result. I do not think that there can be any differentiation between Bengal and Behar in the matter; but it would be well to have your views, as you have considered the matter, laid before the Vice-Chancellor.

Among other points that you mention is the representation of Behar in the Calcutta

University. This is already receiving my attention; and I am sure that you cannot say that in the recent appointments your claims have been lost sight of. In regard to the question of female education, the training college for teachers and scholarships for education in foreign countries, I shall consult the Education Department. I most certainly as at present advised see no reason why, if there is to be a training college for Hindi teachers, it should not be in Bihar. I can also give you a definite assurance that there will be a law school established at Patna in connection (for the present at least) with the Patna Government College.

Finally I come to the question of raising the Behar School of Engineering and the Temple Medical School to the status of colleges. I consider that this is unnecessary and would not at present be of advantage. It is useless to raise the Behar School of Engineering to the status of a college unless you make it a thoroughly efficient college; and funds are not available for that. The province does not require to have two such

colleges at present. It is far better to have one thoroughly well-equipped college to which Beharees can go than to provide them here with an inferior college. I am more strongly of opinion than ever, since this visit and after all that I have heard while I have been here, that the Sibpur College must be transferred to Ranchi. That scheme is now before the Government of India and I earnestly trust that it will soon be carried through. When that change takes place, there will be available for Beharees opportunities for technical education which they certainly have not now. Parents will not send, and are perfectly right in refusing to send, their children to Sibpur for engineering education. Until that change takes place, and even after it has taken place, scholarships ought to be given to Beharee students to enable them to study at some Engineering College. Government ought to be prepared to give some such scholarships; and I shall be glad to consider the question. I think, however, that in this matter also we ought to have assistance

from well-to-do Zemindars and other wealthy men in Behar.

In the same way with regard to the Patna Medical School, it would not be wise to raise this to a Medical College; because we could not afford the staff required to give sound instruction both in regard to the staff of Professors and in regard to the possibilities of clinical instruction. The remedy is what you suggest as an alternative, to give scholarships to Beharee students going to study medicine in Calcutta. It is not only, however, scholarships that these Medical and Engineering students require; they also require that there should be some good arrangements for their hostel accommodation, so that Beharees can congregate together and support and assist one another. This is a matter in which great leaders like the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga and others, who have houses in Calcutta, but have all their property and most of their interests here, might be able to give assistance.

Maharaja Bahadur, you and I have been

working together for nearly six years ; for we were on the Police Commission together before I came to this Province. When my appointment was announced, I remember that we conceived the hope that we might be able to do something together for the province. You have indeed helped me in many ways by advice and by valued co-operation. It would be a great pleasure to me if, now at the end, you would come to my assistance in regard to education and (securing the co operation of others of the nobles and wealthy residents of Bihar) associate with the Government in establishing scholarships and advancing higher education.

There are three other subjects to which you refer in what remains of your address. The one is the administration of justice, the second territorial redistribution and the third the administration of civil justice in the Santhal Parganas. I do not think that on any of these subjects you have any great desire for immediate orders. What you desire is that your views should be laid

before me, and that they should be fully considered. It is not necessary for me to deal with them to day. They will receive consideration in due course.

I thank you for the kind wishes to which you give expression at the close of the address for Lady Fraser and myself in respect of our future. You are right in thinking that both of us have taken a deep interest in Bihar and in its people. We shall not easily forget all our associations with you; for they include many pleasant memories. Our capacity to help you will cease in a few months; but our interest in, and our good wishes for you and your prosperity and happiness will remain unchanged. We shall often long to hear of you in the days to come; and I know that, in the hands of the honoured friend who is to succeed me, your interests will not be overlooked and that your relations with him are bound to be most pleasant.

THE BEHAR MANIFESTO.

The people inhabiting the Patna, Bhagalpore and Chota Nagpur divisions, which constitute the province of Behar, have noticed with very great concern the rise of anarchical propaganda in certain parts of Bengal and they deeply regret that the first outburst of this diabolical movement should have manifested itself, by a strange irony of fate, in the bomb outrage at Muzafferpore, in their own Province. It is, however, to them a matter of great satisfaction that their Province is wholly and entirely innocent of the perpetration of this cowardly outrage and that Behar stands completely dissociated from this nefarious deed. As it is certain that the operations of the Bengal anarchists will require a firm and strong attitude on the part of Government, they desire to strengthen the hands of the Government by the expression of their settled conviction that no progress is possible in India unless and until the anarchist movement is completely suppressed. They desire to record

their opinion that the anarchist movement is one which is held in utter abhorance by all the people in the province of Behar, who have been simply horrified to find in existence in Bengal such a fiendish movement for purpose of assassination—a movement which has absolutely no sanction in the religions or ethics or historical traditions or the mental or moral temperament of the people of this country. Further, they not only hold this movement as one which has no sanction in Indian religions or morality, but they look upon it as one which is utterly repulsive to their instincts, it being the outcome of blindly vindictive feelings, which if not rigorously suppressed would be subversive of all order, without which no progress is at all possible, and this movement if left unchecked, can only lead to a welter of chaos and confusion.

Holding as they do the views set forth above, the Beharees desire to support the Government in such measures, as it may feel called upon to take, for the suppression and extirpation of the anarchist propaganda.

They, therefore, beg to offer their cordial support to the recent enactments in regard to the possession of explosives and the suppression of newspapers inciting their readers to acts of violence by the confiscation of the press printing such papers. They further desire to add that in their humble opinion it is highly expedient that in all such measures as the Government may feel called upon to take against the anarchists, the Government should be able to carry with it the support of that very large section of the people in India which believes in the suppression of disorder and the maintenance of order as the primary and essential duty of the Government.

The Beharees believe that the anarchist movement in Bengal is the direct outcome of the extremist propaganda in that province, which by putting a premium on violences and lawlessness is calculated to debauch the minds of the youth of Bengal. The highly seditious and inflammatory speeches delivered during the last three years all over Bengal and the writings

in a large section of the vernacular press and in some of the Anglo-Bengali newspapers in that province have materially contributed to the anarchist movement and it is therefore highly desirable in the public interests that the provisions of the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure should be rigorously enforced against all such speakers and writers as incite people—specially young men—to acts of violence and lawlessness, by preaching mischievous ideals which in the nature of things are absolutely beyond the range of practical politics. So far as the question of ideals is concerned the Beharees hold in politics there is, and should be, no goal except the *highest public good realizable*.

The Beharees believe that progress is quite compatible with order and they are of opinion that it is absolutely necessary that all attempts for the reform of the Indian administration should be carried on strictly constitutional lines and that it is detrimental to the best interests of the country to resort to any unconstitutional

methods for securing reforms in the Indian administration, as they lead, insidiously, to the growth of a mischievous and dangerous spirit of lawlessness and violence which in the last resort produce anarchy and confusion. The people of the Province of Behar while strongly condemning the Extremist propaganda and its necessary off-shoot, the anarchist movement, desire it to be made known that they fully share with the vast bulk of their educated fellow-subjects of other provinces those reasonable and legitimate aspirations for reform and progress which are the birth-right of every British citizen, aspirations which are the direct outcome of the great and beneficent system of State education which the Government of India has organised for the benefit of the Indian people. They have, therefore, read with great pleasure the passage in Viscount Morley's speech in which his Lordship recently declared that he recognised that "there is a living movement of the people for subjects which we ourselves have taught them to think desirable", and that "unless

we can somehow reconcile order with the satisfaction of those desires the fault will be ours and not theirs and it will mark the first break-down of British statesmanship." The Beharees are deeply gratified at the enunciation of the principle laid down by Viscount Morley and by Lord Minto in his speech in Council and sincerely hope that it will not be long before such substantial reforms are introduced into the administration of this country as will satisfy the reasonable and legitimate aspirations of the vast bulk of educated and thoughtful Indians and they further cherish the hope that the wise and statesmanlike policy enunciated by Viscount Morley and Lord Minto will be regarded by their successors in office as the true and guiding principles of Indian administration.

REPLY TO THE MANIFESTO

HIS HONOR SIR ANDREW FRASER SAID:

MAHARAJA BAHADUR AND GENTLEMEN,

I am very glad to receive from you a copy of this interesting and unique Manifesto which has been issued on behalf of the people of Behar. You have spoken, Maharaja Bahadur, of the many different classes which are represented among the signatories to the Manifesto; and you were good enough to hand me this morning a list showing the classification of a large number of signatories whom you had arranged. You informed me that signatures were still continuing to be received in large numbers, and that there had been already received the signatures of nearly three thousand Zemindars, of over fifteen hundred merchants, traders and contractors, of about six hundred barristers, vakils, pleaders and mukhtears, of over three hundred bankers and nearly one hundred fifty medical practitioners, and of numbers of teachers, professors, mahunts and maulvies as well as even village headmen in different parts of Behar.

The number of signatures might easily have been doubled, but what was aimed at was to obtain within the time at your disposal representative signatures from all parts of Behar. This you and those who have worked so cordially with you have certainly succeeded in doing. A considerable number of those who have signed are, of course, Honorary Magistrates and members of District Boards and Municipal Committees; but all have signed rather in their private capacity as members of the community than in any official or semi-official capacity. I am very much pleased also to observe that the Manifesto has been circulated for signature in English, Hindi and Urdu, so as to be understood by the people generally. It is a great satisfaction to find men of all classes and of different races and religions working strenuously together, as you have done in Behar, and producing a great representative national Manifesto of this kind.

I shall, of course, forward a copy of the Manifesto at once to the Viceroy, and I am sure that it will be a great pleasure to His

Excellency to receive so widely signed and so clear and vigorous a statement of their sentiments of loyalty on the part of this community. This Manifesto of yours really tells me nothing that I did not know; but at the same time it is a good thing that, in view of the present state of things in this province, such a statement should have been made. I required no assurance from you that the anarchist movement is held in utter abhorrence by the people of the province of Behar as opposed to the religious and moral sentiments of Hindus and Mahomedans alike and as repulsive to their national feelings. Nor do I require any assurance of your sympathy with the Government in its desire to fulfill the duty and obligation that rest upon it in respect of the suppression of disorder and maintenance of the public peace. But at the same time I welcome this clear statement of your views, because there are times when it is especially desirable that private persons should speak out against doctrines subversive of order and of the public interest.

I trust that this declaration that has been made to-day on the part of this community will not be found to be made once for all and never heard again, but it will indicate an attitude which not only the community as a whole but every member of it has determined to take up for himself. It is not enough to denounce seditious and inflammatory speeches and vicious and noxious doctrines on an occasion like this. It is necessary to adopt a determined and consistent attitude of opposition to such speeches and to such doctrines. I trust that all those who have signed this Manifesto will realise the necessity, in public and private, of using all their influence to oppose and defeat the objects of those who have given themselves to disturb the public peace and as you have said "to debauch the minds of youths."

On behalf of the Government, I have only to say that we shall steadily and persistently pursue our policy of maintaining the public peace against those who disturb it and of insisting on the maintenance of law and order, while at the same time we will not be

deterred from doing what can be done to advance the highest interests of the great communities entrusted to our charge. We shall welcome your co-operation with great heartiness in the performance of these two great parts of the work set before us.

I thank you, Maharaja Bahadur, personally in conclusion for the kind remarks you have made about my interest in Behar, and about the regret with which the province views my approaching retirement. I believe in the affection of the people.

I am very sorry that I was prevented from availing myself of the opportunity offered yesterday by the Commissioner and Mrs. Earle of meeting so many of my old friends; and that the state of my health compells me to cut down my public engagements. I can assure you that a scene such as this will live long in my memory.

PRESS OPINIONS.

FROM THE "BEHAREE."

We have passed through a memorable week in the history of Modern Behar and the 14th of August 1908 will be rightly regarded in future as a red letter day in our annals. We have already commented, in our last issue, on the Manifesto, issued by the people of Behar and which was formally presented to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor at the garden party at the Government House by the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga, who, in presenting it to Sir Andrew Fraser, delivered a short speech, quite appropriate to the occasion. The Lieutenant-Governor's reply to the Manifesto was naturally looked for with an expectation of a declaration of the policy of the Government, particularly in regard to the statements in the last paragraph of the Manifesto which dealt with the question of political progress in India. It is satisfactory to note that Sir Andrew Fraser made a distinct and specific reference to this portion of the Manifesto and his words are so weighty and re-assuring that we make no apology of reproducing them here. This is what His Honour said :

On behalf of the Government, I have only to say that we shall steadily and persistently pursue our policy of maintaining the public peace against those who disturb it and of insisting on the maintenance of law and order, while at the same time we will not be deterred from doing what can be done to

advance the highest interests of the great communities entrusted to our charge. We shall welcome your co-operation with great heartiness in the performance of these two great parts of the work set before us.

Except by most of the Bengalee papers—which have been careful to ignore the Manifesto, as if that at all would matter—we are glad to see that the Manifesto has attracted very wide attention. His Excellency the Viceroy sent a telegram to the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga which was read out by him at the annual general meeting of the Behar Landholders' Association. The telegram sent by Lord Minto's Private Secretary to the Maharaja Bahadur runs as follows: "His Excellency is extremely pleased at the success of the Manifesto which you presented to the Lieutenant-Governor yesterday and desires me to thank you and all concerned for getting it up. His Excellency is sure that it will have a most beneficial effect." The comments of the leading Anglo-Indian and some of the Indian papers which are reproduced elsewhere are also highly appreciative of the efforts of those who got up the Manifesto. But it is no disparagement to any of our other contemporaries that have noticed the Manifesto, to say that the most thoughtful observations on the subject have been offered by our esteemed contemporary of the *Statesman*. These are so valuable as a true diagnosis of public opinion in Behar, that we have much pleasure in placing below the *Statesman's* comments on the Manifesto.

"Not the least striking of the manifestos is that which was presented to the Lieutenant-Governor at

Bankipore yesterday. It is stated that the document has been signed by thousands of people in the various districts of Behar and that the signatories include 'Men of all classes, castes, and communities, from Maharaja Bahadur down to village headmen.' The benefits of British rule necessarily appeal in the first instance to the educated classes, who may be expected to see and appreciate not only the practical results of British administration but the broad aims of our policy and the principles on which it is founded. It is often alleged that we have failed to satisfy these classes. The masses are content because their humble aspirations are met by such elementary fruits of good government as justice and the maintenance of order. The educated, who expect more, are, as we have been repeatedly assured, discontented. Hence the significance of the Behar Manifesto is much enhanced by the further explanation furnished by its promoters that they have secured the signatures of Zemindars, lawyers, engineers, medical men, bankers and merchants and of those leading men of the community who have shown their interest in public affairs by serving on District and Municipal Boards. In the light of these facts we do not think that it is too much to say that in the Mofussil the Government are regarded with an amount of good will which is habitually minimised by some of the newspapers that profess to give voice to public sentiments. There is a vast body of law-abiding and sane loyalists to whom the grievances and aspirations upon which the Extremists expatiate so eloquently are scarcely intelligible. Their violent reminders will not cure the evils from which the country is suffering; on the contrary, it is obvious that their tendency is to restore that chaos and confusion from which British rule evolved a settled and orderly form of administration. Such is the attitude of Behar, from the highest to the lowest, towards the crude and extravagant teaching which still emanates from a

section of the newspaper press of Calcutta, and it is eminently creditable to the Beharees that the political thinking should be so rational and sober. We find in the Manifesto to which we have referred a remarkably clear perception of the general lines on which true political progress must be achieved. The signatories are plainly grateful for what British rule has already accomplished, and they look upon any future advance not as a revolution which will upset all that has been done in the past, but as a continuation. This being the case, unconstitutional methods are utterly out of place, and the holding forth of 'ideals which, in the nature of things, are absolutely beyond the range of practical politics' can serve no useful purpose and may lead to harm. The true is not a visionary who seeks to excite the imagination of the young with aspirations which he knows to be impossible, but one who sees what can be done now and does it."

Even more important than the incidents connected with the Manifesto were those appertaining to the address which was presented to the Lieutenant-Governor at the Government House by the thoroughly representative Deputation of the people of Behar, which waited upon His Honour with the address on the 14th instant. Old men who have been connected with public life in Behar for nearly half a century, have assured us that on no previous occasion a more fully representative gathering of the people of Behar and their varied interests did ever come together to voice forth to the Government the grievances, needs and aspirations of their province. The Deputation consisted of nearly 150 men of light and leading, drawn from every district in the province of Behar and from every community, caste and

creed. The Lieutenant-Governor was visibly impressed with the demonstration and expressed in the opening portion of his reply his high appreciation of the efforts of the Beharee leaders to create amongst the people of Behar a solid and substantial sentiment of real unity based upon mutual toleration and reasonable compromise.

The reply of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor which has been published in *extenso* by such leading Anglo-Indian dailies as the *Statesman* and the *Englishman*, though it covers more than 5 columns of each of these papers, is reproduced by us elsewhere, printed from the very text which His Honour read out and which he graciously handed over to our representative for publication in this paper. We commend His Honour's reply—which, while being delivered, was throughout punctuated with enthusiastic cheering from the audience and shouts of "Hear, Hear"—to the earnest and careful attention of every educated Beharee, who should read, mark, inwardly digest, and treasure up every word of the speech which may rightly be regarded as the Magna Charta of Behar's rights and privileges, endorsing as it does, not in effect, but in so many words, our just but long denied claim of "Behar for the Beharees." We feel sure that as the principles, enunciated in the reply are from time to time carried into effect, Beharees will come to realise¹ Sir Andrew Fraser's speech as a declaration of the policy of the emancipation of Behar from Bengalee's thralldom. In the name of the people of Behar, we offer our most heart-felt thanks to His Honour the Lieutenant-

Governor for the gracious and favourable reply he gave to our representation and we assure him that his name will for ever be cherished by the people of Behar not only in esteem and regard but also in affection.

We offer our congratulations to the leaders of the Beharee nation who, with a true sense of benefits of unity and co-operation, worked so harmoniously and zealously in the cause of the Deputation. It would be invidious indeed to attempt to single out for especial praise individuals when all worked in harmony and co-operation, but it would not be right to omit to refer in particular to the active interest and strenuous labours of Mr. Syed Ali Imam on whom naturally devolved a very heavy burden in his capacity as the President of the Behar Provincial Association and the Behar Provincial Muslim League. Mr. Ali Imam brought to bear on the work of the deputation considerable zeal and spirit of remarkable self-sacrifice and he spared himself no pains either in time or money to make the Deputation the success it deserved and attained. In his efforts he was ably seconded by his friend and co-adjutor, Mr. Sachidananda Sinha. It is an open secret that the address and its appendix, which set forth so ably the case for Behar and which received a most appreciative acknowledgement from the Lieutenant-Governor as a document which would be of great value to His Honour and to his successors, were drafted by Mr. Sinha, and the Memorial Committee adopted them practically intact. We think it, therefore, to be no disparagement of the work of all others to mention

in terms of special commendation the works of Messrs. Ali Imam and Sinha.

But while credit is due to Messrs. Ali Imam and Sinha and their colleagues for the good work done by them, no Beharee should on an occasion like this forget to bless the memory of our late lamented leader and patriot, Mr. Mahesh Narayan, who by universal consent has rightly come to be known in our province as "The Maker of Modern Behar." It was he who, while Messrs. Ali Imam, Sinha and co-workers of to-day were school boys in their teens, raised, for a quarter of a century back, the cry of "Behar for the Beharees" and who until the last day of his death, fought through the medium of this paper, for the enunciation by the Government of the policy "Behar for the Beharees," which has at last found acceptance by Sir Andrew Fraser. The life-long efforts, therefore, have at last borne fruits and the mission of this paper, which Mr. Mahesh Narayan founded and edited so successfully until the day of his death, is at last an accomplished fact. It is to us a matter of profound sorrow that Mr. Mahesh Narayan was called away by Providence from amongst us, shortly before he could have seen the fruition of his life-long labours. But believing as we do in the living influence of the dead, we are glad to see that the views and ideals of the founder and first editor of this paper have permeated through and through the educated classes in Behar who, if only they are true to themselves in future and if they do not forget the guiding principle of unity and co-operation in public affairs, may reasonably cherish

the hope of once again seeing Behar, their great province of classical and historical fame, rise to a high level in the scale of Indian nationalities. Advance Behar!

FROM THE "ADVOCATE".

Behar has spoken out its mind on the present situation, and Sir Andrew Fraser given the reply on behalf of the Government. Why this frankness on the part of both parties? The reason is not far to seek. The leaders in Behar had taken particular care to consult all shades of opinion in formulating their views on the present state of affairs and enumerating the grievances of the people. This aspect of the affair impressed the Lieutenant-Governor and he could well realise the force of practically united Behar speaking out as one man. Three leading public Associations acting in concert and co-operation in getting up the address and a Deputation representative of all classes and interests presenting address are facts, the force and importance of which could not be under-rated by a shrewd ruler of experience like Sir Andrew Fraser. The spirit of unity that prevailed in the matter could not but convince the ruler of the need of taking the Deputation

seriously and giving a satisfactory reply to their demands. The appreciation of working in unison came none too soon. Said His Honour ;—

It is a miserable thing when the community is broken up into sects and cliques, when different classes seek each its own interests, and when the common welfare of the people is forgotten. In all communities there are apt to arise elements of discord. I know enough of you to know that there are elements of discord among you now. I am glad that hitherto they have not been able to make themselves very much felt; and I trust that you will regard as an enemy of the community the man who sets class against class and endeavours to disturb its peace and harmony.

If workers in every province were to remember the irresistible force of unity, much of the rights and privileges for which we cry practically in the wilderness could by this time be ours. Behar by presenting a united front has really given a lesson to many.

The perusal of the address forces one to the conclusion that nothing less than the recognition of the dictum, Behar for Beharees, will satisfy the people in the poorest of the poor provinces in India, the poverty of which is no less traced to making Behar a second fiddle to Bengal. And the easiest way, of course, to accede to this request is to give Behar a separate administration of its own. The request for permanent representation on the Legislative Council, for making Patna a second capital on the analogy of Lucknow in the U. P., and also for holding a meeting or two of the Council in Patna every year, points to nothing more or less than a demand for looking upon and treating Behar as a separate entity, an

administrative unit all by itself. The reply of Sir Andrew Fraser to this part of the address does not damp the ardour of those who prepared or presented it; on the contrary, it should be considered sympathetic enough to induce further agitation on the old lines. The question of expanding the Legislative Council being, as Sir Charles Bayley aptly described in Sylhet, in the melting pot, no promise given by any body, even the highest in the land, would mean anything, though the hope of Behar is very likely to be realised in the near future. Though not acceding to the demand that the Lieutenant-Governor should remain in Patna for 3 or 4 months every year, the purchase of a historical house for the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor whenever he would choose to stay at Patna to know more of the people and the province is a fact pregnant with future consequences. As to the other and allied topics, Sir Andrew saw no objection to holding the Council meeting at Patna during the temporary residence of the ruler there or for any other cause, though he did not see of what great advantage any such meeting would be to the province. All these requests, even if fully accepted, would result in but negative good.

The greatest good that the Government can confer on the people of a province is to afford openings for the qualified and facilities to all for qualifying themselves for all walks in life without, as far as possible, stirring out of its four corners and going to places and being placed under influences in no way desirable. Hence to the prayer for larger employment of Beharces in the public services, the reply of

Sir Andrew Fraser was all that could be desirable. "I say most strongly" replies His Honour, "that the state of things which at present exists is both unjust and injurious to the interests of Behar. A man is a better judge, he is a better executive officer, he is a better school master, if he talks the vernacular of the people among whom he is working, if he understands them and sympathises with them thoroughly. Other claims, other qualifications are necessary; but this claim is a greater qualification for service and is certainly not one which ought to be ignored." The system of recruiting by division lately introduced will surely help. The engineering, medical and provincial civil services are henceforth to be chiefly, if not exclusively, manned by Beharees. The Lieutenant Governor promised to issue instructions on the point in the departments under his control. But what has Sir Andrew Fraser to say if one were to apply this dictum about language qualifications, to the European members of the public services of India?

So far as to offering posts to the qualified. In the matter affording facilities to secure the necessary qualifications, the Lieutenant-Governor did not seem so ready in answering in the affirmative. After enumerating the proposal to bring the Patna College and Collegiate School to the highest condition of efficiency, the founding of the Arts College at and the transfer of the Engineering College to Ranchi and the special grants given to Behar National and Bhumihar Colleges, His Honour thought the Government had done a lot for the spread of higher education in Behar and called upon the wealthy to provide

more facilities. He has appointed a small committee to consider the educational needs of Behar and lay them before the Vice-Chancellor of the University for his information. He was sure when the time for deciding upon a course of work in the field of education came, the wealthy people would come forward with handsome amounts to make the scheme a *fait accompli*. Without such substantial help from the well-to-do, His Honour was sure no real and steady advance could be ensured. Sir Andrew Fraser was frank enough to say that he did not like the movement set on foot to get his term of office extended because he was too long in India and because there were others who did not wish him to stay any longer.

"MAX" IN CAPITAL.

The events which distinguished the last official visit of Sir Andrew Fraser to Behar illustrate in a striking manner the wisdom and truth concentrated in the old Italian proverb : *Spesso d'un gran male nasce un gran bene*—out of a great evil there springs a great good. The frightful anarchist outrage at Mozufferpore in April last was, in the last degree, a cruel irony of fate. Behar is one of the very few provinces in India where the Bengalee extremist propaganda

failed to make an impression and gain converts; that one of its most important and historical towns should be the scene of the first hideously successful demonstration of the murderous cult was an ordination against which the people might well exclaim with terror and revolt. But Schiller was right when he said that the ordinations of fate are full of wisdom. The outrage drew the attention of the whole civilized world to a place which had ceased to interest since the practical extinction of the indigo industry, and the consequent decay of an English landed gentry, bearing a remarkable resemblance to the opulent and chivalrous Virginian sugar planters before the abolition of slavery in the United States.

The native Beharees and the remaining European settlers have been quick to take full advantage of this white light of publicity. They have descanted on the enthusiastic character of their loyalty to the Crown, and painted in attractive colour their philosophical contentment in spite of official neglect and a pile of grievances clamouring for regret. The Maharajah of Darbhanga, who has so skillfully engineered this assault on public sympathy, not only realizes the value of taking the tide at the flood, but also appreciates the Cromwellian motto: "Put your trust in God my boys, but keep your powder dry." Such sapience is an essential of statesmanship in these materialistic days and I congratulate the Maharajah on possessing it in such abundance.

The loyalty of Behar was proclaimed in a remarkable manifesto—a unique pronouncement the

Maharajah of Darbhanga called it—which was issued as soon as the Lieutenant-Governor set foot in the Province, and presented to him a few days after, by a representative deputation. To the document nearly ten thousand signatures were affixed, every class of the population, yea, even barristers, vakils, pleaders and muktears, being a party to the testimony. This was a great achievement in rapid revivication of a faith long dormant, and I can quite understand the exhilarating effect it had on the worn system of the sick satrap. Sir Andrew's speech in reply was marked by all the bouyancy which was the familiar note of his utterances in the days when he basked in the sunshine of Curzonian patronage.

* * *

The Beharees believe that the anarchist movement in Bengal is the direct outcome of the extremist propaganda which put a premium on violence. So says the manifesto, and few will be found to quarrel with the sentiment. The evolution from boycott to bomb was simple and inevitable, and I would strongly counsel my moderate friends to admit this sound doctrine of political science and abandon once and for all the pious fraud that a boycotter of English goods can be animated by the purest affection for the manufacturer. There is an old refrain once very popular in England, which goes: "It was all very well to dissemble your love, but why did you kick me downstairs?" That is the impression which Bengalee boycott founded on love and veneration makes on the practical Englishman.

* * *

It is good to find the Beharees, while emphasising

their loyalty, associating themselves in a whole hearted manner with the reformers who demand a greater share of self-government than is at present vouchsafed by an *effete* Bureaucracy. It is significant that Sir Andrew Fraser did not in his reply touch on so important a matter, although he made a great deal of the firm purpose of the Government to suppress disorder and maintain the public peace. Perhaps he did not wish to embarrass Sir Herbert Risely, the present keeper of the Viceroy's conscience, who is ambitious of evolving a panacea which shall obviate the breakdown of British statesmanship (*pace* Lord Morley) before his retirement is due in October next. Whatever the reason, the silence was unfortunate, for I have heard from a native gentleman who was present that it acted like a cold douche and put out much of the fire of enthusiasm. It would be unkind to blame Sir Andrew too much. He is on the eve of retirement and it is an open secret that in many matters he does not see eye to eye with his heir apparent, Sir Edward Baker, who I hear has had his natural open-mindedness fortified by the philosophic teaching of Lord Morley in several audiences in London.

At Patna, where His Honor arrived last Friday, another address was presented. It detailed the parochial grievances, and in answering it Sir Andrew felt himself on much firmer ground. He was naturally flattered by the wish of the Beharees to prolong his tenure of Belvedere, and he would not have been human to miss the occasion for a demonstration of high disinterestedness. For all that he deserves the

public thanks for nipping in the bud a foolish and embarrassing movement to induce the Government of India to allow him to lag superfluous on the stage. Even had he been in the full vigour of health and intellect such a sequel would have been detrimental to the public interest ; but in the common knowledge that both his physical and mental powers had long been failing the Beharees, by their intended memorial, were deliberately inviting a catastrophe. The incident shakes my belief in their powers of discernment, and unless they admit that it was a meaningless manifestation of sycophancy, the public will regard much of the criticism of the Bengalee and his method of wholly gratuitous.

I have a horror for sequels in any shape, and the fate of Lord Curzon, Sir Andrew's patron, has not conduced to change my opinion. Had he gone at the end of his lustrum, what a world of sorrow and trouble we would have been saved in India !

Native Behar wants many things for its salvation and Sir Andrew thinks that in the main these wants should be supplied. Chief of them is a more reasonable proportion of natives and Europeans on the District Boards in Tirhoot. At present the indigo planters have it all their own way, and although it cannot be said that they have abused their power, it is nevertheless true that the interests of the native population have not been studied with due care. Everything has had to give place to the comfort and convenience of the planter. This was all very well in the halcyon days of indigo ; but it is a blighting

anachtonism now. That the natives are not actuated by unfriendly feelings towards the planters, but are merely asking for their just dues, is proved by their demand that the Behar Planters' Association should be permanently represented in the Bengal Legislative Council. The sweet reasonableness of this give-and-take adjustment captivated the Lieutenant-Governor, who highly commended the deputation and assured them that he believed the matter deserved consideration. This, however, he left for his successor, who would probably very early in his reign have an enlarged council and be in a better position to gratify the ambition of the planters and at the same time give the natives of Tirhoot a fairer share of local self-government than they at present enjoy.

* * *

The Beharee demand that the Lieutenant-Governor shall spend a portion of the year at Patna is most reasonable. If the Bengal Government were wise they would abandon Darjeeling altogether, maintaining the Shrubbery merely for odd picnics of not more than a fortnight's duration. The capitals of Behar and Bengal should divide the presence of the satrap in proportion to their importance, and I hope the Chajjubagh, which Sir Andrew purchased as a Patna residence for the Lieutenant-Governor, will not share the fate of certain castles of millionaire noblemen in England.

* * *

The holding of meetings of the legislative Council at Patna as a regular thing is another matter. I agree with Sir Andrew that it would be inconvenient and

I do not not see what benefit the Behārees would derive from it. No, Calcutta is the proper place of meeting. Surely this is as obvious as that London is the only possible location of the British House of Commons.

Sir Andrew Fraser is convinced that the Engineering College will have to be translated from Sibpur to Ranchi if it is to be made efficient and popular. I have my doubts. But more of this, anon.

It is a graceful concession to the people of Behar that the whole question of education is to be considered by a committee consisting of the Commissioner of the Division, the Director of Public Instruction, the Maharajah of Durbhanga, the Hon. Babu Gajadhar Prasad and Mr. Ali Imam, who will thereafter meet to persuade Dr. Asutosh Mookerjee that it is not quite worthy of him to allow the Calcutta University to be Bengalee laden. In this matter Sir Andrew Fraser has shown his acumen and perspicacity as an educationist. His education policy will be his chief recommendation to the future historian.

FROM THE "BENGALÉE."

Behar, in spite of its political quietude, does not seem to be without her own grievances. Our sister province evidently feels that due regard has not been

FROM THE "A. B. PATRIKA."

Judging from Sir Andrew Fraser's utterances at Patna, published in these columns, two or three days ago, it seems that His Honour is in greater sympathy with the people of Behar than with those of Bengal. This is but natural, for, did not the former circulate a memorial for signature with a view to get Sir A. Fraser's tenure of office extended? His Honour, however, is an astute administrator of ripe experience; so, while thanking the Beharees for their laudable attempt, he at once saw the awkwardness of the situation and nipped the movement in the bud. Sir Andrew Fraser gave two reasons against the project. The first was he had been too long in India. The second was that if the Beharees were for prolonging his term of office, there were others who held "exactly the opposite view." And the third reason, His Honour might have added, was that the Government of India would, in that case, have been placed in an embarrassing position.

Indeed, if, by accepting the prayer, the Supreme Government might have pleased the people of Behar, it would at the same time have offended those who were opposed to the further stay of Sir A. Fraser in this country. Then, again, if it had rejected the prayer, not only would the result have meant the throwing overboard of the Beharees but it might have been construed into a left-handed compliment to the present Lieutenant-Governor. And lastly, Sir Andrew would naturally have found himself in a most disagreeable position; one party

lauding him up to the skies and the other dissecting his administration in a remorseless manner.

The Beharee movement for an extension of Sir Andrew's term of office, reminds us of the agitation carried on in Bengal regarding the appointment of a successor to the late Sir John Woodburn. Mr. Bourdillon, the then senior member of the Board of Revenue, was appointed as acting Lieutenant-Governor immediately after Sir John's death. In the meantime, it was announced that the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal had been offered to Sir Andrew Fraser who, at that time, was presiding over the Police Commission. This gave great umbrage to the members of the Bengal Civil Service, who almost openly opposed Sir Andrew's appointment! and the "Pioneer" and the Calcutta Anglo-Indian papers took up the Bengal Civilian cry. The non-official Europeans were all for Mr. Bourdillon; and one of the reasons for this was perhaps that he gave them excellent dinners. As for Andrew, not only was he an outsider, but, it is said, when the office was offered to him he is reported to have remarked that he was too poor to do justice to his position, that is to say, to be able to meet the cost of fine dinners, without which, so the notion went, no ruler of the province could win the hearts of his countrymen.

Some of the Anglo-Indian papers instead of attacking Sir A. Fraser directly, sought, in the garb of friends, to dissuade him from accepting the office. For instance, the "Pioneer" pointed out that Sir Andrew's position would be extremely delicate, were he to succeed a "very popular ruler" like Mr.

Bourdillon. It was, however, the "Indian Daily News," which correctly voiced the opinions of the Bengal Civil Service in this respect. "The expected," said the "Daily News," "has at length happened. Sir Andrew Fraser has assumed charge of the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to which he was appointed just a year ago; and, it may be taken for granted, that he has come to stay, in spite of the pious wishes to the contrary which, rumour has it, were breathed the other night by prominent members of the Civil Service."

Yes, not only did Sir Andrew come, in spite of his alleged delicate state of health, but he came to stay to the very end of his term of office, to the confusion of those who wanted Mr. Bourdillon. Sir Andrew perhaps remembered this event when he came to know of the Behar movement for prolonging his term of office, and, therefore, hastened to save his well-meaning friends from a similar disappointment, for, he knew full well that in this fight between him and Sir N. Baker, who has already been appointed as Lieutenant-Governor he would be worsted, that is, his position would be like that of Mr. Bourdillon and Sir N. Baker's like that of his own in 1903.

Now to other matter. Our good friends in Behar presented both an "address" and a "manifesto" to the Lieutenant-Governor. We do not quite understand why a "manifesto," which is usually meant for the general public, should have been presented to the head of the Government. His Honour, in his reply, acknowledges the unique character of this "manifesto" and expresses his cordial gratifications at the loyal sentiments of the Behar society. The

warmth of His Honour's gracious acknowledgments has removed from our mind any doubts we might have had as to the uses of loyal protestations in the presence of the unquestionability of Behar's loyalty. What need is there for a known Brahman to display his sacred thread to prove his Brahmanical origin?

As regards the address presented to His Honour, when denuded of its wordy shell, it resolves itself into an outcry against Behar being a second fiddle to Bengal. All the loud lament about Behar not kept as a preserve for Beharees means only that a number of comparatively important appointments in the Subordinate Executive and Judicial Services are held by the Bengalees. His Honour was in full sympathy with the address given in this respect and characterised the non-recognition of the claims of Beharees as "unjust and injurious to their interests." His Honour's reply, which is quoted below, is worth pondering over. Here it is:—

"A man is a better judge, he is better executive officer, he is a better school master, if he talks the vernacular of the people among whom he is working, if he understands them and sympathises with them thoroughly."

There is no doubt that His Honour lays down a very correct principle, for who can deny that a Beharee will make a better Judge, a better Magistrate, a better manager of big zemindaries in his own province than a Bengalee can? At the same time it is a little dangerous too; because, if a Bengalee is not fit to serve in Behar, much less fit must be a European. Yet what we find is that every big appointment in Behar is in the possession of either

an Englishman or a Scotsman, either an Irishman or a domiciled European or Eurasian. There is, again, not a private estate in Behar under the control of Government which has not got its highly paid European manager. Nay, even His Highness the Maharajah of Durbhanga—is His Highness also a supporter of the cry, “no Bengalee in Behar?”—has himself got several European managers and sub-managers to look after his zemindari affairs. So, you see, the principle laid down by Sir Andrew Fraser for the good of the Beharees has also a disagreeable side.

Let us examine the matter from another standpoint. His Honour is as much the “bap ma” of the Beharees as of the Bengalees. What if the latter, who are most advanced than the Beharees and can fill with credit many a post now occupied by the members of the European community were also to insist on His Honour to give effect to his principle in Bengal? But we forget. What is sauce for the gander is not always sauce for the goose. Has not Rudyard Kipling sung: “East is East, and West is West, etc.?” Nay, he might, in the same strain, have added “even North is North, and South is South.” That being so, the principle laid down by Sir Andrew might no doubt very well apply to the case of the Bengalees when they are to be expelled from the public service in either Behar or the United Provinces, but certainly it should not, in the same manner, apply to the case of Europeans who use fur coats while Bengalees only, put on dhuties. Here is a real gem which fell from the lips of His Honour:—

"It is a miserable thing when the community is broken up into sects and cliques, when different classes seek each its own interests, and when the common welfare of the people is forgotten."

Quite so. Why is India in such a miserable condition? It is because the Indian community, composed of Hindus, Mussalmans and other races, is divided into various sects or classes, each seeking its own interests forgetful of the good of the people as a whole. Sir Andrew's advice should go straight to the heart of every Indian who has the welfare of the country at heart. For, if unity is needed by any nation in the world it is by the Indians. And why should not the Indians be a united nation when they live under the same Government and are governed by the same laws? They must cease quarrelling amongst themselves; they must not allow their national interests to be injured by mutual jealousies and racial feelings; they must live in peace and amity with their neighbours.

Our good friends in Behar should appreciate the exalted nature of Sir Andrew's sage counsel; for, it is meant specially for them. And what is the real meaning of this counsel? Beharees must not hate or be jealous of the Bengalees; Mussalmans must remain in friendly terms with Hindus; in short, the people of different provinces should regard one another in the same light as do Englishmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen; and, forgetting their class or sectarian interests, must be united for the common welfare of the entire nation! Sir Andrew is a Scotchman and he holds one of the biggest appointments in the Empire. Does any Englishman,

therefore, envy him on that account? Why should then a Beharee consider it a grievance if a Bengalee is employed in the public service of Behar?

FROM THE "HINDOO PATRIOT."

The Behar public taking advantage of His Honour Sir Andrew Fraser's presence in the capital of Behar has issued a manifesto on the situation which, we understand, will form part of their address to be presented to-day to the Lieutenant-Governor at Bankipore. It is to be said to the credit of the people of Behar that they have fully realised their duties and responsibilities as citizens of the Empire—in as much as their manifesto is not only a masterly exposition of the present state of the country, but also a powerful indictment against the evil-doers among the people, and the public organs. The signatories to the manifesto, while deeply regretting the Muzafferpur outrage, express satisfaction that their province is wholly and entirely innocent of the perpetration of the deed. The Behar public support the recent legislation for the suppression of crime and sedition and strongly condemn the speakers who talk sedition and the writers who write and publish them. And further, they also advocate rigorous enforcement of the Indian Penal Code and the Code

of Criminal Procedure. The student politicians have also their share of condemnation, though the signatories have very properly apportioned blame between the young mischief-makers and those who incite them from behind the scene. The Behar leaders have great faith both in Lord Morley and Lord Minto, and significantly point out that progress is quite compatible with order and are of opinion that it is absolutely necessary that all attempts for the reform of the Indian administration should be carried on, on strictly constitutional lines. Altogether the Behar manifesto is a valuable document and we desire to congratulate the Beharees on their good sense and courage of conviction.

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As we have already said the better mind of the country has begun to speak in no uncertain voice in condemnation of the sedition and violence that have lately come into prominence. It is significant that even the so-called "backward" communities have realised the gravity of the situation and come forward to repudiate in emphatic language the "cult of the bomb." This is another proof that the loyalty of the sober and thinking section of the community has been quite unaffected by recent events. It was by a strange irony of fate that the first outburst of the movement for violence should have manifested itself in Behar, which has all along been reputed as an un congenial soil for the growth of political agitation against the "powers that be." We are glad a representative meeting was held at Gaya on Sunday last presided over by the Maharaja of Tikari who came all the way from Bombay where he had gone

for a change, to attend the meeting, to express the intense abhorrence of the people of Behar at the anarchical spirit that has risen in some parts of the country and they affirm that the safety, welfare and prosperity of India depend upon the continuance of British rule. The meeting expressed the loyalty, attachment and devotion of the Beharees to the British Throne and characterised any attempt to disturb the public tranquility or the authority of the Government, as suicidal to the best interests of the country. It was well that the fallacy was demonstrated of the idea commonly held by a section of our educated classes that loyalty to the British Government is not consistent with true patriotism. No words are needed to prove how utterly insensate is this morbid view to which a class of our countrymen is apt to take kindly which in our opinion has been potent factor in the growth of the present unrest in the country. The Beharees incline to the view which is shared by all their wits about themselves and not gone wool gathering, that loyalty is consistent with the highest patriotism, and the best interests of the country are served not by throwing bombs but by establishing the best relations between the rulers and the ruled. The meeting at Gaya expressed satisfaction that Behar is altogether immune from anarchical agitation and offered on behalf of its people the assurance to Government that the idea finds no favour in Behar to countenance any movement that may tend to interfere with the peaceful administration of the country. We are highly pleased to find that the meeting extended a cordial and respectful welcome to Sir Andrew Fraser on his visit to Behar.

and gratefully acknowledged the benefits conferred on Behar during His Honour's administration by the recognition of the claims of competent Beharees to a more adequate share in the public service. To Sir Andrew Fraser belongs the credit of having recognised for the first time, we believe, that Behar should also have her share in the government of the province, and it would be the greatest folly to brush aside her legitimate claims in that direction with indifference. It was Sir Andrew Fraser who first gave a status of dignity to Behar by desiring to give the benefit of his presence to Bankipore for a certain period of the year. Need we wonder that the Beharees should regard this compliment with a feeling of deep gratitude and acknowledge in suitable terms the various benefits that accrued to them during Sir Andrew Fraser's tenure of office as ruler of the province.

On Tuesday last, Sir Andrew Fraser was presented by the people of Behar with a manifesto, influentially signed by the representatives of all classes. The Maharajah of Durbhanga as the premier nobleman of Behar acted as the spokesman on the occasion. The manifesto proved once more that the solid mass of public opinion in Behar, or for the matter of that in other parts of the country among right thinking classes, is clearly on the side of the Government and repudiates in no uncertain language the propaganda of disloyalty, sedition and anarchism which find no favour with them. The Maharajah of Durbhanga has well voiced the opinion of all sober people who form by far the majority in the Indian population by saying

that "we yield to none in the desire to promote the development and prosperity of this great country, but we believe that this object can be achieved only by a perfect understanding between the rulers and the ruled and a united action amongst the several races and communities, that constitute the Indian Empire." Loyalty is their motto and good understanding with the rulers and the different communities, the guarantee that success will attend their work. We are glad that the Maharajah gave a warm compliment to Sir Andrew Fraser, very much on the lines that we had laid down in our notice of the meeting at Gaya. "The Lieutenant-Governor," so said the Maharajah "has had the special interest of Behar at heart, and is the first Governor to give to Behar the recognition and consideration that its position entitles it to receive at the hands of the Government." Sir Andrew Fraser, in his sympathetic reply, expressed his hearty appreciation of the sentiments that had urged the people of Behar in producing "a great representative national manifesto." "No assurance was needed," said the Lieutenant-Governor, "that the anarchist movement was held in utter abhorrence in Behar, as being opposed to the religious and moral sentiments of Hindus and Mahomedans alike and repulsive to their natural feelings." "This manifesto really tells me nothing," continued His Honour, "that I did not know but it is a good thing, in view of the present state of things in this province, that such a statement should have been made." We are glad that Sir Andrew Fraser has thoroughly felt the pulse of the Beharees and his words show that he has an insight into their real

feelings and opinions. It was well of Behar to have presented such a manifesto to the ruler of the province, which clearly reflected her view-point on the present crisis in the fortunes of the province.

FROM "THE ENGLISHMAN."

In another column we print to-day a remarkable Manifesto issued by the people of Behar. This Manifesto, we are assured, has been signed by thousands of people in all the districts in the province of Behar. The signatories include men of all classes, castes and communities from Maharajah Bahadur down to village headman. It has been signed by Zemindars, Lawyers, Engineers, Bankers, Medical men, Merchants, members, of the District and Municipal Boards, Honorary Magistrates, mutwallies, shebais, and in fact by representatives of all important interests in the province of Behar. This document, which will be presented to-day to Sir Andrew Fraser at Bankipore through the Maharaja of Darbhanga, affords additional proof, if any were needed, of the sturdy loyalty of the Beharees.

FROM THE "INDIAN MIRROR."

That a healthy reaction has set in the popular feeling, as a result of the disclosures in connection with the anarchist conspiracy, is evident from the fact that the influential manifesto of the British Indian Association has been followed by a similar document in Behar, the signatories to which are "men of all classes, castes and communities, from Maharaja Bahadur down to village headman." "The Beharees believe," so runs this manifesto, "that progress is quite compatible with order, and they are of opinion that it is absolutely necessary that all attempts for the reform of the Indian administration should be carried on, on strictly constitutional lines, and that it is detrimental to the best interests of the country to resort to any unconstitutional methods for securing reforms in the Indian administration, as they lead insidiously to the growth of a mischievous and dangerous spirit of lawlessness and violence, which, in the last resort, produce anarchy and confusion." Now that public opinion all over the country has declared itself in emphatic terms in condemnation of the propaganda of violence, we should proceed at once to consider how we may annihilate that evil, and pursue our constitutional work once more without interruption.

FROM THE "MADRAS, TIMES."

Behar has set the example and has presented to the Lieutenant-Governor a manifesto signed by every class of the people in the province of Behar declaring its loyalty to the British Government, and as the Maharaja of Darbhanga said when he presented it, he was confident that people in other parts of India would follow the example. We sincerely trust that it may be so.

FROM THE "BANDE MATARAM."

We cannot congratulate the bureaucracy on its common sense and knowledge of human affairs if it sets much store by the loyalist manifestoes that are pouring in from some quarters. If some Bengal and Behar zemindars demoralised by the present coercive policy make fresh demonstrations of loyalty it is nothing but self-deception to accept them as a sufficient proof of the alleged artificial character of the present unrest. The present unrest has to be probed to its very root before one can make any accurate pronouncement on its true character.

FROM THE "INDIAN PEOPLE."

We approve in the main of the proposals put forward in the Behar address to Sir Andrew Fraser and sincerely congratulate our Behari friends on the highly encouraging response which it evoked from His Honour. We shall be pardoned, however, for saying that we could wish that its tone were less parochial and more friendly to the other great community of Bengal—*pace* the Beharis, the predominant and most important community of the province. In the first place the Lieutenant-Governor is addressed as the Lieutenant-Governor of Behar and West Bengal. The Beharis, with their new communal—they themselves would say national—consciousness, are too sensitive to allow the name of the province to remain Bengal. At the same time they ignore poor Orissa, and claim that Chota Nagpur is a part of Behar. They wanted an extension of the tenure of Sir Andrew Fraser as Lieutenant-Governor. It was nothing to them that Sir Andrew was the ruler of other tracts besides Behar; much less that the most intelligent and discriminating section of the population—including even independent organs of Anglo-Indian opinion like the *Statesman*, the *Enquire* and *Capital*—are convinced that Sir Andrew Fraser's *regime* has not been quite a success. Will Beharis tell us what blessings he has showered on Behar itself apart from the unnecessary expenditure of public money on the purchase of a house in which the head of the Government lives for probably less than a month in the year? It is refreshing to read what Sir Andrew Fraser himself has

said on the matter. As there were some who held the view expressed above, Sir Andrew said, it was unfair to have a memorial widely circulated and signed in favour of an extension of service, unless those holding an opposite view had an opportunity of expressing their opinion, which it would be most undesirable to call upon them to do. Officiousness rewarded according to its deserts. We desire in a ~~very~~ friendly way to assure our esteemed friends of Behar that this is not the right path that leads to political emancipation. Sir Andrew Fraser's reply to their request that Patna should be treated as the second capital of the province—as preliminary to Calcutta being superseded by it—is equally satisfactory. We would be the first to recognise the grave injustice that is done to Beharis at present in the matter of their employment in the public service, and we are rejoiced at the prospect held out by Sir Andrew Fraser of a material improvement in the near future. *But consistently with loyalty to our ideal of Indian nationality, it is impossible to accept the position indicated in the phrase 'Behar for the Beharis' of which our compatriots there seem to be very fond. In fact there is a narrowness of vision in their entire outlook on the problem in respect of this question, which must be at once deplored and deprecated.* Sir Andrew Fraser said in the course of his reply: 'A man is a better judge, he is a better executive officer, he is a better school master, if he talks the vernacular of the people among whom he is working, if he understands them and sympathises with them thoroughly.' Quite true, and the observation has a wider application than the speaker intended. After

all Bengalis and Beharis are nearer to each other—whatever a few over-zealous Beharis may say to contrary—than Anglo-Indians are to either. Will Sir Andrew in his retirement uphold this view and use his authority in support of the claims of Indians as against Englishmen? We hope candid Beharis will admit that Sir Andrew Fraser gave the only possible answer to their request for the expansion of the Behar School of Engineering and the Temple Medical School to feed colleges. And His Honour spoke wise words when he pleaded for greater activity among the people themselves in respect of the spread of education. Every true well-wisher of India welcomes the signs of awakening to the public needs of their historic province among the Beharis, and it is to be hoped that in the work they do they will take care not to forget that Behar is not a country by itself but a province of our common Motherland.

FROM THE "TRIBUNE."

Behar has been highly fortunate in one respect. It may not be so progressive as some of the more go-ahead provinces, but it has in one respect set an example, which may serve as an object-lesson to many Provinces. Behar has always realised that an inch of joint advance is more valuable than a yard of

separate progress achieved by each individual community and has already recognised that unity and harmony is the soul of progress. A conspicuous example of this unity was furnished by the Behar Provincial Conference, which was presided by a well-known Mahomedan barrister of Bankipur. Another notable illustration has been recently furnished by the Behar address lately presented to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The address was presented by a deputation headed by the Maharaja of Durbhanga, representing all classes in Behar. The three leading public Associations of Behar, the Provincial Association, the Behar, Landholders' Association, and the Behar Moslem League all joined in the Address. And well might the Lieutenant-Governor congratulate the Deputation on its setting the right value on concert and co-operation. It is a miserable thing, observed His Honour, when the community is broken up into sects and cliques, when different classes seek each its own interest and when the common welfare of the people is forgotten. We trust that the noble example of provincial unity which Behar has set will be maintained and that this provincial unity and concord will make for a national solidarity and a unifying national ideal.