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.

Home Rule.

London, Feb. 11.

In the course of his speech Mr. Lloyd George said that the Government would go to the very extreme, compatible with the main purpose of the Bill, but they could not, and would not, betray the Nationalists. After the proposals had been passed in the Commons, they would go the Lords over whom they had no control. The responsibility for what would happen there would rest with the Upper House. If after doing everything possible to allay the legitimate fears of Ulster the Government quailed before the threats of violence they would violate their trust. Mr. Lloyd George said that for some time they had been firing at long range, but their opponents were now face to face with them. The Government would submit its proposals on its own responsibility which was the heaviest that had devolved on any Government, but the responsibility for acceptance or rejection, which lay with the Opposition, was equally heavy. In the House of Commons to-day, the debate was resumed by Sir John Simon. He laid stress on the declaration that an election now would mean tearing up of the Parliament Act for ever. This the Ministerialists were determined to resist.

Sir Edward Carson, who, on rising was received with salvoes of cheers, considered that Mr. Asquith's speech was absolutely disappointing. He should have outlined the actual proposals. Sir Edward Carson laid emphasis on the unparalleled gravity of the statement in the King's speech. He said that the Bill was condemned on the Government's own confession. Something had undoubtedly been gained. Colonel Seely, he said, would now perhaps cease telling his constituents that he (Sir Edward Carson) was insane. He believed that the Government were manoeuvring (Loud cheers). They were making the position of the Irish Unionists intolerable. They were asking them to sit quiet and vote estimates while the situation in Ulster was becoming daily more difficult. Ulster did not want concessions. She wanted to be left alone. He declared with emphasis: "You laughed at the Covenant. Laugh at it now." (Cheers).

Sir Edward Carson inferred from Mr. Asquith's speech that the exclusion of Ulster did not conflict with the fundamental principles of the Bill. If exclusion were proposed, it would be his duty to go immediately to Ulster and consult with the people. If they attempted to compel Ulster to come under the control of the Dublin Parliament, he, regardless of personal consequences, would go with the pepole to the end in the policy of resistance.

Mr. Redmond said that the Nationalists were ready to respond to the plea for amicable settlement. He considered that the Opposition and not the Government should have taken the initiative. He accepted however the new situation. Mr. Redmond indignantly repudiated the suggestion that the Nationalists only wanted Ulster's taxes. He deprecated the talk of civil war. He did not take a tragic view in that connection. He desired most sincerely that the new Parliament should not be handicapped by any conflict between fellow-countrymen.

Mr. Bonar Law said that he fully accepted the responsibility of countenancing resistance on the part of Ulster. If ever a people in the world's history were entitled to resist, Ulstermen were. It was certain that the country had given no mandate to coerce Ulster. The single fact that armed coercion would be necessary entirely altered the situation. Mr. Asquith, on the 10th instant by offering special treatment to Ulster, had admitted her special identity. It inevitably followed that if Ulstermen were not convinced of the acceptability of his proposals Ulster should be excluded from the scope of the Bill. It was in Mr. Asquith's power to prevent civil war by making proposals acceptable to Ulster or going to the people.

Mr. Walter Long's amendment to the Address was rejected to-night by 333 to 255.

Debate in the House of Lords.

London, Feb. 11.

In the House of Lords this evening, Lord Loreburn resumed debate. He described the King's reference to the gravity of the situation as a courageous and honourable departure. He considered that dissolution did not offer a solution, but merely postponed the question. The Bill was a good one, but settlement by consent was better. The real danger was not so much bloodshed and civil commotion as the prolongation of discontent and disloyalty in Ireland. He believed that Federalism would prove the solution of the difficulty. He made a strong appeal for conciliatoriness and good will to all.

Lord Lansdowne affirmed that everyone was in favour of a friendly arrangement, but the Government made no suggestions. He was bound to say that the prospect appeared as hopeless as it could possibly be. Even if Ulster were excluded, exclusion would have to be accompanied by safeguards in the interests of extra-Ulster Unionists. The proper course for the Government as democrats and straightforward men to pursue was to frame whatever amendments they thought necessary and then go to the country.

Lord Haldane admitted that this specific Bill had never been before the country, but said that its principles had been fully discussed and unless the Unionists gave some intimation that they were prepared to meet the Government in principle, settlement would be impossible.

Allahabad. Feb. 11.

The *Times* publishes a review by Mr. Horace Plunkett of the condition of Ireland. Mr. Plunkett is convinced that Ulstermen will fight if necessary, and die for what they regard as a holy, righteous cause, and he suggests that Ulster should accept Home Rule on condition of being given the right to secede after the term of trial. The *Times* does not think that this provides a solution.

London, Feb. 12.

In the House of Lords, Lord Crewe said that the Government did not believe that the fears of Ulster were justified, but he was prepared to try to meet them. He would not remain in the office a day if he believed that the interests of anybody in Ulster would be imperilled.

The striking feature of the debate was a brief statement by Lord Roberts who declared that it was unthinkable that the Army should be called on to fight against Ulsterites. Such action, he said, would mean the ruin of the Army.

Lord Midleton's amendment was adopted by 243 to 55.

Oriental School.

London, Feb. 12.

A meeting is to be held at Mansion House on May 6th. at which Lord Cromer, Lord Curzon and members of the Cabinet will speak to inaugurate a campaign for obtaining an endowment fund, grants, and subscriptions for the Oriental Language School.

That Government has promised £4,000 and the India Office £1,250 per annum, leaving £8,750 to be assured annually for the establishment of an efficient school.

Pending legislation on the lines of the recommendations of Lord Haldane's Royal Commission, the school will be established under a Royal Charter, the draft of which has been approved by the Privy Council.

It is hoped to begin work on the structural alteration of the London Institute in April and to finish it early in 1915. A non-official committee, with Sir Montagu Turner as Chairman, has been formed to further the project and collect subscriptions.

Resignation of Lord Gladstone.

London, Feb. 11.

In the House of Commons to-day Mr. Harcourt announced that Lord Gladstone would resign at the end of the present session of the Union Parliament. His resignation was due solely to domestic reasons and had no connection whatever with recent events. His successor would be designated in a day or two.

London Feb. 11.

It is officially stated that Mr. Buxton will succeed Lord Gladstone as Governor-General of South Africa. The appointments of Mr. Burns, Mr. Masterman, Mr. Hobhouse, and Mr. Samuel are confirmed.

Natal Indians.

London, Feb. 12.

At question time in the House of Commons to-day Mr. Harcourt explained to Mr. Wedgwood the circumstances necessitating the sending back of a number of Natal Indians to the mines to work instead of to prison. He said that the procedure appeared to be legal, but fortunately it was not the normal state of affairs.

Ægean Islands.

Constantinople, Feb. 15.

The decision of the Powers regarding the Aegean Islands has been communicated to the Porte and a written reply asked for. Turkish official circles are disappointed and grieved, and it is not improbable that Turkey will endeavour to negotiate directly with Greece for the exchange of the islands occupied by Italy for Chios and Mitylene.

Constantinople, Feb. 16.

In reply to the decision of the Powers regarding the Ægean Islands, the Porte point out that it had hoped that with regard to the island in the vicinity of the straits and those integrally belonging to Asia Minor the Powers would have solved the question of the Ægean in accordance with the best interests of the directly interested parties. The Porte recognises the duties of peace, but says it will endeavour to assure its legitimate demands.

New Albania.

Berlin, Feb. 15.

The Prince of Wield has returned here.

ITALIAN WARSHIPS AS ESCORT.

London, Feb. 15.

The Italian warship *Quarto* is expected at Venice to escort the Austrian warship *Taurus* conveying the Prince of Wied to Durazzo.

Turkish Railways.

Berlin Feb. 16.

The draft of the Franco-German Agreement regarding the Turkish railway financial question has been initialled. It takes the form of an arrangement between the Deutsche Bank, representing the Anatolian and Bagdad Railways, and the Ottoman Bank, representing the Syrian Railway Company and the Company to be formed for the Black Sea basin.

Turkey.

London, Feb. 11.

Reuter learns respecting the repeated rumours of a Turco-Bulgarian combination against Greece, the Rumania and Servia would certainly intervene in favour of Greece, though they would remain quiescent if Turkey alone attacked Greece.

Turko-Persian Frontier.

Karachi Feb. 14.

The *Sind Gazette's* Mahomerah correspondent writes under date February 7th :—The Frontier Commissions returned on Thursday night from Sabah, having had a very trying time in heavy rain. They have now delimited all the frontier within easy reach of Mahomerah, and it is understood that an early move will be made to a fresh centre. The results of their deliberations have not been made public, but it is understood that so far the delimited frontier follows the boundary lines hitherto, to mutually recognized by Turkey and Persia.

Hindus in America.

Washington, Feb. 14.

Mr. Sudhindra Bose, Professor of Lowa University, was one of those who appeared before the Immigration Committee of the House of Representatives to give evidence. He opposed the exclusion of Hindus from the country on the ground that kindred Aryan people were entitled to the rights of British subjects. When the Chairman observed that British Colonies were excluding Hindus, Mr. Bose replied that the Imperial Government had not yet endorsed their exclusion.

Persian Budget.

Teheran, Feb. 11.

A proclamation will be published on Friday, the birthday of the Prophet, fixing the Coronation for July 21st. A commission consisting of two Belgians, is drafting the Budget in readiness for the meeting of the *Mejliss*. Hitherto, Persia has had no regular Budget.

The following telegraphic communication has been received from the Foreign office at Teheran by Sir Mirza Davood Khan, Miftahoe Sultaneh, Consul-General for Persia, at Calcutta :—

"On the 13th instant in the Durbar Salam in Teheran on the occasion of Id in honour of the anniversary of the Prophet, it will be declared by His Highness the Regent, that according to the 58 Article of the Constitution, the coronation of His Imperial Majesty the Shah will take place on the 27th *Shaban* corresponding with the 22nd July 1914."

Frontier Raids.

Kohat, Feb. 11.

Some few days ago the village of Jhandari in the Chutra Valley was raided and three houses were looted. In the first, a young bachelor, on the eve of concluding the bargain which was to provide him with a wife, was tied to his bed and robbed of Rs. 200. Luckily he had already sent away the two hundred rupees to Shakardarh in part payment. Let us hope the young woman's relatives will not be hard-hearted enough to make him wait for his bride till he has once again saved up enough money to pay the price in full.

In the next house, a widow was robbed of all her money and jewels. Raiders have rather a predilection for rich widows.

Whilst searching the third house, one of the household, who had managed to slip away, raised the alarm and the raiders made off before help arrived. It is very possible, however, that local *Ludmashes* were responsible for this daceity. But raids and raiders have had a stiff set back owing to the vigorous measures the Amir has been obliged to take with the Khost outlaws. Shaurang and his gang, who it may be remembered raided Jatta Ismail Khel rather more than a year ago, have been captured by the Governor of Khost and a Khattack of these parts and some Hindus have been released.

It is believed that of the three Hindus, who were carried off on the Kohat-Bannu road on the 11th of last month, two have been killed, their captors and the third hidden away somewhere in Trans-Border territory. Of the captives one was a Public Works Department road contractor, and it is probable that he is the one who is still alive.

South Africa.

Capetown, Feb. 11.

The Reverend C. Andrews lectured before a distinguished audience in the City Hall to-day on the subject of Rabindranath Tagore. The Mayor presided.

Mr. Merriman, moving a vote of thanks to the lecturer, emphasised the necessity for a better understanding of the Indians, particularly of Indian intellectual life.

Lord Gladstone, seconding the motion, said that the had listened with great pleasure to the lecture which was one to make them think and realise in a fuller degree what India was, what their duties were to a people who were members of the British Empire. Lord Gladstone said that the subject had interested him when at Oxford. He had made a special study of Indian history, and had later visited India. He wished more South Africans could go there, and by so doing rise to the highest appreciation of what the Indians were. They would then think less of India as a country which sends its coolies to the South African coast, and would realise that there was in the personality of Rabindranath Tagore an intense expression of an imaginative national life. In fact, India had developed perhaps far above the line attained by some parts of the British Empire in its civilisation, and the efforts to rise to a higher life. His Excellency joined with Mr. Merriman in thanking the Reverend C. Andrews. He believed his lecture would do much to induce a feeling which would help to a solution of the troubles which had stood in the way of good relations between India and South Africa. They were troubles which, they hoped and expected, would be solved before long. He thanked the lecturer heartily for his efforts to bring about a better understanding.

Our London Letter.

THE LONDON INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

London. 30th. January, 1914.

This Association, which owes its creation and popularity mainly to the efforts of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, is gradually though steadily becoming an integral part in the life of the Indian Colony in London. It holds regular fortnightly meetings at Caxton Hall, Westminster, when subjects of varied interest are keenly discussed and debated upon. Apart from acting as a happy means for social intercourse between the Indians, the Association undoubtedly serves as an excellent training-ground for those who are aspiring to gain oratorical distinction and fame in future. The recent "parliamentary" debate, arising from the formal introduction of the "Hindu and Moslem Universities Bill," reached a fairly high degree of efficiency and several hitherto latent speakers were 'discovered' during the subsequent discussion. The "House" followed the debate with interest and genuine interest. The Association is suffering from the want of permanent headquarters, but it is hoped this drawback will soon be set right.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL CLUB.

A very large and representative gathering responded to the invitation of the President and Committee of the above Club to a New Year Reception, which was held on Saturday, the 24th inst., at the Connaught Rooms in Great Queen Street, Kingsway, from 8 to 11 P.M. An extremely interesting musical programme had been arranged and the various amateur 'artists,' whose names appeared on the programme, exhibited an unusual standard of perfection, which could certainly do justice to any professional troupe. Mrs. Naidu, who has just recovered from a severe illness, was seen after a long period of absence, and her numerous friends and admirers were congratulating her on her recovery. Her presence at any social function never fails to infuse an element of cheeriness into the very soul of her fellow-guests. Her temporary absence from Indian Society has left a gap, which was only filled by her welcome re-appearance at the last week.

THE "MORNING POST" ON HINDU-MOSLEM UNITY.

The question of Hindu-Moslem unity has been dealt with by the *Morning Post* in a leading article. The sinister motives of the writer will be quite evident even to a most casual observer. Instead of welcoming the new situation, which is decidedly favourable to a Hindu-Moslem entente in India, as would be the duty of a great paper which has placed its Imperialism before everything else, the *Post* has spared no efforts to misrepresent the case to its readers, to a degree almost reaching the stage of tragic criminality. A study of the article will readily indicate the high degree of short-sighted and deplorable ignorance of the writer on Indian questions, which is only too visible in various other newspapers in this country on Indian problems from time to time.

The article, however, will not be without its use, if for no other reason, those who are devoting their energy and time towards the solution of the numerous problems affecting India and the Indians, will no doubt welcome the article in the *Morning Post* which will, no doubt secure for the Hindu-Moslem entente an advertisement of no little magnitude.

Evidently the writer, who poses as more or less an authority on the Indian question, has thoroughly failed to grasp the simple yet significant fact that, in spite of the various sections and creeds in which the Indian population is divided, there are certain issues on which the 300 millions of India, whether Hindu or Moslem, are absolutely united, and on which they can speak with one voice. The writer of the article need not stretch back his memory to more than only a few weeks ago, when the Indian crisis in South Africa was at its height and when, much to his surprise and astonishment, the differences between the various communities in India, which he has taken much pains to describe in his communication, did not for a single moment prevent the masses of India, irrespective of caste or creed, from showing their feelings and indignation in no unmistakable manner. The wave of passion which overcame the Indians and which shook the very foundation of British Rule in India, as was so rightly stated by Lord Ampthill at the United Empire Club the other day, was the most impressive demonstration of Indian unity and Indian co-operation in matters affecting the Indian Empire as a whole. The writer apparently requires a sound knowledge of modern Indian history, as, in the article, he is exhibiting a supreme and colossal ignorance of facts. He seems to be absolutely out of touch with the present-day events in India. It will, perhaps, be a rude awakening for him to be told that to-day no important Bill, affecting the condition of the Indians as a whole, could come before the Supreme Council, on which the votes of the Indian Members, whether Hindus or Moslem, would not be practically unanimous.

The writer adopts a sad tone of flattery—or what he, no doubt, intends as flattery—when he describes the Moslem to be, in sentiment, propably "nearer to the Christian than to the Hindu." Bearing in mind the policy of grab, which the Christian Powers of Europe have been of late following in their dealings with the weaker non-Christian States, it is indeed questionable whether the above remark will not be received by the Moslem in the same spirit in which it was intended to be accepted.

The current number of *Blackwood's Magazine* also contains an unsigned article on India. Its writer, who is evidently a stout party-man, deplores the Indian chaos caused by the present Liberal Administration, enumerates the numerous blessings to the country under Lord Curzon's reign, describes the present Viceroy as "ready to yield to violence and let law-breakers go unpunished," expresses a sincere hope that Lord Kitchener may be India's next ruler, defends the Civil Service and suggests various remedies of an autocratic character. The article in question is so utterly inconsistent with the realities of the situation that it hardly deserves any serious attention.

HOW "NEWS" IS MADE IN TURKEY.

The Constantinople correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* gives an excellent account of the methods adopted by the representatives of the European Press in the Turkish Capital for collecting "News," which are subsequently flashed across the wires as coming from some "reliable source." The able correspondent of the *Telegraph* is entitled to the deep debt of gratitude of all those who have the real interests of Turkey at heart for his timely exposure of this reckless fraud committed on the reading public at large. Incidently, his information and his lucid statement of facts indicate the real and business-like method in which the Turkish authorities attend to their official duties and that, in spite of various sensational reports which are circulated so often in the European Press, concerning the Sublime Porte's intentions or schemes regarding current questions, the Turkish statesmen are extremely careful in observing official secrecy in matters of consequence.

According to the correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* in Constantinople, not far from the Embassies at Pera is a place frequented at all hours of the day by newspaper correspondents, who are eager for sensational news. All the hatred and spite against the Young Turks is collected there; Levantines, Greeks and Armenians anxiously wait there for the return of certain Levantine reporters who have proceeded earlier in the day to Stamboul in search of information.

In the way of some of the foreign correspondents, these reporters spend the whole of the afternoon wandering about the long and dismal corridors of the Porte and the Ministries watching for functionaries, both great and small, and obtaining from them a few odds and ends of conversations, the sum-total of which constitutes a piece of news, which on their return to Pera they season according to the taste of the correspondents employing them. The latter, in their turn, embroider the news, and then go to obtain information of its accuracy at the Embassies, which have such a deficient news service that it may be regarded as non-existent.

The Embassies, except one or two, on receiving the information, hide their ignorance under the veil of diplomatic reserve, feigning to know more than they dare tell, and while repeating and propogating the news confidently, give it a quasi-official diplomatic stamp. The news is now ready to be spread throughout the world. Most of the sensational reports regarding Turkey have an origin of this kind and, therefore, it is necessary to receive them with the greatest circumspection.

LORD AMPTHILL ON THE "INDIAN PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA."

A debate on the above subject, which was held at the United Empire Club, Piccadilly, on the 28th instant under the chairmanship of Mr. Fitzjohn Oldham, produced a stricking declaration by Lord Ampthill. His Lordship, who opened the debate in a powerful speech, said that this question was not one of a mere strike for the abolition of a £3 poll-tax in Natal. The real origin of the controversy was to be found in the year 1858, when the memorable proclamation of Queen Victoria to the people of India established for them the Charter of their rights and their liberties. The Indians of South Africa were not agitating for votes or for equal political rights with the white inhabitants of South Africa, but were only asking for that which had been actually promised to them, not only by the British Government but by successive Governments in South Africa. If British subjects were ill treated in a foreign country we should demand that their wrongs were righted and would enforce that demand with Dreadnoughts and troops, and we should certainly prevent one of our own partners from doing irreparable damage to the Imperial concern. It had been urged that the solution was to be found in deporting the Indians and helping them to colonise elsewhere, but the Indians in South Africa did not want to go, and they had every right to stay there. They had more right than some of the cosmopolitan riff-raff who received an undue welcome there. The colony of Natal would have been impossible without Indian labour in the fields and in the mines.

With regard to the present situation, after 12 years of persistent appeal, patient endurance of suffering, passive resistance, and heroic self-sacrifice and repeated disappointed hopes, an arrangement was made between the Union Government and Mr. Gandhi, the high-minded leader of the Indian community, and if the Union Government had faithfully carried out their part of the agreement, the trouble would have been at an end, but they did not do so. It was agreed (1) that legislation should be passed in the following Session repealing the obnoxious Act of 1907; (2) that there should be no racial bar in any future legislation; (3) that existing rights should be maintained; and (4) that there should be an amnesty for passive resisters. The promised legislation was not passed till last year, and then it did not fulfil the two essential conditions of the compact—removal of the racial bar and maintenance of existing rights. The Immigrants' Regulation Act, moreover, prejudiced the rights of Indians and brought about a new grievance in failing to recognise the validity of marriages among Hindus and Mohamedans. The poll-tax was always oppressive, and it was promised that it should be repealed. That tax was required simply as an instrument wherewith to drive back the coolies into indenture. He reminded them of the public spirit displayed by the Indians when they refrained from taking part in the strike which took place on the Rand some-time ago. If there were much delay in the settlement of the question there might well be a dangerous agitation in India which would be frought with the gravest peril. The South Africans were a virile race and had a virile way of managing affairs as we had seen during the past few days. What they wanted was straight talk from the Imperial Government. The people of this country had not the faintest idea what this question meant to them nor how completely it was within their right that it should be settled with justice, and immediately.

India, from every point of view, was worth more to us than South Africa, and if it were a choice between offending India and offending South Africa, there could be no shadow of doubt which alternative should be chosen; but there was no need to offend either if wiser and fairer counsels at last prevailed. The real enemies of the Indians in South Africa were not for the most part Englishmen or Boers, but the cosmopolitan class of aliens of whom we had some knowledge even in the heart of this great metropolis—people who repaid the protection and excessive hospitality they enjoyed under the British flag by bringing discredit upon the British name. It only required a little statesmanship to bring about a just settlement of this vital problem of Empire. (Cheers.)

Referring to the present industrial unrest in South Africa, as a result of which General Botha has deported ten Labour leaders, Mr. H.M. Hyndman, the Veteran Socialist, on being approached by a Press representative yesterday for an expression of his views on the situation, declared himself as follows:—"It serves the white people right that they should have some experience of the sort of treatment that has been served out to their fellow Indian subjects in another part of South Africa."

TETE À TETE



Christianity v. Islam.

SIGNS of uneasiness and alarm are of late becoming increasingly manifest in the Christian missionary world regarding the rapid progress of Islam in Africa. Vigorous discussions have been started in the Press and on the platform and a number of conferences have been held at various places to bring home to the Christian conscience the rebuke implied in the comparative failure of the missionary propaganda in Africa and to concert more energetic measures for combating the forces of the rival creed. The recent conference at Kikuyu was a notable event, as it sought to band together the various Christian Missions in Africa into the common resolve to adopt a uniform policy and mobilize their forces in the face of "the common enemy." And this resolve was consecrated by a remarkable ritual in which clergymen of various persuasions received the Holy Communion from the Bishop of Mombasa. The furious storm, by the way, that the Kikuyu ceremony has aroused in the Church of England is not very edifying, and one may well be amused at the spectacle of Christianity riven into warring sects going forth to deliver Africa from the horrors of Islam and Heathenism. It would, however, be wrong to infer that genuine religious fire has ceased to burn in Christian lands, or that there are no honest souls aflame with missionary zeal who are ready to face any hardship in preaching the Gospel and striving to bring the heathens into the Christian fold. Enormous sums are raised every year by means of contributions from the pious Christians for carrying on the missionary campaign throughout the world. The various Christian Missions planted amidst people of other faiths have met with a degree of tolerance that was unknown in any previous period of history. And though their aims and methods have occasionally borne the taint of things of the very earth earthy, the non-Christian races have in the main shown little resentment at the open preaching of Christianity in their midst. As long as the ring has been kept fairly and missionary efforts have displayed no militant and aggressive zeal, the peoples of the East have never gone out of their way to thwart Christianity in its battling with rival creeds. But the Christian missionary has on occasions not despised other weapons when his straightforward spiritual appeals have failed. A new change would now seem to be coming over the spirit of the dream, mainly as a result of the failure of Christian preaching in Central Africa. The tone is becoming more aggressive, and the challenge of the Christian missionary rings with furious cries to-day. The breath of the missionary world is hot with irrepressible anger at Islam and the rapid advance it is making amongst the heathen tribes. As a sample of the worst passions of jealousy and religious hate we may take the following extract from an article by Dr. Norman Maclean which appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* and which was reproduced by the *Pioneer* in its issue of 7th instant. The writer after referring to the evils which evoked the Kikuyu conference, goes on to say that the great peril in Africa is the peril of the conquering Islam. Every Mohamedan, he says, is a missionary. "There is no God but Allah, and Mahomet is his prophet" is the watchword which sounds wherever a Mohamedan is found. "It is far otherwise with the Christian trader and planter. Too often he says: 'I don't believe in Missions.' In heathendom the Christian too often is utterly indifferent to his faith." In face of such excellent reasons to account for the failure of Christian Missions one would have thought the writer's chief concern would be to preach Christianity amongst the so-called Christians before he undertook to convert the heathens of the world. But, no, he would rather have few good Christians than see Islam advancing in Africa. He is convinced that "in the great fight now being fought for the religious destinies of a continent the united power of Islam will rout the forces of Christianity and conquer Africa for Mahomet unless

the Christian Missions organise themselves into an army united by a common policy." He thus states the real issue before him: "It is not the triumph of this church or that church which is at stake in Africa: it is the fate of Christianity which lieth in the balance. Islam conquered Christianity in Asia, in North Africa—is it now to conquer in Central Africa? Is the whole of Africa to fall under the sway of a religion *whose God is an Oriental tyrant without love for fatherhood, which degrades womanhood, and which fanaticises the people which fall under its sway*? It was in face of that problem that the Missions in British East Africa sought so to organise themselves that they might do something to save Africa from the withering blight of Islam." The lines that we have italicised afford a glimpse into the spirit of the faith that moves this canting Christian. We would not presume to vindicate the God of Islam, nor need we explain the position that it assigns to women and the message it has delivered to mankind. It is not our business to track down every pharisee masquerading as the messenger of light, or put down writings as firebrands. What we would like to point out is that writings of such inflammatory character should be reproduced by papers like the *Pioneer* in India without being called to book under the Press Act. We need hardly say what effect such vulgar attacks on Islam may in all likelihood have on the Mussalmans. When we remember the fate that has been meted out to purely religious works like *Ahl-Hadis* of Amritsar and the *Badr* of Qadian, because they had written something of Christianity with the sole object of refuting the false charges brought against Islam, we can not but be astonished to see the latitude that certain class of newspapers in this country are permitted to enjoy. We cannot think of any reasonable ground in view of which the *Pioneer's* latest effort to bring into hatred and contempt an important section of His Majesty's subjects in India should not be dealt with as it deserves.

The Confessions.

We published last week a despatch of the Government of India to the Secretary of State embodying the result of an examination which had been made in consultation with local Governments "of certain important considerations relating to the recording of the confessions of persons accused of criminal charges." The proposals that the Government of India have submitted to Lord Crewe are expressly designed with a view to provide more safeguards in the recording of confessions. They do not recommend any radical modification of the existing procedure by doing away with the recording of confessions altogether, and this decision is based on the consensus of opinion formed of the views of the local Governments and the majority of the Judges of the High Courts and the Chief Courts. The advocates of prohibition, as the Government of India say, are primarily actuated by two expectations, firstly, that it will do away with one of the principle incentives that the police have for ill-treating accused persons, and secondly, that it will compel the police to rely upon evidence and the pursuit of clues in place of the confession of the accused, as a means of securing the conviction of the guilty. The Government of India attach small weight to the second argument, for, in their opinion, "the obtaining of a confession is not the sole, or even the principle, motive which induces incompetent or dishonest police officers to resort to a mixture of coaxing, threatening, worry and ill-usage: their object is rather to induce the accused to give up stolen property or to indicate where some clue may be found, and the opportunities of putting pressure on him with this in view would not exist." Even if this were correct the prohibition would still materially diminish the chances of ill-treatment where no stolen property is to be traced. But the Government of India fail to grasp that the prohibition would act as a deterrent to ill-treatment of every kind: the police would realise the danger of relying on old methods and their investigations would gradually come to be conducted on different and more effective lines. The only plea that can be urged in favour of maintaining the existing procedure is that confessions are sometimes true and in such cases they afford valuable clues even if they are subsequently retracted. Now the novice in crime who, through remorse or fear of the supernatural, wishes to unburden his mind would do say to the police of his own accord, while the hardened criminal would make a statement mainly to escape torture and possibly to throw the police off the scent. In either case there is no likelihood that the ends of justice would be defeated if the existing practice were abolished. Mr. Justice Beaman of the Bombay High Court says in a valuable and candid minute, "every Sessions Judge of experience who knows the native, would upon vigorous self-examination, I think, admit that the average mofussil criminal would confess readily to himself. In fact he confesses literally every day. Every Sessions Judge of experience who knows the mofussil and who knows the native, knows very well Why." He says that with the exception of violent crimes when the criminal is proud or actually proud of what he has done, all other confessions have been directly or indirectly induced by improper influence. Where actual torture is not used, the widespread belief that it is used upon obstinate suspects and the knowledge that it will be used, may induce a number of criminals who would not otherwise confess to do so in anticipation of the methods they dread being employed upon them. This is the utmost that can be said by way of concession to those who believe that all confessions made by prisoners while in police custody and uniformly retracted at the Sessions trial are voluntary. Where the confessions are genuine they are superfluous. They ought to be superfluous in all cases. The safeguards now suggested by the Government of India will not materially affect the existing situation. They are, however, a move in the right direction and may ultimately disappear with the abolition of the practice now in vogue. The real thing is the training of the police in more intelligent methods of work. This can be achieved only by shutting them off from the easy way of getting convictions. A police investigation should be the collection of evidence and not the extraction of confessions.

The Delhi Municipality.

Since the transfer of the seat of Indian Government the affairs of the Delhi Municipality have been growing in importance. The old, settled parochial outlook is being enlarged by an accession of new responsibilities, and new schemes are being broached or formulated which have a large bearing on the welfare of the citizens and will decidedly affect the pocket of the tax-payer. There is little indication as yet whether the people realize adequately the change that is coming over the methods of the Municipal administration and the fast-quickening pace at which it has got to move. They have yet to learn to take active and intelligent interest in civic matters, and till that time the city father may serenely continue to be what he usually is—an undisputed ornament to himself. Honestly speaking, it is difficult to blame an average elected member of the Municipal Committee for doing what he does, or rather—to be more correct—for being occasionally ignorant of, and often indifferent to, what is generally done in his name. He is the creature of an unwholesome tradition. As long as votes are given as a mere matter of personal compliment and the candidate values the possession of a seat in terms of his prospective dignity, things would remain pretty much where they are. Educative influences are already at work and the average voter may before long begin to perceive the real significance of his vote as something quite different from what he regards it at present—an opportunity to discharge a social obligation or lay by a favour. Men having genuine enthusiasm and capacity for municipal work should come to the front and give the people intelligent lead. The people's conceptions of civic duty may at present be vague, but they have enough commonsense and would never fail to respond to the call of all earnest workers. The affairs of the Delhi Municipality are, as we have said, assuming greater importance every day. Questions involving drastic changes and new taxation are bound to arise in increasing number. It is essential that men of proved ability who would truly represent the views of the people should guide the deliberations of the Committee at this juncture. All new sanitary measures and improvement schemes mean new and enhanced expenditure, and only such men can be expected to exercise efficient supervision and safeguard the general interests of the public who, if not experts in municipal finance, are at any rate intelligent and industrious enough to form correct judgment. These remarks have a special bearing in view of the existing financial position of the Municipal Committee. According to the report of the President for the year 1912—13 the receipts from various sources of income were 10·57 lakhs, while the normal expenditure on the payment of establishment and up-keep of Municipal properties was 11¼ lakhs. The Chief Commissioner in reviewing the Municipal Report observes that "it is clear that in order to carry on ordinary Municipal administration and repay loans, without any special expenditure on improvements or large works, a normal deficit of about three-quarters of a lakh has to be faced." In view of this he requested the Deputy Commissioner that immediate orders would be passed to close down all work which could be deferred without actual loss of money and to avoid giving out fresh contracts. He further urged close scrutiny of the accounts with a view of reducing expenditure to a minimum. But in the opinion of the Chief Commissioner the imposition of fresh taxation to meet the deficit had become inevitable, and he proposed an increase in the House Tax. On last Tuesday the question came up for consideration before the Municipal Committee with the remarks that a deficit of about half-a-lakh shall have to be made up even after a careful revision of the Budget estimate and the effecting of all possible economies. Whatever the ultimate decision may be we must say that resort to fresh taxation will be viewed with widespread alarm by the public. The cost of living has risen very high within the last two years, and the people are experiencing considerable difficulties in trying to meet the new situation. The addition of a fresh tax will prove another burden, and it should not be imposed until all other means to make up the deficit have been exhausted. We are curious to know if it is not possible to effect economy in the existing expenditure. The Health Department has grown enormously within the last year or so and we would like to be convinced if it has not over-grown

its needs. There are other departments which require a careful scrutiny. The expenditure on establishment and the upkeep of Municipal properties is very high and efforts should be made to see if there is no waste going on anywhere. Several Municipal Commissioners, referred in the last meeting to excessive generosity in paying for things purchased or work done for the Municipality and there was more than one hint of corruption on the part of the Municipal establishment. These are matters which should be looked into, for corruption is a not infrequent accompaniment of local self-government in all countries. The rapid growth of expenditure in the past two years has been mainly due to the change in the status of the city from the divisional headquarters to the Capital of India, and it would not be unreasonable if the Municipal income is supplemented by necessary grants from Imperial revenues.

The Sale of Meat.

Another important matter that came up for decision before the Municipal Committee related to the final sanction of the Bye-laws for the licensing of premises for the sale of meat and the carriage of meat within the municipal limits of Delhi. These Bye-laws had been framed and approved by the Committee at its special meeting held on the 2nd December, 1913 and were subsequently published for general information. They require in the first place that no person shall expose or keep for sale meat in any premises until such premises have been licensed according to the prescribed form. The conditions attaching to the license are that (1) the licensee will keep the premises structurally fit for the sale of meat, that (2) he will keep the premises in a clean and sanitary condition to the satisfaction of the Committee, that (3) he will comply promptly with all notices issued by the Committee in respect to sanitation, that (4) a copy of this license is always posted up in the licensed premises and that (5) the license may be withdrawn by the Committee if any of the foregoing conditions are broken or for any other reason given in writing. Now, these conditions are very drastic and wholly unnecessary in some respects, even from the point of view of sanitation. Structural fitness for the sale of meat is defined to include "the existence of stone floors, walls well plastered and white washed, suitable drains and at least one ventilator." We do not see why stone floors are insisted upon when it is obvious that meat is never placed on floors and zinc covered boards would meet all requirements. Drains within the shop are altogether unnecessary, for meat is brought in for sale only after it has been properly cleaned and washed elsewhere. Then, again, only ignorance of the conditions in which the actual selling takes place must be responsible for the suggestion regarding "a ventilator." Meat is not sold in dark, insanitary cells away from the public gaze. It is kept exposed in as open a situation as the shop can permit, *i.e.*, near its very door. The ventilation of the place is as good as can be desired, and a "ventilator" beyond satisfying the pedantry of a sanitary enthusiast would be of little practical utility. All that this insistence on stone floors and drains and a ventilator is likely to to achieve is to enhance the rents of butchers' shops, if, indeed, any landlord is found willing enough to carry out "improvements" according to the new-fangled sanitary notions. In fact it was these difficulties which had led the butchers to infer that the conditions had been made deliberately stringent to force them to go to Municipal markets. We are glad the President of the Municipality in his note on the objections received from 310 butchers and the general Moslem public of Delhi makes it abundantly clear that "this allegation is untrue—entirely untrue." The President goes on to say that "the markets have been built in order to provide sanitary premises which meat-sellers can occupy if they cannot make sanitary premises for themselves. If they can obtain private premises which are sanitary—and these rules show what are the requisites for sanitary premises—there is no reason to ask the meat-sellers to take up stalls in the market." This is a clear statement and will serve a useful purpose if any trouble arises on this score in the future. But with all this assurance it is plain that the new Bye-laws would make the butchers' lot in private premises much more difficult, and the consequences of it all will be borne by the meat-eating public. It is further laid down that no license shall be granted unless a fee of Rs. 2 has been paid. This fee is justified on the ground that the inspection of premises and the issue of licenses will entail expenses to the Committee. If we understand aright, the fee is to be levied once for all and is not an annual or a monthly imposition. It would not bring in a large income to the Committee, while it will most certainly furnish a plausible excuse to the butchers to enhance the price of meat. Voting on this question in the Committee was instructive as indeed on several other questions relating to the By-laws. It was decided by 8 votes to 7 that the fee should be levied. All the Mussalman Members with the doubtful exception of Maulvi Abdul Ahad voted against and all the Hindu Members with the notable and welcome exception of R. B. Sultan Singh voted for the motion. Maulvi Abdul Ahad insisted that the fee should be levied, though he generously conceded that it might be reduced to Re. 1. We can not but be amused at this fatuity. The Bye-law that aroused much discussion relates to the hawking of meat. As orginally approved it provided that "meat may be hawked for sale after 2 p.m. by the occupiers of licensed premises or stalls in a Municipal meat market and their authorised servants. Such hawking shall be confined to *Mohallas* in the occupation of Mohamedans; the Municipal Committee may by resolution forbid such hawking in specified streets or areas." Objection was naturally raised that there should be no time limit to the hawking of meat, and congent reasons were advanced. It was urged that several Mussalman *pardanashin* ladies who could not afford to keep servants and invalids got their daily meat supply at their doors in this way, and R. B. Sultan Singh said that he had actually seen this being done on several occassions. We would like to ask the great framers of this restriction on the hawking of meat what purpose it is intended to serve. Is it sanitation? If so, why is it less sanitary to hawk meat *before* 2 P. M. when it is fresh than *after* 2 P. M. when it may be getting bad? Is it a regard for Hindu susceptibilities? If so, when "hawking shall be confined to *Mohallas* in the occupation of Mohamedans"—a needless condition if it is not ambiguous (for there are *Mohallas* in occupation of both communities) and "the Municipal Committee may by resolution forbid such hawking in specified streets or areas," what have Hindu susceptibilities got to do with the matter? The votes on this motion were equally divided, all the Hindus with the exception of R. B. Sultan Singh being on the one side *i.e.*, for the motion and all the Mussalmans against it. The President did not give the casting vote and the matter was left for subsequent decision after an inquiry about independent hawkers (*i. e.*, those who had no shops but sold meat only by hawking) had been made. But we must ask here, why is it necessary for "independent hawkers" to exist before the city fathers permit hawking before 2 P. M? Why should not a shop-keeper have his meat hawked before that hour if for some reason he cannot attend to its sale at his shop or would prefer it for some other reason to be hawked as well as sold at his shop? We are, however, glad to note that M. Bashir-ud-Din Saheb vigorously urged his objections and insisted on an adequte recognition of the butcher's difficulties and the conveniece of the public, and we are surprised to see that Lala Wazir Singh Sabib, considered by some to be an independent Municipali Commissioner, was as vigorous in opposition. We will not surely be asked to believe that he has developed all of a sudden a consuming passion for "sanitary" reform, for he has seldom been known to feel the sting of much graver evils nearer home. The hawkers of *puri-kachauri* and other stuffs not frequently fit for human consumption may be allowed to ply their trade without let or hindrance. But a meat-hawker must be "controlled" to satisfy Lala Wazir Singh's sense of Municipal duty. After such exhibition of party feeling and petty prejudice it would be hopeless to aspire for Hindu-Moslem co-operation even in small local matters, were it not that there are men in both the communities like Lala Sultan Singh Saheb, whose honest and straighforward conduct holds promise of better things. The Bye-law No. 7 is still more stringent as it insists on carrying meat through public streets and places in clean receptacles and covered by a clean cloth in such a manner that the meet shall not be visible to passers-by. These conditions are almost imposible to carry out, and may expose the hawkers to infinite trouble and persecution at the hands of unscrupulous Municipal functionaries and policemen. We have every desire to support Municipal activity whenever it is directed to secure reasonable saintry conditions for the sale of meat. But the conditions imposed by the new Bye-laws are in several cases harsh and impracticable and we trust the Commissioners would not finally pass them in their present form. We appeal to the President who has already secured the good will of the citizens and the butchers by stopping a blundering *locum tenens* from needlessly worrying them both.

Self Consolation.

What though thy hand no wond'rous work hath wrought
Of Art or power, to glorify thy name?
What though the far-resounding voice of Fame
Breathe not the music of thine uttered thought!
If still, within, thine earnest soul hath fought
Gainst Self, and learnt its ministers to tame;
If, still regardless of Man's praise or blame,
The Good, the True, the Beauteous thou hast sought,
Be thou content: each thought, though unconsigned
To word or act, God's piercing eye doth see
Far down the deep recesses of the Mind:
So thy true worth, though unexposed, will be
Still in thy Maker's eye, ordained to find
A deathless record in Eternity!

Nizamat Jang.

The Comrade.

The Press Act.

VI.

In our last article in this series we had pointed out that according to the Calcutta High Court the statement of the grounds of Government's opinion is a mandatory conditon of a valid declaration of forfeiture under section 12 of the Act; that "the repetition of an opinion cannot be its grounds"; that "the specific relation of the elements that the law requires to be present in order for legal consequences to follow" is merely such a "repetition of an opinion"; that the statement of grounds is "an essential part of the Legislature's scheme, for it might help the High Court to perform the duties cast upon it under section 17", and the absence of such a statement would "sensibly add to the High Court's difficulties in discharging the peculiar duties cast on it by the Act"; that "it is intended that the Court should be in as good a position as the Government to judge the merits of any proscribed thing": that "the less particulars are alleged the more difficult it is to say that a publication does not come under section 4"; that as the Act stands "it may be the case that a statement of facts too meagre to give an applicant under section 17 any real assistance would be sufficient to satisfy the requirement of section 12"; and that those appearing for Government in a Press Act case are not averse to arguing that "nothing need be set out at all" in the declaration of forfeiture by way of a statement of grounds.

To these scathing criticisms of the three seniormost Judges of the premier High Court in India—a "competent judicial authority", on the showing of the Executive itself—how did the Executive reply? An effort was concentrated on showing that Mr. S. P. Sinha had given an pledge with reference to a forfeiture under section 12, but had provided in the Act itself in all other cases the so-called safeguard of stating or describing the words, pictures, etc. That, as we have shown, is a very minor point indeed. One can construe Mr. Sinha's speech in 1908 rigidly or otherwise, according to his demands and requirements. It is even possible to exclude the keeper of a printing-press from the supposed benefits of the "safeguard" on the ground that Mr. Sinha spoke only of a man who had *written* and not of one who had *printed* anything objectionable. The fact is that, on the face of it, it is quite as unjust to punish the owner of an offending publication "without allowing the man to know what he is being punished for" as to punish the publisher or printer of an offending publication in this manner. We readily recognise that section 12 is in many cases likely to be applied only to such publications as have been published abroad or secretly in this country, and when Government cannot reach or does not know the printer or publisher thereof. We also recognise that Government would be giving a free circulation to matter which it considers to be of undesirable character if it reproduced it in a Notification in the official *Gazette*. But surely it is not beyond the pale of practicability to amend the law in such a way as to inform the owner of a "book, newspaper, or other document" by private notice in writing, what words, pictures, etc. have induced Government to declare its forfeiture. For instance, when the District Magistrate of Delhi issued a warrant for the seizure of all copies of the Macedonia Pamphlet and of the *Karmayogi* and *Hamdard* in which it was reproduced or translated, he might have informed us why our property was being confiscated. It would have saved us considerable embarrassment and perplexity if we had known which words or pictures were, in the opinion of the Government, likely to produce undesirable results. As it was, we had to rack our brains to discover wherein we had offended, for we never learnt what classes of his Majesty's subjects in British India were likely to be brought into hatred or contempt before the Advocate-General, on being called upon to explain, explained that they were—Greeks! On being asked subsequently whether there were any Greek subjects of His Majesty in India, he hastily modified the answer and said that the class likely to be brought into hatred or contempt were Christians and Europeans. "Still," as Sir Lawrence Jenkins writes in his judgment, "the answer in the original form is not without its significance as to the way it was afterwards modified." One need not be plainer than this. All we desire to remove the "significance" of all modified answers implying Government to notify what classes are likely to be affected by the two diverse sentiments apprehended whether it is hatred or contempt. All this can appear in the public Notification without the slightest harm, and the person whose property is confiscated should be privately informed in writing on what [illegible] etc., specifically Government has based its order of forfeiture. This, as we have repeatedly stated, Government does not do at present even in orders of forfeiture under sections 4, 6, 9 and 11, but this is essential in all cases, and not a word has yet been said by any official which may even remotely suggest that this is impracticable or for any reason undesirable.

But a statement of grounds which is a mandatory condition at present of forfeitures under section 12 only should be made a mandatory condition of *all* forfeitures under the Act, and it is not an approximation of section 12 to sections 4, 6, 9 and 11 that is necessary, but, on the contrary an approximation of those sections to section 12. This we hope the Hon. Mr. Surendranath Bannerjea will note, and the Press Act Amendment Bill which he is now drafting should embody this important reform of the existing law.

Here we may add that although in the majority of cases section 12 is likely to be applied to a few copies of publications sent *gratis* to a person by some unknown publisher either abroad or in India which would be of trivial value, there is nothing to prevent its application to thousands of copies of a book published abroad and worth a good deal of money which a bookseller in India may import in all good faith in the ordinary course of his business. There are a number of well-known books to which the Press Act can be far more resonably applied than to our innocuous Macedonia Pamphlet, and a bookseller is not likely to order them from abroad so long as this Sword of Damocles hangs over his head, no matter how great the demand. In fact the extent of the demand would in itself be an indication of the risk involved in the enterprise. Does Government rightly contemplate such a state of affairs with complacence? All this is, of course, due to the uncertainty of the law on account of the "all-comprehensive" nature of section 4 (*1*).

In this connection, however, we would quote a very just observation of the Hon. Mr. Paudit. In the course of his speech in support of Mr. Bannerjea's resolution, although he was a keen critic of some observations of the Hon. Mover, he said:

> Every right of property deserves to be respected. Whether it is only a few copies of books worth a hundred rupees or so or whether it is the security for Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 10,000, or the press itself of considerable value, every person who owns property is entitled to have the grounds definitely stated to him because the provisions of this Act partake of the nature of a penal enactment. In the simplest criminal cases the accused is entitled to be informed as to what the charge is against him, and similarly in a case like this I venture to think that justice requires that the person against whom an order of forfeiture is passed ought to be informed as to what it is that is taken exception to . . . . . It should be quite possible and quite easy for it (a Local Government) to give those extracts upon which the opinion is based which renders the publication liable to forfeiture.

As regards the ruling of the Calcutta High Court in our case in connection with the statement of grounds, namely that it is a mandatory condition of a valid declaration of forfeiture, we are glad to note that neither the Hon. the Advocate-General nor the Hon. the Home Member insisted on the contention that the words in section 12 were merely *directory*. And yet the learned Advocate-General had only four months previously argued at great length before the Hon. Judges of the Calcutta High Court that the statement of grounds was not a mandatory condition, and had with true forensic skill ignored the fact that if this was not mandatory, it was no more mandatory to give a notice of forefeiture in writing to the keeper of a printing-press or a publisher under sections 4, 6, 9 and 11, or to state or even describle the words, signs or visible representations which, in the Government's opinion, were of the nature described in section 4 sub-section (*1*). Had this been the law, the Press Act would have been reduced to an even greater farce than it is at present. An intimation to the offending keeper of a printing-press or publisher to the effect that his security had been forefeited, or even a warrant given to the police to seize the offending printing-press without any further ceremony, would in that case have been enough, for the rest could have safely been neglected at pleasure as "directory" and therefore superfluous. This the Supreme Executive Government of India has evidently come to recognise as an untenable position; but if we turn to their attitude as regards the other conclusions drawn in the judgments of the Calcutta Special Bench, we shall see that this provides no consolation for those who may be adversely affected.

Having tacitly accepted the ruling of the Calcutta High Court that the statement of grounds is a mandatory condition, the Executive Government has refused to accept the ruling of that Court as to what constitutes a proper statement of grounds. The Hon. the Advocate-General who generally "submits" when appearing before the Hon. the Judges of the Calcutta High Court, evidently "lays down the law" when he stands up in the Legislative Council behind the Hon. Members of the Executive Council. In the course of his speech in the debate on the 9th January he said with reference to this matter:

> Section 4 contains six clauses which prescribe the various grounds on which a publication may be forfeited. These clauses consist of several sub-heads, and if the section is carefully read and analysed it will be seen that there are some thirty *grounds* on which a publication by means of its criminal and mischievous tendencies may be forfeited. Now the Government in exercising their power of forfeiture under section 12, has *always notified the particular ground in respect of which the matter comes within the section.* In Notification of forfeiture of a particular pamphlet or paper *it is invariably stated in respect of which particular ground of these thirty in the opinion of the Local Government the document offends.*

The Hon. the Advocate-General goes further and declares that the Hon. Judges should have merely said that the forfeiture in the particular instance which was submitted to the Court was valid in law, and all the rest in the judgment amounts to mere *obiter dicta*. Evidently the Hon. Dr. Kenrick is not inclined to

have much respect for what he calls the *obiter dicta* of the Chief Justice, and with the assurance born of the occupancy of a seat behind the Executive in the Legislature he brushes aside the whole of that famous judgment.

Turning to the Hon. the Home Member, we find that the same treatment is accorded by him also to the judgment of the Calcutta High Court. He said:

> I now pass to the statement that the obligation of the Government in issuing the Notification under section 12 of stating the grounds for its opinion had not been discharged. The learned Chief Justice undoubtedly said that the Court had felt some embarassment from the absence of these stated grounds in the Notification. But it has *always been understood by Local Governments that*, when ordering the forfeiture of a document under section 12, *it was sufficient for the Notification to specify which of the six clauses in section 4 and the sub-clauses attached to those sections* (sic) *were held to be applicable to the particular*.

Now is there in these deliberate expressions of opinion even a syllable to show that either of the two speakers had ever heard of the unanimous judgment of the three seniormost Judges of the premier High Court of India to the effect that what they still declare to be *grounds* of the Governments opinion are *not* "grounds" in the sense required by the law, whatever the Local Governments may or may not have always understood, and that they do not constitute *facts*, but are "merely a citation of the words of a section which are invoked," or, in other words, "the specific relation of the elements that the "law requires to be present in order for legal consequences to "follow." The law, even as it stands, requires the Government before it declares a forfeiture to state not only *which* of the forty-two, or thirty—according to the Advocate-General—offences contained in "the six clauses in section 4 and the sub-clauses attached to those sections" has been committed, but also *why* it thinks so. When a Local Government issues an *order* of forfeiture, it does so because in its *opinion* at least one of the forty-two offences mentioned in section 4 (*1*), which it specifies, has been committed. This *opinion*, if it is to have any value, must be based on some *grounds*. Unless these *grounds* are stated the reference of the order of the executive to the judiciary can have no reality, and the High Court can perform no function. There may be reasons why a certain publication of an offensive character which it would be quite *legal* to proscribe should or should not be proscribed by the Executive at a particular time. That is a matter not of law but of statesmanship. The High Court does not lay any claim to pronounce on "the wisdom or unwisdom of executive action." But if it is called upon to pronounce on the *legality* or *illegality* of executive action which the Legislature has authorised it to do, then it must have before it not only the *order* of the executive, and its *opinion* that one of a number of offences described in the various clauses and sub-clauses of section 4 (*1*) has been committed, as the basis of that *order*, but also the *grounds* that are the basis of the Government's *opinion*. Take a parallel case. If an ordinary citizen commits an offence for which the Indian Penal Code provides a punishment, would it be sufficient for Government to *order* his arrest and make a statement declaring that in its *opinion* the offence is one under the section which it specifies, and having done so, leave it to him to go to a law Court and satisfy the Judges that he has not committed that offence? Would not the Government be required by the Court to state what *grounds* it has for its *opinion* that that particular offence has been committed by the accused, and why the *order* of arrest should not be cancelled and the accused discharged and set at liberty? It is true that the burden of proof has in the Press Act been curiously enough put on the person adversely affected by the order of the Government and the benefit of doubt is to be given to Government. But that is all the more reason why Government should place the person adversely affected by its order, and the Court which entertains his application, in possession of the *grounds* on which it has based its opinion. Surely it is absurd to think that in the parallel case which we have suggested the statement that an offence mentioned somewhere in the Penal Code has been committed by the accused is the *opinion* of Government while the specification of the section of that Code applicable to the particular case is the *ground* for that opinion. Yet that is exactly what the learned Advocate-General and the Hon. the Home Member have declared after four months' deliberation over the judgments of the Hon. Sir Lawrence Jenkins and the Hon. Sir Harry Stephen.

In view of the declarations of Dr. Kenrick and Sir Reginald Craddock, the Hon. Mr. Vijayraghavachariar was, we believe, fully justified in saying in the course of the Council debate that the position taken up by Government, "if it means anything clearly, "practically amounts to saying 'We do not care what the High "Court has said and we will do as we please.' . . . . What "the Government say amounts to this: 'The High Court may say "and do what they like, but we will pass our own orders as we "have been hitherto doing under the Act.'" Every reasonable man would agree with this speaker's observation that "the Act "has been construed and declared to have a particular meaning "by the High Court, and I believe even the Executive Government "is bound to abide by that declaration and interpretation—unless "and until it amends the Act itself." If the Government is not willing to amend the Act with a view to validate for the future its practice in the past, and yet refuses to abide by the interpretation of the existing law by the judiciary, it will most assuredly be guilty of bringing into contempt the administration of justice in a part of British India, unless it thereby brings its own self into contempt.

That may be its own concern, but what we have to see is that the only Court to which a very limited jurisdiction is permitted in the Act should be able to perform the duties cast on it under section 17, and the person adversely affected by an order of the executive could go up to the judiciary to contest the legality of executive action with some hope of a fair trial. According to the Hon. the Chief Justice of Calcutta, "it is intended that the Court should be "in as good a position as the Government to judge the merits of any "proscribed thing", and unless this is done the reference to the judiciary would have no reality at all. In the words of Mr. Justice Woodroffe, "the less particulars are alleged the more difficult it is to say that a "publication does not come under section 4;" so it follows that to be fair to a person adversely affected by its order Government should give as full a statement of the grounds of its opinion as possible. On the other hand, in the opinion of Sir Harry Stephen, "it may be the "case that a statement of facts too meagre to give an applicant under "section 17 any real assistance would be sufficient to satisfy the "requirement of section 12;" and we have seen that those appearing for Government in a Press Act case are not averse to arguing that "nothing need be set out at all." Under the circumstances it is not desirable that the Press Act, if it is still to remain as a stain on the statute-book, should be so amended that the statement of grounds should be obligatory on Government in *all* cases of forefeiture; that it should be as full as possible; and that the benefit of doubt should be given not to the Government but to the person adversely affected by an executive order. In fact, the burden of proof should be on the Government, for the onus of proving a negative is even in ordinary cases an unfair burden with which to saddle the individual in contesting a case with the State.

It may, however, be stated that the Hon. the Home Member did make some attempt to convince the Council that nothing could be done to remove these defects of the Act. He said:

> But although the Chief Justice complained of embarrassment, neither he nor the Judges who sat with him indicated precisely what kind of facts or what information would be held to comply with the letter of the section.

Now, in the first place, it is not the duty of the judiciary to declare beforehand on what grounds a forfeiture for any offence under the Press Act must be based for it to be upheld by the judiciary. In the course of the hearing of our appeal the Hon. the Advocate-General, on being pressed by the Hon. Sir Harry Stephens, admitted that the Notification was "not satisfactory," that it was "loosely worded" and that it "could not have been drawn up by a lawyer." This is a pretty confession, indeed, of the ways of the Executive when out on a raid on people's property armed with "loosely worded" Notifications which "could not have been drawn up by a lawyer." The learned Advocate-General was willing enough to have the Notification amended, but the question which the Hon. the Chief Justice put to him was unanswerable, and we make a present of it to the Executive Government. "Do you want *us*," asked Sir Lawrence Jenkins, "to order the Executive to amend its order?" What more does the Hon. the Home Member want? Does he, the custodian of the power and prestige of the all-wise and all-powerful Executive, want the much-maligned Judiciary to suggest on what grounds the Executive should base its opinions of the character of publications?

In the next place, even if the Judiciary was inclined to advise the Executive on the subject, it *could* not do so for the obvious reason that it is, in the words of the Chief Justice's judgment, "no more informed than the man in the street." In the course of the hearing the Chief Justice had clearly intimated that "we do not know the "facts: only the Government has the facts." Obviously, therefore, only the Government could declare on what facts its opinion was based. Where the work of the Executive ends the work of the Judiciary begins. Having decided what to disclose as the basis of its opinion and what to keep secret, the Executive must retire, and must leave it to the Judiciary to pronounce, not upon the wisdom, but upon the *legality* of the order of forfeiture, in the light of the facts disclosed. "We can do nothing, said the Chief Justice, "except in the eye of the public. Whatever our conviction "may be of the character of the Government, we cannot form any "opinion apart from the facts." If the Executive was convinced that it would be called upon to declare the forfeiture of publications, securities and printing-presses on information that could not be disclosed in a law Court, that it would be moved by impressions and personal experiences to which no expression could be given in a law Court, and that its action would be based on considerations forbidden to law Courts, then its obvious duty was to ask the Legislature for powers to declare such forfeitures without having to submit its orders even to a subsequent judicial scrutiny. Regulation III of 1818, as we know, is still extant, and only in 1878 the Vernacular Press Act had freed similar executive action from all judicial shackles. What was it, then, that prevented our progressive executive in 1908 from progressing backwards to 1818, or applying pressure consequently to a far more developed profession, which now included in its ranks some of the ablest and best educated men in the country, the law applied in 1878 only for a few years to far less informed and

less developed vernacular journals only? In a word, it was a wholesome fear of public opinion in India, and still more so of public opinion in England. Well, it is to the same authority that we appeal to-day. If it could not tolerate such a retrogression openly, it should tolerate still less the same retrogression under false pretences. And is there the least doubt in the mind of any reasonable person that the *sole* safeguard under the Press Act, namely a reference to the judiciary, is a sham and a simulacrum and a piece of manifest, if unintended, hypocrisy?

The Moslem University.

Among the things that really make a searching test of the mental virility and strength of purpose of a people, the project embodying the desire of the Mussalmans to have a University of their own is one. Our chief concern at present is not to examine the ideals underlying the project, which have moved the Moslem community for upwards of a generation and sum up its finest hopes about the future. Aims and ends have been discussed threadbare in the course of the last thirty years, and practical unanimity had been reached about them even before the organised effort about ways and means came to be launched in 1911 under the guidance of H. H. the Aga Khan. The prompt and enthusiastic response to appeals for the Moslem University Fund furnished a measure of the popularity that the ideals had achieved with the mass of the community. When it became apparent after the first appeal was made for the collection of funds that the spirit behind the movement was earnest and resolute and public response ungrudging, the project of the early seventies, which had originated in the brain of the late Sir Syed Ahmed and to which during the aspirations of his life-time and of those who had hoped and striven with him, emerged from the dreamland and began to be hammered into shape to suit the exigencies of the day. The framing of a suitable constitution for the Moslem University was not an easy task. But it was tackled with great thought and care and with the united labours of the ablest and most experienced Mussalmans of the country. No time was wasted in unnecessary delays. The Moslem University Constitution Committee did its work in a businesslike way, and the draft Constitution that it finally drew up, though not ideally perfect in all respects, was, nevertheless, the fruit of a monumental task broadly conceived and carefully executed on lines generally approved by the Moslem community. But before the Constitution Committee had finished its labours, it was borne in upon its intelligence in a dramatic manner that it had left certain "exigencies" on account which if not properly met might wreck the whole University scheme and condemn the Mussalmans to wild and bitter dreaming for another generation. These "exigencies" were set forth in a remarkable letter which was received all of a sudden by the President of the Constitution Committee from the Head of the Education Department of the Government of India. This amazing communication called the attention of the members of the Constitution Committee for the first time to certain "final decisions" beyond which they were warned not to go. For the members nothing could provide a more disillusioning experience than this new situation. They had entered on their task with strong faith in their ideals and full confidence in the sympathetic attitude of the Government. They had consulted the wishes of the Member for Education at every step and had tried to model their scheme in the spirit of their own ideals and in the light of all the reasonable suggestions they had received from their friends and advisers. And now, that they had matured their scheme and were almost at the end of their labours and imagined the fruit to be well within their grasp, came the sudden intimation that they would have to recast their plans and radically change their whole design to suit official pleasure. It was a rude awakening to the Mussalmans in general, for they had fondly imagined that purely educational schemes based on the needs and promoted by the united wishes of a whole community would be immune from arbitrary official caprice. But they learnt at the right psychological moment in their educational history that they were mistaken.

What "the final decisions" of the Secretary of State communicated by Sir Harcourt Butler have achieved needs no telling. At the time they were first made public the whole community was filled with dismay. It seemed as if the cup of its hope, which had taken years of devoted service and sacrifice to fill, was suddenly dashed to the ground. The disappointment was naturally as bitter as the enthusiasm had been keen, and it sank deep into the hearts of the people. Only those could measure the shock with accuracy who had known exactly what the ideal of a Moslem University had meant to the Mussalmans. It had been their one infatuation, their supreme passion for years, the master-purpose that had sustained and inspired them in their every action. They had dreamed and toiled for it in utter disregard of everything else, and had been waiting in glorious confidence to see it grow into bodily shape as the crown of their endeavour. And just when the goal swam into their ken and they were hurrying to reach it with sure and joyous strides, "the final decisions" were flung across their path like some dark and sinister edict of fate. The result has been no better than what it could have been were these "decisions" a mere caprice of a despot. The fervour, the drive and purpose that the University scheme had evoked have been turned into doubts and misgivings. The scheme itself has not been definitely abandoned—we hope it never will. But the energy needed for its practical realisation is being just now wasted in pathetic attempts to devise some means for propitiating the Fates that preside over its destinies. The wave of genuine enthusiasm evoked by the movement would have been an asset of incalculable value in the growth of Moslem education. The wave, however, has almost spent itself against the formidable rocks that have suddenly risen across its path. The effect of reaction has been felt all along the line. The bitter disappointment of the University muddle has had the most depressing effect on the Moslem educational effort as a whole. The workers everywhere have been forced to pause and wonder in blank surprise what sort of a coping-stone they would be ultimately allowed for the edifice, or whether they would have to shift as best they can without a coping-stone at all. It is worth remembering that the announcement of "the final decisions" led directly to the immediate stopping of all further contributions to the funds for the proposed University. If adequate funds had not already been collected the financial aspect of the question would alone have proved a great handicap. As it is, the University funds have been deprived of a sum, at least equal to half the amount already subscribed, which could have been easily collected but for the general pessimism that has settled over the community. Those who are tempted to accuse the community of lack of sustained zeal and purpose, would do well to bear in mind that no people in the world can be induced to waste their hard-earned substance in pursuit of shadows or on mere caricatures of their blasted hopes. If the Mussalmans had been quietly told at the start that they would not be allowed to have the sort of University they were hoping for, there would have been deep disappointment indeed, but they would have been spared the anguish of wasted efforts and the sense of baulked desires. The decisions formed and announced almost at the eleventh hour have changed the whole aspect of the situation. Not only the Mussalmans have failed to create the University for which they had been striving with a singleness of purpose rare in the recent history of India, but their whole educational effort has also received a serious moral check. The leading spirits that were actively helping forward the movement have been everywhere depressed. The funds of the University have been deprived of almost all further help, at any rate, till the scheme is finally disposed of one way or the other. Even the Aligarh College has suffered materially in this period of general bitterness and dismay. All these results are the direct outcome of the "final decisions" which the Secretary of State had been pleased to impose on the Moslem University. It is not very difficult after this to realize why the Mussalmans of India have been forced to cogitate inwardly as they had never done before. During the past two years the world has witnessed a variety of events that have deeply stirred Moslem feelings. The most prominent among these have been the wars of aggression against Moslem States and the terrible sufferings to which they gave rise. The excitement amongst the Mussalmans of India was due chiefly to their deep grief for the distress and misfortunes of their co-religionists abroad, and it was so general and great that their own grievances and disappointments were for the time being forgotten. But it should be worth while pointing out that the real thing that has festered in the Moslem mind is the treatment meted out to their deep-cherished scheme for the Moslem University. If anything could really affect their attitude it is this all-important question. Let those who wander far and wide in quest of "reasons" for a supposed change of attitude amongst the Mussalmans ponder this carefully.

Now, what are these "decisions" which the Government calls final and which would shatter Moslem hopes altogether if there is to be no limit to their finality. Briefly, they are that the proposed Moslem University shall have no powers to affiliate schools and college outside Aligarh, that it shall have as its Chancellor, not the Viceroy, but the Governor-General in Council and that it shall be styled, not "The Moslem University", but "The Aligarh University." As regards the last we would not say anything except that only those who have little sense of the value of sentiment would cry out: "What is there in name." The questions of Chancellorship and of affiliation are of vital importance. The framers of the Moslem University Constitution vested large powers in the Chancellor solely on the assumption that the office would be held by the Viceroy in his ex-officio capacity. The substitution of the Governor-General in Council would practically mean that the powers of the Chancellor would be exercised by the Education Department of the Government of India. This would constitute a grave departure, for it would result in bringing the administration of the vital affairs of the University directly under the control of officials with their fixed standards and ideas and pre-conceptions formed in a wholly different educational atmosphere. The proposed Moslem University would be nothing if not a novel experiment on new educational lines. The lines are to be laid down by the Moslem Community and nobody else. But if it is to sink into the commonplace pattern and become another copy of the State Universities, it had better be not created at all. Yet this is exactly to what the control by a State Department would finally and inevitably tend. If the Government of India or the Secretary of State cannot eventually agree with the Mussalmans on this point, the only course open to the latter is either to have an unofficial Chancellor or to revise the powers reserved for the Chancellor, as it would otherwise be impossible to guarantee

reasonable freedom for the success of the University experiment on lines laid down by the Mussalmans themselves.

The question of affiliation is not less important than that of the Chancellor. It is an integral part of the scheme matured by the Mussalmans mainly because it lies at the root of the whole question of Moslem education. Moslem disappointment is keenest on this point, and as far as present indications go the community is in no mood to change its attitude in the matter. We need not argue Why. We have said enough on the subject, and those who care to know Moslem standpoint would not fail to do so for want of adequate material for knowledge. For the present we are only concerned with seeing if it is at all necessary or desirable for the Government to persevere in its existing attitude. The question of efficient control of affiliated institutions and the supervision of teaching would not prove an insuperable barrier. The State Universities somehow contrive to exercise efficient control and supervision, if we are to believe the best official testimony; and why it should be an impossible task for the Moslem University we fail to see. Let the standards be as high as possible, the rules as stringent as you please. The University would have to provide itself with a competent inspecting staff, and for its own reputation and convenience as well as for the sake of Moslem education generally, it would weigh every case on its merits and exercise the utmost care before it decides to grant affiliation. What effect a separate inspecting staff and examinations simultaneously conducted at different centres can have on the teaching spirit and tone of the college or colleges at Aligarh it is difficult to conceive. Aligarh will retain its own atmosphere and its own traditions, and by the facilities for higher studies and research that it would provide on a generous scale it would attract the most promising boys for post-graduate study at the seat of the University. It would at the same time transmit its spirit and energy through innumerable channels and co-ordinate Moslem educational effort throughout the country. In view of these considerations we fail to see why the Government should insist on depriving the Moslem University of the powers of affiliation.

Rumours of compromise on this question have long been in the air, and we are told the Government would be willing to grant the University the power of affiliating high schools. This would be an important concession, though it is not clear to us why permission should be withheld in the case of a few Moslem colleges which exist or are likely to come into being in the near future. In fact the arguments that might be urged against the affiliation of schools lose all their validity and force when applied to affiliation of colleges. The only consideration that should weigh with all reasonable men is that the Moslem University should, so to speak, find itself, before it can be fit to exercise efficient control and supervision outside its locality. The best safeguard in this case would be to grant the powers of affiliation to the University with the stipulation that they should be exercised, say, five or six years after it comes into being. We trust the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler will reconsider the whole matter in the light of the observations we have made and let the Mussalmans get out of a state of suspended animation. Their whole educational programme is hanging on the fate of the Moslem University. The Moslem University Foundation Committee had decided at its last meeting to appoint a deputation of representative Mussalmans from every province to submit the views of the community to the Government and ascertain the latter's wishes in regard to the points requiring settlement. The deputation has not been given a blank cheque, but it would be composed of some of the best and most trusted men in the community and its united and considered views should carry weight with that Government as they do with its own people. We hope that the necessary steps will soon be taken to carry out the resolutions of the Moslem University Foundation Committe, and an endeavour will be made to rescue the Univer-sity project from the *impasse* into which it has fallen. No time should be lost. The delay that has already occurred has wrought incalculable harm to the best interests of the community.

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Crusade Against Islam Planned.

THE rapid growth of Islam is causing a great alarm among the great leaders of the Christian World these days. Well-constructed plans and elaborate schemes are being made in Europe and America to thwart this progress. At a special committee of the World's Sunday School Convention, appointed this week in New York, it was decided that an attempt should be made to conquer Mohamedanism by educating children under Christian guidance. The modern crusade will be conducted not by the sword, but by the primer and the blackboard. Sensational reports are being published in the American and European newspapers, and a great enthusiasm is shown by the people. The furious storm is coming with great threats, and if we, True Believers, fail to hold our positions, destruction is sure and certain. The enemy has got to be faced and a fierce battle has to be fought. It's up to you, brother Moslems, to realize the gravity of the situation.

Here is the exact copy of the plan your enemy has worked out to carry on the warfare against your faith. Read it over and again, and ask yourself what you should do to avert the danger:

A modern crusade against Mohamedanism more sweeping than the crusades of the Middle Ages may be the result of plans elaborated this week by the Special Committee of the World's Sunday School Association in New York.

Alarmed by the rapid progress of Mohamedanism which is far outstripping Christianity in Africa and some parts of Asia, the continuation Committee on Mohamedan lands of the World's Sunday School Convention held at Zurich last summer has undertaken to make a religious and social survey of the Moslem World. The survey will be conducted along scientific lines by special investigators, and the findings will be reported at the World's Sunday School Convention to be held in Tokyo in 1916. The results given in the report will be placed at the disposal of all the missionary boards as the basis for a concerted campaign against Islam.

Missionary leaders of world-fame will make a tour of thirteen cities from February 2 to 11, holding conferences and public meetings to lay all the details of the plans before the denominations.

Bishop Joseph C. Hartzell, Dr. S. M. Zwemer of Egypt, and Dr. E. F. Frease of North Africa are members of the Continuation Committee. Mr. H. J. Heinz, Mr. E. K. Warrens and Mr. M. Lawrence, as officers of the World's Sunday School Association, will assist in directing the survey. A general secretary for the Committee will be appointed with headquarters in Cairo, and it is hoped that special secretaries will be appointed for Egypt, Turkey and Albania.

To Work Through Childhood.

To capture the Mohamedan world by capturing the childhood is the ultimate project for which the survey will be a preparation. Since it is believed that illeteracy and ignorance are the chief bulwark of Mohamedanism, special study will be devoted to ways and means of introducing modern educational methods under Christian direction in Moslem countries. The modern crusade will be conducted not by the sword, but by the primer and the blackboard.

The survey experts will co-operate on inter-denominational lines with representatives of different missionary boards in Moslem lands and with the Government officials in arriving at the best types of childhood literature, picture tracts and simple textbooks, suitable locations and buildings and the most effective methods of teaching. The results from time to time will be published and placed at the disposal of all the missionary forces and public authorities, pending the final report in 1916.

"Mohamedanism is having a larger success than the Christian religion especially in Africa," said Bishop Hartzell, chairman of the Committee, in discussing the prospective survey. "One eighth of the world's population is Moslem. The proportion is increasing yearly. To-day nearly all the sacred places named in the Bible are under Mohamedan rule.

Islam Outstripping Christianity.

"In Africa Islam is leaving Christianity far behind in the race. Mohamedanism is absolutely dominant in the Persian Empire. Many more native Indians are becoming Mohamedans every year than Christians.

"There are eighty million Moslem children. The vast majority of them are stunted in mind and body as a result of ignorance, superstitious practices, early marriage and licensed immorality which are incident to the Mohamedan religion wherever it has prevailed. Infant mortality is enormous, due largely to the prevalence of sex diseases. In Algeria it is said to be 60 per cent., in Sierra Leone 50 per cent., in Egypt 75 per cent., in Morrocco over 75 per cent.

"In Egypt during the year 1911, 74,000 children were born. In that same year 22,000 or nearly one-third died at less than twelve years of age. It is estimated that in Persia only one child out of ten reaches the age of 20.

"Only the best modern education, by elevating physical, intellectual and moral standards can change these conditions. No immediate results can be looked for. We cannot be too conservative in forecasting the outcome of the present survey. Illeteracy, ignorance and fanaticism are to be fought down and this will take many years.

"Statistics of illeteracy in all Moslem lands are alarming. Careful investigation shows that from 75 per cent. to 95 per cent. of the Mohamedans in Asia and Africa are unable to read and write."

Univ. of Washington
Seattle, U. S. A.

Saiyed M. Mahmood.

21st February.

'Seed Capsules of Thought.'

Under the auspices of the Bombay Students Brotherhood the Hon. Mr. Justice Forman delivered a few days ago a lecture on 'Seed Capsules of Thought' in the Wilson College Hall, Chowpatty, Bombay.

Commencing his discourse, Mr. Beaman said he did not intend to preach a sermon or deliver a college lecture to enable them to get so many marks in their next examination paper or better evade the wiles of the devil; but he wanted to talk to them in the friendliest spirit for half-an-hour or so of anything which came uppermost in his own mind while he was thinking over what they should talk about. For after all there was only the thing (although its complexities and wide ramifications were almost inexhaustible) that was worth talking or thinking about, and that was—Life and how to make the most of it. He then proceeded to deal with the philosophy of life in its various phases.

'Earnestness,' he said 'is one of the dominant notes of the day. Almost every one I have listened to, addressing you from this platform has been very earnest and has exhorted you to be very earnest. Usually the exhorter was, let us say without offence, middle-aged; but you are young and I wish your teachers and preachers would not insist so much upon the need of this earnestness. Is the round world about you very earnest? Not at all, Nature is full of humours, rude jests, earthquakes, storms, avalanches, alternating with smiling almost passionless moods of quiet happiness, and again riotous exhilaration as when a fresh wind is blowing over a laughing sea, and kissing every dancing wave. People who are always in earnest usually have little imagination and no humour. Earnestness without humour is like lamb without mint sauce and young men really have no business to be earnest: they should be too full of the joy of life for life's sake and the desire to live out every hour of it in its fullest intensity. If all the world were filled with earnest folk only, we should indeed be a dull and scentless flower on the top stalk of evolution.

No Need for Seriousness.

It is a dreadful thing to have a serious purpose too young, to heedly devote yourselves while still in the class-rooms to some High sounding mission. I mean of course, any serious purpose outside the most serious and at that time important of all the development of your own faculties to the utmost pitch of receptivity and powers of assimilating all the healthy and normal life with which you come in contact and also of giving out again enriched by your own personalities all the best of life you have taken in. What are we to say of those good attenuated souls, who profess to have devoted themselves to the cause of humanity? Frequently indeed while under the influence of this high-sounding but rather nebulous notion they may be very nice and kind to humanity but extremely disagreeable devastating fellows in the family circle. Let me remind you in this connection of Ibsen's 'Brandt.' It is not in the least incompatiable with expressing the best within you to open yourselves in youth to all the glory and the gladness and the laughter of the world as naturally as the sunflower turns to the sun. Benvenuto Cellini was perhaps the greatest master of his own craft yet observe how high the sap of life rose in him, how full his veins were of its richest most exuberant wine.

Life needs to be affirmed not denied, and the ascetic idea with its teaching of renunciation and a pallid selflessness is the negation all round life. Altruism in concept is an absurdity. If everyone were purely altruistic the word would have no meaning and life, as we know it, would have no meaning either. But every reality if recognized at all, must be recognised in universals, and a universal altruism is a contradiction in terms. The notion of altruism is only intelligible because the majority of men are not altruistic and those who are, are only partially so. The virtue of altruism, like a chalk mark on a blackboard, is thrown into relief by the mass of non-altruism and, it thus becomes clear that in proportion to its relative exiguity is it to be applauded and admired. The greater its extension the more rapidly it approaches annihilation.

Phrase without Meaning.

'And I should like to remark that while a great many of us are very fond of talking about loving humanity, although that sentiment is prevalent in a great many slightly overwrought societies where the freest play is given to all amiable emotion, it is a phrase without a meaning. Love is a very easy thing to profess but a thing not so easy to feel. You can promise conduct but you really cannot promise emotions. Thus you can promise to love a woman from the age of 21 to the end of your natural life, and if you are a man of your word that means that you will promise to act towards her as those you loved her. But you might as well promise not to have a toothache in the next twenty years (provided you have any teeth of course) as that you will not cease to love her during an equal period. But if it is so difficult to command love even in the closest and most intimate personal relations, it is merely absurd to talk of loving millions and millions of human beings whom you have never seen and never will see. If you mean that you are in love with the abstract notion of humanity, all that I can say is that having tried as an honest man very hard to make out for myself what this means, I have been forced to the conclusion that it means nothing.

'The plain truth is, no one ever has loved humanity and no one ever will; and the 'great cause of humanity,' though it is sometimes a convenient and compendious expression for a group of commendable purposes, is just nonsense. For this—if for no other reason—I am speaking of course of what we as human beings are capable of knowing and experiencing not of what may or may not be under other conditions of which we have not, and as men never will have any knowledge—this reason then that human life is so ordered that radically like all else in the organic world man depends for his very existence upon conflict. The struggle for existence, to use a hackneyed phrase from the vocabulary of a happily moribund evolutionism, implies this much at least, that practically everything which religion calls evil is inseparable from organic life.

Democracy and Socialism.

Proceeding, the lecturer said :—'In these sentences very colloquially worded I have been hinting at rather profound things, sowing I hope seed capsules of thought which may bear fruit in some of your minds later. There is hardly a topic of the many I have just touched upon which I could not have spoken to you for several hours at a stretch, if I had wished to exhaust it or really lecture you. But that is exactly what I don't want to do. My idea has been to take your various knowledge boxes and give them a good shake up so as to set the contents in motion, set you thinking again for yourselves about so much that I fancy most of you are rather apt to takefor granted. Take such a word, for example, as democracy and what does it mean? We all placidly resign ourselves to the growing power of democracy, but does anyone pause to reflect what a perfected democracy would be? Just as a single man may impose laws on himself, which are very good laws as long as he chooses to obey them, but no longer, so now we are invited to witness the spectacle of a people imposing laws on itself. This means one of two things, that no one ever would obey the laws, or that the laws will be enforced by majorities. That is to say 100 persons will bludgeon 99 persons into obeying them. It is quite possible that the 99 may comprise all the wealth, talent, intellect, ability of the total 199, but still they must obey, for this is democracy. Could you imagine any worse, more intolerable tyranny in the world? Happily it always breaks down long before it reaches perfection and begins to breed all sorts of inferior bureaucracies or plutocracies or other 'cracies.' But the only 'cracy' that is etymologically and practically sound is aristocracy. Rule by the best. You young gentlemen, of India, historically and constitutionally the most aristocratic country in the world, would do well to think out seriously each for himself the full content of those words now glibly banded from lip to lip, democracy and socialism.

Wisdom of Caste System.

The great cause of Negro emancipation anti-slavery with which England was athrob and America worked to such a white heat of zeal all through the middle of the 19th century produced mighty results. Millions of lives were sacrificed, hundreds of millions of money spent and a very ancient and respectable institution was overthrown. It may be doubted whether the Negroes of America are really much better off as free men than the majority of them used to be as slaves; it cannot seriously be doubted but that the great white people who wrought so strenuously and fiercely to set the negro free have suffered to grow up in their midst, in every one of their great cities and centres of industry forms of slavery worse socially and morally, harder to bear, harder to eradicate because masked under the smug conventions, the high sounding shibboleths, and the bourgeois hypocrisy of republican plutocracy. I must own at the risk of some unpopularity to an ever-growing admiration for the wonderful system of caste finely conceived and admirably adapted to social needs by your sagacious and most rightly venerated ancestors. Proof, if any were needed, of its essential soundness, is best given by its long duration and the general social stability which it ensured. Not the least popular of current, and 'causes' in the abolition of caste, and a philosopher may be permitted a large note of interrogation. A vast amount of generous, high enthusiasm, is being focussed upon the demolition of this stately old edifice. When these amiable and high-minded zealots have accomplished their work, when the venerable and imposing fabric of Indian society lies about them in ruins, I suppose they are much too earnest to be able to spare a moment for nursery rhymes or possibly they might pause upon the sad fate of Humpty Dumpty. For the simple truth is that men are not free and never can be free, as long as they group themselves in societies, that men never were, never are and never will be equal and that universal brotherhood is a chimera, a more emotional mirage.

Perfection of Society.

'But do not misunderstand me. Try to distinguish. I am not disparaging genuine purpose, and lofty enthusiasm, least of all do I wish to undervalue ideals. It is only against an ebulient, impetuous and sometimes rather premature determination to force our own notions of heaven upon the world that I venture a gentle warning. The direction, not the quality of the effort, may sometimes give rise

to misgiving and doubt. And surely before squandering ourselves in modern 'causes' we may well remember the sonorous and stately words. 'No man may redeem his brother for it costs more to save his own soul so that he must let that alone for ever.' The psychology of crowds has long been the subject of curious study; the psychology of much social 'reform' is perhaps closely allied with it. The mottoes, formulæ and war cries of all militant organizations in proportion as they prove to be intellectual anodynes, prove to be in other directions, the most powerful emotional stimulants. It is only by a gradual change of moral climate, that the worst moral weeds can be extirpated, and the fairest moral flowers brought to perfection. I do not wish to dogmatize, because I particularly dislike anything like dogmatism, pedantry and pedagogism in the fine regions of thought in which I would fain greet you. And as you may have guessed I should be the last to lay profane hands too rudely upon any arc of the covenant. But I may I hope make this suggestion for what it is worth without giving offence to any of my listeners that you can hardly put your lives to a better or more useful purpose than by each striving in life, every detail and part, as well as in the whole shown forth in conduct and the man's total re-action upon the universe about him, to be the best possible exemplar of your type or race. In this way by first perfecting yourselves working upon material within your own power and control, you may surely hope to help on the perfection of the group or society in which you live and of which each of you is an integral part. Life is I believe given to us, that we may make out of it the highest and the best we are capable of, by the ray of the Divine within us.'

England and Egypt.

By Ali Fahmy Mohammed.

I write these lines at a favourable time, when England, the dominant Power in Egypt, and Turkey, the nominal suzerain of Egypt, would appear to be drawing together more closely after a period of estrangement: when England seems really desirous of giving satisfaction to the Egyptian people, if she can find means of doing so, as compensation for the use of their country as a military post in her scheme of Imperial defence. I believe that the British Government were perfectly sincere in their desire to get rid of the Egyptian muddle in 1887, when Lord Salisbury declared in the House of Lords (January 15) that the object they aimed at was "the neutralisation of Egypt." I believe they are still anxious to find some plan that may at the same time safeguard their Imperial interests and satisfy the aspirations of the Egyptians. I believe, too, that England is in Egypt not to exploit the resources of the country to her own advantage, but to protect the high road to her Indian Empire. Nor do I forget that the Occupation costs her a round sum for the maintenance of her garrison. If the Egyptians are prepared to accept the inevitable, I think that the British authorities and the British public are no less prepared to do so.

So much for one side. On the other side, I feel confident that no reasonable Englishman would blame the Egyptians for disliking the occupation of their fatherland by foreign troops. And if the Egyptians have been humiliated in this way for more than 6,000 years, that is no reason why they should be humiliated thus for ever. The masses, no doubt, do not yet grasp the idea of political independence. But the educated classes are ever ready to appeal to their sentiments, even to their sentimentality, to drive "the unbelievers" out of the country. Another side of the question is that Europeans, particularly those English who possess a good knowledge of the country and a perhaps better experience of the modern Egyptians, believe, rightly or wrongly, that were the British to leave the Nile valley it would at once fall into a state of chaos and disorder, fomented to their own advantage by the "enthusiasts." The Europeans, I recognise, firmly believe, in the words of a former correspondent of the *Times*, that "'Egypt for the Egyptians' means Egypt for a handful of people, some of whom are not Egyptians at all." Nevertheless, the Egyptians are aspiring to a noble purpose, but our efforts to attain it seem to be altogether ineffective, and "the sum of energy expended" (to quote the same *Times*' correspondent again) "invainly crying for the moon would be a mighty force for good, if directed in other channels." But recent experiences and developments seem to me to prove that Egypt could be regenerated by one of two alternatives—(1) That the country should be handed over to a powerful and benevolent despot, such as Lord Cromer, but devoted to her cause, irrespective of all considerations of *lahaute pol tique*; or (2) that it should be entrusted to some superior surveillance inspired by foreign advisers or bodies, also entirely independent of colonial obligations.

I have no intention of dwelling here in detail upon the issue that it is believed in Europe would follow upon the British evacuation of the country. Nor would any worthy Egyptian wish to substitute another foreign supremacy for the British. For, then, as Shakespeare well said:—

"Thus must we from the smoke into the smother."

My contention is that England is tied hand and foot by many restrictions and considerations in preparing us for self-government until the Grand Egyptian Question is settled on some permanent basis.

"Our promises of conditional evacuation," says the *Daily Telegraph*, "are on record, and whether the Egyptians prove capable or not, we may be sure that other nations at times, when it suits them to do so, will not fail to remind us of our engagements; at these times they will insist that, whatever experiments we may make in fulfillment of our promises, law and order shall reign in Egypt."

In this sense M. de Freycinet wrote:—"L'Europe le ferait-elle? Nul ne le sait. Mais ce dont je ne doute pas, malgré les apparences contraires, c'est qu'à un moment de l'histoire l'Egypte cessera d'être sous la domination anglaise." Once I formulated "Proposals for the Solution of the Egyptian Question" (dated September 7, 1906). The essence of those proposals is the substitution of an international garrison for the British Army of Occupation for a limited period, after which the peace of Egypt would not be threatened from within or from without, and the substitution of a temporary international control for the British Administration—the whole arrangement would finally result in the neutralisation of Egypt. This solution seems now, however, to be less than possible, despite the fact that the proposal was received with appreciation by many high authorities on Egyptian and international affairs, among them one no less than Lord Milner, who wrote to me: "Although, as you say, your point of view is different from mine, still, you argue your case in a reasonable manner."

The solving of the Egyptian question is looked upon now by British statesmen and diplomats as a question of "life and death." They are naturally afraid that Egypt might fall into other hands. "When I speak of the loss of Egypt," says Lord Cromer, "I do not mean the withdrawal of the British garrison and the establishment of a purely indigenous Government in that country. I allude to the much more probable contingency of the withdrawal of the British garrison and the establishment in its place of a military force belonging to some other European Power." In this sense the *Times*' military correspondent says:—"We can never for one moment dream of accepting the arrival of the foreigner in Egypt without giving him a fight which will make the welkin ring . . . The vast importance of Egypt as a link between East and West makes it not impossible that a great contest for the Empire may be decided upon this historic ground, and it is not too much to say that the Minister who loses Egypt will deserve to lose his head."

Now, in the face of these declarations, coming from such competent authorities, it is idle to ignore that, by the logic of facts, England is determined, if not to retain her hold over Egypt, at least to oppose, at all hazards, any other ascendancy in the land of the Pharaohs. We all, Egyptians, quite realise that this is our ideal too, and therefore there is *common cause* and common interest between England and Egypt. As I have pointed out, England is in Egypt *not* to profit materially from her, but to keep other foreign comers out and to safeguard her high route to India. These being the advantages and disadvantages of the situation, I believe the following suggestions may be of interest to English and Egyptian politicians and statesmen. The question, being of vital importance, necessitates much sacrifice on both sides. There was never a nation that did not pay dearly for her national emancipation, and, till now, we Egyptians cannot claim to have offered the sacrifice. Moreover, it is a monetary sacrifice, which will not affect the economical condition of the tax-payer. Nor do I think the British authorities would hesitate to offer the required sacrifice in exchange for the political and military support and co-operation of Egypt in Imperial defence. We have seen them inviting their colonies and dependencies to co-operate in that Imperial defence. And I think it would prove ultimately vital to their cause if British diplomats attempt to incorporate Egypt within the British Empire. I firmly believe that if the relations between England and Egypt are carefully developed into mutual cordiality and help, British statesmanship will only be doing its duty towards human progress and Imperial defence. There is now a growing desire to promote good understanding between England and Turkey; and Egypt might well serve as the link of Anglo-Mohammedan co-operation. It is not for me to dwell here in detail upon the concessions that may be exchanged between the principal contracting parties; but, as an Egyptian, I put forward certain suggestions which directly concern the destiny of my country.

A.—On the Part of Egypt.

1. The equipment of an Egyptain army from 300,000 to 500,000 men strong, to be employed, in the first place, for the defence of Egypt against any foreign aggression, and, in the second place, for safeguarding other clauses of the proposed Anglo-Turkish Alliance. This army should be commanded by two British and Turkish generals and officered mainly by Egyptians.

2. The expenses of the proposed naval station at Alexandria to be borne by the Egyptian Treasury, as well as all other expenditures found necessary for the naval defence of Egypt.

3. The construction of an Egyptian fleet to co-operate with the British squadrons in the Mediterranean.

B.—On the Part of England.

1. The withdrawal of British troops from the capital (Cairo), and their restriction to the ports. These troops are to be gradually replaced by Egyptian troops within a reasonable time, during which political confidence should be established between the two countries.

2. The proclamation of a moderate and reasonable Constitution.

3. The attempt by England to abolish the Capitulations or, if that be not possible, to transfer the jurisdiction of the Consular Courts to the Mixed Tribunals.

4. The revision of the schools programme and the re-organisation of the Egyptian University and the University of Al-Azhar.

5. The unification of the Egyptian Public Debt and the reduction of the interest thereon.

6. The gradual but steady decrease of foreign functionaries in the Government service.

These are my ideas, which I publish for consideration. I hope they will make others endeavour to find some way out of the muddle, without being objectionable to either side. Lord Kitchener seems anxious to give satisfaction to our legitimate desires; he is busy in developing the material and economical resources of the country. But it is not merely by materialism that a country can be regenerated. It is essentially by the uplifting of its moral and social conditions that a nation can revive. By various restrictions, which it would be out of place to cite here, England is tied hand and foot in dealing with these questions, unless and untill the Grand Egyptian Question, in its international aspect, is solved one way or another on a permanent basis. *The Near East.*

The British Control of Egypt.

From Sir Harry H. Johnston.

To the Editor of The "Near East."

Sir,—I think you have rendered a service to all who are studying the problems of the Near East by publishing Mr. Ali Fehmy Muhammad's suggestions for a permanent settlement of the relations between Britain and Egypt. These suggestions aptly illustrate the utter impracticability of the Turkish or the so-called Egyptian Nationalist point of view. I write "so-called" because the "Egyptian Nationalist Party" contains very few descendants or representatives of the Copts and the Fellahin, and mostly consists of men of Turkish, Kurdish, Circassian, or Syrian race.

There is no reason whatever, based on the past history of the British Empire, why Egypt should not, as a protected kingdom, come within the recognised limits of the British Empire, on the same lines as the more notable of the great Indian feudatory States, as Sarawak, the Malay Sultanate's the Kingdom of Buganda, or the Sultanate of Koweit. Egypt can never become a British "colony"—no British statesman has ever conceived of her as such—though she is probably destined to be a European health resort and to accommodate an even larger element of Levantine Christians than she possesses at the present day. But an Egyptian kingdom entirely uncontrolled by some European Power is an impossibility, not only now, but for fifty or perhaps a hundred years to come. And the only alternatives to the present form of British control and protection are a re-incorporation in the Turkish Empire or the transference of the European supervision to France, Italy, or Germany. Such alternatives would carry with them the break-up of the British Empire in East Africa and the Sudan, and in Southern Asia; so it is a waste of time for an Englishman to discuss them. That it is the duty of Britain at the earliest opportunity to abolish the Capitulations in Egypt and to organise instead a well-equipped national administration of justice, dealing alike with natives and foreigners, no one on this side is inclined to dispute, any more than another of Mr. Fehmy Muhammad's propositions—the unification of the Egyptian Debt and reduction of interest thereon (as a set-off against increased security of payment)—would be scouted by British reformers of Egypt. But the foreign capitalists would never agree to this last measure of reform if the British troops were to leave Cairo.

Of course, there will gradually grow up a form of native constitutional government, responding more and more to the needs and aspirations of the masses of the people, above all of the eight and a half millions of patient agriculturists; in the same way that under the British aegis in other dependent States constitutional government is being gradually and reasonably established. The decrease of non-Egyptian officials, especially in all the lower grades of employment, is a matter which depends largely on the progress of practical twentieth century education in Egypt, the aim of which will impart a sound knowledge of history, geography, philology (especially etemology), botany, engineering, chemistry and sociology. This together with the drastic reform of the Al Azhar University and the rescue of the funds of religious foundations from their misappropriation by fanatics or corrupt functionaries, is a direction in which the Egyptian Nationalists might bestir themselves, to the great advantage of the country they profess to love. When a Mohamedan Egyptian is found showing an intelligent appreciation of the beauties and the history of Saracenic art, or becomes an apt pupil in Egyptology of Flinders Petrie or Maspero, or initiates or prosecutes some additional great discovery *i.e.*, palæontology, or finds a seam of coal or a well of petroleum or vein of emeralds, it will be time to talk of filling the great educational and industrial posts in Egypt with natives of that country. I write without a sneer and with some hope, for I know that in medical science Turks and Kurds have risen high in the Egyptian service, and have received full recognition of their attainments and abilities at the hands of the British Government. But amid all their clamour in the Press and on the platform, what Mohamedan Egyptian has ever referred with legitimate pride to the results of British and German discoveries by which Egypt has been shown to have had a wondrous past as a creative centre, to have been the theatre in which not only the whales and the elephants, the hippopotamus and the manati, the old and new world monkeys and anthropoid apes, but possibly even man himself have been evolved? No "Nationalist" Egyptian I have ever met has once referred to the amazing developments of human genius which took place in Egypt between 10000 B. C. and 100 B. C., or has in any way identified himself with the glories of his country prior to the destructive invasion of the Arabs in the seventh century A. C.

If the Mohamedan Egyptians prefer to regard the Qoran and the medieval elaboration of the Qoran as the last word, the dominant and ultimate authority in law, science, sanitation, morals, and social economy, so long will Mohamedan teaching institutions be utterly futile in coping with the repuirements of the twentieth century, and so long will Mohamedan peoples be unfitted to govern themselves and still less to govern more intelligent fellow-citizens of more enlightened faiths.

But it is in the proposal to revive Turkish militarism, to saddle the revenues of Egypt with the upkeep of an army of "300,000 to 400,000 men" and the creation and maintenance of a navy, that Mr. Fehmy Muhammad's letter reveals most clearly the discrepancy between the outlook of the Young Turk and the Egyptian "Nationalist" and that of advanced European statesmen. So long as the present British control lasts Egypt needs little more in the way of internal protective force than a good constabulary. The power of the British Navy and the efficiency of the British and the Indian Armies are sufficient guard against aggression from any outside direction; so that the mass of Egyptian manhood can devote its muscless and its energies to the fight with nature, to conquering the desert and the marsh, the rock and the mud, and to making Egypt ten times more productive and populous than in any previous period of her history. From out of this prosperity and increase there may slowly be built up once again a real Egyptian people, no longer miserable serfs under the brutalising tyranny of Arab, Turk, Kurd, Circassian, Armenian, or Levantine renegado; a people worthy of a Rameses for king, worthy to be the ally and no longer the ward of the British Empire.

H. H. Johnston.

The Irrigation of Mesopotamia.

The greater part of Lower Mesopotamia may be regarded as a gift made by the rivers Euphrates and Tigris to man; and thanks to the composition of the alluvium, which provides a soil of extraordinary fertility and richness, it is a gift of the highest value. To-day the great mud bar at the mouth of the Shatt-el-Arab bears witness that the rivers are still building up the land at the head of the Persian Gulf; they have never ceased from piling up the riches they have plundered from the Armenian mountains; but for many centuries man has been too busy, or too careless, to take advantage of the opportunities they have offered him. Lately, however, he has bestirred himself in the matter. East and West have taken counsel together. And with the opening of the Hindieh Barrage, last month, the reviviscence of Babylonia may be regarded as having begun.

The temptation to draw the strongest possible contrast between Past and Present is always a strong one; and by their free use of hyperbole the Assyriologists have perhaps invested the days of the Babylonian rulers with a false glamour and accustomed us to estimate that period of the country's prosperity by a distorted scale. The discoveries of the last twenty-five years enable us to see the *facts* in truer perspective, and to-day we can hardly accept as literally correct the description of the plain in old days as "one wide-stretching field of splendour and blooming gardens," which is how an enthusiast described it. In point of fact it would appear to have been a patchwork of cultivation and wilderness, just as it is to-day; but in the past there was more cultivation and less wilderness, while nowadays there is much—very much—more wilderness than cultivation.

Ancient inscriptions leave little room for doubt that in the past the cultivator was faced by the same problems as is his successor of to-day—how to get the water where it is wanted in the dry season, and how to keep it from finding its way where it can do nothing but harm in the season of flood. Thus, among the records unearthed by the American expedition on the staff of which I worked at Nippur—in the very heart of the country—were found official reports upon the "shutting off" of canals and the inundation of districts, and the destruction of cities by floods. Again, a tablet discovered at Abu Habba, by Professor Schiel, contains the complaint of an official who, being "stationed at Dur Sin, *on the canal* Bitimsikirim," can find there no food that he can eat. This hardly seems to indicate a land of plenty, "one wide-stretching field," etc. Finally, we have it on the authority of Sir William Willcocks that "never in the history of Mesopotamia has the whole of the country been under irrigation at one and the same time," and that "the whole of the area of 5,000,000 hectares in the Delta is not capable of being irrigated at the same time." The brightly coloured picture presented to us by the Assyriologists must, then, clearly be regarded with some scepticism. At the same time it is beyond question that both in Babylonian days and in the times of the Abbasside rule at Baghdad the country was in a very much more prosperous condition than it is now. The fields and gardens did undoubtedly exist in plenty in those times, and though the cultivated lands were not unbroken by patches of waste, they were very extensive, and capable of supporting a large population.

Such being the case, it appears almost incredible that the greater part of this fertile country should have been allowed to fall out of cultivation and to deteriorate into a wilderness in which the Bedawi wandered at will, grazing his flocks and herds where he pleased and pillaging his more industrious—or less adventurous !—brother who sought to follow an agricultural life of sorts at one or other of the small villages that lie on the banks of the rivers or the chief canals that have survived the silting-up process. Yet such was the state of the country when I knew it. In crossing the plain one saw long lines of mounds that marked the course of old canals, numerous other mounds, of varying size, that covered long-dead towns and cities; but save for Baghdad, Nejef, Kerbellah, Hilla, and Busrah there were no towns of importance in all the district, and even villages were far scattered and pitiably poor. As a rule the Bedouin and the Ma'adan (half-settled) Arabs had things pretty much their own way; might was right; law and order ran only where the Vali of Baghdad felt himself safe in sending troops. The whole region was a wreck of its former greatness. And the trouble was nearly all due to the water, too much, or too little, as the case might be.

To do them justice, the Turkish governors saw this, though dimly; and from time to time they made efforts, feeble and erratic, to remedy the existing evils. Unfortunately, owing generally as much to lack of funds as to lack of thought, these efforts usually did more harm than good. An example of this is afforded by the case of the well-meant but, as the event proved, disastrous closing of the Sakhlawia by the too energetic and unlucky Midhat Pasha, and the subsequent tinkering with the Hindieh Barrage. Cynics declared that the Turk would "never make a job of it," and it almost looked as if their cynicism would be justified.

It remained for the Young Turks to tackle the problem, which (with others, no less difficult) formed part of the legacy they took over from their predecessors. And the fact that they lost no time in grappling with it is infinitely to their credit. They set about it in the right way—calling in the best advice obtainable, and following it as far as their resources would permit them to do through times of extraordinary stress and difficulty. That they should have found the help they so urgently needed in this country is a point on which both they and we are to be congratulated—they because the advice that has been given them and the service they have been accorded have been as disinterested, as honest, and as skilled as they could possibly have obtained anywhere; we, because in helping them we have carried on a tradition of service in Mesopotamia which rests upon a very solid foundation indeed. The work on the Hindieh Barrage is the first step towards restoring Irak to prosperity. The work on the Habbania Escape will be the second. I should like to see the work of preventing the wastage of water on the Tigris (which constitutes such a serious difficulty to navigation) made the third. Beyond that one can hardly see at present. The work of providing Mesopotamia with a perfect system of irrigation is too vast to be undertaken all at once. The country must grow up to it gradually, the tract opened up by each new section being developed before other sections are put in hand. But it has been begun. Turkey has put her hand to it at last, with British help. I hope that Turkey and Britain together will see it through.

Valentine Geere, in the *Near East*.

The Opening of the Barrage.

(By an Eye-Witness)

Baghdad, December 31, 1913.

About forty-five years ago Midhat Pasha, the then Vali of Baghdad, closed the Saklawieh branch of the Euphrates in order to avoid floods which frequently inundated the district between Baghdad and Felooja. In doing so he did away with an escape for the flood water of the Euphrates and gave that river more water than it could carry. The original Euphrates divided into two at Hindieh, and the two branches were known as the Hilla Branch and the Hindieh Branch. The Hindieh Branch had the lowerlying bed, and the result was that most of the surplus water went down the Hindieh, and the higher (Hilla) branch gradually silted up. Some twenty-eight years ago the Turkish Government attempted to dam the mouth of the Hindieh Branch in order to raise the level of the river sufficiently to keep the Hilla Branch supplied with water at all seasons of the year. This Barrage was designed by Mr. Schoendefer, who commenced the construction of it. He was succeeded by Mr. Mongel, who in his turn was succeeded by Mr. Cugnin. The Barrage was built out into the river from both banks and it was intended to join the Barrage in the centre. As work proceeded and the distance between the two ends of the Barrage decreased the strenght of the water increased, and the three above-mentioned engineers found it impossible to complete the Barrage.

In 1909 Sir William Willcocks was asked by the Turkish Government to close the opening in the centre of the Barrage. A Mr. Medlicot was put in charge of the work, and in 1910 he succeeded in the closing of the opening and thus increased the level of the water by two metres, which was sufficient to divert it down the Hilla Branch.

Sir W. Willcocks had grave doubts about the strength of the Barrage, and suggested to the Turkish Government that a new Barrage shoud be built about 800 metres above the site of the then existing Barrage, and that a canal should be dug above the proposed Barrage to take the water into the Hilla channel at a point some distance from its old mouth, which was very much silted up. This proposal was accepted by the Turkish Government, and the work was commenced and handed over to Sir John Jackson, Limited, in abont March, 1911.

On December 12 the construction of the Barrage and the subsidiary works were completed, and Mohamed Fazel Pasha Daghistani performed the ceremony of the opening of the new Hilla Canal. The system followed in the carrying out of the work was as follows. The new Barrage was built on dry land on the left bank of the Euphrates River with a bed about one metre lower than the bed of the existing river.

The ground in front and behind the Barrage was dug out also to a depth of about 2 metres, below the existing river to a distance of about 500 metres in front of the Barrage and 400 below the Barrage so as to make a new river-bed. A thin strip of land was left between the new channel and the river.

When the construction of the Barrage was completed and the excavation work finished this strip of land was taken away both above and below the Barrage, and the water flowed into the new channel, which was one metre deeper than the old river. A large embankment was then constructed across the old channel so as to divert all the water into the new one. This embankment consisted of a number of large sausage-shaped rolls of mats and reeds measuring about 20 yards long by 9 feet high. These were rolled into the river one after the other and gradually packed up with brushwood until an embankment was formed. This embankment was then filled up with a large quantity of earthwork, and it is now about 20 metres wide and appears to be quite strong enough to prevent the river returning to its old bed.

While the excavations were going on at the Barrage the canal which connects the river above the Barrage with the old Hilla Branch was being dug. This canal has a width of 30 metres from the top of the banks, but shelves down to about 20 metres. At the head of this canal there is a regulator which consists of six doors of 5 metres each and one lock of 8 metres wide. When the works were completed some of the doors of the Barrage were closed, and the level of the water above the Barrage was gradually raised by manipulating the doors of the Barrage. When the level had been raised about one metre the water was allowed into the Hilla Canal, but at a distance of about 200 metres from the mouth of the canal a temporary earthen dam was erected.

When the Vali, his staff, and guests arrived at Hindieh on the evening of the 11th inst. they were provided with accommodation in the engineer's houses. About half-past nine in the morning a company of about eighty infantry and a troop of about fifty cavalry lined up near the house in which the Vali was staying.

21st February.

There was a large marquee where the guests awaited the arrival of His Excellency. When he arrived he greeted the guests, and accompanied by the soldiers walked up to the temporary earthen dam on the Hilla River. Mr. Whitley, the manager of Messrs. Sir John Jackson, Limited, made a speech in which he intimated that the work of construction was now finished, and that he had pleasure in handing over the Barrage in working condition to His Excellency the Vali as the representative of the Turkish Government. Mr. Whitley mentioned the difficulties that had to be overcome by the Mudirdar of Baghdad and the Minister of Public Works at Constantinople, and pointed out that the works had extended over a longer time, and at more than was anticipated owing to financial difficulties.

His Excellency the Vali replied in a short speech in which he expressed pleasure at having the honour of assisting at the inauguration of the first of a number of schemes for irrigation, which, when completed, would bring Irak back to the position she had at one time held in the universe. A well-known Mullah said a prayer, and His Excellency the Vali was handed a spade, with which he took one or two spadefuls of earth out of the dam. The Kadi followed his example, and Mr. Whitley, also at the invitation of the Vali, removed a few spadefuls. The Arabs sacrificed some twenty sheep on the top of the dam, and after the carcases had been removed about forty Arabs stripped and at a given signal commenced to dig away the dam. The Arabs entered into the spirit of the thing, and the water soon found its way through the dam. As soon as there was a fair amount of water on the lower side of the dam a number of Arab women waded in and washed their faces in the hope that by so doing they would eventually be blessed with offspring. The whole scene was very picturesque, but owing to a heavy mist the photographs taken were not too clear.

After the ceremony Sir John Jackson, Limited, invited the Vali and his guests to a most excellent lunch, at which various speeches were made, including one by Mr. Edmond Beehara, the Chief Irrigation Engineer for the Turkish Government in Mesopotamia, who spoke in four different languages—Arabic, Turkish, English, and French. The most interesting item of his speech was the figure he gave as being the total cost of the Barrage, namely, £380,000, this figure including the expenses incurred by Sir William Willcocks while he was preparing his various schemes for the irrigation of Mesopotamia.

The water arrived at Hilla about thirty-eight hours after the opening ceremony, and we understand that there is now 1½ metres of water at Hilla, and that this level is maintained down to Diwanieh. The water, at its present level, enters the Hilla Canal at a depth of about 1·30 metres. This will gradually increase as the floods come down. It is very interesting to remark that the level of the Hindieh Branch has not been materially effected by the opening of the Hilla Canal. This is to be accounted for by the fact that the waters in the Hindieh are held up by the lake at Shenafieh.—*The Near East.*

Mr. Balfour on Theism.

The Plain Man's Picture of Philosophy.

Mr. Balfour delivered in Glasgow in Mail week his Gifford lectures. A special correspondent of the *Times* writes :—

The first lecture was introductory and expository. Mr. Balfour attempted to do no more than to indicate the topics to which he will devote the 20 lectures, 10 in two successive years, which are required by the Gifford trust. He spoke of the great problems which every man has to face, and he admitted the failure of philosophy to solve these problems to the general satisfaction. Hardly any man of science treats philosophy seriously, and the plain man feels that philosophy does not meet, his difficulties or even look at them from the same point of view. The plain man's picture of philosophy was of men generally quarrelling in an unknown tongue. He himself had never been able to accept any of these great systems. He did not differ, and he did not intend to devote much time to showing where he differed from those of others. At this point Mr. Balfour informed his audience that his subject is to be Theism, and that it was necessary to say at once that he could not be satisfied with the evidence that from the very notion of experience the idea of God could be extracted by a logical process. "When I speak of God," he said, "it is not the absolute of which I am speaking. It is God with whom a man may easily love and adore, not merely the product of the logical process." Some critics might bring forward such arguments as anthropomorphism, but he hoped to commit no offence in that in their eyes if modern man's idea of God was different from ancient and corrupt myths, the very permanence of which showed that it could not be ignored; and it was inadequate. Religion, he would say that God takes sides, and works with Him. Religion took a conception for great ends and asks us to work of it. Philosophical conception must ultimately be brought into harmony with it.

The Arguments from and to Design.

Mr. Balfour began his second lecture by remarking that his view of Theism must best be treated as reasonable in a theistic setting of mind. Theism carry us not further than the argument from design, and the old-fashioned apologetics, and a discussion of that argument formed the preface to his lecture. If the argument from design was sound, what, he asked, could it prove? It could it prove that matter due ultimately to mind or is the mind of finite creatures due solely to matter?' But its reply to this question did not carry us very far for the mere belief that mind lies behind matter is compatible with the wildest heresies in the development of thought. Yet the idea of mind as existing behind matter is a big step towards natural theology, and there is force in design when we do not consider matter by itself and when the design we find is a design which has value for sentient beings. He believed that the heavens do declare the glory of God, but only if there are men and if there is a God, and he held with Bacon that if the universe is the result of blind chance the glory vanishes

But this is an argument, not from design, but to design. The 'argument to design' became the key-note of the lecture. The two arguments are, Mr Balfour insisted, vitally different, and he would have frequent occasion to refer to the latter, but he had still something to say about the former. The argument form preface to his lecture. If the argument from design is from an adaptation to a contriver, it has force in dealing with organic life. Recent advance in biology has increased its force a thousand times. Why, then, do we not agree that we cannot be dealing with mere chance? The answer is that Darwin has shown that, given certain conditions, you could build up an infinite wealth of varied organic life. Natural selection shows a method by which design can be mimicked, given the premises of life and variation, and yet he thought that Kelvin's view still stands, that if we trace back the present distribution of energy into the past, we come to a time when our arguments fail us. There was a begining of the physicial universe as we know it, and we are approaching a time, not to be absolutely reached till after an infinite duration, in which there will be no more transformation of energy out of which work may be obtained. We have regular process before us, after which we can infer nothing. In the middle we have life, feeling, thought, the equations of which settle the relations of energy, and matter remained the same, but there were added the feeling of feeling beings and the thought of thinking beings. This fact of importance from the point of view of the argument from design, was, he said, still more important from the point of view argument to design, for it is reasonable to conclude that because matter cannot make will and reason, then will and reason must have made matter.

The Rational Values Our of Beliefs.

Unless behind our reasoning there is ultimately a rational cause, behind our ethics a moral cause, and behind our belief in beauty, a belief in a God who cares for beauty then our scientific, our ethical, and our aesthetic beliefs all lose value to a degree which nobody can seriously contemplate. It might be asked, 'Cannot natural selection which can mimic design mimic also creative reason. This, said Mr. Balfour, is an important objection which he proposed to keep in view, but for some reason or another all things which have the greatest value for thought, for morality and for beauty seemed to him to have no survival virtue at all and they cannot be mimicked becau e they do not affect the survival of the fittest or the multiplication of the race.

Emotion and Belief.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Glasgow, Jan. 16.

Even a Glasgow fog had no appreciable effect upon the numbers who waited in the cold corridors outside the Bute Hall to-day to listen to Mr. Balfour's third Gifford lecture. They were rewarded by an address which excited in enthusiasm with which philosophical disquisitions are rarely received, and the cheers, which on Wednesday emanated from youthful anxiety to find a joke, came to-day in more suppressed volume from eager listeners glad to discover that a Gifford lecturer could defend what they themselves had the wish to believe.

Mr. Balfour began by referring to the classification of beliefs with which he concluded his last lecture. He had, he said, adopted that classification because of the varying degree to which emotions are associated with our beliefs. In aesthetics, with which he proposed to deal to day, emotion absorbs almost the whole of the belief, for the sense of beauty is an emotion and its value lies, not in the judgments, but in the emotions associated with the judgments. In ethics judgments are of fundamental importance, yet the emotions or moral sentiments must be there also. In science emotion is the vanishing quantity : there is an emotional element, but it is of little value.

Origin of Æsthetic Emotion.

What, he proceeded to ask, are aesthetic emotions? And he described them as always existing in contemplation and never leading to action. He admitted, of course, that beautiful things might be used for practical ends, that the creative effort which produced the beautiful thing was not included in his definition, and the very act of contemplation itself requires much effort and preparation. But when a great artist had put a great effort of concentrated will into a great work of art, and when the observer had put himself into harmony with it, the result was not action but contemplation. It had been said that the essence of tragedy is that it "purifies by terror and pity." The pity," said Mr. Balfour, "does not suggest assistance : the terror does not prompt to fight. Nobody rushes to rescue Desdemona." How did these aesthetic beliefs, and the contemplative emotions associated with them, come into existence? Are they due to any process of natural selection? He believed, with regard to ethics and knowledge, up to a certain point the beliefs and the emotions connected with them are due, or may be plausibly

attributed, to the general process of organic evolution. But he could find no such pedigree for the æsthetic emotions. They cannot be shown to have in any effective sense their root in the attributes bred into the race by the struggle for existence. Herbert Spencer had tried to contribute to the explanation of how we of the 19th or 20th century feel in the presence of a great work of art by saying that our ape-like ancestors howled in moments of emotion. The audience laughed, and Mr. Balfour told them that to ridicule Mr. Spencer was not his objects. If Mr. Spencer could have shown in the anthropoid ape an element of musical appreciation, and traced its development into our elaborate appreciation of a symphony of Beethoven, he would have produced a causal connexion between the two. As it was, he had mistaken an historic account of origins for a theory of genesis, and the two were in this instance unconnected. From the naturalistic standpoint, Mr. Balfour insisted, the whole psychical complex of æsthetic emotions and beliefs is a chance by-product, a happy accident of evolution; and the geniuses themselves who produce works of art are equally accidental products, for poets and artists did not greatly contribute to the destruction of tribal enemies and the survival of the fitest. This view, he held, really destroyed the values of æsthetic beliefs. He did not refer to the minor manifestations of the æsthetic emotions, and he admitted that a cinematograph can be enjoyed without reference to cosmical theories.

The Spiritual Intuition.

It is the æsthetic emotion in its highest manifestations that has most to lose from a purely naturalistic origin. The poet or the artist is generally supposed to have an insight into reality. The men who are most alive to the higher æsthetic emotions feel that their emotions open up something that contains an intuition greater than knowledge. There is always in a work of art the sense of communication from its creator. Behind the poem, the picture and the symphony are the poet, the painter, and the composer, and works of art must be communications from one spirit to another spirit. The most perfect kaleidoscope could never be a work of art or convey æsthetic emotion. Could they, he asked, accept this view for works of art and deny it for the manifestations of natural beauty, before which, he thought, the greatest works of art faded into insignificance? Were there two principles of æsthetic? Beauty moves upon the surface. Only what appears is beautiful. If we could perceive the æther and the scattered electrons which are the real facts, such insight would merely excite curiosity and wonder. We must regard the beauties of nature as signs, as symbols, as a language, just as we do chords and colours. The entire value of the glories of nature is lost unless we conceive behind nature one who has designed it. Art, he pointed out, clings obstinately to personification, in spite of the teachings of science. We live and move and have our being in available energy, but we cannot write an ode to it. Poetry clings to personification, not by the staying power of long tradition, nor by a feigned literary conceit, but because the naturalistic explanation is felt to be intolerable, in that it destroys æsthetic values. It is, of course, possible for a reader of Wordsworth to accept conventionally the notion of a God of nature, while he is reading Wordsworth, just as a man who does not believe in ghosts may read a ghost story with a conventional belief sufficient for his artistic purposes. But it is not possible to enjoy the best of Wordsworth as it should be enjoyed unless you take the same general view of the universe as Wordsworth did.

Mr. Balfour had now reached the culminating point of his argument, and he drove it home in some eloquent sentences. He argued that what is true of Wordsworth is true also of natural beauty, and he invited his hearers to recall the moments, too rare in any life, when the sight of some magnificient spectacle seems to drive out not merely all the smaller cares and anxieties of life, but all the samller pre-occupations of art itself. At such moments it is true that a man has something better to do than to think of cosmogony. But, just as no pain is so severe but that it leaves a man some corner of consciousness in which to ask how long it will last, so there is no beauty, however overpowering, but allows of the thought that it means something and is not simply a matter of æther and electrons and brain and visual nerves. To persuade a man to attribute no such significance is to weaken fatally those æsthetic values which can only exist if, behind that great appearance, is a reality, and if it contains a message from spirit to spirit. If we desire to preserve those values, to argue to design from value, we can say that, unless men are willing to sacrifice the æsthetic emotion in its highest dovelopment and in its greatest examples, we must believe in a Great Spirit whose manifestations these things are.

Limitations of Natural Selection.

(From the "Times" Special Correspondent.)

Glasgow, Jan. 19.

Mr. Balfour devoted his fourth Gifford lecture to demonstrating that our ethical ideas can retain their value only in a theistic setting. He began by admitting that natural selection has played a large part in the development of our ideas of right and wrong, for ethical values, unlike æsthetic values, do not hang loosely upon the evolutionary process, but are up to a certain point dependent upon it, while the æsthetic emotions lead only to contemplation. Ethics has essentially to do with action, and if there is any truth in the modern theory of evolution, it would be strange indeed if ethical beliefs and emotions were entirely alien from it.

Altruism in Man and Animals.

At this point Mr. Balfour introduced a distinction similar to that on which he based his argument regarding æsthetic values. The whole stress of his reasoning was laid upon the higher values in the ethical scale, and these higher values he defined as being those dependent upon the group of altruistic and unselfish feelings which operate for the interest of other individuals or of the faimly or of the State, or of mankind. How far, he asked, are our altruistic values the result of the mimicry of design by natural selection? How far can they retain their value if we refuse to put them in a theistic setting? Mr. Balfour began his answer to these questions by pointing out that we find no altrnism in the lower organisms: only certain powers of reacting to environment for the benefit of the individual. There is no effort of the individual to serve the species other than instinctive efforts under the impulse of selective forces. Such instinctive efforts were not, indeed, the limits of the power of natural selection. Animals higher in the scale show parental, and especially maternal, love and sacrifice, and give examples of altruism in one of its purest shapes. We cannot, of course, say what goes on in the consciousness of the animal, but we cannot deny it something of true altruism marked by the higher qualities which we admire in the devotion and the self-sacrifice of men. This, however, did not amount to social instinct, for it did not outlast the early days or months after birth, and it did not help towards the social organization which is essential for human existence.

It is true that bees and ants give a resemblance to social organization, but each bee has only one desire—that of subserving the good of the whole hive. In the bee self is lost in the interest of the society, and the very mechanical perfection of these amazing societies impaired their interest. There can never be a conflict of impulse in the case of a working bee, never the problem of the self against the whole, or the more difficult problem of the divergent interests of two wholes to each of which the self belongs. Such conflicts we cannot avoid, because we have a choice of ends. Here Mr. Balfour explained that he used the word "whole" to mean such a collection of other individuals as a family, a town, a state, a profession. It is not simply a choice between self-interest and one of those societies to which a man may well, and even a selfish man constantly does, sacrifice his interests, but it is a multiple choice, because the interests of these wholes come into collision. Mankind must have progress, not unchanging perfection. Loyalty to family or tribe is essential to progress, and it was essential to very early and primitive progress, and is therefore a direct product of the individual. The argument that it is folly because it involves a loss to the self-regarding instincts was an appeal from the later stages of evolution to the earlier.

Evolution and Morals.

Coming to the central point of his argument, Mr. Balfour said that the essential point is the answer to the question whether, granting that selection has improved the altruistic feelings in their earlier stages, we can attribute the growth of morality and the higher ideals to the continued action of natural selection. The higher emotions, he argued, can have no effect upon the struggle for existence. Nobody could maintain that in that brute struggle the virtues of mercy, charity, and loving kindness are to the advantage of the race from the point of view of a biologist, who studies what it is that enables one organism to oust another. For this view, the lecturer said, he could quote high authority. Nietzsche was perhaps the best known in this country by the references to superman made by a brilliant dramatic writer, but he had many disciples in his own country. Neitzsche held that the higher virtues are what he called denaturalized—that they have no place in the natural development of morals, and that they have only been made possible by religious beliefs. Mr. Balfour summoned him as a witness to his premises, not to his conclusions, because Nietzsche's conclusion was that the higher virtues are not merely express products, but even harmful products, of the biological process, and ought to be stamped out. His own conclusion was diametrically opposite, but he agreed that the higher virtues cannot retain values if they are to be judged simply as helping or hindering the internecine struggle for existence.

As another Witness Mr. Balfour quoted Huxleys' Romanes lecture delivered in 1893. It was, he said, an impressive and a pathetic lecture, because, while Huxley accepted no form of religion and was an agnostic, and, indeed, the coiner of that convenient word, and while he took a purely naturalistic view of the universe, he felt as Mr. Balfour himself felt, that the higher values cannot be hitched into the evolutionary process, to which he assigned everything around him and behind which he saw nothing but energy and matter. It was with the utmost diffidence that he differed from so eminent a biologist, but he thought Huxley went too far when he said that all that is ethically best is opposed to success in the cosmic struggle. In opposition to this unhappy conclusion stood maternal love, one of the highest things in the ethical scale, and still unsurpassed. He could not himself pass upon the evolutionary process the same heavy condemnation which was passed on it by that great man, who had done so much to make it intelligible to the world, but he asked how any one who takes Huxley's view even in a less extreme form could imagine that the higher scale of ethics is going to retain its value as a by-product or a dangerous product of evolution.

In an impressive passage Mr. Balfour then reminded his hearers of the power exercised upon mankind by the phrase, "a return to

nature." If the simple teaching of nature is that the higher virtues are useless and noxious, is not the teaching of Nietzsche an inevitable conclusion? Men will argue that if development and the course of progress must always be the result of constant internecine warfare, then they must pin their faith on the untrammelled licence of that struggle, and the return to nature would mean the abandonment of all the higher and tenderer virtues in which the value of life entirely depends for us.

THE RELIGIOUS FRAMEWORK.

In conclusion, Mr. Balfour referred to the efforts of philosophers and preachers to show that there is no real discrepancy between self-interest and altruism. Such efforts are not founded on past experience: they represent the ideal of a future reconciliation. Such an ideal has no meaning on a naturalistic basis, and we wish to keep and to improve their higher values. If we feel that progress in ethics has been as great as in knowledge and in the arts of life, we must be content with the belief that ethics has now no survival value and no root in some higher moral purpose which, as the world grows, will ever give it more and more meaning. "If," said the speaker, "we are to keep the highest of all values in the scale where religion has placed them, and where we instinctively feel they ought to be, we cannot tear away that religious framework and suppose that the ideas remain." A theistic setting, he again insisted, was a necessity for ethics. The argument from design, he added, was not so much the ingenuity of the contrivance, but it required such an argument as he had been placing before them to add to the conception of a powerful and, if he might say so, an ingenious Deity, the conception of a God, the author of all that is beautiful and of all that is good.

The Paris Press.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, Jan. 2.

To those who are accustomed to the aspect of English or American newspapers the Paris Press, including those journals which have adopted big headlines, seems at first sight quiet and unenterprising. This, however, is far from being the case, and it may be questioned if anywhere there are half a dozen journals in the world that give such elaborate and up to date information on foreign affairs as does the *Temps*, which sometimes by half-past four in the afternoon produces with the aid of the telephone the greater part of a debate that has begun in the German Reichstag at 1 o'clock. The *Temps* is one of the few Paris journals which retains its old literary, philosophic and scientific flavour, while keeping pace with modern demand for full and early news on all the events of the day. The *Journal des Débats* with a considerably less elaborate news organization, likewise retains many of its old traditions, but there are a number of flourishing halfpenny journals, the *Matin*, the *Journal*, the *Petit Parisien* and the *Petit Journal*, which relegate both literary form and philosophy to a second place, and frankly devote themselves to supplying fresh and lively news.

The history of Parisian journalistic enterprise during the last 60 or 70 years reveals the fact that a great many innovations which are supposed to be English or American in origin originated in *la ville lumière*. Take the great news agencies of the world: Havas is the father of them. The *Agence Havas* was founded about 1835 by an enterprising translator, M. Havas, who used to select the most interesting news from foreign journals and supply it to the *Constitutionnel*. He subsequently opened a little office in the Rue Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and began to supply his foreign news to all the Paris newspapers, but his first great success was the establishment of a service of carrier-pigeons between Paris, London and Brussels. His pigeons left London at 8 A. M., and he got his news culled from the English Press at 2 P. M. From Brussels to Paris the pigeons only took four hours. M. Havas likewise was first in the field in the employment of railways and telegraphs for news purposes. The Reuter's Agency, it is believed, came from his office, as did M. Wolff, who established the agency of that name in Berlin.

THE ORIGIN OF "LA PRESSE."

These and a great many more interesting details of Press development in Paris are given in a comprehensive article by M. Louis Latzarus, the first part of which is published in the current number of the *Revue de Paris*. M. Latzarus traces the editorial and business methods of modern Paris journalism from what he describes as the memorable date of July 1, 1836, when de Girardin founded *La Presse*. Up to that date the Paris newspapers had been essentially organs of opinion and addressed themselves exclusively to the well-to-do classes. The annual subscription was uniform and it was 80f. (£3 4s.). Louis Philippe's Prime Minister, de Villele, when proposing for political purposes to raise the newspaper postage, calculated that a paper with only 5,000 subscribers made a profit of £2,000 a year. At that time there were about a dozen daily papers in Paris which led a struggling existence and realized what their proprietors regarded as a reasonable profit, ranging from the figure just mentioned. Here is de Villele's calculation of the cost of production for the *Constitutionnel* with 20,000 subscribers. According to his calculation, the production of the first 1,000 copies cost annually just under £2,000 and that of the remaining 19,000 about £4,350. The total cost of production was thus about £6,350a year. The stamp tax was six centimes, about a halfpenny, and the postage for the provincial subscribers—two-thirds of the whole—two centimes, or under a farthing, these two items together amounting to about £21,480. The total expenditure was thus about £27,800. The subscriptions produced £57,600, so that the net profit was about £30,000.

The *Constitutionnel*, however, challanged these figures in its own interest, and made out its profits to be only £14,000.

In any case, there was a great opportunity for a newspaper which would appeal to a wider circle of readers, and de Girardin seized it. He founded *La Presse*, and reduced the subscription by half—to £1 12s.—calculating that with 10,000 subscribers he would lose £8,000 a year, but counting upon making good his loss and securing a handsome profit from advertisements. He soon had 10,000 subscribers then 20,000, and ultimatly 25,000. The paper, instead of expressing political views of its own, invited contributions from all political camps. It introduced the *feuilleton* and the column of daily gossip, and it had among its contributors Balzac and Victor Hugo. There were scientific, agricultural, and industrial reviews, and general articles on various aspects of life in foreign countries. The modern journal was thus established.

The later development, after the *Presse* had been freed from the stamp duty and also from the censorship during the Second Empire, is marked by the foundation of the halfpenny Press in the form of the *Petit Journal* in 1863, a paper containing such petty news touching all sides of practical life and giving no place to polemics or even discussion. The *Petit Parisien* followed on the same lines, and these two papers soon ran neck and neck with a circulation of over 500,000 —"records" in the period between 1880 and 1900. Here is M. Latzarus's explanation of their success:—

These two papers are intended for the mass of the people—peasants, workmen, and *petites gens*. They give these classes exactly what they want —a popular, easily-read article on some incident of the day, a sentimental *feuilleton*, a full and moving account of all the dramas of the police-court, reports of the proceedings in the two Chambers without comment, and very little foreign news. The assassination of a dairymaid has more chance of interesting readers than a Speech from the Throne.

CIRCULATIONS TO-DAY.

The *Matin*, somnolent when it was bought by M. Poidatz in 1898, soon adopted a still more ambitious programme, and became a six-page paper. In three years it attained a circulation of nearly 286,000. M. Poidatz then thought that it had its utmost development and parted with it, but he was mistaken, as the *Matin* has altogether increased its circulation by 1,000 per cent. In Paris the circulation of newspapers, in addition to their own calculation, forms the subject of police statistics. The *Matin* produces good evidence that its average and normal circulation is a million copies; the Prefecture of police says 640,000 copies. Similarly for the *Journal*, the police estimate is 997,000, but M. Latzarus has "sure information" that its circulation is over 1,200,000. In the case of the *Petit Parisien*, the two estimates are 1,090,000 copies and 1,550,000. There are now 66 daily so-called political newspapers published in Paris, and it is calculated that their total circulation is six million copies a day, of which no fewer than 4½ millions are accounted for by the *Petit Parisien*, the *Journal*, the *Matin*, and the *Petit Journal*. Among the remaining 62 papers there are 25 which have only the appearance of life. Some of them do not issue more than 200 or 300 copies, and there are others which have only an issue of 100, 50, or even 25 copies.

"They have neither an office," M. Letzarus says, "nor a staff nor readers." They have only a name, which may once have been famous, and it is mysteriously added:—"To issue a dead journal is nevertheless a fairly profitable occupation." The method of making it so is not explained.

The great journals which cost more than a halfpenny, the *Temps* and the *Figaro* in particular, do not require a circulation counted by hundreds of thousands in order to pay. The class of readers to whom they appeal makes them most potent mediums for advertisers. Many of the smaller journals live upon the *Temps* in respect of their information, as it has a splendidly organized news service both at home and abroad, besides its special scientific and literary articles by eminent writers, who place their pens at its service. M. Latzarus considers that there are only three Paris halfpenny journals which have a permanent organization that renders them independent of the *Temps* news. These are the *Petit Parisien*, the *Petit Journal*, and the *Matin*. The *Petit Parisien* publishes six and sometimes seven editions a day, of which five are dispatched to the provinces, the first at 6 p. m., and the fifth at 11 p. m.; the Paris and the suburban editions appear at 2.30 a. m. and at 4 a. m. The *Matin* contents itself with publishing a special edition whenever there is any piece of news of quite first rate importance. The *Petit Parisien* and the *Petit Journal* require to have an editorial staff at work all day, in addition to their night staff.

There is a great deal of further interesting and detailed information in M. Latzarus's article. He shows, for example, how the *Petit Parisien* was the first halfpenny paper to devote systematic attention to labour movements and trade unionism. Its halfpenny contemporaries soon had to follow its example as their circulation increased and an ever-growing proportion of their readers belonged to the working classes. He traces the development of newspaper photography, which was begun by M. Poidatz, of the *Matin*, in 1903. That paper can now produce a zinc *cliché* ready to be inserted in the formed in 32 minutes. The methods of the newspaper photographer as well as of the Paris reporter are fully discussed.

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