THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN IN RUSSIA.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

ST. PETERSBURG, OCT. 19.

For the first time in history Russia is in the throes of an electoral campaign. Upon its outcome hang the destinies of the Empire. The character and composition of the *Duma* which will assemble at the Tauris Palace in St. Petersburg next January will determine whether Russia is to have, like her Western neighbours, a constitutional Government or whether—as the partisans of the bureaucracy contend—she must follow lines peculiar to herself based upon the mystic Panslavist ideal of autocracy tempered in a vague, uncertain fashion by public opinion.

A study of the principal factors in this campaign can alone supply a trustworthy indication of what the outcome is to be; and such study, as carried out by personal and long-continued acquaintance with political leaders, by attendance at the numerous political congresses which have been held in St. Petersburg and Moscow during the past twelvemonth, by careful analysis of their various programmes, and by daily perusal of the leading organs of the Russian Press, leads me to conclude that a Constitution on Western models is not only inevitable, but that it is bound to come within a very short time.

Such a conclusion is not dictated by a consideration of the personal wishes or inclinations of the Sovereign; they will undoubtedly play an important part, but they are not the decisive factor; it is, indeed, evident that, had the Sovereign intended himself to decide this momentous question, he would either have refused to convoke the representatives of the nation, which would have been tantamount to a final and absolute refusal to countenance the constitutional aspirations of those who demanded it, or he would, of his own initiative, have granted a Constitution without waiting to hear what the *Duma* had to say on the subject; he would not have assured the deputation of reformers whom he received at Peterhof last June that he counted upon their co-operation to strengthen the ties between him and his people. So clearly is this fact realized in Russia that even among the most pronounced advocates of organic reform there has been for some time past a tendency to abstain from criticism of the Sovereign—a marked preference for the English standpoint as embodied in the saying:—"The King can do no wrong." It has come to be understood that the present occupant of the Throne wishes to observe an impassive, expectant attitude, leaving it to his people to determine whether they are or are not to have a Constitution. The attempt recently made by an English journalist to bring the personal element into Russian politics has, for this reason, produced a feeling of intense surprise not unmixed with some resentment. The fact that Count Witte, the future bureaucratic Prime Minister, is following similar tactics may, however, to some extent justify this proceeding.

It is clear then that the electoral campaign will—as stated above—solve the great question which now confronts Russia, and that the principal factors in the campaign are respectively the opponents and supporters of the constitutional idea, or, in other words, the bureaucracy and the reformers. The issue is, however, not quite so simple as conveyed by these two denominations. The bureaucratic system has been repeatedly and solemnly condemned by the Imperial Ukases and Manifestoes issued since last December, and the Emperor has in every one of these documents proclaimed the necessity of reform. It, therefore, became impossible for the supporters of the bureaucracy to declare themselves openly against reform; they have, accordingly, also assumed the guise of reformers with the object of more effectually checking any fundamental change. Thus, while the bureaucratic reformers freely admit the necessity of improvements in the administrative machinery of the Empire, of promoting the welfare of the people, and even of allowing them a measure of freedom, they jealously and desperately oppose any idea of guaranteeing the liberty of the subject or admitting any restriction of the autocracy. The motive of this is obvious; the maintenance of the autocratic idea is essential to the irresponsible and arbitrary exercise of power by officials which forms the *sine quâ non* of bureaucratic government, and the absence of all guarantees of personal freedom is necessary for the full, untrammelled enjoyment of such power. It is interesting in this connexion to note the statements recently made by General Trepoff in an interview published by the *Novosti*. The Governor-General therein outlined a complete programme of social and economic reforms; he professed himself in favour of very liberal measures in regard to the labour and agrarian questions and the education of the masses. He also spoke favourably about freedom of speech, of meeting, and of the Press, but on these points he did not fail to make the usual reservation about guarantees; and in regard to the vital question of freedom from arbitrary arrest, he gave a long, technical explanation showing that, from his point of view, it would be impossible to conduct the government of the country in present circumstances without recourse to the so-called "administrative order." I have singled out General Trepoff as a representative of the bureaucracy; in reality, he is one of its most liberal exponents, so liberal, indeed, that by many of his colleagues he is regarded as nothing better than a Constitutionalist. General Trepoff does not attempt to deny the impeachment. But, needless to add, the real Constitutionalists are not deceived; they realize thoroughly that so long as General Trepoff remains at the head of the Police Department, which is the very sanctuary of the bureaucratic system, he cannot be regarded as a genuine upholder of their ideas. The recent development of repressive measures against meetings of reformers only serves to strengthen this conviction.

This apparent digression into the character, aims, and methods of bureaucracy is of the greatest importance for a complete understanding of the political problem in general and of the present electoral campaign in particular. The supporters of the bureaucracy, under whatever name they may choose to disguise themselves, unconsciously betray their real character by preaching the tenets of the bureaucratic chieftains. They invariably insist that a Constitution would prove the ruin of the country, and that the people will have none of it. The effete, idealistic creed of the Panslavists—*narodu mnenie, tsariu vlast* (to the people, opinion; to the Tsar, power)—has been taken up for the purposes of the bureaucracy, and it has been sought by a persistent use of the stereotyped phrases of that creed—*neziblemmiya nachala* (unshakable foundations) and *samobytnost* (peculiarity) of Russian life—to convince public opinion that this country is destined to pursue its evolution on special lines; that, in short, the ordinary course of national development laid down by the history of modern civilization is not applicable to Russia. The effect has been, however, finally to discredit the Panslavist creed and to place all its supporters under suspicion of playing into the hands of the reaction. Something of the same kind has befallen the supporters of autocracy in general. The fact that the hated and discredited bureaucracy championed the autocratic cause has compromised all who were prompted to support it from disinterested motives.

These general considerations will serve to explain why, despite the powerful backing afforded them, the disguised supporters of the bureaucracy have been unable to form any considerable following among the Russian people, and why they have failed to develop any popular programme. Indeed, there exists only one organization of any consequence among the bureaucratic reform party—the organization known as the *Soyuz russkikh liudey* (Union of Russian People), which has its headquarters in Moscow. Its adherents are largely recruited among the unenlightened lower-middle class. It has marked its activity by repeated and occasionally successful efforts to promote class, religious, and race hatred. Its programme may be summed up in the catch-words—orthodoxy, autocracy, nationality. It is essentially a negative influence. The intelligent, enlightened forces of the nation are everywhere arrayed against it. Some months ago a group of prominent bureaucrats formed in St. Petersburg what was styled the Conservative party. It was only a name, and even that has been forgotten. There can be no such thing as a Conservative party, properly speaking, in Russia, for the simple reason that the existing system stands condemned both by the Sovereign and the people.

An interesting attempt has been made to form a so-called Centre party, with the object of combining the great number of people fearful of sudden change which may be found in every nation. M. Shipoff, the erstwhile *Zemstvo* leader, and M. Stakhovitch, the Marshal of Nobility of Orel, who both formerly stood in the van of the reform movement in Russia, undertook this ungrateful task. Their motives are above suspicion. They sincerely believe that a considerable lapse of time is necessary to prepare the people for the fundamental changes demanded by the present leaders of the reform movement. They have undoubtedly a large number of sympathizers in the *Zemstvos*, and particularly in the district assemblies, which are at present holding their annual meetings. The Centre party is, however, still in the incipient stage, and as an active force in the electoral campaign its influence can be very slight.

If on the side of the bureaucracy we find extreme poverty of organization or of ideas wherewith to command success in the electoral campaign—a poverty which is, however, counteracted to a great extent by the impediments it is able to place in the way of electoral agitation—we find on the other side, among the reformers, an overwhelming force both in respect of organization and of ideas, thanks to which they have been able, ever since the memorable *Zemstvo* congress held in St. Petersburg last November, to induce the Government to recede step by step from its position.

The *Zemstvo* movement, which gave birth to the present agitation for reform, is too well known to call for more than a cursory review. Originating in the informal gatherings held by prominent *Zemstvoists* in Moscow, which even Plehve, the arch-repressor of all designs for liberation, found himself powerless to prevent, it blossomed into extraordinary vigour and intensity on the advent to office of Prince Mirski, who, by his celebrated advocacy of the *régime* of "confidence," let loose the pent-up yearnings of Russia for freedom; and almost before the Government could realize what was before them, the *Zemstvo* delegates had assembled in St. Petersburg to proclaim their reform programme. That was in November, 1904. A month later appeared the Ukase of December 12-25, recapitulating these demands *seriatim*, with the exception of the most important one which called for the assembling of the representatives of the nation. Then followed the labour movement—a direct and logical consequence of the *Zemstvo* resolutions and of the popular upheaval to which they had given rise. The massacres of January served to display the utter incapacity of the bureaucratic system, and meanwhile the unbroken series of reverses sustained in Manchuria was teaching the same lesson. Six weeks later the Tsar issued simultaneously a Manifesto announcing his intention of summoning the chosen of his people and a Rescript, dictated by his bureaucratic counsellors, in which he endorsed the old-time doctrine of "the unshakable foundations" of autocracy. The one apparently annulled the other, and there was rejoicing accordingly in the bureaucratic camp. But the rejoicing was not of long duration. One after another the assemblies of nobles as well as the *Zemstvos* declared in the most emphatic manner that a national assembly must be called. They even demanded the discontinuance of the war on the ground that the bureaucracy was to blame for it. A single victory in Manchuria might have temporarily strengthened the hands of their opponents, but that victory never came. Instead of it there broke out agrarian riots. Slowly but surely the bureaucratic host had to abandon its outworks; the famous Rescript had proved an unreliable defence against the reforming invaders. Meanwhile, the *Zemstvo* congresses continued to assemble, and with each meeting they became more aggressive in their demands. The deputation which went to Peterhof on June 6-19 to expose these demands, and of which the late Prince Serge Troubetzkoi was the eloquent spokesman, was followed by the July congress, which drew up and issued an appeal to the people against the bureaucracy. Simultaneously, a conference of business men endorsed the *Zemstvo* programme. The condition of the country went from bad to worse; the evils of maladministration became only too apparent in every quarter of the Empire. The bureaucracy had not a friend among the people. It could not stave off the inevitable.

On August 6-19 the Tsar announced the convocation of the State *Duma*. Had the Ukase been issued six months earlier it would undoubtedly have been received with general satisfaction. But the reformers had in the meantime had leisure to study the condition of the country in all its bearings; they had enormously increased their numbers and perfected their organization; the *Zemstvo* element had coalesced with the municipalities, thereby introducing to the Moscow congresses representatives of all parts of the Empire, including Siberia and the Caucasus. They were all agreed that a popular suffrage and a Legislative Assembly were as vitally necessary as the grant of popular liberties. The Ukase of August 6-19 satisfied neither of these requirements. The reformers, however, decided to make the best of the means thus placed at their disposal for making their voice heard in the Council Chamber of the nation. The congress of September, in which for the first time the representatives of the Polish nation were assembled, had to draw up a complete electoral programme to which reformers of all shades and opinions could subscribe. The programme covered social and economic as well as purely political questions. It provided for the removal of all class restrictions, for national education, for labour and agrarian legislation of the most liberal kind; it called for popular suffrage, for the widest measure of self-government, and, in the case of Poland, for autonomy, and, above all, for the grant of popular liberties, without which national progress was declared to be impossible. By a large majority the congress further resolved that its adherents would enter the *Duma* solely in order to demand the immediate grant of these liberties and of this suffrage. Each point of the programme appeals forcibly to the longings and aspirations of the various classes of the community. The peasant is assured that his land-hunger will be satisfied by every means short of spoliation; the working man that he will enjoy proper concern for his welfare; the capitalist that he will find in the enhanced prosperity of the country resulting from the increase of land holdings and the spread of education a suitable return for his investments; the citizen that he will be freed from the oppression under which all Russians have groaned for centuries; the alien that he will find due respect for his race and his religion.

Since the publication of this constitutional programme, the bureaucracy has lost no opportunity of criticizing it through its supporters and its organs in the Press. It has claimed to find a weak point in the demand for Polish autonomy, or, as the congressists prefer to call it, the federative principle. This is denounced as being tantamount to a dismemberment of the Empire, and it is sought to show that the reformers thereby proclaim themselves unpatriotic, if not downright traitors. Needless to say the charge is utterly baseless. The Empire has all to gain and nothing to lose from a stimulation of national aspirations among the Poles or other civilized races inhabiting the confines of the Empire. In the case of Russian Poland this is particularly evident, since from its juxtaposition with Germany it can never hope to aspire to independence, and all its sympathies would naturally go to the greater Slav people. Nevertheless, the federation plank in the congress platform may lead to the estrangement of some of its previous supporters who cannot or will not see the force of this argument. On the other hand, this very plank assures to the reformers the whole of the 45 members to be returned by Poland in addition to those from the Lithuanian and Little Russian provinces. It also predisposes in their favour the 60 members who will represent Siberia and the Caucasus. There are strong indications that the peasant vote in the provincial electoral colleges will in many cases be cast for reform candidates, and that the peasant contingent in the *Duma* will also be found on their side. As regards the return of members from the landholders, burgesses, and the industrial class in the purely Russian provinces of the Empire, the conditions are, on the whole, distinctly favourable to the reformers. They have the best candidates and almost a monopoly of organization. The refractory element will in many cases abstain from voting. Many of the remoter districts will return members whose political education is extremely rudimentary, and who will, to a large extent, be influenced by the reform element in the *Duma*. The evident intention of the bureaucracy, as revealed by recent repressive measures against political meetings in Moscow and by the stringent character of the regulations concerning electoral gatherings, is to circumscribe the electoral campaign and confine it almost exclusively to the electors. This will not materially affect the chances of the reform party, which will, despite all obstacles, find the means for canvassing its programme, both by word of mouth and by its overwhelming array of organs in the Press.

There was one chance of the failure of the reform movement, or rather of its postponement; it was in the possible apathy of the nation. The lull which followed the announcement of the *Duma* undoubtedly raised the hopes of the bureaucracy, and induced a momentary respite from repression. The Government, anxious to put an end to the long continued academic strife, temporarily granted the demands of the students for the autonomy of Universities and high schools. No sooner were these establishments freed from police control than they became the arena of political agitation. Popular meetings were daily held in the lecture halls and the most advanced views freely ventilated. As a result of this, many of the seats of learning had to be closed. It was evident that the popular masses, far from displaying apathy, were more than ever intent upon the struggle for their rights and liberties. The peasants proved no exception to this rule. An organization known as the Peasants' League made rapid headway among the villagers, and everywhere recruited supporters for the reform movement. The conclusion of an inglorious peace with Japan had set the seal to the condemnation of the bureaucracy; the moral support afforded to the reformers by an unsuccessful and unpopular war found a substitute in the approaching horrors of famine, and the *Zemstvos* hastened to take full advantage of it by associating themselves with the Government relief measures.

By this necessarily incomplete review of the recent political evolution of Russia, I have attempted to indicate the character and outcome of the present electoral campaign. I have shown that, despite all the efforts of the bureaucracy, the reform movement has hitherto won in the battle for freedom, and that it enjoys the support of the nation. There is no ground whatever for the presumption that the bureaucracy will at the last hour reverse the outcome of the conflict. It is not, I think, too bold a prediction to say that the electoral campaign can have only one result—the return next December of a compact, organized body of reformers who will proclaim in the *Duma* the desire of the nation for constitutional government.

Having created and organized the reform movement, the *Zemstvo* congresses have now practically fulfilled their mission. The task of furthering that mission now devolves upon the reform party, the most numerous section of which have adopted the name of Constitutional Democrats. In them the *Zemstvo* and municipal elements are blended with the various professional leagues and popular unions, and their central organization, known as the *Soyuz Soyuzof* (Union of Unions), all of which have coincidentally developed with remarkable rapidity throughout the country, and with the Liberation League or *Soyuz Osvobozhdenia*, one of the earliest reform organizations in Russia. The Constitutional Democrats hold their first congress in Moscow next Wednesday. It will be the first great event of the electoral campaign.

THE BIBLE SOCIETY IN TURKEY.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

CONSTANTINOPLE, OCT. 16.

For many months past the British and Foreign Bible Society has had to complain of the hindrances which are placed in the way of its work by local officials in various parts of Turkey. Its colporteurs have been prevented from going about their work in Monastir, Mosul, Baghdad, and many other places. The worst cases have occurred at Castamuni and Scutari, in Albania, where the colporteurs have been kept waiting six months and more for the renewal of their licences, without which they cannot travel. The British Embassy has made frequent representations on this subject; but as soon as one difficulty has been settled another has arisen, until it would seem as if the Turkish Government had made up its mind to cripple the activity of the society. In reply to the latest representations of the Embassy the Porte has acknowledged that the colportage of the Scriptures ought to be freely permitted, but claims the right to refuse to allow it in towns and districts where the circumstances are exceptional, and insists that every colporteur shall find a resident in the locality to go bail for his good behaviour. The Bible Society objects to these restrictions, especially to the last; for it exercises great care in the selection of its agents, and does not think any further guarantee than its own to be necessary. The kindred American society is subjected to the same annoyances, and protests similar to those of the British Embassy have been made by the United States Legation.

A PASSIVE RESISTER'S BILL OF SALE.

With reference to the report which appeared in *The Times* of Friday last of an application made at the Clerkenwell County Court by the solicitor to the Islington Borough Council for costs on the higher scale in an action brought against Mr. W. F. Dewey, the town clerk, and Mr. Stean, an auctioneer, by Mr. Charles Morley Wenyon, of Marquess-road, Canonbury, which action was discontinued by notice given by the plaintiff's solicitors, Dr. Wenyon, of Wesley's Chapel, City-road, S.E., writing under yesterday's date, says:—

"Like other Wesleyan ministers, I live in a house furnished throughout by the church of which I am pastor, and like other Wesleyan ministers I had also goods of my own, consisting, for the most part, of books, pictures, time-pieces, ornaments, &c. The bailiff was never left under a moment's misapprehension with regard to the divided ownership. A written statement signed by the principal church officers informed him of the church's claim, and in handing this paper to the man I at once distinctly told him that there were also in the house numerous things of my own. He perfectly understood me, for he pressed me good humouredly to indicate which articles were mine and which the property of the church. The assistant overseer came a few days later and made the same request. To both I replied that as my action was a protest against an iniquitous tax I could not assist them in this way. The two came again during my absence and marked the desk in my study for seizure. On my return I at once informed them that this was the property of the church. A written declaration from the chief officers of the church confirmed this, and the books of the church show that this desk was purchased by the church as part of the permanent furniture of the house. When, a few weeks later, I informed the bailiff that I had sold my portion of the goods in the house, he said this was a great relief to him, as he would now be able to report that there were 'no effects.' There has never been on the part of myself or any member of my household the slightest attempt at misrepresentation with regard to the real ownership of the whole or any part of the property in this house. The solicitor to the Islington Borough Council has the registered list of the articles I sold, and the schedule of furniture owned by the church is accessible. If he did not know, he ought to have known, that the two lists are entirely distinct. I do not complain of any legitimate consequences to myself of my resistance, but, not content with the legal remedies provided, the authorities have, in their zeal for persecution, become lawbreakers themselves. During my absence at the National Free Church Council in Manchester, the Assistant Overseer put a man in my house to guard the one article of furniture seized for a few shillings. I returned next day, but the man was left in the house from Monday to the next Saturday afternoon. For this illegal action I afterwards obtained compensation. The representatives of the Borough Council have seized and sold furniture which did not belong, and never had belonged, to me, and the church which owned it has had to bear the loss, though not a single member of that church, so far as I know, is a passive resister. No notice of the sale was sent to us, and we have received no account of the proceeds of it. This, surely, is illegal. And now, by absolutely false statements made in a Court of Justice, they are seeking to damage my reputation."

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THE UNIVERSITY PROBLEM IN CAPE COLONY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—The highly successful visit of the British Association to Cape Town has already had one important result: it has concentrated attention on the unsatisfactory condition of higher education in the colony. Briefly put, the position is this. The only body with power to grant degrees is the University of the Cape of Good Hope, a merely examining institution of the old London type, whose offices are in Cape Town. On the strength of its examinations it confers degrees and grants to promising candidates scholarships of considerable value which enable them to continue their studies in Europe. Unfortunately, it does not allow those who have taught candidates to take part in the examining of them; and since in many subjects the only experts in the country are engaged in teaching, the examinations are rightly regarded with dislike and distrust. Nor does the University insist that candidates shall be properly trained. It takes no interest in teaching, but simply prescribes syllabuses and examines on them.

As a matter of fact, however, the great majority of candidates have been trained at some one or other of the five colleges in the colony. Of these the most important are the South African College in Cape Town, the Victoria College, at Stellenbosch, about 30 miles away, and the new Rhodes University College at Grahamstown, in the Eastern Province. The remaining two are the Diocesan College, in the suburbs of Cape Town, and the Huguenot College (for women) at Wellington, some 40 miles inland, both small and weak. None of these teaching institutions is connected by statute with the University, though practically they may be regarded as loosely affiliated to it. The South African College is at once the oldest and the strongest of the five. It was founded as far back as 1829, but its development has been a matter of recent years. The students now number about 260, and there is a staff of 17 professors and eight assistants. The buildings are in course of reconstruction on a large scale. Chemistry and physics have for some time been suitably housed, and last April there were opened two new blocks (in which five sections of the Association met), one being for engineering, the other for geology, botany, and zoology. They have been pronounced by a competent authority fit to bear comparison with any in the Empire. Arts buildings on a similar scale will, it is expected, be started shortly, and there is a strong movement in favour of the institution of a medical faculty. The Victoria College is of more recent date, and its development has closely followed that of the South African College. The number of students is about 190, and the staff includes 11 professors and five assistants. The Rhodes College is new, and has begun by collecting a strong staff of 11 professors. The students are naturally few as yet, but may be expected to increase as education develops in the Eastern Province.

The present system, or lack of system, is rightly regarded with widespread dissatisfaction. Educationists must condemn it because it prevents any freedom of teaching, and results in the deification of examinations and the depreciation of learning for its own sake. Economists must condemn it because it involves unnecessary repetition of identical work, and produces the least results from the money expended on it. The Government grants towards higher education are in themselves liberal considering the poverty of the country, and considerable sums have been raised from private benefactions; but the division of these grants, subscriptions, and endowments between a number of colleges wholly disproportionate to the scanty white population is obviously wasteful. This is most apparent in the Western Province, where there are four colleges, all within 40 miles of Cape Town, and all attempting to do the same work. But the system is to be condemned from a still more important point of view. A sound University system would do much to obliterate in the younger generation the unhappy suspicions and differences which hinder the progress of the colony; but the present system breeds discord and not harmony. It is a noteworthy fact that only one college, the South African, succeeds in educating together students of British descent and students of Dutch descent in numbers at once considerable and approximately equal.

What character will the educational reformation take? Some years ago Mr. Rhodes saw the true way, and attempted to persuade the colleges to follow it. He would have instituted a great teaching University, and was prepared to endow it with a glorious site on the slopes of Table Mountain. The plan failed then; one fears it would as certainly fail now. But it remains the true ideal to combine, at any rate, the Western Province colleges into a single teaching University in Cape Town. Only in Cape Town is it possible to provide technical and professional instruction in addition to the ordinary Arts and Science courses, and only there will these educational facilities combine with tradition and habit to draw Dutch and British into one institution.

But public opinion is, it seems, not yet sufficiently advanced throughout the colony to understand the incalculable merits of such a scheme. It does not even grasp the simple fact that, if the money which is now expended on providing the salaries and equipping the laboratories of five teachers of, say, physics were devoted to that department of a single University, a really great school of physics would arise, magnificently furnished, and conducted by a staff of men who, by specializing each in his own direction, would do far better at once for their students, their subject, and the fame of the colony than can the present five, who are all overworked because they all have to do the same work. Not a few voices are heard in favour of a Federal University in which all, or some, of the present colleges would be constituent colleges. But it appears from an interesting discussion which took place in the educational section of the British Association that the South African College views federation with dislike. It has gone to the trouble, so the section was informed, of collecting opinions on the federal system from members of many Universities in Great Britain and in the Colonies, and it has found the balance of opinion overwhelmingly adverse. And it certainly looks as if the South African College would do very unwisely to allow its hands to be tied by a federation which would hinder its development, and which assuredly would not last long. Federation would be more cumbrous and no less wasteful than the present system, and it would be better not only for Cape Town, but for South African education generally, if the college were to look forward to independent existence as a teaching University. Let it strengthen the departments it has already got; let it add to them strong faculties of medicine and of law, and a strong department of education, and it will necessarily become not merely a city University for Cape Town, but a national University for the whole white population of the colony. May it receive generous support! Such development is costly, and benefactors are sorely needed. Those who have derived wealth from Cape Colony could scarcely spend a part of it more fittingly than in assisting a scheme which will promote not only the higher education of the colony but also its unity.

What will happen to the other colleges if a teaching University is founded in Cape Town it is too early to foretell. Possibly they will federate; possibly the strongest of them will sooner or later also seek independence. In any case, they will remain comparatively small; for, not being situated in large centres of population, they will not appeal to wide interests nor develop so broadly as a University in Cape Town. Whatever happens, one point should be emphasized. All the Universities that may be instituted in South Africa (and not merely in Cape Colony) should submit to provisions similar to those which bind the Northern Universities in England, preventing a sudden lowering of standard on the part of any one of them. If this is done, and if external examiners are appointed—and the teacher in one University will naturally be the external examiner in another—then all the advantages of the federal system will be gained and its serious defects avoided.

I am, Sir,

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REWARDS FOR GALLANTRY.—The committee of the Royal Humane Society yesterday continued its investigation of the large number of cases sent in for recognition. The principal awards were:—Bronze medal to George Gibson, surgeon, his Majesty's ship Assistance, for jumping overboard at sea on August 14 and saving a seaman; medal to A. J. L. Shand, second officer of the ship Port Elgin, for his attempt to rescue a man who was drowned in Gravesend Reach on April 30; medal to Charles Cook, aged 12, of Nine Elms, for saving a boy who fell into the Thames on July 17; medal to H. O. Turner, aged 13, for plunging into the Dart on August 24 and rescuing a boy; medal to Clare H. Harris, a school girl, for her rescue of a comrade from 30ft. of water at Greystones, county Dublin, on August 16; medals to J. J. W. Macpherson and John Burton, North Shields, for their rescue of two men who were carried away while bathing at Tynemouth on July 13; medal to E. J. Spiller, his Majesty's Coastguard, Porthtowan, Cornwall, for his attempt to save Henry Matthews at Chapel Porth on August 15; medal to Corporal Walters, R.M.L.I., his Majesty's ship Andromeda, for his attempt to save a comrade who was drowned at Hong-kong on June 14; medal to Private M. R. Millar, Volunteer Bearer Company, Highland L.I., for jumping into the Clyde at Greenock on July 12 and saving a boy; testimonial to Lieutenant R. H. Bogle, R.N., for saving a lady who had fallen from a boat into the Serpentine on August 16.

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(1) THE TIMES BY POST. I desire The Times to be delivered to me, post free, upon the understanding that my address may be changed for any period, however short, provided that notice reaches The Times Office not later than 9 o'clock on the morning of the day preceding the publication of the issue which is to be sent to the new address. [Foreign postage is charged a penny a day.]

(2) REGULAR SERVICE BY ANY NEWSVENDOR. Please arrange with .....
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Mr. .....
(Fill in Name of Newsvendor.)
of .....
(Fill in Address of Newsvendor.)
I ..... to deliver my paper, beginning on the first Monday after you have registered my subscription. I will give you six days' notice when my address is to be changed, and each change will be for a period (beginning on a Monday and ending on a Saturday) of not less than one week.

(3) TICKETS FOR THE TIMES. Please send me 312 tickets for The Times (a year's supply), which I can give to my newsvendor once a week, once a month, or once a quarter, when I am at home; or which I can—during temporary absences from home—hand in at railway bookstalls or give to local newsvendors in exchange for single copies of The Times. It is understood that you will redeem any of these tickets which, for any valid reason, I have been unable to use.

Strike out one of these paragraphs. I enclose £3 12s. / I enclose 20s. to be followed by three quarterly payments of 20s.

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Name .....
[Please write clearly]
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.....
190 .....

[*A subscription taken in the name of a club or other corporate body covers the lending privilege but not the reading privilege.*]

N.B.—Are you already a daily Purchaser of The Times?.....