The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal. Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share;
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere;
They only live who dare!

—*Morris.*

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The Week.

Albania.

London, Feb. 4.

The trial at Valona of those implicated in the Turkish *coup d'etat* last month is concluded. Major Bekir Bey has been condemned to death and ten Turkish officers to varying terms of imprisonment, one to fifteen years.

Valona, Feb. 1.

The sentences of the court-martial will be submitted to the Prince of Wied. Meanwhile they will be suspended.

Durazzo, Feb. 1.

An agreement has been reached between the Control Commission in Albania and Essad Pasha, who undertakes to resign within three days. The Commission has authorised him to go to meet the Prince of Wied as a representative of the Albanian people.

Peace in the Balkan

Berlin, Feb. 1.

The semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* says that the visit of M. Venizelos, the Greek Primier, has produced a most favourable impression, and the conviction has been strengthened that under his guidance Greece will be actuated by the wish to establish peaceful relations with her neighbours and the Great Powers.

Constantinople, Feb. 2.

Diplomatic relations between Greece and Turkey were formally resumed to-day when it is believed direct pourparlers were opened regarding the Aegean Islands.

Italian claims in Asia Minor.

London, Feb. 4.

Reuter learns that Italy is still negotiating direct with Turkey regarding the retrocession of the Aegean Islands. The present pourparlers relate to the Italian desire to obtain compensatory concessions in the region of Adalia (Asia Minor), where they might conflict with Great Britain's interests and perjudice British rights in view of railway extensions, but the matter is the subject of friendly discussion between Italy and the British company concerned.

Peace Propaganda.

Teheran, Feb. 4.

An Americo-Persian Treaty has been signed under which will be referred to an impartial permanent commission for advice all differences which can not be settled through diplomatic channels. Persia is the first Asiatic country te sign such a convention.

Asiatics in America.

London, Feb. 4.

This cancels all the previously adopted amendments providing for the exclusion of Asiatics and Negroes, except where treaties otherwise stipulate.

The *Times*, Washington correspondent explains that the removal of the obnoxious amendments to the United States Immigration Bill was partly due to pressure from White House, and partly to the realisation of the dangerous folly of the previous amendments. It is hoped that this will counteract the bad effect which certain speeches in the House of Representatives are reported to have exercised on Japanese public opinion

Washington, Feb. 5.

The Immigration Bill, providing for a literacy test but without the Asiatic exclusion amendments which were previously eliminated, has passed the House of Representatives.

Agra riot.

Agra, Feb. 3.

The Agra Muharram riot case, which was to be heard by the Joint-Magistrate yesterday, has been postponed till Thursday next when Mr. Alston, barrister of Allahabad, will appear for the Crown. Messers. Habibullah and Aftab Ahmad Khan, barristers, will appear for the defence.

According to the London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, important proposals for a settlement of the Indian question have been forwarded from India for the consideration of the Government of the Union of South Africa. It is understood, however, that no decision on the general question will be come to until the Natal Commission's report has been considered. The proposals, which take the form of amendments to the existing Immigration Regulations, would, while restricting immigration, enable Indians to enjoy all the privileges of British subjects. It is proposed that English-educated Indians who have adopted the standard of living of

the middle class of the South African European population should be freely allowed to settle in South Africa as long as they do not exceed a certain percentage of the European population, to be determined by the South African Government in consultation with the Imperial and the Indian Governments; any increase of the Indian settlers over the maximum prescribed due to births alone not to be objected to; and all Indian settlers to be allowed all the privileges of the European population. In return for these concessions it is proposed that indentured Indian labour should be freely permitted in South Africa, with sufficient safeguards for the proper treatment of the labourers; indentured Indian labourers not to be allowed to settle in South Africa after the expiration of their terms of service, but in all cases to be sent back to India. Other clauses are: of the Indians qualified to remain in the country under clause 6 of the Regulations, those who have a greater landed or business interest in it have preference over those who have less: and of others, older members over newer ones; any Indian certified by any two European members of the South African Parliament or any two members of the British Parliament or by any European District Collector in India to have adopted the standard of living of middle class Europeans to be considered as having that qualification; the marriage law of South Africa to be amended so as to recognise the validity of Indian monogamous marriages.

Pietermaritzburg, Feb. 2.

At a meeting of 1,500 Indians, held to welcome the Rev. Mr. Andrews, a resolution was passed endorsing the terms of the provisional settlement between the Government and Mr. Gandhi, and repudiating the right of the Natal Congress as a mere handful of individuals to testify before the Indian Commission thereby repudiating Mr. Gandhi.

Capetown, Feb. 2.

Mr. Munnik, a Transvaal member of the Union Senates, has given notice of a motion to the effect that the presence of the large numbers of Indians within the Union is detrimental to the best interests of the country, and the Government is therefore requested to remedy the evil as quickly as possible.

Telegrams from India.

The Indian Telegraph Department has received information from South Africa, that all telegrams from India, to the Union were subject to censorship. It is not known whether this announcement is only a belated message sent in the ordinary course to every country as a result of the proclamation of martial law, which has now been removed, or marks a new departure in connection with the Passive Resistance Movement.

Indians in South Africa.

Durban, Feb. 1

A number of members of the Natal Indian Congress are protesting against the decision of the Congress to give evidence before the Indian Commission. They maintain that 60 per cent of the meeting endorsed Mr. Gandhi's opinion in the matter, but the chairman ruled in favour of the minority and ignored the demand for a division. It is believed that the dispute will deter some Indians from giving evidence.

Durban, Jan. 31.

The first evidence regarding complaints by Indians was given by a witness from Lamercy Estate, who alleged that native constables had assaulted Indians who were returning from a strike meeting. Colonel Clarke, Commissioner of Police said he believed that both parties in the case were to blame. He had desired an enquiry to be held at the time, but the Indians declined to give evidence. Mr. Keen, Surgeon Superintendent of Indian Immigrants, said he had noticed a physical and financial improvement in Indians during their stay in Natal, which they themselves admitted.

Delhi, Jan. 31.

With reference to Reuter's telegram that the National Indian Congress had decided to offer evidence before the Commission, thus disowning Mr. Gandhi's leadership, Mr. Gokhale cabled to Mr. Gandhi for particulars, and has received the following reply jointly from Mr. Gandhi and the Rev Mr. Andrew, dated Durban, 30th instant.

"Congress meeting numbered little over a hundred people. Opinion sharply divided. Large majority voted against giving evidence. So far three indentured Indians only appeared before Commission. Congress meeting engineered by men who were opposed to passive resistance at the very beginning of the struggle. No importance attached to the meeting locally. General European feeling growing in our favour. An influential member of the Senate paid a personal visit to Gandhi at Phoenix yesterday and was most cordial. Offered all help towards settlement. Wanted by-gones forgotten. Don't be anxious."

The Reverend Mr. Andrews has started a tour in Natal and will afterwards proceed to Johannesburg, Kimberley and Cape Town to meet Indian communities. He sails for England on February, 21st. He regards the agreement reached during his and Mr. Gandhi's stay of a fortnight in Pretoria as satisfactory, and hopes that it will lead to a permanent settlement of Indian grievances. Mr. Andrews was deeply touched by the kindness and assistance of the European community.

Our London Letter.

(From our London Correspondent.)

London, 16th Jan. 1914.

New Converts into Islam.

Two English ladies have been just converted into Islam by the Khwaja Kamal-ud-din, who is being kept very busy at the Woking Mosque with his spiritual work. Day after day, the Khwaja Sahib is engaged with numerous interviews with persons, who go to see him at no little sacrifice of time and money, some of them undertaking long journeys from different parts of the kingdom in order to meet him, either for the solution of some complicated point in Islamic principles and doctrines, which had been weighing upon their minds or else for the formal adoption of the Moslem faith. Several of these newly-converted Moslems, of course, have been for years privately following the great teachings of the holy Prophet and the rites and principles of Islam, though outwardly they had not formally declared themselves as Moslems. The public announcement of the adoption of Islam by several distinguished personages in this country, it seems, has acted as a stimulus to a good many people, who are now rightly hastening to formally embrace Islam. It is really astonishing to notice the large number of English Moslems, who, though real and earnest Moslems at heart, had not been before identified as such. The Islamic Society has a very large field for spiritual activity before it and I understand that the Managing Committee is paying its most careful attention to this problem. No doubt, the Society is greatly handicapped for want of funds, but an earnest appeal for financial help is being made and it is hoped it will meet with a generous response. The weekly Friday Prayers held at Lindsey Hall under the auspices of the Islamic Society are drawing large audiences and the truly international character of the Congregation—the real united Islam—is its most happy feature.

Colour at the Bar.

A rather unusual dispute in legal circles has led to an offer by Sir John Simon, the Attorney-General, to act as arbitrator. It appears that about a year ago, an Indian barrister, a member of the Inner Temple, had sent in his application for membership of the Bar Mess of the Surrey and South London Sessions Circuit. It is obvious that membership of a mess carries social and other privileges and already there are several Indian barristers, who are members of similar institutions on other Circuits. In this case, curiously enough, the application was refused.

The applicant took his case before the Bar Council and have endeavoured to interest the present Lord Chief Justice, the Attorney-General, in the matter. The present Attorney-General has now offered his services as Mediator.

It is doubtful whether Sir John Simon's offer will be accepted. Some of the barristers seem to resent outside interference on the ground that the mess is only a social club, and that a barrister has no rights of membership any more than he would have in the case of the Carlton or any other club.

On the other hand, it is argued by the Indians that, as only a member of the mess can receive the brief for a Crown prosecution, membership is the right of every barrister on the Circuit. A meeting will shortly be held to consider the Attorney-General's Offer.

The Turkish Navy.

According to the *Daily Telegraph's* Constantinople Correspondent, the Ottoman Ministry of Marine will shortly proceed to radical reforms in connection with the officers of the Navy. Many old officers in the higher ranks will be placed on the retired list, in order to permit the promotion of capable and well-trained young officers. Several foremen from Messrs. Armstrong's yards have already arrived at Constantinople and are in service at the Admiralty and a number of Superior English Officers will shortly arrive there to strengthen the staff of Admiral Lympus. The battleship "Messondieh" is to be converted into a training ship, and her two big guns are to be sent over to England for certain alterations by Messrs. Armstrong.

TETE À TETE

Sir Fazulbhai's Resolution.

THE main principle underlying Sir Fazulbhai's resolution, so far as we can understand, is that the services of leaders of the Hindu and Moslem communities in each locality should be utilized, firstly, in all cases of disputes concerning religious or quasi-religious cremonies for the purposes of arranging the time, place and manner of their observance and preventing violence or riots connected therewith, and secondly, in all cases of doubt concerning the nature of the premises to be acquired, for the purpose of determining whether they are places of Hindu or Moslem worship or not. At present the police are practically the only counsellors consulted by those responsible for the maintenance of law and order in cases of differences between the two communities concerning the obeservance of their ceremonies, and as a rule the unaided judgment of the officer desiring the acquisition of land determines the character of places of worship. If it is claimed that the officials even now always consult non-official opinion, then we do not see what objection Government could have had in giving to the existing practice the character of an invariable rule of law. The Hon. Sir Fazulbhai and the Hon. Mr. Surendranath Bannerjea desired to make the consultation of non-official opinion something more substantial than a pious hope and aspiration. Taking the two considerations together, the principle underlying the resolution may be said to be a compulsory consultation of non-official opinion. So far as we could judge the non-official members of the Council seemed to favour this unanimously. But the way in which the resolution was framed went some way further than the principle of compulsory consultation. Sir Fazulbhai did not ask the Council merely to recommend to Government the formation of a Committee to prepare a draft scheme of legislation for requiring the officials to consult non-officials in cases of dispute about the observance of religious ceremonies and of doubt about the character of buildings alleged to be places of worship, but also attempted to save the proposed Committee the labour of framing the statutory powers of the Conciliation Boards. We are not in love with vague schemes and must confess that the name of Conciliation Boards, which came to India, when it was the fashion in England, after Sir George Askwith's first successes as a concilator in industrial disputes, to talk of them, did not prove as soothing to us as the word Mesapotamia to a certain class. Nevertheless we think it is a mistake to make a scheme too definite in the resolution itself. More definition means increased chances of differences of opinion, and therefore more difficulties if a division is called for. Sir Fazulbhai's resolution itself gives to the Conciliation Boards statutory powers to arbitrate in all cases of differences relating to the observance of ceremonies; to take necessary action for the prevention of violence and riots connected with such differences; and to adjudicate upon the nature of the premises to be acquired which are claimed by Hindus or Mussalmans as places of worship. It is quite possible that a practicable scheme of Conciliation Boards with such statutory powers could be framed. But, on the other hand, it is not quite certain and, under the circumstances the deadweight of these conditions is likely to handicap the Committee charged with the duty of framing a workable scheme.

Better Procedure.

To our mind it would have been better to leave the Committee perfectly free to propose what statutory powers it should give to Conciliation Boards, while imposing on it the duty of framing a scheme for the creation of such Boards as auxiliaries to the officials now responsible for making arrangements for the peaceful observance of Hindu and Moslem religious and quasi-religious ceremonies, a scheme which should nevertheless provide that the officials should be required to consult them on all such occasions. As for the adjudication of the nature of premises claimed by people as places of worship, obviously the matter is one in which only members of the Board belonging to the community which claims the premises in question as a place of worship can be entrusted with jurisdiction, and equally obviously here they must act as sole judges and not as mere auxiliaries to officials who may not be of the same faith. The Hon. Sir Fazulbhai defined the proposal still further in the course of his excellent speech. He explained that the seats on the Boards should be equally divided among Hindus and Mussalmans; that residence in the locality must be necessary as a qualification of eligibility for election; that the Boards should be permanent organisations with a corporate existence, but the members must change periodically; that, unlike arbitrators, they should have statutory powers to take cognisance of disputes upon information irrespective of the wishes of the parties; that in taking precautionary measures for the prevention of violence and riots the initiative should come from the Boards; and that they should guide the executive with their counsels and share in this matter the responsibility of the executive. These, we take it, are the personal views of Sir Fazulbhai, and he did not wish the Committee which he proposed to be bound by them though they deserve its best consideration. Had he, then, also included some of the details of his resolution in the category of his personal views it would have been equally wise, as it would have deprived the resolution of its cast-iron rigidity. In view of the result of the resolution we think Sir Fazulbhai, or, if necessary, some other hon. member should move for the formation of a Committee requiring it to frame a scheme of Conciliation Boards for the general purpose which we have suggested, while leaving the Committee greater scope for its constructive talents than Sir Fazulbhai's resolution left its. And we do not think it necessary to confine the Committee to members of the Imperial Legislative Council, for the inclusion of some members of Provincial Councils and some distinguished Indians, not necessarily Hindu or Moslem, who are not members of any Legislature, would be a distinct improvement.

Conciliation.

THE Hon. Sir Fazulbhai Currimbhai Ebrahim on the 4th instant moved in the Imperial Legislative Council a resolution for the appointment of a Committee of the Council, composed of Hindu and Mahomedan members for preparing a draft scheme for the formation of Conciliation Boards with statutory powers to arbitrate in cases of differences between the two communities as regards the observance of religious and social ceremonies, to take necessary action for the prevention of violence and riots connected with such observance, and to adjudicate upon the nature of premises proposed to be acquired by public bodies or companies and claimed by either Hindus or Mahomedans as places of worship. Whatever one may think of such a proposal, it cannot be gainsaid that it is one more sign of the times, indicating unmistakably that both communities have had enough of fighting with each other and are desirous of a *rapprochment*. The hon. mover quoted the authority of the *Imperial Gazetteer* to show that Hindus and Mussalmans have lived peacably together. "By degrees the fervid enthusiasm of the "early raiders was softened down; the two religions learned to live "side by side." He also cited the testimony of Sir John Strachey in proof of the religous tolerance of Moslem rulers. "The Moham-"medan sovereigns usually treated their subjects, in matter of religion, "with great tolerance." Considering that the contact of Islam with Hinduism commenced early in the eighth century, and that after eight hundred years of Moslem rule, we found the Hindu community in a fairly flourishing condition no whit behind the Moslem subjects of the Great Moghal in moral qualities and material possessions, thus indicating better than the mere words of a chronicler an era of substantial equality of rights and privileges, and considering that there exist to-day innumerable Hindu temples dating from ancient times untouched by iconoclastic hands, it would have been superfluous for the Hon. Sir Fazulbhai to quote the *Imperial Gazetteer* and Sir John Strachey, had not a school of politicians, masquerading as latter-day historians, considered it a religious duty to give a wrong perspective to every intolerant action of a Moslem King or governor and to misinterpret others and of a wholly different character as intolerant actions. Maulana Shibli, whose just and able interpretation of Aurangzib's character and administration deserves amplification and an English garb could not tolerate these false charges of intolerance. After painting an exquisite word-picture of the marriage procession of Jodhbai whom Jehangir, then heir to the throne of Akbar, had married in order

to obliterate the differences between rulers and ruled, he scornfully says to the Anglo-Indian "politician-historian" :

دلہن کي پالکي خود اپني کاندھون پر جو لاي تھي * وہ شاھنشاہ اکبر اور جہانگیر ابن اکبر تھا
یہی ھین وہ شمیم انگیزیان عطر محبت کي * کہ جن سي بوستان ھند برسون تک معطر تھا
تمہین بي دیکھي ساري داستان مین یاد آتا ھي * کہ «عالمگیر ھندوکش تھا، ظالم تھا، ستمگر تھا»

(Those who had carried the bride's palanquin on their shoulders were the Emperor Akbar and Jehangir son of Akbar. Thus was scattered the fragrance of the essence of love on account of which the Garden of India was for years and years afterwards fragrant. But all that you remember out of the entire story is this, that "Alamgir was the destroyer of Hindus, was oppresive, and was cruel!") We need not, however, live long in the past, for the present is with us and we must so shape it as to evolve for the future a unity of feeling and purpose unknown even to Akbar.

The Peace-Makers.

Partly as a result of the Hindu consciousness of newly-acquired power, which made a certain amount of ostentation as natural as it was needless and even capable of producing mischief, and partly as a result of the consequent Moslem resentment, and the unjustified Moslem ascription of most of their misfortunes to the deliberate actions of "the rival community," the two communities began to drift apart, and, much as we should like to commend the actions of English officials as the blessed peace-makers, we regret we cannot endorse the testimonial that Sir Reginald Craddock gave on the 4th instant to "*every* Local Government, Commissioner and District Magistrate" for aiming at "holding the balance even between the conflicting claims of various religious communities." At any rate, whatever the aim of "*every* Local Government, Commissioner and District Magistrate," we know better than Sir Reginald Craddock what the people themselves have on occasions thought about the inclinations of individual officers. This even Sir Reginald cannot deny that the relations of the two great communities of India have been deplorable during the last quarter of a century. But we have reason to believe that in this case also the darkness is the greatest because it just preceeds the dawn. Both communities eagerly await the dawn, for the night has been long and dreary. Whether the sun breaks through the dark clouds sooner or later depends for the most part on the two communities themselves and on the intensity of their desire for the dawn. But it will be nothing short of political prudery if we shrink from saying that British officials are also expected to show greater keenness in desiring an early consummation and more practical good-will towards projects of conciliation. It was, indeed, kind of Major Blakeaway to suggest that a request made to Government to intervene in the manner proposed in Sir Fazulbhai's resolution cast an undeserved reflection on the two communities as it implied that they were incapable of arriving voluntarily at mutual agreement on disputable questions. And the resolution suffers from the apparent defect of asking Government to appoint a Committee of the Council for devising a scheme of Conciliation Boards when the Councillors could do it for themselves. But without being unkind enough to cast an equally undeserved reflection on the officials by supposing that they believe in the old maxim of "divide and rule," we can say that a participation of Government even in the appointment of a Committee such as the Councillors could themselves appoint would give additional proof of the good-will of Government towards the object which every right-thinking man, whether Hindu or Moslem, English or Indian, must have in view.

Conciliation Boards and Official Critics.

It would be foolish to pretend that the problem for which the Hon. Sir Fazulbhai Currimbhoy Ebrahim suggested a method of finding a solution presents no difficulties. It bristles with difficulties at every turn and it would heavily tax the good-will as well as the talents of all that desire a happy solution of the problem. We have ourselves pointed out in a general manner the weakness of the resolution moved in the Council and we do not deny that some of the ideas expressed by Sir Fazulbhai in the course of his speech are open to criticism. But we must confess we did not think the Government would be so bankrupt in criticism as to press into service such objections as the Hon. the Home Member pointed out in the course of his official pronouncement. That the appointment of a Committee of the Council for drafting a scheme of Conciliation Boards would be unconstitutional; that disputes were not confined to large centres where the Hon. Mover sought to establish the Boards; that there was no standard Municipal model on which the Boards could be established; that the Hon. Mover did not say what sort of franchise there should be for the election of members of the Board; that where there was great numerical disparity between the communities the numerical equality of the two in the composition of the Boards would give rise to accusations of ignoring the relative interest of the parties; that disputes were not confined to Hindus and Mussalmans alone; that Boards qualified to deal with observance of religious ceremonies would not necessarily be qualified to deal with the observance of social ceremonies, and *vice versa*; that arbitrators in the Boards would not be wholly disinterested; that the Boards had no executive; that the police and Magistrates could not be divested of their powers with a view to bestow them on the Boards; that Hindus could not pronounce on the sanctity of Moslem places of worship and *vice versa*; that if the heads of communities concerned could arrive at an agreement there was no need of statutory powers, and that if they could not, the statutory powers could not give them the necessary agreement; that in disputes sober and moderate men alone could act as arbitrators, but by election most probably the hot-heads would be selected—this long array of objections can only deceive the unthinking and the indifferent with their apparent strength. In the first place, Sir Fazulbhai was moving a resolution for the appointment of a Committee to frame a scheme, and not moving the adoption of a cut and dried scheme itself. Hence it was useless to expect him to give details of the franchise or even to object to the resolution itself on the ground that in his speech he expressed certain personal views about which differences of opinion could legitimately exist. And in the next place, it is absurd to believe that any scheme could ever be evolved for anything in the wide wide world which would present no difficulties. What is certain in that the existing arrangements satisfy neither the Hindus nor the Mussalmans as the speeches of non-official members clearly showed, and what was demanded of us at the present moment was not even to compare the present unsatisfactory conditions with the prospective benefits of a conjectural scheme to be framed in future, but merely to judge and determine whether a Committee such as Sir Fazulbhai had proposed could with any hope of advantage and with any confidence be entrusted with the task of framing an alternative scheme. This being so, let us examine a little the objection that the Mover was asking Government to take an unconstitutional step.

Official Preserves and Non-Official Poachers.

We fail to see what is unconstitutional in the appointment by Government of a Committee of Hindus and Mussalmans to frame such a scheme. Have Government no power to appoint Committees for advising them as to the best solution of an important administrative problem? And is there to prevent their confining the Committee to Hindu and Moslem Members of the Imperial Legislature, although we ourselves are opposed to this suggestion? But the question is obviously not one of the powers of Government which no one knows better than the Hon. the Home Member to be ample for all purposes. The question is whether the Executive Government approves of the desire of "the chosen representatives of the people of India", as His Majesty the Emperor himself called the non-official members of the Council, to share with the Executive the responsibility of administration and the initiative in legislation. The Hon. Member for Commerce showed fairly clearly what the Executive thought of these "encroachments" when Sir Fazulbhai desired that a Committee of the Council should examine the whole subject of the English Mail arrangements, although Mr. Clark did not wish to insist on this aspect of the matter. Sir Reginald Craddock stands on less firm ground, for this is not merely an administrative question but if it had been desired to alter the existing arrangements, it would have necessitated legislation. Nevertheless the Hon. the Home Member was far more insistent than the Hon. Member for Commerce, and if we heard him aright he would deny all initiative in legislation to non-official members. That is obviously unconstitutional, for Private Bills have been brought in before, and will continue to be brought in, and it shows how reasonable non-official members are that before they bring in a Private Bill they desire to take steps to thresh out the whole question in a Committee of their own instead of leaving such a difficult and many-sided problem to the unaided judgment of an individual. We trust some non-official member will raise the question of the alleged unconstitutionality and obtain the deliberate judgment of the entire Government of India on this subject.

Comparisons.

As regards the other objection raised, let us assure Sir Reginald Craddock that in all matters a beginning has to be made, and, if any scheme of conciliation succeeds in preventing shameful quarrels between Hindus and Mussalmans over religious or quasi-religious ceremonies, it will not be merely an ordinary

beginning but the beginning of the end. As regards the composition of the Boards, we can well understand that some wiseacre may talk of "relative interests" of the communities, and that perhaps another wiseacre may refer to "political importance." But a Government which can boast that *every* District Magistrate aims at holding the balance even could have been trusted to refer such wiseacres to the maxims of common-senses and the every day experience of mankind which give a perfect equality to each party in a dispute. At present Sir Reginald Craddock's objection may possibly be the proverbial red rag to a sufficiently enraged bull. Nevertheless we trust there is enough common-sense in the two communities to abjure all ideas of "relative interests" and "political importance" in connection with matters which if not subjected to arbitration would have to be fought over in law Courts where neither "relative interests" nor "political importance are recognised." As for the qualification of the Boards to deal with social as well as religious ceremonies, and Hindus determining the character of Moslem places of worship, surely Sir Reginald's objection applies with tenfold force to the eligibility of the European official as the arbitrator in these matters, for he, as a rule, understands neither social nor religious etiquette. Is the Competition-Wallah to be regarded as the *Sab-janta Walla* also? Perhaps the redoubtable Mr. Sim would vouchsafe a reply to this. And as for the disinterestedness of arbitrators, it is dangerous to deal frankly with the question after knowing the fate of the *Zamindar* and its criticism of the two pictures of Ajudhia at the Bakar 'Id, in 1912 and in 1913.

"Cry Peace where ther is no Peace."

With one sentiment of Sir Reginald Craddock however, we can express our entire agreement. It is of no avail to cry peace where there is no peace. This advice is needed by the sentimentalist as well as the charlatan, for the sentimentalist stultifies himself by preaching unity when he asserts at the same time that what he would create is already in existence. Such efforts at self-deception and deceiving others we have consistently opposed even at the risk of appearing to revel in existing discord. But we also believe that by familiarising men with the idea of unity we also make them prone to reduce the feelings of discord which they themselves cherish. At any rate a great wave of conciliatory feelings has recently passed over the people, and if Sir Reginald Craddock also whole-heartedly joins in the cry of peace we feel certain there will be peace even if it is not. But surely the argument that if there is agreement between the leaders of the community statutory powers are superfluous and if there is no agreement such powers are of no advantage is one the fallaciousness of which needs no arguments to-day when in New [illegible] compulsory conciliation has been tried with success, and in English and Irish industrial disputes every effort short of compulsion is made to bring the disputants together and create peace where [illegible] exist. For instance, when we know that there is no [illegible] between the Orangemen in Ulster and the Irish Nationalist, [illegible] the English supporters of the two, is it of no avail to try to [illegible] by a round table Conference of the two of which [illegible]? The fact is we are apt to magnify small differences [illegible], and it is only by bringing disputants together [illegible] petty they are and how easy is the solution of [illegible] difficulties.

"Hot-headed youngsters"

[illegible] and we have done. Has not the time come for the officials to discover some other pet than the champions of "soberiety and moderation" and some other bogey than "hot-headed youngsters"? Surely they have now become only too [illegible]. If anybody of people is young in India it is [illegible] often places its babes and sucklings in charge [illegible] does not permit anyone above the age of 55 to [illegible] though we must confess heat seems to increase [illegible] as if a Sticking Fund of bad temper had been [illegible] were at 55 in excess of the [illegible] the leader. Indian experience shows that the [illegible] and moderation" are the worst bigots, and [illegible] to be named to prove them guilty to the hilt [illegible] between Hindus and Mussalmans, and Sunnies [illegible] guidance from English experience, the ages of [illegible] Mr. Churchill and Mr. F. E. Smith will only [illegible] headed youth may be, no outstanding differences [illegible] unless these real representatives of the people [illegible] in their welfare and understand the nature of [illegible] agree on some plan of settlement. The "sober [illegible] only too often synonymous with the "ill informed [illegible]," and it is of no avail if only they cry peace!

The Forfeiture of the "Zamindar Press."

We publish elsewhere a letter from Mr. Zafar Ali Khan which he has sent to us from London and in which he describes the vigorous of the Indian Press Laws and the efforts he is making in England to have them softened in some measure. The Press Act in its existing shape especially in view of the manner of its actual working, has created widespread dissatisfaction in India. Its safe-guards have been declared to be illusory, and unless better provision is made for discriminating between the guilty and the innocent, there will be no reasonable certainty of its judicious application. As ill-luck would have it, several Moslem papers have been dealt heavily by the Press Law and legitimate grievance has come to exist. The case of the *Zamindar* is an exceptionally sad one. We need not pronounce on the merits of the order forfeiting the *Zamindar* Press, but we are sure the Punjab Government is aware by this time that profound sympathy is felt by the Mussalmans for the proprietor who has had to bear misfortunes in rapid succession. The meeting of sympathy held in Delhi on Friday last was a great success in every way. Rs. 500 were subscribed on the spot for the fund that is being raised to resuscitate *Zamindar* and the organisers of the meeting expect to raise Rs. 5,000 from the people of Delhi. It was at the same time resolved to approach the Lieutenant Governor of the Panjab with an all-India memorial requesting His Honour to kindly reconsider the order of forfeiture. This is a line of action which we have overselves followed and we are glad to find that others are equally desirous of following it. As regards the Press Act, we think that, although the education of British public opinion is in all matters a very desirable undertaking, efforts may with greater advantage be made in India also. The case for the necessary amendment of the Act if not its repeal is incontestable, and we are sure the considered judgment of the whole country will weigh greatly with a statesman of the broad-minded sympathies of Lord Hardinge. We have not yet lost fait in the Government of India eventually realising the justice of our demand, and in the meantime it is our duty to go on pressing it in a resonable spirit and without importing unnecessary heat into the controversy.

The Visit of the Ottoman Consul-General to Delhi.

We have already noticed at some length the secrecy that surrounded the coming of the Ottoman Consul-General to Delhi and the way in which the carpet was smuggled into the mosque. We have also made it clear that the Mussalmans of Delhi felt deep indignation and disappointment when they learnt that somebody had made them the victims of a practical joke. The whole affair seemed to have been stage-managed from start to finish—only the Deputy Commissioner's chaprassi and the invisible mosque authorities had the stage and the auditorium completely to themselves. Whether such a thorough-going measure of secrecy was at all justified in the circumstances it is hardly worth our while to discuss. If the Mussalmans had been allowed to carry out their own arrangements for a public demonstration in honour of the Consul-General and receive the gift of the Caliph with all due ceremony, they would have felt deeply grateful. It is worth remembering, however, that the sympathies of the Indian Moslems for their Turkish brethren or their sentiment of reverence for the Caliph cannot be chilled by cold douches administered in an inconsiderate manner. Hundreds of the Delhi Moslems went to the railway station as soon as they heard late in the afternoon that the Consul-General was coming. The exact time of his arrival was, however, not known, and many of them not being certain whether he was coming at all, besides being hungry after a long and bootless waiting, went back disappointed to their homes. When the Consul-General arrived at midnight, there were still a few hundreds of people on the platform to greet him. In the mosque the following day the huge congregation of some fifteen thousand people that had assembled for the Jum'a prayers and in evident expectation to see the representative of the Caliph, burnt with eager desire to express their feelings of brotherly love for his nation and their sentiments of respect and reverence for his Sovereign. The Consul-General, however, owing to the extreme delicacy of his official position, naturally wished that there should be no demonstration that might be embarrassing to him. He could not shake hands with every body, but there were still hundreds who pressed forward eagerly to kiss the hem of his garments. There is no danger whatever if these harmless feelings are allowed a natural outlet. In fact a frank and open acceptance of a natural sentiment and even more so its appreciation would endear England the Moslem masses.

The Comrade.

The Press Act.

IV.

To-day we turn to the debate in the Imperial Legislative Council initiated by the Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjea on the 9th January, on the subject of the Press Act and our explanation for the delay in commenting on the discussion is that to the majority of the people the points discussed would have been far from clear if we had not previously discussed the main provisions of the Act as interpreted by so competent an authority as a Bench of the three seniormost Judges of the Calcutta High Court.

We have explained in the earlier articles on the Press Act what was claimed for it by the framers of the Press Bill when they enacted it in 1908, and how badly the theory has fared in actual practice, and more particularly we have shown in the last article how devoid of all reality is the reference to the judiciary. It is, however, necessary to begin our review of the Council debate by stating what the resolution of Mr. Bannerjea did not demand before we discuss what it actually demanded, for the omissions of the resolution are even more important than its modest demand.

Now the mainspring of the whole Act is section 4 sub-section (*1*) which was designed to indicate what constitutes an offence under the Act. It is the publication of words, signs or visible representations of a certain character described in this part of the Act which makes the keeper of a Press liable to forfeit his primary security and his secondary security together with his entire Press. It is such a publication that makes the publisher of a newspaper liable to forfeit his primary and secondary securities. Again, it is such a publication that makes the possessor of a book, newspaper or other document liable to forfeit his book, newspaper or other document, whether he may have only a single copy thereof or a hundred thousand. These are punishments, obviously enough and fairly severe at that, though it was claimed for the Act that it was a *preventive* and not a *punitive* measure. If a man is to be punished for an offence it will be readily conceded that he should know wherein he has offended; but when a measure is enacted to *prevent* offences it is all the more necessary to make it clear wherein lies the offence. This is too obvious to need further insistence, for even a dog-fancier would not punish a puppy without previously making some crude efforts at least to teach it what to do and what to abstain from doing. But here we have not a punitive but a preventive measure, an enactment, which, as the Hon. Mr. Vijayraghavachariar pointed, was intended by its sponsors to take the place of public opinion in India and was expected to prove to be a "wholesome and beneficial measure of national education;" and yet even the three seniormost Judges of the Calcutta High Court cannot say what kind of publications are offensive under the Act and what inoffensive and innocuous. "The section embraces," in the words of the great Chief Justice of Bengal, "the whole range of varying degrees "of assurance from certainty on the one side to the very limits of "impossibility on the other."

Sir Reginald Craddock referring to our Pamphlet Case, takes comfort in expressing the thought, if not in the thought itself, that the learned Chief Justice "committed himself to no specific statement that the interpretation placed upon the document then before the Court by the Government was itself far-fetched or arbitrary." Surely it was of no avail for the Chief Justice to "commit himself to any specific statement" of the character about the particular pamphlet when he had already committed himself to half a dozen statements, each more specific than the other, about the general character of the law describing the offence, which made it an almost hopeless task for the most innocent applicant to prove the negative which the law required him to prove. If every thing is an offence, and no applicant can succeed in having the order of the executive upset by a judiciary left impotent in practice, whether by design or accident, why should the judges waste time ever adjudicating elaboratively on the degree of assurance between the polar opposites of the certain and the impossible with which a publication can be called offensive according to the Act? But the Chief Justice expressed his opinion about the pamphlet quite clearly for all the world to see—except those, of course, of whom it is said: "None are so blind as those who will not see"—that the order of forfeiture was arbitrary and far-fetched. "The pamphlet," said the Chief Justice, "would "doubtless bring into hatred the un-Christian Christians whose deeds "of atrocity are described. The theory presented is that the reflec-"tion of this hatred might fall, not indeed on the Government, but "on His Majesty's Christian or English subjects in British India. "If this is the Government's view, with all the information at its dis-"posal, the Court, no more informed than the man in the street, cannot "(in my opinion) affirm this could not be so, and affirm it with a "degree of assurance that would entitle it to set aside a measure "of safety on which the Government had solemnly resolved." This judgment has to be taken in conjunction with Sir Lawrence pointing out of the absurd anomaly which in his opinion "leads to a curious result," It is the omission (probably due to "an oversight as the Chief Justice says,") of the Explanations to section 153A of the Indian Penal Code, though the Explanations to section 124A have been incorporated in the Press Act. The result is that if certain writings are alleged "to bring into hatred or contempt His Majesty or the Government by law established in British India" or "to excite disaffection towards His Majesty or the said Government," it may be urged in the defence of such writings that they were only "comments expressing disapproval of the measure of Government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, or of the administrative or other action of the Government without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection," and therefore "do not come within the scope" of the law describing the offence; but if they are alleged to bring into hatred or contempt only a "class or section of His Majesty's *subjects* in British India," it is of no avail to urge in a Press Act case, though it is a satisfactory explanation in a case under the Indian Penal Code that the writing "point out, without malicious, intention and with an honest view to their removal, matters which are producing or have a tendency to produce, feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects" and thus "it does not amount to an offence within the meaning of this section." Now the learned Advocate-General had already stated in Court that "he attributes no criminal offence" to us and in the words of the judgment "he was even willing to concede and believe" we were "acting in the highest interest of humanity and civilization." Bearing in mind these considerations the Hon. the Chief Justice wrote in his judgment that "had the Press Act incorporated the explanation to section 153A, it has that to section 124A, we might perhaps have made a very strong case in view of the Advocate-General's admission as to the character of the pamphlet and our purpose and intentions." All this can leave no doubt in the mind of any reasonable person that but for the all-comprehensive words of section 4 sub-section (*1*) and the absence of a statement of the grounds of the Government's opinion we should have not only retained our character but also regained our book. If this does not satisfy Sir Reginald Craddock the fault is not that of Sir Lawrence Jenkins, whose remarkably restrained expression of opinion is in such glaring contrast to the blunt and downright utterances of those who never let slip an opportunity of running down the judiciary whenever it shows its independence. It is true that one of the judges, Sir Harry Stephen, very hesitatingly characterised the gradient from "a hatred of the Allies" to "a hatred of the co-religionists of the Allies" as "but a short step." But is it fair to lacerate the judgment of Sir Harry Stephen, by detaching this sentence from the one immediately following it and from another with which he commenced his adjudication on the facts of the case? Did not Sir Harry Stephen begin by saying: "Under the circumstances I have no doubt "that any opinion I may express will be received by others with the "respect that is due to the office I have the honour to hold, but *it will* "*be impossible for me to share in this feeling?*" And did he not conclude in the same spirit when he said he had no doubts about the distance between the two feelings, "a hatred of the Allies" and "a hatred of the co-religionists of the Allies", but that "the absence of doubt is probably due to the absence of evidence, and *cannot be taken as going far towards showing that the opinion is correct.*"

But it is not our purpose here to play the understudy to that brilliant advocate, Mr. Eardley Norton, who fought for us so valiantly, so eloquently and so generously, and to argue the Pamphlet Case over again. The Hon. Dr. Kenrick will forgive us if we express the universal opinion of the Calcutta Bar that he came off a distant second best in that forensic contest, and the Hon. the Home Member would perhaps disdain even a comparison with mere advocates of the Calcutta High Court instead of minding the opinion that his own arguments against the pamphlet in the Council debate are merely an indistinct echo of the learned Advocate-General's. Our purpose was to show that in the opinion of those competent to interpret the law, the words of the section describing the offence are so wide that practically nothing can escape them. In other words, no one is in a position to know whether anything that he has published at his Press or in his newspaper or that any other person has published in a book newspaper or other document in his possession is offensive or not, until, of course, a declaration of forfeiture is published in the official *Gazette*. The first condition of all penal legislation is that it should be certain and clear. That condition the Press Act with the all-embracing provisions of section 4 sub-section (*1*) on the showing of the three seniormost Judges of the Calcutta High Court does not fulfil. That being the case, we do not see why any such law as the Press Act was ever enacted. Government could have announced in the twentieth century their reversion to the well-known maxim in the Institutes of Emperor Justinian that the will of the ruler has the force of law. Why did the late Sir Herbert Risley offer a long and elaborate explanation of the Bill and its urgent need? Why did Mr. S. P. Sinha, besides the great assurance of his own *legitimate* of another's offspring, give the assurances and pledges that have now

proved so inconvenient? Why were three whole days wasted as an interval between the presentation and the passage of the Bill? And why were so many non-official members, including the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, made to generate 'gas'? A plain blunt announcement that, as in the case of deportations under Regulation III of 1818, Local Governments perched on Himalayan heights would fling bolts from the blue from which nobody who incurred the wrath of the gods would be immune, and against which no appeal to any other power would lie, would have spared all the fever and the fret in 1908, all those wranglings in 1913 about mandatory conditions and absence of jurisdiction, and all the idle talk now about offending words or articles or pictures etc. Orientals are generally condemned as fatalists, and had the adoption of Justinian's legal maxim been then announced, whosoever was stricken, surrendering himself to a grim and inexorable fate after, would have quietly lain himself to die. No meetings of protest, no questions asked or resolutions moved in Council. No, not even a groan as the *Tauhid* died and the *Zamindar* breathed its last.

But if Government is ashamed of retrogression till it crawled on all fours, then we are entitled to ask that something more should be provided by way of a safeguard than the mere assurance that the Heads of Local Governments are angels that cannot sin even if they would and that they breathe the pure air of a world entirely different from our own where neither the fumes of passion nor of prejudice nor of pride and prestige taint the atmosphere. The mists that enveloped the gods on Olympus are fast disappearing, and if the gaze of the worshippers below is directed too much towards them, the fear is that they may sink into commonplace mortals, in some cases possibly quite as vulgar and petty at heart, in spite of differences of surroundings, as the devotees themselves. Too much insistence on their divinity may not prove the height of wisdom, for it is just possible that divinity may disappear never to return again, and even ordinary humanity may come to be denied or at least doubted.

So much for the Hon. the Home Members' well-meant assurance that "the Acts in the Statute-Book are full of "large powers reserved to Local Governments, and it is always "assumed that the Local Governments is a responsible body who "will exercise those powers with reason and discretion." We have already seen that the reference to the judiciary has at persent no reality, and therefore it is equally futile to assure us that "no Local "Government is going to publish abroad, or take action which may "come before the public or the High Court which is likely to show "that it has acted in a very foolish and irresponsible manner." In fact, we propose to show another article in this series how little these considerations have weighed with the all-wise and responsible Local Governments, and when the facts of the *Badr* case are published the Hon. the Home Member may perhaps desire to modify his assurance. The fact is that, after Sir Lawrence Jenkin's judgment even more than before, Local Governments feel so secure of an uninterrupted autocracy responsible to none but to their own good conscience as to give rise to grave apprehension. It may be that unless the law is modified they may degenerate into petty despotisms run by Under-Secretaries assisted by the orginal translators of the C. I. D., a couple of titled "loyalists" and the "smart" Sub-Inspector of Police. If the reference to the judiciary is at least sometimes a necessary check, as even the Hon. the present Home Member must confess, then what needs alteration above all else is section 4 sub-section (*1*) and, paradoxical as it may appear, we have to commence our comments on the debate of 9th January by regretting that the Hon. Mr Bannerjea's resolution left this part of the Act altogether untouched. We reserve for another occasion a discussion of the altrestions that must be made before the Act can be considered even presentable, and it should suffice to state here that no scheme of modification can be deemed even modreately good unless section 4 sub-section (*1*) is materially amended.

The Indian Moslem's Tasks.

VI.

If one could indulge in the dangerous pastime of generalisation without unduly offending one's intellectual sensibilities, it would be only to say that all generalisation is dangerous. This may or may not be the sort of truisms that speedily pass through the popular mint and become current coin. But it is all the same the one great fact of intimate experience that meets the humble plodder after Truth everywhere as he comes across error, ugliness and absurdity in human affairs. We need not refer to history, on whose pages the truth of this observation is writ very large, to inquire how an explosive half-truth disguised as a great religious doctrine or philosophical principle has caught on like a prairie fire and played havoc with the fortunes of man. We would only take an example of contemporary experience which would amply prove how far this inveterate intellectual vice can become a great power for evil in the lives of nations and communities. The relations between the East and the West have an immemorial history. There is nothing so remarkable in the current modes of thought which govern the existing relations between them as the contents of the terms known as "the East" and "the West." They no longer represent the two divisions of the earth originally known to Geography, they are used to mark the gulf of spirit that is supposed to divide the races of mankind inhabiting Europe and Asia. In "the East" or "the Orient" is lumped together at one sweep a whole series of impressions, feelings and judgments that an average European has inherited or acquired about the psychology, character, temperament, mentality and aptitude of the Asiatic, in short, about his whole nature and destiny as man. The mental attitude of the European has been formed in a large measure by the stock generalities which permeate the very air he breathes. These are his indispensable aids and short-cuts to thought, as necessary, in fact, for the sluggish movements of his mind as a crutch to the cripple. They have been devised and fashioned for his use by a large army of industrious triflers—the so-called "experts" who live to prove the paradox that the part is larger than the whole. The primitive mind with its untutored instincts and child-like curiosity peopled the world with spirits, which were at least human in their likes and dislikes. The modern pseudo-scientist has created a new mythology, and made the universe the sport of new gods—the ruthless, implacable "Laws" and "Principles" whose name is legion. "The East" is one of the myths of the pseudo-science of Europe, one of those breathless and sweeping generalisations, with a host of corollaries, which crib, cabin and confine human spirit and throw a dark and dismal shadow across history. "The East is unchanging and—unchangeable." "The East is East etc. etc." These are a few facets of the Truth whose image is being unveiled in the politico-scientific laboratories of Europe. Democracy and parliament and other social and political institutions that can only flourish in a Western climate, are of course unthinkable in the East. This may be true or false—at least there are no sufficient data to form a judgment, inspite of the European verdicts on the constitutional experiments in Turkey, Persia and China. But even granting that it is true, that the nations in the East cannot imitate Western political institutions with success, the circumstance can have no higher significance than that the lines of human development are chiefly determined by heredity and environment. And Western wisdom has itself pronounced that the influences transmitted by heredity can be modified and that environment is subject to constant change. And yet the mere fact, that in some of its visible social and political aspects Asia differs from Europe, has been flung as an eternal reproach on the peoples of the East. It constitutes their badge of inferiority, the basis of their social disinheritance, the sentence of their political death.

Are the peoples of Asia, after all, so irrevocably and absolutely damned? The question is absurd, but even absurd questions sometimes become menacing problems in the lives of communities. Woman is still suffering from the effects of a man-made social philosophy, and the peoples of Asia are similarly in danger of falling into self-contempt under the spell of the pseudo-scientific dogmas of Europe. Measured by the tests of political power and material affluence the European communities are undoubtedly in the van of progress, and the Eastern races occupy a far lower position. That is no reason, however, why the latter should lose all self-respect or consider themselves eternally stamped with failure and incapacity. They have not followed the line of political development traced by Europe, and this may be taken to be their most obvious failing or misfortune. The causes that account for this are not a part of their character and psychology, but are more accidents of history. The European races owe their marvellous political consciousness and cohesion to the fact that the earliest experiments in the constitution of the State took their origin among small communities confined within narrow geographical limits. These experiments fixed the type and the ideal for all subsequent ages. Through changes, and revolutions and racial cataclysms the ideal endured. The experience of the early races trained in civic duty and active social purpose became a powerful inspiration, and the State with but temporary lapses embodied a conscious or unconscious effort on the part of the people to conform to the original type. Political activity became part of the general habit of the individual. The modern European has naturally inherited the habit in full measure. In the East, on the other hand, the development of the State has been wholly different in character, Asia not only comprises a large portion of the earths' surface, but is itself divided into vast stretches of plains, with fertile soil and genial climate, capable of rearing and maintaining huge populations. These facts—mere geographical accidents, so to speak—have had a profound influence on the political development of the Asiatic races. Vast communities spread over enormous areas and exposed to easy attack and pillage, need strong military forces under the absolute control of capable and trusted leaders. The system contains ample germs for the final growth of autocracy and dictatorship. Successful military rulers, fired with ambition and finding few physical obstacles to the mobility of their armies, overran vast territories and founded dynastic empires. The political history of Asia has been but a sterile repetition of this, of great empires rising and falling with the rise and fall of great military adventurers. Under the weight of sheer vastness of effort and socio-political experiments on an enormous scale the political instincts of the peoples were crushed almost to death. They

gradually lost the sense of political responsibility and became, what has been truly said, State-blind. Their spirit became imprisoned within them and sought consolation in intense religious life. The loss of political individuality ceased to be felt when the mind found new values of life and the heart became attuned to the new voices from beyond the grave. Race, nationality, country—all these ceased to have any meaning. Religion became the supreme test of social unity and the foundation of all social life.

These observations form the necessary setting of the most anxious problem that modern India has got to face. Those who talk, sometimes with glib assurance, of the evolution of an Indian nationality forget the magnitude of the process it involves. It means nothing less than that diverse communities, that have been State-blind for centuries, that have owned no master but religion, that have felt no loyalty as exacting as their devotion to their creeds, that have measured their social duty and purpose in terms of the ideals of their faiths, should transfer their allegiance, loyalty and devotion, at least in part, to another abstraction known as "Motherland" and recast their social values in the light of this new secular enthusiasm. The demand, no doubt noble in intent, involves a tremendous change in mental outlook and social temperament. There are only two ways in which it can be met. Either religion itself should furnish the basis of co-operation among the different communities for all secular purposes, or as a supreme motive of conduct and endeavour it should give place to Nationalism. Thanks to the influences and teachings of the West, the demand is growing insistent in India and it shall have to be met in one way or the other. The scope of individual aim and desires is expanding and the pall of inertia is lifting from off the spirit of the people. Mr. H. G. Wells in his new story, "The World Set Free," which is continued in the January *English Review*, describes the "New spirit" of the year 1970 in the following passage which bears some resemblance to the new spirit of the India of to-day :—

> There was already dawning the light of a new era. The spirit of humanity was escaping, even then it was escaping, from its extreme imprisonment in individuals. Salvation from the bitter intensities of self, which had been a conscious religious end for thousands of years, which men had sought in mortification, in wilderness, in mediation and by innumerable strange paths, was coming at last with the effect of naturalness into the talk of men, into the books they read, into their unconscious gesture, into their newspapers and daily purposes and every-day acts. The broad horizons, the magic possibilities that the spirit of the seeker had revealed to them were charming them out of those ancient and instinctive pre-occupations from which the very threat of hell and torment had failed to drive them.

This emancipation of the human spirit from the thraldom of the rusting traditions of old, which Mr. Wells forecasts with such vividness, is in a not altogether dissimilar sense taking place in India even now. Political consciousness is reviving, people are beginning to think more and more of their present limitations and future possibilities, self is emerging from its retirement within a rarified religious emotionalism and recovering the old human confidence in its powers to create the social and political environment which should breathe the spirit of the ideals that feed pure religious instincts. In a state of absolute political coma the individual found the freedom of his spirit only in religion. But it was not a complete religious life that he could live. All religion postulates social duty and a deliberate effort to organise the wills of individuals into that powerful and effective instrument known as the State. Political despotism in the East, however, maimed and dwarfed the social and political faculties of the individual, and while on the one hand the religious life of communities became impoverished, on the other hand the religious faith of the individual turned upon itself and grew more intensified within him. And now that the breath of freedom has blown into the lives of ancient communities and individuality is beginning to have ampler scope, religion is entering on its fuller sphere of influence and beginning to inspire men with fresh conceptions of social duty and endeavour. In India the process has gone on at a rapid pace. Those who imagined that Western ideas would act like a bomb-shell amidst the spiritual lives of the Indian communities and ancient creeds would crumble into dust, had no historical sense and were ignorant of the great truth that it was only religion that had kept the Indian society from disintegration in spite of the utter paralysis that had struck down its political organs. And now that its political organs are stirring into fresh life, religious force is becoming correspondingly active and strong and regaining its natural influence over society and politics. This is a fact of the deepest significance in the life of modern India. An intense spirit of religious reform and revivalism broke forth some decades ago and its force has not yet spent itself. The assault of latter-day agnosticism has made no impression on the citadel of belief in India. This should, we think, dispose of the contention that Indian Nationalism would be a development of free-thinking and would derive its strength mainly from the confusion, decay and death of the religious beliefs amongst the Indian people. According to all present indications, the only kind of Nationalism that India can have would be a natural growth out of her religious consciousness. The Indian Nationality would be a synthesis of the various religious communities that would unite together and act for secular ends. Patriotism would be a part of one's loyalty to one's faith and not a betrayal and an infidelity.

Such, in brief, is the forecast about the future that the present-day tendencies in India would seem to suggest. Indian Nationalism would be a spurious thing if it does not spring from the faiths of the people. The efforts of the best minds of India are being resolutely directed to the building up of a united Indian nationality. This end has been kept consciously in view ever since Western education first led the educated Indians to dream about the future of their country. But the aim has not yet come appreciably nearer to being realised. As a matter of fact, the very framing of the ideal of a united nationality has evoked race antagonisms and the most pronounced types of communal patriotism. In the circumstances such developments were natural. The cry of Nationalism was accompanied with still louder cries about democratic institutions and representative self-government. The inspiration that worked behind them had clearly come from the teachings and examples of the West. The educated Indian, who in his newly recovered political consciousness began to enthuse about the political and social methods and ideals of Europe, unconsciously scared the communities that were numerically weak and offended ancient loyalties of the mass of the people which tugged with remarkable force at the roots of immemorial instincts. The result has been that, though the ideal of Indian unity has continued to appeal with growing force to educated India, the type of Nationalism first preached from the Indian political platforms has given birth to various doubts, misgivings and conflicts. A Mussalman felt as if he were asked to transfer his allegiance from Islam to "Nationalism" and "Motherland." Even the old, conservative Hindu, to whom the Bharat of the Vedas was not an unknown deity, shrank from the touch of such an iconoclast as Democracy and was afraid of admitting the new political gods of the West to his Pantheon. Politicians, that generally use words without wisdom, continued to harp on "Nationalism," and in the meantime their own acts led to the growth of an enormous class of educated men in different communities who dominate the political situation in India and can best be described as communal patriots. The ideal of Indian nationality has undoubtedly grown in attraction, but the Nationalism of the professional politician has alternately challenged and repulsed. As long as Indian Nationalism remains a doctrinaire conception, a measure of stop-gaps and patches, a mere intellectual illusion born of fatuous dreaming in the noon-day sun of Western glory, it would never go to the hearts of the people and receive their life-long service and devotion. Indian Nationalism cannot flourish as an exotic growth. It must derive its seed from the ethos of the people, and find its natural habitat in the spiritual soil of India.

The Hindu-Moslem problem, which in the main lies at the root of Indian unity, is nothing but the doubts and bitternesses engendered on both sides by foolish and fruitless attempts to impose a spurious type of Nationalism on a people whose religious consciousness has yet lost nothing of its primeval intensity. We would not touch on the small and trivial every-day acts in which communal distrust and petulance is expressed on either side with varying degrees of virulence. The problem in its broader aspects needs concentrated attention as its root causes are not very widely grasped and are liable to be obscured in the petty antagonisms of the day. It is no use insisting that the cause of Indian unity is sacred and great. Educated Indians, both Hindu and Mussalman, have no difference of attitude on this score. The real force that has created the gulf and still keeps the two communities apart has come from an incessant and hollow preaching of the type of Nationalism to which we have already referred a good deal. We do not think a conscious deception is being practised by astute politicians for small communal advantage. It is all due to a terrible intellectual confusion that has been responsible for many of the most awful miscarriages of aim in history. It is manifest, however, that growing political experience is producing sanity and proportion in the ideas of all earnest and intelligent men and all practical schemes about the future of India have as their postulates the central unavoidable facts that neither the Mussalmans nor the Hindus can be suppressed and that both shall have to make a common cause for a common future. The basis of co-operation would be found in communal patriotism itself. Religion would supply the motive for as long a time as the eye can pierce. The common secular ends of humanity would be served through the purest inspiration of tolerant faiths. The Hindu-Moslem problem would be solved when the communal patriot develops this temper, when he makes his religious creed not a perpetual exercise in political hide-and-seek, but a beneficent influence which would address itself to social tasks and give the people purer lives, cleaner purpose and broader horizons. The deep forces of life are themselves driving with unerring certainty to the inevitable end. Only the little man with his aggressive ego should refrain from thrusting his pretentious finger across their path. With education, stress of circumstance and above all with a little human charity the most anxious problem of modern India would be solved. The Indian unity is bound to come sooner or later. It only depends on the Hindus and the Mussalmans themselves whether it will come sooner or later.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Forfeiture of the "Zamindar Press."

To The Editor of the Comrade, Delhi.

Sir—Reuter cabled the news of the forfeiture of the *Zamindar* Press on the 14th January and described the suppression as that of a paper which had the widest circulation of any Hindustani organ in India, and the recognised exponent of orthodox Pan-Islamism. Reuter's words probably mirror the attitude of the authorities with regard to the latest step they have taken. Up to this time I do not know why the forfeiture has been ordered by the Punjab Government although I have made two telegraphic enquiries from my people; but Reuter's words furnish the reply. The Press was forfeited because it printed a paper which was Pan-Islamic. Alas! the combined efforts of the Moslems in India to disabuse the mind of the authorities as to any sinister construction that might be put upon the word Pan-Islamism have failed in their effect and we see that the Moslem Press is being annihilated piecemeal. But I do not despair even yet. It is not for a Moslem to say "die". I am confident that the black shadow of official mistrust which hangs over the heads of the Indian Moslems will pass away very soon; only we must persevere in our attempts to make our position clear and try to convince the British public, or such sections of it as are not impervious to the appeals of righteousness and justice, that we are the same old Moslems of two years ago who were prepared to lay down our very lives for upholding the prestige of Britain in every part of the world.

After the last fatal blow that has been dealt at the *Zamindar* I am afraid that the *Comrade*, the *Hamdard* and *Al-Hilal* are the only independent Moslem papers left in India to carry on the vigorous policy of Muslim development under the British flag and if—though Heaven forfend—the same treatment is meted out to them as in the case of the *Zamindar*, the newly awakened Press life in Moslem India will revert to the early toadyism and sychophancy. It is time therefore that the Moslem public made one united effort to shake off the fearsome chain of bondage which is encircling them, and regain the liberty of which they have been so unjustly deprived. I do not know what effect the forfeiture of the *Zamindar* Press and a host of others has produced on the minds of my compatriots, although I am sure that it must be overwhelming in its indignant amazement and anguish. But it is no time for indignation, amazement, or anguish. Something must be done to bring about the undoing of what has been done. Meetings expressing grief and sympathy I am sure, must have been held throughout India, but no body knows anything about them in this country although there are people here who have a warm corner in their hearts for India and everything connected with it.

Like a mote dancing in the Imperial sunbeam, I have been doing what little lay in my power to stir up public opinion in England in the matter of the Press Act ever since my arrival here. I am so fortunate as to have the sympathy of two of the leading newspapers of England, the *Daily News and Leader* and the *Manchester Guardian*. The latter has been publishing a number "of letters contributed by me on the various cases of flagrant injustice which Muslim editors have recently suffered under the Press Act."

I have also received letters of of sympathy from many influential English men. Mr. John Dillon. M. P., writing from Dublin, says:—"You can count on my sympathy and my support in the House of Commons if the question of the Press Act in India is raised. I consider the treatment of the Mohamedan Press is most unjust and calculated to seriously injure the position of the British Government in India."

Mr. Keir Hardie, M. P. writes: "I am very much concerned about the suppression of the freedom of the Press alike in "India and in Egypt. If that sort of thing is to be tolerated in the "case of 'subject' races it will soon extend to working class move-"ments. What is now happening in South Africa is its logical out-"come. I shall willingly aid in any action which may be taken in the "House of Commons as I am sure would the Labour Party as a whole "if approached."

Mr. Josiah Wedgewood, M. P. writes: "You have my entire "sympathy. I am entirely opposed to the Press Laws and the rest "of the repressive Acts, and you may count on any service that I can "usefully render in Parliament."

Mr. Herbert Burrows, an eminent Socialist, in the course of a long letter says :—" With regard to your own case it seems to me "that the best course open to you is to have it raised in Parliament, "not in a perfunctory manner by a mere question or two but by an "adequate debate if at all possible."

Mr. Phillip Snowdon, M. P. writes a very sympathetic letter and says he will join in any Parliamentary protest.

Professor Brown, writing from Cambridge, says:—" It appears "to me first of all necessary to provide a translation of the passage or "passages to which the Government took objection and then to make "the fact known if possible through one of the few remaining "independant liberal papers in this country, for example the *Nation* or "the *Manchester Guardian*.'

It is an irony for which the Moslem London League alone could have been responsible, that as soon as the news of the suppression of the *Zamindar* Press was flashed to this country the British Committee of the Indian National Congress was the first to sympathise with me and to invite me to a meeting to enable me to make a statement. I explained my case and also the cases of other Moslem papers and Printing Presses on whom the authorities have laid a heavy hand. Sir Henry Cotton and a number of other eminent English sympathisers decided that a manifesto describing the serious situation created by the arbitrary conduct of the Indian officials in regard to the Press Act must be drawn up and issued to the Press. The manifesto has been prepared and is being signed by a large number of eminent men. I am confident that a debate will be raised in Parliament when it meets next month, and that the whole question of the Press Act will be threshed out.

It will be evident from all this that there is a body of sympathisers here who regard the fearful activities of the Indian Press Laws with disapproval, and I only hope that my countrymen will let these sympathisers know by telegraphic messages the intense dissatisfaction that prevails in India over the Press question. These messages can be sent either to myself, to the British Committee of the Indian National Congress or to the individual Members of Parliament I have mentioned. I am sure that if men like Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. John Dillon, and Mr. Keir Hardie receive copies of the resolutions passed by various bodies of India protesting against the Press Act, something will be done in this country to stay its murderous activities.

A section of the English Press is sympathetic, a body of English men have begun to take interest in the just demands of the Indians, especially of the persecuted Moslems, and it now rests with the Indians alone to approach the newly awakened forces of sympathy in this country in a proper manner.

With regard to the *Zamindar*, I am sure the forfeiture of its Press will not prove fatal to its existence. It survived two very heavy securities, both of which were subscribed by the united enthusiasm of a newly awakened national spirit. I feel convinced that the situation created by the forfeiture of the *Zamindar* Press will be met in the same heroic and self-sacrificing spirit. Everybody except a section of the officials who depend for their information upon the grovelling toadies and title-hunters who are the curse of our national life, knows that the free Moslem Press stands ultimately for the supremacy of Britain in India. Everybody is well aware, excepting these officials and their myrmidons, that our criticism on some of their actions, however bold and uncompromising, has for its eventual aim the stability and long life of British rule. It is justice tempered with sympathy that will secure India to England for an indefinite period, and not the doings of the bureaucrats who think that British rule can be prolonged by the strangling of the Press. I am trying to bring home these naked truths to the British Public and I want the hearty co-operationof my beloved compatriots in this Herculean task.

13, Crosfield Road,
London N. W.
Swiss Cottage,
January 23rd, 1914.

Zafar Ali Khan.
Editor of the *Zamindar*.

The Past Year.

We take the following extracts from an article in the *Times* :—

During the last twenty-four hours thousands of persons have been pondering over the incidents of their lives in the year which has just ended. And if they find it hard and puzzling to discern unity in all that has befallen them, how much more difficult to discover it in the history of a year crowded with events and conflicting influences, with many currents and cross-currents, in the lives, not of individuals, but of many and diverse communities. In what seems as it emerges from the loom only a tangle of threads there may be a pattern. We stand too near to perceive it; the scheme and design will be apparent only to eyes farther off and better placed than ours. But to those who read the chronicle of 1913, as told in our columns to-day, some things will be clear. It has been a year of activity and change at home and abroad, the breaking up of much and the letting loose of new forces. Some would describe it as "the year of great unrest"—unrest in many forms and places; desire for new things without much thought as to what they might be; eagerness for something better, or at least for something different; anarchic impatience of restraints of all kinds; life speeded up, and the motor and the aeroplane the symbols of a hurrying and audacious age. In the language of the old chroniclers, "In this time were great changes, and men spoke of more to follow." There seems to have come the fulfilment of the words of the prophet. "The chariots shall rage in "the streets. . . . They shall seem like torches; they shall run "like the lightnings." Unrest, and much of it, there has been. But no one phrase is final or completely exhaustive; there are elements in the events of the year which elude any formula. If there has been barren unrest, there has also been growth: to fall again into the language of the old chroniclers, "In these days was much sowing of seeds which grew into goodly trees."

War and Peace.

Abroad there have been wars, revolutions and counter-revolutions. The year before the long pent-up smothered fires in the Balkan Peninsula had burst into flames, and the Concert of European Powers was endeavouring to extinguish the conflagration or to prevent its spread. There were failures and disappointments; the old weapons of Turkish diplomacy, delay and evasion, proving more effective than their arms. But at last, owing largely to the confidence universally reposed in Sir Edward Grey, the Treaty of London was signed. If it was shortlived, at all events a war which in other times might have drawn in all Europe, and called into activity the vast armaments everywhere prepared, was localized; the Concert of Europe, with all its limitations, had proved to be more than an imposing phrase. Then came, except to close observers, a great surprise. Kept together by their hatred of Turkey and their common fears, the Allies quarrelled in the hour of victory over the division of the territorial spoil; and there broke out a second Balkan war, waged with even greater fury than the first, with Servia and Greece on the one side and with Bulgaria on the other—a war from which Bulgaria emerged with the loss of much of what it had gained, and in which Turkey recovered not a little of what it had lost. It was a war marked by singular barbarity, and a reversion to cruelties of a kind which it was thought civilization had expelled. It was one of the strange pieces of irony of the history of the time—though to some it might seem most fitting—that the year which saw the opening of the Palace of Peace at The Hague saw also a struggle in which the laws of war, all the *temperamenta belli*, were thrown aside, and in which the wildest, primitive passions had full sway. The Palace of Peace may be said to have opened with the accompaniment of cannonades and the clash of arms, with every Power armed or arming as never before. It was a year of rebukes and disappointments to diplomacy; the Great Powers repeatedly failed to obtain assent to their counsels, or to keep under restraint racial and dynastic ambitions and long-stored hatred. Both wars illustrated the limitations of the influence of the Concert Europe. But there appeared, and there remain on the horizon, some hopeful signs. Not to speak of the creation by the Great Powers, in spite of many difficulties, of the new kingdom of Albania, we have witnessed in times of strain and tension the earnest desire of those Powers, it may be from no higher motive than self-interest, to keep the ring fairly and to narrow the sphere of hostilities. We may surely, too, count among the securities for peace the existence of a better understanding between England and Germany, and the enhanced influence of the former in the councils of Europe.

In Mexico there has been more than unrest; there has been a return to the miserable turmoil, savagery, and clash of personal ambitions which long formed the round of the so-called politics of some South American states. The iron hand of Diaz withdrawn, there began the old confusion and conflicts of military leaders; and the advent to power of the soldier who, for the time at least, is at the top was stained by the execution or, in less technical language, the murder of a rival. For a country which claimed, and, as many years of peace and prosperity seemed to show, rightly, to have emerged from the revolutionary stage and to have taken its place among the stable communities of the world, the New Year opens with grave uncertainties, with anarchy in some of its provinces, and with a condition of strain and tension between it and its powerful neighbour.

In China, too, there is the end of an old regime, with much uncertainty as to what will ultimately take its place. Those who expected that the Republic and Parliamentary government were at once to become realities were quickly undeceived. New ideas and phrases freely borrowed from Western political systems have been imported. But Yuan Shih-kai's purging measure applied to the exotic Parliament, followed by a decree suspending its sittings indefinitely and the establishment of an administrative Conference in which he was supreme, showed that, new forms notwithstanding, a strong reaction had set in, that monarchical ideas still prevailed, and that the aspirations of young China were not to be realized.

To take a wider survey of this mood of unrest during the last year in political and social movements: it is, may be, with some nothing more than envy and egotism; the anger and impatience of those who live solely in "a world of claims"; the demagogue's eternal harping upon rights with entire obliviousness of duties. But we shall not be quite fair to those who press for changes, of what kind they are not very sure, if we do not credit some of them with an increased or awakened sense of justice—a desire, genuine though very crude, vague and fluid, to make the world better than it is. Even in some of those new demands are perhaps elements of safety. In the doctrine, now so much preached by statesmen, of "opportunities to the fit," in the contention that secondary education should be so remodelled as to give every one a chance of making the best use of his powers, is a recognition of the great inequalities of human faculties and of the claims of the individual, a denial of the assumption upon which rest all crude forms of Socialism. At worst, and in its violent extremes, this unrest means anarchy; and the spirit of anarchy is the irreconcilable foe of Socialism, even if an armistice between them be, for a time, patched up.

The spirit of unrest extends to literature, unworthy of its name if not expressive of the dominant moods of the time; to music, to painting, and to every art in which there is vitality it shows itself in diverse ways. The pessimist might compile a long catalogue of excesses, freaks, and vagaries; of crude experiments, vaunted as flights of original genius; of a multitude of clever imitative efforts; of music and painting quitting their old spheres and making incursions into those of other arts; of mechanical paradox mongering; and of strivings in many forms to make mere lawlessness pass for originality. But the catalogue would be incomplete and misleading if it did not take full note of the presence of a spirit also of sincerity and courage, a readiness to accept the message, whatever it might be of reality, a love of old models, not because they are old, but because they anticipated enduring truths. And in the philosophic teaching of 1913, of which literature and art are often the unconscious exponents, we are told that there is the same spirit; one alike teachable and inquiring: "an insatiable desire for reality"; eagerness for something better than heaping fact upon fact; a desire to pick out of the discords and dissonances of life some true harmony.

The Verdict of Time.

What will prove to be the most memorable event of 1913? Some will find it in the wars and convulsions abroad, or in the political incidents at home—the action of the House of Lords towards the Home Rule Bill, or in the formation of the organization of Ulster Unionists. Others will think of the unrest in India or of the prosperity and ever-widening fortunes of the Canadian Dominion. We can conceive others preceiving unique significance—for evil—in the operations of the militant suffragists; operations not unconnected, it may be thought, with falling marriage and birth rates and habits unfavourable to home life. Some will think of the latest triumphs of engineering skill and enterprise; the newest feats of wireless telegraphy, the wonders of aviation, and the breaking of the barrier between two oceans by a button pressed at Washington. These are marvels. But then our engineers are so often surprising us with their new conquests. Perhaps more enduringly memorable than these victories over the powers of nature is the story which came to us last year of what seemed a defeat by Nature of the too bold invaders of her last citadel, the forcers of her long-kept secret, but which, reading the journal of Scott we now know was a triumph and a matchless memory for the race. When all the cunning apparatus, of which we are justly proud, is scrapped and the present feats of engineering are outdone; when the craft and flattery of the demagogue and the feeble and spasmodic violence of the militant malcontents among women are forgotten, the story how Scott and his comrades met death with serenity and fortitude will be told. If it be true, as Goethe has somewhere said, that the chief use of history is to awaken enthusiasm, to make great deeds give birth to new, what page more potent and inspiring than that which they have written? What record so irrevocably graven on the memory of the nation?

7th February.

India and South Africa.

J. Ramsay MacDonald, M. P.

The treatment recently given to Indians by the Government of South Africa has both naturally and properly roused great resentment in India. That resentment has found expression in several different ways, but in none more striking than the action taken by the Viceroy. For the first time under modern political conditions, so far as I can recall, the representative of the King in India has made a direct protest to a self-governing State. In time to come this may have far greater consequences than any one dreams of at present, but whatever judgment may be passed upon it, the cause of it undoubtedly demanded swift and definite notice.

I have heard the action of the Viceroy contrasted with that of the Imperial Government, much to the detriment of the latter; but those when I have heard making the criticism seemed to be hardly aware of the conditions of self-government in our Colonial Dominions. The history of the evolution of that government is one of conflict between the colonial people and the Home-government, generally described as "Downing Street." Downing Street was not so wise as it might have been in these conflicts, with the result that, not only did Downing Street lose its authority, but the colonies acquired a tradition never to submit to imperial control in their domestic affairs. I have been in every self-governing colony we have; I have talked to every one of their Prime Ministers of varying political creeds and parties. I have found that on nothing are they so unanimous and so emphatic as in their resentment against everything suggestive of interference from Downing Street. Such an interference would fuse all colonial parties into one national party of opposition. In 1906 I was mainly instrumental in getting Lord Elgin to ask the Government of Natal to explain why three natives were condemned to be shot by court martial. Within twenty-four hours protests came over the cables from Australia and Canada, and New Zealand was willing to join in, had there been need. Last year owing largely to a blunder made by Mr. Winston Churchill which enabled people to say that he was interfering in Canadian affairs, the Canadian naval project had to be withdrawn. This suspicious and jealous frame of mind on the part of the self-governing dominions must be taken as an axiom and laid down as one of the foundation-stones in our system of imperial government by any one who studies the working of that government.

When a colony is getting its constitution, it has to come to us at home for it. The new constitution is put into the form of a Bill which goes through all the ordinary processes of legislation under our Parliamentary rules. For instance, when the constitution for United South Africa was before us, several of us moved amendment after amendment with a view to preventing such conduct as that which is now stirring India. We knew that their conflict was bound to come, we were afraid—those of us who knew South Africa—that when it did come, it would be in a very grievous form. But all parties united to defeat us. Libirals, Irish Nationalists, Conservatives went into the lobbies against us, and the power to treat Indians as something much less than citizens of the Empire was not taken away. Therefore however objectionable it may now be, the South African Government is acting within its constitutional rights in every thing it has done since Mr. Gandhi began the passive resistance movement. If the Home Government were to issue any mandate it would be rebuffed; Canada, Australia, New Zealand would protest, as well as South Africa and the last state would be worse than the first.

Let me make it quite clear that the impotence of the Home Government is not because the oppressed people are Indians. We should be in the same fix if they were Scotsmen or Irishmen. That has actually happened both in Australia and Canada. In this respect the difficulty is not one of race but of political authority. Downing Street is far less powerful in protecting the rights of citizens of the Empire within the self-governing sections of the Empire than within foreign states. If we had made South Africa independent when it united we should have been in a far better position to protect Indians there than we are to-day. This sounds a great absurdity but it is a manifest truth.

The Home Government can only make friendly representations to South Africa, and in making them it has got to be exceedingly careful how it expresses them. I am sure it will be found that such representations have been made, even if Reuter has not been cabling them out here. In the nature of things they must be private whilst the crisis lasts.

The St. Stephen's College Magazine is not a political organ or I might discuss how this dead-lock in imperial government is to be got over. There is no provision made for it in our imperial machinery. If we are to educate our subject peoples and open their eyes to the width of the world and their minds to its attractions, obviously the South African problem is to come up again and again in other Dominions. But I must content myself here with doing the simple thing I set out to do. I want to impress upon those who feel the South African humiliation most keenly, that if the Home Government has appeared to be silent the explanation is not that it is indifferent, but that the Imperial constitution is such that nothing but disaster could have followed if mandatory despatches had been sent from London to Cape Town. We cannot let matters rest where they are, but so long as they are where they are, only wanton mischief-making and unfortunate misunderstanding can blame the Home Government for not doing what it could not do, or can assume that Downing Street is supinely passive because it has not yet published its despatches.

'The Romance of India.'

Of course, it is distressing that between three and four hundred English performers, dancers, supers, stage-carpenters, and the rest should rehearse for some weeks, only to be thrown out of employment at the end, and just at the season when naturally they would be making most in their line of business. It is a pitiful case. Pitiful also is the case of those eleven Asiatics who were to have joined in illustrating the darkness of their continent in the Earl's Court show. It is true that a paternal India Office has assigned them lodgings in some institution for Lascar sailors derelict in the East End, but up to the time of writing the Hindus among them, fellow-subjects of our Empire, have strongly objected to being herded with the progeny of nations not so blest as we, and their case remains pitiful. Nevertheless, for the immediate occasion of all this misery our whole Empire should combine in offering its heart-felt thanks. Let each fellow-subject follow the example of Queen Mary, Queen Alexandra, and Lord Curzon in contributing all that he or she can afford towards the relief of such distress. It would be cheap at the price if the India Office, the Treasury, or the British nation as a whole, endowed each of those performers, dancers, supers, stage-carpenters, and wandering Asiatics with a munificence in life-pensions such as is lavished upon our most victorious generals. For they suffer for our salvation. Their destitution is our defence.

Consider what sort of a show the Syndicate proposed to present before the population of London and the Indian citizens resident among us. The immemorial history of India was to be gathered up into some half-dozen tableaux. These tableaux represented typical or 'epoch-making' scenes in the introduction of European influence. According to the preliminary notices published in the *Times* European influence, in the original version of the show, was typified by 'The Spirit of Light', and India herself by 'The Spirit of Darkness.' We gather that the first scene, illustrating the triumph of European Light over India's Darkness, was to show the arrival of Alexander's army in the midst of the worship of Juggernaut, whose helpless victims were being dragged beneath the wheels of that Juggernaut Car, which has since done so much service in British rhetoric and journalism. It did not matter to the Syndicate that Alexander never penetrated beyond the Indus, whereas Juggernaut's temple is at Puri, at least a thousand miles distant, on the Bay of Bengal. We must not be scrupulous about history in an Earl's Court historical pageant, and who shall set the gross limits of space upon the European Spirit of Light contending against the Spirit of India's Darkness? This 'epoch-making' event (miraculous we may call it in the strictest sense) was to be followed by similar episodes—a human sacrifice to Siva (interrupted, we suppose, by some other timely arrival from Europe); the Suttee, or burning of a widow upon her husband's funeral pyre (interrupted, we are informed, by the appearance of Vasco da Gama, expressly despatched from Portugal by the Spirit of Light); the Black Hole of Calcutta (Darkness visible and unilluminated); the Battle of Plassey (Darkness dissipated by Clive with two thousand men); the Siege of Lucknow (arrival of Light to bagpipe accompaniment); and a triumphant finale, representing the apotheosis of British Conquest in the figure of Holy Light, offspring of Heaven, first-born.

That, as we understand, was the nature of the show's original design, and if the reports were true nothing in the unhappy annals of British self-complacency was ever more impudent and insensitive. Indians in London held a private meeting of protest in Cromwell Road, and Sir George Birdwood presided—not the last, we may hope, of that gallant veteran's services to India. It was doubted if a licence was necessary for the performance was wordless, no explanation being needed to point so obvious a moral as the triumph of British enlightenment. But for once the Lord Chamberlain proved his office useful; he appears to have forbidden the show to proceed without the sanction of the India Office. Within limits, the India Office also played a serviceable part. It strove to mitigate the loathsome insult to the Indian peoples. It rejected the original design, and then the first revision. In the third form, unhappily yielding, it allowed the thing to pass, and the Lord Chamberlain gave it his sanction. Apparently, in this final form, the Suttee, as well as Plassey and Lucknow, remained, but the Juggernaut Car, the Siva sacrifice, and the Black Hole were cut out, the Spirits of Light

and Darkness being also transfigured into the Spirits of Peace and War. Europe was typified by Peace, India by War. Think of European history; think of the state of Europe at this moment; and then think of the Indian peoples, probably the most peaceful and docile races that ever existed—races whose chief reproach in English mouths, from the time of Macaulay's foul libel upon the people of Bengal downwards, has been their unwillingness to fight! How grotesque the absurdity! So grotesque that we almost regret the Syndicate's financial collapse which has deprived us of the spectacle of Babus posing for Gods of War, and of Alexander, Clive, and Colin Campbell under the similitude of doves.

But the Syndicate has collapsed, and its collapse is a mercy for the Empire. That is why we urge that all possible assistance should be given to those whom this failure has thrown out of work for the winter. Their destitution, as we said, has been our defence. If the Earl's Court pageant of Indian subjection and British conceit had been produced, even in its amended form, we can hardly imagine anything more provocative and ill-timed. It would have surpassed the mixture of platitude and provocation recently inflicted upon us in the four *Times* articles, called 'The Indian Peril.' Probably everyone who cares to read saucy articles in the *Times* has knowledge and judgment enough to balance his indiscretion. But the Earl's Court show would have been displayed to crowds whose only knowledge was derived from tales of the Mutiny, or from hymns about India's coral strand, where only man is vile and the heathen in his blindness bows down to wood and stone, drives hooks into his flesh, grows his nails through his palms, crushes people under idols, and burns widows alive. These touching beliefs of the Sunday School would only have been confirmed. Childhood's picture of Indians would have been visibly restored. Spectators would again have contemplated 'natives' as enormous lumps of dusky beings, masses of coagulated darkness, broken only by the gleam of knives and the red blood of murderous fanaticism, or englightened only here and there by a beneficent Government and the missionary's ray.

The first essential for decent relations between ourselves and Indians is a reality of amnesty and oblivion. Such an Act may have been passed long ago. Certainly, Queen Victoria by her Proclamation of 1858 (perhaps the finest of her personal achievements) intended to promote the reality. But her aim has never been accomplished. Most Indians themselves are singularly forgiving and oblivious of the past. They have kept few annals and written hardly any history. The ages of their existence have remained almost as unrecorded by them as the ages of the earth before man's appearance. Why should the soul trouble about times and dates and the succession of mere events when the white radiance of eternity is hers? A pleasant turn of phrase, an act of common courtesy, would erase from almost any Indian mind the horror of our vengeance upon the mutineers. But with our own people the case is different. We grant no amnesty, no oblivion of the past. Every relic of horror is cherished; every tale of butchery is gloated over; no British tourist can touch India without nursing his animosity at the Cawnpore Well, or strengthening his contempt among the carefully preserved remains of Lucknow Fort? and in the midst of his labours a Viceroy makes time to scrape together memorials of the Black Hole's victims, and to interest himself in conjecturing the precise locality of their pit. All this mournful refusal to forget—this bloodthirsty clinging to the memories of tombs—the Earl's Court show seemed designed to emphassize and extend. If we refuse oblivion, we may teach the Indians also to remember, until their memory equals in precision the old Irish remembrance of wrong; nor could the bitterness revived by such an exhibition have been modified by the final scene, in which we were promised an allegorical display symbolising 'the absolute harmony and unity that exists between Great Britain and India.' If only such an allegory could be true! But the designer of the pageant, whose words those are, appears to be almost the one man who might really have read those articles upon 'The Indian Peril' with information and profit.

We cannot altogether be quit of the past, but, so far as in us lies, let us shake ourselves free from its distorting trammels. The Romance of India does not lie behind us, but before. Useless is the attempt to maintain a stable and static equilibrium under which a paternal and well-intentioned bureaucracy will go on for ever nursing, tending, feeding, punishing rewarding, and cleaning up the 300 millions of India as if they were spaniels in the squire's kennels. India shares the flux of all the universe. In the last thirty years her change has been peculiarly rapid, and it is felt among the toiling, patient, uneducated millions of cultivators upon whom we are invited to concentrate our fatherly attentions, almost as much as among the few thousands of 'literates' whose 'superficial veneer of Western education' stirs the wrath and apprehension of kindly old officials, worn-out with years of patronizing service, 'Self-reliance, not mendicancy,' has for years now been the guiding motto of Indians, who fully recognize the many advantages conferred by a short century of general British direction, but who regard any material gain in irrigation, railways, or commerce as a poor set-off against that 'moral poverty' (to use Dadabhai Naoroji's phrase), which is the curse of all subject or parasitic peoples. That call to self-reliance is the surest sign of present change, and it alarms none but those who by long habit worship the idols of the bureau and regard the ignorant 'natives' as tender sheep but the educated as wolves beyond the shepherd's pale. There is no need to wonder at the difficulties of change, or to stand appalled at their aspect. It is vain to cling to an imagined state of eternal and despotic tranquility, tempered by academic discussions in legislative councils. The era of permanence never arrives, and only ignorance now imagines the East as plunged immovably in thought. Dangers and difficulties must be welcomed as signs of life, due in part to the very system that many seek to preserve, and the Romance of future India, as of all history, lies in confronting them. But the impertinence of identifying ourselves with the Spirit of Light and India with the Spirit of Darkness brings us no nearer either to Romance or solution.—The *Nation*.

Three Weeks in the Balkans.

Before we can realise the present condition of affairs in the Balkan Peninsula it is essential that we should have a geographical knowledge of the various States of which that peninsula is composed and some idea as to the ethnological conditions now prevailing there. The boundaries of States are generally fixed by geographical configurations, such as ranges of mountains, great rivers, etc. Now, the various races who inhabit the Balkan States have been at each other's throats for the last thousand years; they are thus hereditary and in many cases irreconcilable foes. Taking the geography of this country we will begin with Rumania; her territories extend from the plains of Russia to the River Danube, a flat, low-lying land with extraordinarily rich and fertile soil. Bulgaria lies between the Danube and the Balkan Estranja Mountains in the south, and contains two parallel but lesser mountain ranges running east and west, the lands which lie between these being again very productive. Her eastern boundary is the Black Sea and the western another mountain range running north and south, the Stara Planina, which range forms the eastern boundary of Servia, an exceedingly mountainous country. Servia is bounded on the north by the Danube, and her southern boundary extends as far as the newly delimited Greek frontiers, and includes the city of Monastir. To the west lie Albania, Montenegro, and Bosnia, a complete tangle of wild mountains. Greece in the south has extended her borders along the Ægean Sea, taking in Kavala and Salonika; now two of her most important ports. Lastly we have Turkey, now confined within the plains of Thrace, with the River Maritza as her western boundary and Constantinople on the east, as her great port, and still the capital of the Ottoman Empire.

After this brief survey of the geography of the country we must consider it ethnologically. The conflict here is tremendous, and it is still further embittered by religious differences. The Rumanians are a Latin race, whose ancestors composed the Dacian legions of the Roman Empire. Generally speaking, they are members either of the Orthodox Greek Church, or of one of its branches, with a considerable number of Roman Catholics. The Servians are a Slavonic race; they entered Servia in the seventh century and belong to the Orthodox faith. They were originally tributaries of the Byzantine Empire, but made themselves independent and formed the Kingdom of Servia, which included all Macedonia, Albania, Thessaly, Bulgaria, and North Greece in 1336. They were then an important nation, with dreams of empire, and these dreams have not departed from them. Albania, with its network of high mountains, has a population, half Roman Catholic and half Mussulman. They are a warlike race, incessantly fighting amongst themselves or with Servia. The Greeks, a nation of traders and seafarers, belong to the Orthodox church, or to give it its full title "The Holy Oriental Orthodox Apostolic Church," generally called the "Greek Church," Turkey-in-Europe (what is left of it) is inhabited almost exclusively by Mussalmans, with a sprinkling of Greeks and Armenians. The latter have been Christians since the third century and the tenets of their faith differ but slightly from those of the Orthodox Church. Bosnia and Herzegovina I mention last as they now form part of the Austrian Empire. They are peopled by a race Slav in their origin, but containing elements of the races and creeds of all the countries I have previously mentioned.

Up to the recent war the Turks held the balance of power in the Balkan Peninsula. Their influence may not have always been rightly exercised, but they in a great measure prevented conflicts amongst the other States. These latter were agreed in their hatred of Turkey and, as we know, only combined in order to attack her, and the success they had was amazing. But no sooner was the weight of Turkey removed, than again broke out the bitter hatreds

and rivalries of these States; and the ferocity of the second war, in which the Servians and the Greeks joined hands in the attempt to annihilate the Bulgarians, beggars all description. No one knows much about the actual fighting, but the fact that both sides made very few prisoners is sufficiently significant.

I now come to the more interesting part of my notes, *viz.* a brief account of my visits to the area of the heaviest fighting from the lines of Tchatalja, twenty miles from Constantinople, up to Adrianople, and including the battle-grounds of Lulea Burgas and Kirk-Kilisse. I should explain that the reason I was favoured with this unique opportunity of seeing the Turkish defences in detail was due to the fact that I was travelling with our own Director of Military operations. As a nation, the English are far from popular in Turkey at this moment: but the individual Englishman (especially if he is an officer, for the Turks are a military nation) is treated with courtesy and consideration. The whole of Eastern Thrace has a great likeness to Salisbury Plain, with a country like the Wiltshire Downs rolling away towards the Tchatalja end of the Peninsula. Almost all the earlier accounts of the engagements in these parts contained more fiction than truth. The days of great war correspondents are practically over. Now that news can travel thousands of miles in an hour, no general commanding operations in the field can afford to run the risk of having his movements prematurely disclosed by an over-zealous newspaper man yearning to make a "scoop" for his own particular journal.

The lines of Tchatalja are over twenty miles in length, the right flank of the Turkish army rested on the Black Sea at Derkos, and the left flank on the Sea of Marmora. The plain of rifle-fire is ideal, a gently sloping glacis for about 700 yards, and in front of this a marsh, which can be crossed in only a few places, and these vary considerably, according to the season of the year. The Bulgarians made three attacks on these lines; the first attack was directed against the right flank of the Turks at Derkos; the second against the centre; and the third against the extreme left flank. All three operations failed, though of the first and third it should be said that they were not attacks in force. But in the attack delivered against the Turkish centre, the Bulgarians sustained a most serious reverse. The shelter trenches, and still more the number of graves, tell a tale which none can dispute; and I know that I am not far off the mark, when I say that in their attack on the centre alone, the Bulgarians lost about 6000 men. The Turks had three weeks after the battle of Lulea Burgas in which to dig their defences, and very good use they made of their time. Not a rabbit, far less a man, could attempt to move on to the marsh, without coming under a cross-fire from the Turkish trenches. Indeed so strong is this natural position, that I doubt its ever being taken, except with regular siege operations. During the actual fighting at Tchatalja the Turks did not lose 500 men. But at least 7000 cholera victims were buried in the camp at Hardemkeui.

It was at Lulea Burgas that the only really dig action of the war was fought, and there has been an immense amount of exaggeration as to the numbers engaged and the losses incurred by both sides, even in this fight. The Turkish Army here did not exceed 60,000 men; they occupied a low ridge extending from Bunahissar on the right to the station of Lulea Burgas on the left. The Bulgarians on their side had eight divisions in action. As various brigades and regiments had been detached for work round Adrianople, it is very difficult indeed to make an approximate estimate of the Bulgarian numbers, but as in Bulgaria each division is unusually strong, it seems probable that their army considerably outnumbered that of the Turks here. For two days Abouk Pasha on the left and Mahmud Mukhta Pasha at Bunahissar on the right, more than held their own; in fact Mukhta Pasha made a counter-attack, which at one moment came very near to success. At the end of the second day's fighting the Turkish centre at Tcherkessku were hard pressed, and the 10th Bulgarian Division after a flanking movement began to make its presence felt on the Turkish left. At this critical juncture both food and ammunition failed the Turks; some of the batteries had not a single round left them and the men had been fighting for two days on the scantiest of rations, probably not more than a loaf a-piece. The Bulgarian artillery fire was always superior to that of the Turks, and in this instance the latter had badly constructed trenches, lacking the necessary head-cover to protect the men from shrapnel, so that it is not surprising that a general retreat took place.

I should like to say here that though the whole country is an ideal one for using cavalry, neither in this battle, nor on any other occasion during the war, did the cavalry of either side make even an appearance in an actual fight. Where they might have been of great value the horses were useless from previous overwork. From information given me by one of the generals in command I gathered that the Turkish losses in the actual fight of Lulea Burgas did not exceed 12,000, and probably the Bulgarian losses were about the same. When we consider what the losses were in the general action during the Russo-Japanese or the Franco-German War, the battle of Lulea Burgas was a very different affair from the lurid and fanciful accounts given us by "Our Own Correspondent"

The journalistic "Story" of the Kirk Kilisse action is even more inaccurate than that of Lulea Burgas. We were led to believe that whole armies were engaged on both sides at Selicle and Eski Polos, whereas, in truth, the lines covering Kirk Kilisse were very weakly held by the Turks, and all the fighting that took place was but a series of delaying actions—merely outpost affairs to cover their concentration at Lulea Burgas. The actual occupation of Kirk Kilisse gave the Bulgarians a strategic advantage over the Turks as it effectually cut off Adrianople. The town of Adrianople is situated at the junction of three rivers, the Maritza, Tundja, and Ardar. In the twelfth century it was the residence of the Turkish sovereigns and its principal feature is its magnificent mosque, one of the finest in the world, of which the minarets can be seen twenty miles away. The perimeter of the fortifications is about twenty-seven miles and the outer lines must have extended for about thirty-five miles. It is probably owing to this fact that so very little damage was done in the town during the bombardment, one shell only hitting the mosque, though all the Bulgarian guns had got the range of the minarets. I cannot of course enter into details as to the fortifications and their guns; though the officials, with extraordinary courtesy, permitted us to visit and examine anything we wished, even including the new works now under construction. The Bulgarians were unable to make any impression on the western or southern sides during the siege, advances there being easily repulsed. Their main attack was delivered from the north-east, certainly the weakest spot, and it was there that they were eventually successful. Though the forts at this point occupy commanding positions and are also strong, there was a good deal of "dead ground" in front not commanded by their own fire. The Bulgarians knew this and took full advantage of the knowledge. About 168 heavy guns played incessantly on this quarter and there is not a square yard of ground for many acres which has not been torn and rent by exploding shells. The trenches, with their inadequate head-cover, must have been a hell upon earth during the bombardment. The wire entanglements, where the shells had burst amongst them, were more hopelessly twisted up than before. When the final and real attack came it was the fall of the outer lines, held by infantry alone, which was the cause of the collapse of the whole line of defence; though probably the shortage of provisions was a not unimportant factor in the decision of Adrianople's defender, the gallant Shukkri Pasha, to hoist the white flag.

Before closing this brief account of my "Lighting Trip" in the Balkans, I should like to give my personal impressions as to the condition of the country generally. Many accounts have been written of the inhuman way in which the Bulgarians treated the Turks, when the latter were prisoners on the island outside Adrianople after its capture. I was informed by absolutely reliable eye-witnesses that there is not one grain of truth in these statements. War must always bring misery and horrors in its train, and a mass of half-starving prisoners were confined on the island; many of them were ill and some of them were dying, but from the first day the Bulgarians made every endeavour to feed them, and they had a loaf of bread a-piece and this ration was increased and improved upon day by day, as much as was possible. As regards the country itself I fear the Bulgarians cannot be acquitted of many acts of both brutality and wanton destruction. The whole of this part of Thrace, before the war, was dotted with flourishing villages, mostly inhabited by Turks. And what is the state of this country now? I travelled several hundred miles through it, and I am not exaggerating when I say that every village I saw had been completely gutted by fire, and contained not a single living thing; not so much as a starved kitten. The women and children had disappeared, Heaven alone knows where; the whole countryside was deserted. The Bulgarians say, "These abominations were not committed by our regular troops; they were the work of the camp followers (commitajes)." But this is no excuse, as the Bulgarians used these irregular bands in their actions and even assigned to them a regular place in all their field operations.

The Turkish troops displayed quite remarkable forbearance when we consider that many of them on returning to their native villages found their houses destroyed and their families gone, in most cases probably dead. In the town of Kirk Kilisse itself, about 650 Turkish houses were destroyed, only those remaining which had the sign of the Cross on their doors. After its occupation by the Turks I spent a whole afternoon exploring the town I was greatly interested to see that not a single house marked with a Cross had been damaged, though there were 20,000 Turkish soldiers in the place; and these men cannot have been indifferent to the fact that the property of their co-religionists had been wantonly destroyed by Christian troops.

From the foregoing statements, the truth of which I can vouch for, we can draw only one conclusion, that Christianity has had very little civilising influence on the Bulgarians. To those at home who cry aloud of the awful brutality with which the Mussalman treats his Christian neighbour and who demand that he should be punished for it, I would recommend that they make a short visit to the places I have mentioned. They would then be forced to acknowledge that the charges of unnecessary cruelty and wanton destruction lie more heavily against the Christian soldiers in this war, at any rate, than they do against the Mussalman.

It is peculiarly ill-judged of Englishmen to permit the publication of such grave calumnies against the Turks, for these false reports must arouse much ill-feeling in the minds of the Mohamedans in India, who are among the most loyal subjects of the Crown.

CHARLES R. HUNTER,
in the "*National Review*".

The Poets' Dilemma.

WHENEVER poetry has a long tradition behind it, it tends to use a specialized, and so an impoverished vocabulary, and the readers of poetry, used to this vocabulary grow fastidious about words and their associations. They expect the language of poetry to be poetic, and the spell of it is broken for them by any word which has prosaic associations. MR. Lascelles Abercrombie in the lecture upon Poetry and Common Speech, which he delivered the other day, said that the Elizabethan poets found their material, not in a language already broken in by literature, but in the language of people talking; and no doubt the Elizabethan public were far less fastidious about words in poetry than we are, far less sensitive to their prosaic associations. The ideal condition of language for a poet is when words have neither prosaic nor poetic associations, when there are no words, like glamour, which are too poetical, and none like tuberculosis, which are too scientifically technical, to be used in poetry. In such a happy state the poet can give poetic power to all words by means of their relation to each other in his rhythm and phrasing; and none of them will assert itself or impose its own association on the whole sentence. But this happy state does not exist now. Words themselves have got their characters, good or bad, from the use that has been made of them in the past; and a word that has the best of characters in the world of Science may have none at all in the world of poetry. We have to do a great many more things with language than the Elizabethans had, and in consequence language has specialized itself so that different jargons are used in different activities. There is a scientific jargon, and a philosophical, and a commercial; and there is always a danger that poetry will fall into a poetic jargon from the poet's natural desire to make his art as easy to himself as he can.

The worst of our language, for poetic purposes, is that it has become too much intellectualized, too full of words that express, often vaguely enough, certain general conceptions, with which all our minds have a second-hand familiarity. A vast deal of thinking has been done in the last 300 years, and it has made its mark upon the language which is now full of words that are a kind of shorthand of thought. We mean words such as relative and absolute, positive and negative, general and particular, subject and object, words which everybody uses, but often with only a vague notion of their intellectual history or of the meaning that was first given to them by exact thinkers. In fact, the intellectual ambitions of men have outrun their capacity, so that we are more familiar with words that express ideas than with the ideas themselves. The result is a vernacular peculiarly unfitted to the purposes of poetry. Poetry, however much it may deal with ideas, is mainly concerned with the emotions aroused by them. The idea itself must be something that surprises the poet with all the sharpness of an event or a passion; it must be something that happens to his mind; and there is no surprise, no sharpness, in this intellectualized language of ours which makes every idea seem both stale and vague and which imparts the same staleness and vagueness even to concrete things. That, no doubt, was the reason why Wordsworth tried to use the language of peasants in his poetry. He wanted to escape from the intellectualized language of his time, and the poetry of the eighteenth century seems to us prosaic because it is full of stale thought rather than of fresh experience.

Thus there is always a temptation to the modern poet not to think much lest he should fall into this intellectualized language. And if he is not to specialize too much as a poet, there is a double burden laid upon him of exact thinking and fresh experience. It is only by exact thinking that he can escape from our intellectualized language and find words of his own for thoughts that are his own. Without this effort of thought he will always be in danger of writing poetry that has been written better before, for the main events of life, with which poetry is concerned, are the same in all ages. It is the change of thought towards them that makes the change of feeling by which the genuine poetry of one age is distinguished from that of another. But this change of thought for the poet, must be a change in his own thought, not a mere passive submission to the intellectual influence of his time. Such a passive submission will not affect his poetry at all except to weaken it with intellectualized language, such as we find in the worst of Mrs. Browning or Clough. The poet nowadays cannot escape from ideas, unless he has less intellectual curiosity than the ordinary man; and if he keeps them out of his poetry, he will keep a great part of his mind out of it and make it merely a pretty artistic game. This difficulty with language, therefore, is really a difficulty with thought. The poet must not give himself up to thought so much that he turns from a poet into a philosopher; but he must think enough to make all his ideas his own property; for only so will he be able to express them with the poet's eagerness of discovery. His task is more difficult than it has been in the past, but it is also more glorious. It is his to make thought as quick as passion, or rather to fuse them both in a language enriched by both.—The *Times*

Woman and Morality.

WHAT progress are we making towards an age when reason and ethical considerations will replace physical force as the ultimate decisive factor in the relations either of nations or of individuals? Evidence on this point, despite the optimism of humanitarians, is decidedly conflicting. I propose to deal only with one aspect of the question, but one from which, nevertheless, it must be viewed before it is possible to arrive at any conclusion.

Although anthropologists may not agree as to the causes for the evolution of human character, I fancy none of them would dispute the fact that primitive or savage man was actuated by simple desires and wishes, and that his mental processes went little further than was necessary to contrive for the satisfaction of his various physical needs. No consideration for the needs or wishes of others would enter into his calculations at this early stage. Savage woman, on the contrary, in her maternal capacity, must have exercised self-denial and shown maternal devotion at a very early period in the evolution of the human mind. She was handicapped in the work of looking after oneself (which was the occupation of primitive man) by this maternal function, and that fact has never ceased to operate in making her, for purposes of social organisation, inferior to man. Undoubtedly primitive man (like the still existing races known to us as primitive, though in reality far from being so) took advantage of a partner physically weaker than himself to load on her all uncongenial tasks. Thus the Australian gin trots after her lord on their migrations, bearing the household goods or the spoils of the chase, and the African wife hose the mealie patch while her master sits in the sun and smokes. But the beginning of ethical perceptions must have taken place very early in the relationship of man and woman, when a desire on the part of one to please the other laid the foundation-stone of a future edifice of moral controls and altruistic ideals. As man advanced in intelligence he could not be satisfied without a form of companionship compatible only with mutual affection. He could no longer take what he wanted by force but must sue for it as a gift. Here was woman's weapon, and it is one which she has been steadily strengthening all down through the ages. Here, again, is the germ of the ethical conception that not merely physical strength, but reason and principle, should be the decisive factor not only in human but in national relations.

It is impossible to exaggerate the moral influence exercised on man by his constant and inevitable association with a being physically weaker than himself. It is true this physical inferiority is only relative and that in many climes and ages woman bears a full share of the burden of physical labour; but the sentiment of civilised man is increasingly opposed to such a state of affairs, and as a matter of fact woman everywhere, and in all ages, has been exempted from the more dangerous and strenuous forms of State service. The inevitable result of her disabilities has been to place man in a position of social dominance, and to assign to her a subordinate place in the scheme of State organisation.

The claim for the final and formal removal of all traces of this subordination of women rests, therefore, on the assumption that the factor to which men owe their social domination—superior physical force—is no longer supreme. It is asserted that reason and spiritual force are gaining such ascendency over the minds of men that it is not essential that the ruling element should also be the (physically) strongest element. Could we give unqualified assent to this proposition we should certainly feel that we were well on the way towards the settlement by peaceful methods of every kind of controversy point. The moment is not, however, a very auspicious one for such an assertion. It must not be supposed, moreover, that the

for feminine 'equality' is invariably based on the sweet reasonableness of modern man. On the contrary, a female school of thought is growing up which asserts that women are perfectly and inherently able to take and hold that position by their own efforts.

It is, in fact, a feature of modern feminism that, so far from recognising that woman's social and political subordination is due to nature, the protagonists of 'equality' assert that the female of the species has often enjoyed actual supremacy, and that her 'natural' position was wrested from her by man. The high priestess of this doctrine is Mrs. C. Perkins Gilman, whose book, *The Awakening of Woman*, first published in the United States in 1887, is still the inspiration and authority for English feminist philosophy. Following her example a host of other writers derive courage in their fight for 'equality' with man from the reflection that the female cirriped carries her little husbands about and uses or discards them, or that some spider-brides make a marriage feast off their mates. A more rational deduction would appear to be that the higher one goes in the scale of animal life, and in the range of civilisation, the more marked is the physical difference which, for certain social functions, gives the male superiority over the female. Feminists who are unable to deny this assert that it is due to male preference for a dependent and clinging type of female—in short, to selection. There is considerable truth in this view, but since masculine nature is not likely to undergo any radical change in this respect it is difficult to see how these conditions are to be altered.

The believers in a 'natural equality,' however, do not hesitate to assert that the female of the human race, in the earlier stages of civilisation, was able to enforce a superiority akin to that of the cirriped. Mrs. Walter Gallichan, in her book, *The Truth about Woman*, sets forth the theory of an age of 'mother-right,' of which she professes to find traces in many parts of the world, and which preceeded the organisation of society on its present lines, where man is the head of the family. A Scottish lady Miss Lumsden, L. L.D., who is described in the Press as a distinguished member of the teaching profession, recently dealt with this subject before a gathering of University women. She is reported to have described 'matriarchy, or mother-right,' as 'an old custom which prevailed among most of the primitive races in the world,' and which, according to her, not only invested woman with the headship of the family and the possession of the family property, but gave her special sanctity in the eyes of man, such as is typified in the 'worship of Astarte in Asia Minor' and of Demeter in Greece. 'Woman,' said Miss Lumsden, 'was regarded with awe and wonder, as typifying the mystery of life,' and was therefore 'surrounded with devotion and importance.' 'Male headship' is said to have arisen in Greece, where woman were 'cast down to the lowest depths of degradation.' The obvious moral or intention running through all these assertions is that it is man, or the social system built up by him, which has dethroned woman from a position of equality, if not supremacy, intended for her by nature. I have selected three flagrant and public examples of the form in which the important subject of sex relations is now being presented to our young women, but it must be remembered that for one such 'lesson' which finds its way into print a thousand, even more garbled, must be delivered. Out of such materials a 'woman's creed' is being shaped.

It is not possible within the limits of an article to criticise these theories in any detail. Briefly, there is no reasonable evidence or proof that the system of matriarchy ever existed on a large scale, or had any part in the early culture of the Mediterranean basin from which our own is derived. The evidence is carefully weighed by Westermarck, and is shown to be contradictory and inconclusive. The most that can be said is that in some regions, and in some stages of civilisation (not necessarily primitive), succession is reckoned through a sister's son (a son, be it noted, not a daughter), and genealogies are traced through mothers. This is the 'matriarchy' of serious anthropologists, and they are not agreed as to its origin. Marriage customs whereby a man entered his wife's clan or family, either permanently or for a time, have no necessary connexion with matriarchy, nor do they support the view that property was vested in the wife, but rather in her father or some male relation who was head of the family or clan. As for the worship of female goddesses, far from being associated with 'awe and wonder,' or 'devotion and importance, these may have originated with the innocent desire of savages to propitiate the deity of fecundity, but they are known in history as rituals of sexuality of the most depraved and revolting character, and it appears almost impossible that any educated woman should mention them in connexion with veneration or respect for womanhood. It was of the worship of Ishtar, who is probably the goddess referred to by Miss Lumsden as 'Astarte in Asia Minor' (though Ishtar was chiefly worshipped in Babylon, which is not in Asia Minor), that Jeremiah wrote when he said of Israel 'She hath gone upon every high mountain and under every green tree and hath there played the harlot.' In Babylon every girl had to sacrifice her purity to the goddess, and Latin writers from earliest times are full of contempt for the obscenities and excesses of these worships. What can be said for the point of view of a University woman who holds up the civilisation of Babylon or Egypt as superior to that of Greece?

These sociological perversions may not appear to be of any great importance, but if it matters at all what we believe it matters that young women are being taught, all over the country, that the doctrine that man has usurped a place in society which belongs by right to woman. A false creed, upheld by spurious history and still more spurious morality, can do an infinity of harm, and when the creed has as its central postulate a wholly untenable theory of the relations of the sexes its ill effects are likely to be cumulative and far-reaching.

From the beginning of the modern suffrage movement stress was laid in a variety of ways on this theory of the usurpation by man of female rights, as for instance in the effort, not even now abandoned, to prove that women had at one time exercised the franchise. The logical result of this attitude is the attempt of women to meet force by force, so woefully exemplified in militantism. The claim of women must really rest—it is the one logical foundation—on the growth of ethical controls in man, which will induce him to give her freely what she could never take. To ask for such a gift while calling man 'usurper' and other bad names seems tactless, to use a mild expression. Similarly those women who proclaim their desire for nothing more nor less than 'equality' are literally 'reckoning without their host.' There seems to be a sort of inherent affinity between anarchism and feminism. Both suggest the abolition of rules which in the long run protect the weak. In an anarchist state the strongest and most unscrupulous man would soon be king. In a feminist state woman, deprived of the advantages of sex-discrimination in intercourse with man, would still be handicapped in the struggle for life by nature, and would go to the wall.

There are indications in our own country that she is already progressing on this downward path. Ten years ago the tradition still obtained in public life that woman, as a sort of honoured visitor to that sphere, must be accorded a more respectful treatment than need be given to any man. A chairman never had any doubt, when introducing a woman speaker, that her reception would be in accordance with the traditions of the best element in that audience. The psychology of an audience is interesting and subtle, as every speaker knows. The same was true of crowds. Until recent years a woman could almost invariably count on the prevalence of that element which will not tolerate the ill-treatment of women or cripples. But all this is changed. Women are no longer visitors—they have come to stay; and in the matter of public meetings they represent to the man in the street an element which demands to play the game without observing the rules. The treatment accorded to them has therefore lost all trace of sex-discrimination. I saw my first suffragette scrimmage in 1907, and it made me physically sick. I saw the last a few days ago, when several women were ejected from a meeting in Edinburgh, and one of them bit the hand of her ejector (who has since been seriously ill with blood-poisoning). On this last occasion I felt no emotion save annoyance. But if I am right in my diagnosis of the nature and origin of ethical and moral progress, the contrast between my state of mind on these two occasions constitutes a moral retrogression. Few people will doubt that this is the case, and that the necessity imposed on men of actually fighting with women has led to a resurgence in both of characteristics which we hoped had been buried under an accumulation of moral controls. The result may be seen in the records of suffrage meetings held by non-militants (many of which have been broken up and the speakers roughly handled, although they were being held in a perfectly orderly and constitutional way), and in the accounts of recent by-elections. At one by-election in October an anti-suffragist speaker narrowly escaped serious hurt. It is clear that her particular object had nothing to do with it, nor was she taken for a suffragist—she was treated merely as a woman. To one who has had occassion more than once to appeal for special treatment on the score of her womanhood, and who never, until recently, made that appeal in vain, this appears as the writing on the wall.

The hypothetical advantages of being regarded as an 'equal' in public, and therefore allowed to get one's fair share of any kicks that may be dealt out, must be weighed against the undeniable drawbacks of having to forego the privilege of being treated as a non-combatant. But the law of civilisation has hitherto been that women *must* be treated as non-combatants, and the abrogation of this law will lead to moral anarchy in the relations of the sexes.

It may be contended that individual men have always fallen below the ethical level which forms the average, and that the social conscience as a whole is sound, and will ultimately enforce its principles on a recalcitrant minority. It is just in this respect that the illustrations from the actions of crowds or large audiences are so illuminating. The conscience of a crowd is a collective conscience, easily swayed, and yet having a very distinct relationship to the morale of the individuals of whom it is composed. The collective

ferocity of a crowd of men concentrated on a woman is a spectacle some of us had never thought to see. Obviously, if the Old Adam of physical force is to be cast out in favour of the New Adam of moral suasion, women must refrain from awakening the sleeping savage in man individually or collectively.

We are sometimes given instances from other countries of the harmonious working of men and women in political matters and the moral progress made under the influence of women's votes. Mr. J. O. P. Bland, for instance, * describes the municipal cleansing of the city of San Francisco in the twenty months or so which have elapsed since Californian women were enfranchised. If it could be proved that men, on whom, after all, the public services of a city depend, have permitted women to revise their methods of government, to wipe out their sources of illegitimate profit, and to interfere with their more questionable forms of amusement, we should certainly have a clear case of the triumph of moral over physical force. But the 'cleansing' of American cities is a periodic phenomenon of no real social significance, and the establishment, during recent sessions of the Californian Legislature, of a series of commissions, at a total annual expenditure of nearly a quarter of a million sterling, suggests the new broom that merely disturbs the dust. Under the stimulus provided by Women's votes the Californian Legislature is said to have passed no fewer than 1100 Bills in twenty months, a record which should make our present Liberal Government regret its own wasted time, but will not inspire confidence in the breast of the disinterested social reformer. Legislative activity need not necessarily be regarded as a sign of moral progress, but sometimes the reverse. The necessity for legislation should surely decrease as the individuals of a community progress in that respect for the rights of others which constitutes genuine morality. In any case the Statute Book of a country is a most unsafe guide as to its social and moral conditions.

An unfortunate illustration of the alleged connexion between the growth of public morality and the increased public power of women has been chosen by Mr. Bland, in Colorado. He quotes the verdict of the Inter-Parliamentary Union that 'Colorado has the sanest, the most progressive, most scientific laws relating to the child to be found on any Statute Books in the world'; Mr. Bland adds, in his own account, that these laws have been brought about by the votes of women, thereby assuming that the women's vote has forced this legislation on unwilling or apathetic men. What is the result? So indifferent is the administration of these laws that it has recently been found necessary to form a 'Women's Protective League,' whose prospectus says:

"We know that you are in favour of protecting girl-childern according to the laws of Colorado; assume that you are cognisant of the fact that they are not so protected; and believe you would not be party to the continuance of the present existing shameful conditions." This appeal is supported by a record (certified by affidavit) of the Denver Juvenile Court, and the state of affairs revealed would be impossible in our own country, far from perfection as we are.

When we reflect on our own attempts at social-reform-while-you-wait in the last few years, and read the optimistic views of prominent suffragists as to the speeding-up of such legislation which would result from enfranchising women, we may well regard California and Colorado as solemn warnings, and not as examples of perfection!

There is one other aspect of woman's insurgence into political life in the British Islands which deserves attention as to its moral effect. The broad division into two schools of political thought has always presented difficulties to the thoughtful and sincere man who may not find it possible to subscribe to the whole creed of either one or other. Under such circumstances his choice is a matter of perspective, but he will not, as a general rule, be found supporting a party with whose whole political trend he is in disagreement simply because it advocates one measure in which he is deeply interested. A man may be in favour of maintaining the Union, of a strong Navy, compulsory national service, the repeal of the Insurance Bill and the Parliament Act, and yet be a keen Free Trader, but few men, under such conditions, would actively support the present Liberal Government. Yet Conservative women are supporting with work and money the party which, in every single respect save that of woman suffrage, stands for political ideas which are anathema to all Conservatives. Even on the question of the suffrage itself these women differ fundamentally from the party they support, for they are as much opposed to adult suffrage as their allies are pledged to it.

Attempts have been made to show that there is nothing unusual or inconsistent in the attitude of those Liberal and more especially those Conservative ladies who, putting woman suffrage before all other political questions, are supporting the Labour-Socialist Party at by-elections. As a matter for the individual conscience it may be conceded that this is a question of personal choice, but, in honesty, those who would rather have woman suffrage plus Socialism than Liberal or Conservative government without it should have the courage of their convictions, and sever their connexion with any party which does not in their opinion stand for the only really vital measure of the day. And, although these ladies are very indignant with Sir Almroth Wright for saying that women have only private and personal morality, their conduct when associated for public purposes makes his explanation the kindest one. Both men and women have used non-party associations for non-party propaganda—that is, to spread views which were not confined to any party; but it remained for suffragists to discover that it is consistent with the constitution of a non-party association not only to oppose the parties which do not agree with its views, but to support, actively and financially, a party which, in some respects has adopted its programme. The morality of spending money collected on a non-party basis for the benefit of a particular party * is a point of minor significance beside the wholesale surrender of traditions and principles by an organised body. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that those who can thus mistake the part for the whole, the greater for the less, are inherently unfitted to direct public policy, and that by their action they are helping to demoralise politics. The process in which they are openly and unashamedly engaged is no new one—it is familiarly known as 'log-rolling'—but that women of the calibre of Mrs. Fawcett or the traditions of Lady Selborne should be parties to such work is but another instance of the fact that woman's influence in the political arena is likely to be the reverse of 'purifying.' That Unionist women should be found working against their own party at the present crisis, and that Conservatives should subscribe to an association which gives money and aid to the Socialist Party, is a proof of the lack of real political principle even among women of a high type of intelligence.

It is curious and interesting in this connexion to remember the part played by the suffrage women of the North in the time of the American Civil War. I have no space here to give in detail the history of their activities, but it is asserted that in the hour of their country's peril they contented themselves with rolling up petitions to their embarrassed Government in favour of universal suffrage, and out of over five hundred women mentioned in Dr. Brockett's *Woman and the Civil War* as having rendered special service, a bare half-dozen are known as being suffragists.

Yet another instance of moral retrogression is attributable to what is called 'The Woman's Movement.' With the militant appeal to force I have already dealt. Those persons who regard it, as it deserves to be regarded, as a symptom of something seriously wrong with women—not as a mere fantasia played by a few mad people—must not forget that the self-immolated victims have all along received help and encouragement from a section of the Church. There is actually a Church League for Woman Suffrage, among whose numbers prominent militants are enrolled, and which has a bishop at its head and others in its ranks. One of these bishops, who has been much before the public in a variety of ways lately, when taking the defence of militants (though not of militancy) upon his shoulders in the columns of *The Times*, says that the women are excused, though perhaps not justified, by the fact that they are exasperated by the Government's refusal of their 'just demands.' This is not a quotation but a summary of his argument, and this is essentially the position taken up by a few other clerics and by leaders of the so-called non-militant section. This question-begging method is familiar in controversy, but its use does not show any real desire to restrain militancy. The suffragist members of the Cabinet, who believe the women's claim to be reasonable, are not (as they themselves declare) either strong enough to bear down the members who believe the contrary, or sufficiently convinced of the importance of the question to sacrifice other things to it. In short, the suffragists have still to convince not only the country but their own Liberal supporters that their demand for immediate legislation is 'just.' The bishop ignores all this; he assumes that his protégées must be right and everyone else wrong and unjust, and that, although these protégées are an absolutely insignificant minority, even of the women of the nation, they cannot be expected to desist from acts of violence until their demands are granted. The significant factor in all this is that the Church, which we thought had long since abandoned the methods of Torquemada, is here covertly upholding violence as an aid to conversion.

* 'Woman Suffrage in the United States', by J. O. P. Bland *Nineteenth Century and After*, December 1913.

* Support of the Labour Party is the official policy of the N. U. W. S. S. whose President, Mrs. Fawcett, presided at a meeting at which Lord Lytton declared that 'when there were two suffrage candidates, one Liberal and one Labour, they [the N.U.W.S.S.] would support the Labour man. They would support a Labour man against a Conservative suffragist *because they supported the Labour Party as a party*.' In pursuance of this policy the N. U. W. S. S. and its affiliated society, the London Society for Woman Suffrage, have given 500*l*. towards the expenses of Labour members, in addition to 250*l*. spent on by-election work, in which Labour candidates have been supported in five cases against Conservatives. Among the well-known members of these two societies are Lady Selborne, Lady Betty Balfour, Lady Willoughby de Broke, the Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton, Lady Chance, Mrs. Lloyd Carpenter, and Mrs. Rowland Prothero, all nominally 'Conservatives.'

7th February.

A final count in this indictment takes me into deep and difficult waters, of which only the surface can be skimmed. Some years ago—before the suffrage agitation became acute—there began a movement, much needed, for the instruction of young people in the facts of their own physiology. I think the novelty of such instruction is much exaggerated. I can find, even in the works of Jane Austen, no proof that young people of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century grew up in the state of ignorance which, in the middle of last century, was confounded with innocence. It appears to me that it was the growing delegation of parental duties to schools and teachers which finally made it possible for girls and boys to be launched on the world in such a condition. Nowadays, when children of both sexes are at home in school and visitors in their homes, the need for systematised and careful teaching is increased, though personally I cannot help feeling that this is just one of those duties which no parent ought to be willing to delegate. The Headmaster of Eton, writing recently to *The Times*, emphasised the evil which must ensue if the wrong accent or emphasis is laid upon sexual matters during the critical period of adolescence, and parents ought to know their own children sufficiently well to be able to choose the right time and right way in which to impart necessary instruction. What is really desirable is that children should understand nature, but should not be familiarised with disease. The pathology of sex is disease, and it is this aspect of it which is now continually described in feminist and suffragist writings, is dissected and discussed, often by persons who do not and cannot know the alphabet of this difficult question. I am often asked to believe that girls gain something by a frank acquaintance with the seamy side of life. It is asserted that if they are allowed to know the worst they may avoid it, but if this means that they will only marry on what are called 'eugenic' principles, we must reserve our assent until we have some proof. Have women ever hesitated to marry men who were even notoriously intemperate, or dissipated, or decadent, or even decrepit? 'Look at the men they do marry!' says the cynic in H. G. Wells's *Marriage*. In many cases the combined representations of the family, the doctor, and the solicitor have not availed to turn a young woman from such a match when once her affections or her ambitions were engaged.

It is a singular and melancholy fact that in what is called 'The Woman's Movement' the word 'morality' has only one application, and the reforming zeal of its supporters is chiefly directed to the sexual excesses of man. The result is that far too many women are becoming obsessed with the idea that man is essentially depraved and unclean, and as their own besetting sins or temptations are of a different character, they forget that temperance of mind, soberness of thought and truthfulness of speech are also moral attributes of great importance. Many women, in their pre-occupation with the suffrage question, have entirely lost the mental balance on which these things depend.

Apart from the precocious, one-sided, and often entirely erroneous 'information' on sex-subjects now freely administered to young girls by frustrated or embittered persons, the much vaunted 'frankness' of the present age has destroyed every remaining vestige of modesty or reticence. In this, as in other matters, familiarity breeds contempt. Just as actions which appeared to us daringly improper fifteen years ago have now become fully respectable, so the bedroom scene on the stage, and the disrobing of the heroine, which once thrilled us, have become a tiresome commonplace. Even bishops see no harm in the nightgown as a stage garment! There is no intrinsic harm. There is no reason, I suppose, except a climatic one, why we should not take the garment in question into wear for all occasions. A young friend of mine had a bet with her father that she would come down to dinner in her *rob de nuit*; and she did, and he never recognised it! But the instinct for privacy, like the instinct for decency, is part of our civilisation—one of the things which distinguish us from beasts and lower types of man. The barriers between our private lives and the public have been broken down by the ubiquitous photographer, to whom nothing is sacred, and by the people who like to see their house parties, their babies and everything they do, in the illustrated weeklies. Still, the delicacy, the modesty, the refinement and reserve of the real gentlewoman is a moral asset which society can ill afford to lose, and the lesson of reticence is more needed, to my mind, for the coming generation then the lesson of frankness. Under the influence of this way of living in public we are fast retrograding in social habits towards promiscuity, and the horde threatens to reabsorb the family.

The plain man and woman do not care much for abstract arguments about the political and social relations of the sexes. What they do care for is that society should be organised on terms which seem to offer the maximum of public efficiency with the minimum of private friction. Man is not really concerned with the task of keeping woman in subjection, nor are the vast majority of women exercised over their subordination (in some respects) to man. This is because the broad relationship of the sexes is one thing and the indidual relations of one man and one woman are another. 'All men rule all women', wrote Themistocles, 'but our wives rule us!' There is, therefore, an air of unreality in the feminine crusade against masculine supremacy, and even those who proclaim most loudly their belief that woman are down-trodden are usually careful it should be understood that they are speaking of other women!

The modern advanced champion of woman's right has adopted as her war march the Marseillaise, and she is imbued with the spirit of revolution and anarchism. It is notorious that these rebels against 'man-made laws' offer us free love instead of monogamy, barracks instead of homes, and the 'economic independence of woman' instead of the male obligation to support his wife and family. To gain for woman an assumed 'equality' with man they are prepared to tear down every safeguard and privilege she has secured in long ages of civilisation. Both in spirit and in fact such proposals are anarchic, and not evolutionary, because their basic assumption is that nature makes all men and both sexes equally able to take care of themselves, whereas social evolution has increasingly protected the weak from the strong and increased the obligation of the strong towards the weak.

I am perfectly aware that many protagonists of the woman's movement' will hotly contest this view of their objective, but the whole of their case is given away by their self-chosen title. 'The woman's Movement' can only aim at combining women as distinct from men, whether for offensive or defensive purposes is immaterial. Such combination, if aimed at man, is futile; if not aimed at him it is meaningless. If it is claimed that it is merely an instrument of social uplifting I will reply in the words of Miss Soulsby, that any movement to raise society through the medium of one sex is like a system of gymmnastics which develope only one leg! After all we have never heard of 'The Man's Movement.'

But although from the point of view of progress towards the age of reason we may have our doubts as to the beneficent influence of 'the woman's movement,' the cloud is not without its silver lining. The ascendency of woman and the slothfullness of man are closely related if not complementary facts, and the woman rampant, the sign-manual of the present period, can only rise to that position because men are not merely 'reasonable' but lazy. If we see signs that they are bestirring themselves to resist the tide of feminism we have grounds to hope for a greater demonstration of virile qualities in the near future. The frank anarchism of some women, leaders is also opening the eyes of other women, who are beginning to realise the profound truth Goethe's saying, 'Man's aim is freedom, order woman's! It is my own belief that, with the plentiful outlets being increasingly provided for her surplus energy, the fermenting element in woman is ceasing to be a danger, and that the feminine volcano exploded with the militant movement. When the dust has cleared off and the lava stream has had time to cool we shall all go on cultivating our gardens—though not quite the same gardens—much as before but, as I fervently hope, with a heightened appreciation of the advantages of peace and obscurity.

ETHEL COLQUHOUN, *in the Nineteenth Century and After.*

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THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF

AL-BAYAN FI ULUM-UL-QURAN

BEING AN
INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMENTARY
OF THE
HOLY QURAN
CALLED TAFSIR-I-HAQQANI.

The original book was written by M. Abu Muhammad Abdul Haqq Haqqani of Delhi in the Indo-Arabic language. The learned author has left nothing untouched concerning what is required for a valuable book of this nature. The unfair objections raised against Islam by its enemies, through their ignorance or injustice, have been treated and refuted at full lenght. The existence of God through reasonable arguments, the refutation of suspicions and doubts raised by Agnostics and Atheists, the discussions on the nature and attributes of God, filled with deep learning and logical reasoning, together with refutations of the false and absurd assertions of the opponents are subjects worthy of appreciation by lovers of truth. The nature of angels, their existence as independent beings, their transformation into any shape they like: the thorough investigation of the statements of the rationalists and philosophers on the subject: the debates on the mission of the true Prophets; the different aspects of inspiration; and revelation, the proof of the miracles performed by the Prophets and Saints; the just answers to the plausible statements of the disbelievers in the Prophets and their miracles; the soul and the next world; the transference of man to it; the reward and punishment of good and evil deeds; the refutations of spurious religions and of Atheists by their insufficient and false teachings; together with reasonable answers to the suspicions cast by the malignant spirit of the enemies of Islam and the false imputations charged by them against the holy person of the Prophet, together with the testimonies borne in favor of him by the critics of Europe, have been fully described in this translation.

An abstract of review by the *Comrade*:—The translation in English is quite good. The printing and get-up is excellent; Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., being responsible for it. The book has about 750 pages, but from beginning to end besides being learned and instructive is very interesting reading for a Moslem, and more so for a non-Moslem in search for truth about Islam. The book for the sake of convenience is divided into three chapters, and has an Introduction which dealts with knowledge gained by External Senses, Internal Senses, by Revelations and by means of Signs and Emblems. The first chapter deals with the last and the greatest of all the Prophets of God, Mohamed, the attributes of God—the creator of the universe, Sanctifiction, Angels, Genii, Soul Ressurrection, and the next world, with objections raised by opponents of Islam and answers to them. The second chapter is the most important as it deals with the early history of Islam, gives a brief sketch of the life of the Prophet, and discusses fully all about crusades, poligamy andin spiration of the Holy Quran, Judaism, Christianity, Vedas, Budhism, Jainism, etc. It explains the Divine Science in the Quran, explaining the *prayers, Zakat, Fasting, Haj* and *Jehad*. In the last chapter, a great deal is explained about he Old and the New Testaments and the portions thereof which have been lost. Very useful information is given about the Christian and the Hindu sects, and closes with an account of Zorastrians. It is a book which will be most useful for the English educated Moslems, as it would give them a very clear insight into their faith, and prepare them to defend it easily against the atacks of the Christian and other Missionaries. Books like this dealing with the modern علم الكلام were badly needed and we strongly recommend all to purchase and study it carefully."

FATEHPURI, *Delhi, 22nd September, 1913.*

The English translation of "Al-Bayan," the famous book written by Maulana Abdul Haq has been given to me for reading and reviewing by Hajee Muhammad Ishaq.

The book is so well translated that the beauties of the author's style and diction have been amply preserved. This treatise would be a most valuable addition to the Islamic literature in the English language. It expounds in a most lucid and logical manner the teaching of the Great Prophet, and gives a rational and logical refutation of all the attacks on Islam.

This book would be useful both to the Mohamedan readers and those Europeans who want to learn the truth about Islam.

(Sd.) M. A. ANSARI, B.A., M.B., M.D., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.,

This book will be a best companion to the Moslems and non-Moslems in India and Foreign Countries and the members of the New All-India Mohamedan Religious Association. Price has been reduced from Rs. 15 to Rs. 10/8 so that learners of truth about *Islam* may easily purchase it.

APPLY TO—THE MANAGER,
The General Newspaper Agency
and Islamia Book Depôt, Delhi.
Or Haji Mohamed Ishaq, Merchant, Sadar Bazar, Delhi.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER RECEIVED FROM THE

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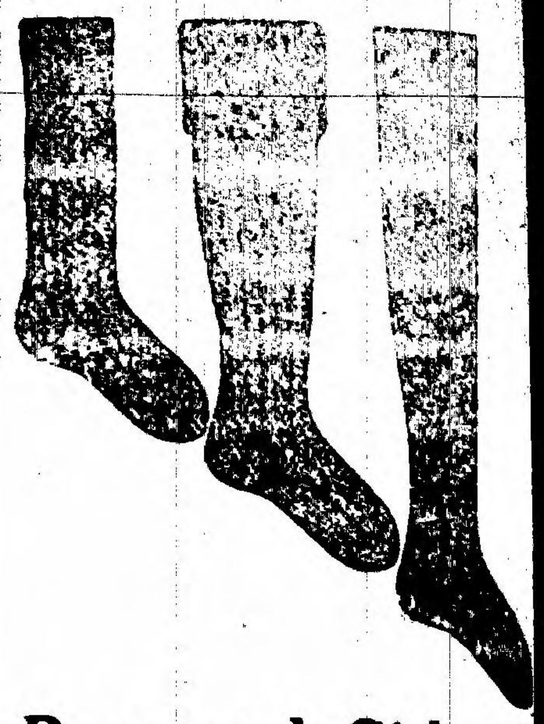

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