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.

Frontier Outrage.

(From the Englishman's Special Correspondent.)

Peshawar, Feb. 19.

A report has come in that the Sussex Regiment now under canvas at Jelassi, on manœuvres, were fired on by a band of men said to be two hundred who are known to have been in that neighbourhood some weeks.

Army bearers have been sent out in case of eventualities and artillery horses are kept in lines, pending orders.

Nothing authentic is known as to casualties, but the Cantonment is practically on the *qui vive*.

On monday night raiders attacked the west abbutment of Attock Bridge. The police resisted wounding some raiders. After a fusilade of some hours the raiders retired.

Nowshera, Feb. 23, 7 a.m.

The greatest excitement prevails here and at Peshawar and all kinds of rumours are afloat regarding a pending expedition. Nearly all the troops in Noushera have marched for Hoti Mardan where a whole Brigade is now encamped. The official explanation is that the troops are engaged in manœuvres. It may be remembered that the same explanation was offered in 1908 prior to General Willcock's raid into the Zakkha Khel country. Colonels Murray and Reddy, Supply and Transport Corps, have arrived here from Peshawar to superintend their department. Additional troops have been ordered to hold themselves in readiness at Peshawar, including two companies of the 14th Sikhs, who are under orders to move to Hoti Mardan when required.

I am informed that no general advance will be made till Friday. The opinion is that the troops are off to wipe out the tribal raiders, but cannot advance till the sanction of the Home authorities to the move has been obtained.

The roads are bad for mobile columns.

Ægean Problem.

London, Feb. 16.

The replies of Turkey and Greece regarding the Aegean Islands, each making reservations, leave the situation much what it was prior to the presentation of the Notes. The Porte's reply is somewhat strongly worded, and expresses keen regret that the Powers have not taken into consideration the vital interest of the Turkish Empire.

Greece and Turkey.

London, Feb. 16.

A telegram from Athens states that M. Venizelos has returned from his European tour and has told the Cabinet that the close understanding between Greece, Rumania and Servia has secured the maintenance of the *status quo* in the Balkans and has rendered complications between Turkey and Greece impossible. The Greece Cabinet to-day discussed various matters, including the immediate strengthening of the Navy.

Turkey.

London, Feb. 16.

The Ottoman Bank Public Debt and the Tobacco Regie have advanced the Porte £400,000 to pay one month's salary to officials in Constantinople which are three months in arrear, excluding the salary for December which has been abandoned to help the increase in the Navy.

Constantinople, Feb. 16.

An Infantry Captain, Djemal Eddin Bidhri, has been sentenced to death and his property confiscated on a charge of attempted revolution and participation in the assassination of Mahmud Shefket Pasha.

London, Feb. 16.

Colonel Aziz Ali Bey, the distinguished Egyptian Arab officer who revived Arab resistance in Cyrenaica after the departure of Enver Bey, has been arrested in Constantinople on arriving from Egypt. He will be court-martialled, being suspected of belonging to the Arab Political Association, the object of which is to undermine the authority of the Committee of Union and Progress. The greatest indignation prevails in Cairo where the arrest is attributed to Enver Pasha's jealousy.

Constantinople, Feb. 23.

Lieutenant Kemal has been court-martialled for deserting his post at Janina, and furnishing the enemy with plans of the forts. He was shot this morning.

Servia and Bulgaria.

Belgrade, Feb. 18.

King Peter to-day received in audience M. Tchappachicoff, Bulgarian Minister, in the presence of the Premier and Foreign

Minister. Speeches were made refering to the benefits resulting from the renewal of diplomatic relations.

Greece and the Powers.

Athens, Feb. 22.

The reply of Greece to the Powers was presented yesterday. It declares that Greece is ready to conform to the decision of the Powers. It assumes that the Powers will decide that islands which they do not allow to be fortified will never be the object of attack, and agrees to evacuate the territories assigned to Albania within the time fixed. It also undertakes not to encourage resistance to the decisions of the Powers, but urges the incorporation in Greece of certain villages in the Argrocastro Valley, for which Greece is prepared to pay Albania 2½ million francs and accept modification of the frontier extending from the Albanian coast to Cape Pagania.

Greece thanks the Powers for an equitable solution of the question of the islands, and assumes that Turkey will not be allowed to fortify the coasts opposite the unfortified islands. Greece is prepared to give Turkey guarantees on this point and will also effectively prevent smuggling between the islands and the mainland. Greece will likewise guarantee protection for Mussulman minorities in Greek islands, and hopes that the Powers will demand a similar guarantee for the religious and educational liberties of Greeks in Imbros and Tenedos.

Albania.

London, Feb. 16.

The Prince of Wied will visit London to pay his respects to the King, and to confer with Sir Edward Grey, prior to leaving for Albania.

London, Feb. 18.

Prince William of Wied lunched with the King and Queen at Buckingham Palace, and conferred with Sir Edward Grey. He also visited various ambassadors. The Prince of Wied has been invested with the G. C. V. O.

London, Feb. 21.

Prince William of Wied has received the Albanian deputation and formally accepted the throne of Albania.

Neuwied, Feb. 22.

The Prince of Wied was ceremoniously received to-day by an Albanian deputation led by Essad Pasha, who said that the deputation, on behalf of Albania, asked the Prince to accept the throne of free and independent Albania. The Prince replied that he would devote himself with heart and might to his new country, and hoped, with the support of the Albanians, to lead Albania to a glorious future.

Berlin, Feb. 22.

The *Norddeutche Allegemeine Zeitung* announces that the Prince of Weid will visit Petersburg on the 26th instant, and meet the Tsar and Russian statesmen.

Bagdad Railway.

London, Feb. 16.

The French and German Governments will now deal directly regarding certain details of the agreement on the Turkish Railway, and financial questions which will not take effect until both came to an understanding with Turkey.

The Berlin correspondent of the *Times* adds that the next steps will doubtless be the completion of the already practically perfect agreements between Britain, Germany and Turkey regarding the Bagdad Railway and the Gulf, and the early arrangement of a Turkish loan in Paris with Djavid Bey. The ostensible object of the argeement is to prevent all further disputes about rival railway rights and claims. The real effect will doubtless be to settle the whole railway map of Asia Minor, establishing Russian and French claims in the north and French claims throughout Syria, leaving Germany free from all possible interference over the whole Bagdad Railway sphere of action, including various northern branches, but precluding access to the Black Sea.

Persia.

Teheran, Feb. 18.

Fighting with the Baluch raiders ceased this morning when the Gendarmes returned to Bam owing to insufficiency of ammunition. It is hoped that it will be possible to obtain reinforcements from Kerman.

It is stated officially that the Russian troops at Kazvin will begin to leave in April, and it is explained that the new force recently landed at Enzeli was to replace troops whose time had expired.

Arnold Appeal.

London, Feb. 16.

The appeal of Mr. Channing Arnold against his conviction for libelling a Magistrate in Burma in 1912 was before the Privy Council to-day.

Sir Robert Finlay, opening on behalf of Mr. Arnold, reviewed the case at length. He had not concluded when the Court adjourned.

London, Feb. 18.

The hearing of the appeal of Mr. Channing Arnold was resumed before the Privy Council to-day. Sir Robert Finlay argued at some length that the Magistrate should not have ignored the petitions against his hearing the original case as he was a friend of the accused, McCormick. Mr. Andrew should have held his hand until the Chief Court had disposed of the application that another Magistrate should hear the case. Sir Robert Finlay maintained that Mr. Arnold had acted in good faith.

Indians in Africa.

Capetown, Feb. 19.

The Rev. C. Andrews will sail for England on the 21st instant. He has paid a farewell visit to General Botha and General Smuts on behalf of the Union Government, they both warmly thanked Mr. Andrews for the services he has rendered towards a peaceful solution of the Indian question. General Smuts assured Mr. Andrews of his sincere desire and hope for a speedy settlement, which he would do all in his power to realise.

Allahabad, Feb. 20.

It is expected that the South African Commission of Enquiry into the matters connected with Indians in the Union will reassemble on the 23rd instant and be able to finish their report early in March. Thereafter it will have to be considered by the Union Government.

Posts and Telegraphs,

(From the Englishmam's Own Correspondent.)

Delhi, Feb. 21.

Information has been received that the scheme for the amalgamation of the Post Office and Telegraph Department has been sanctioned by the Secretary of State. This scheme has been prepared on the lines of the experimental amalgamation under trial in Bombay and Central Circles since 1912, which involves a complete separation of the engineering and traffic duties. The Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs will be assisted at headquarters by a Chief Engineer and a Deputy Director-General for telegraph traffic. All traffic work, throughout the country will be transferred to the control of the Postmasters-General. For engineering purposes India, excluding Burma, will be divided into three administrative charges, controlled by Directors of Telegraph Engineering, who will be responsible for all technical and engineering work. In Burma the Post Office and Telegraph Department will be placed under the control of a Postmaster-General, who will be a senior Telegraph Officer. The scheme involves a considerable reduction in the sanctioned number of superior Engineering appointments in the Telegraph Department. Adequate measures have, however, been taken to safeguard the interests of all officers now in the service. An offer of special pensions will be made to a certain number of these, but the scheme will not involve any compulsory retirements. A new branch called the Superior Traffic Branch, comprising forty appointments on liberal rates of pay will be created and it will be recruited mainly from the subordinate staff as the existing surplus of superior officers is reduced. One-fourth of the superior engineering appointments made in future will also be open to the subordinate staff. The scheme will be introduced from the 1st April next, or as soon after as possible. Full details will be published later.

Press Act.

London, Feb. 24.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Morrell asked questions with reference to the right of appeal to civil courts, under the Press Act and quoted the Chief Justice of Bengal as saying that the task imposed on the applicant to courts who must show that his pamphlet did not contain words falling within the all-comprehensive provisions of the Act was almost a hopeless one. Mr. Roberts said that Mr. Morrell was extending to all actions taken under the Act certain remarks regarding the action taken under section 12. Lord Crewe, after careful consideration of the recent debate in the Viceroy's Council held that the powers of appeal provided by the Act might suffice to supply a remedy against an arbitrary administration of the Act. Mr. Morrell asked whether Lord Crewe would direct further enquiry into the forfeiture of the Lahore daily paper *Zemindar*.

Mr. Roberts replied that Lord Crewe had seen the articles which had led to the forfeiture of the paper. The Editor was entitled to appeal to the High Court. Lord Crewe would await the result of any such action before considering the matter further.

South Africa.

Cape Town, Feb. 2

The Rev. Mr. Andrews, in a letter to the "Cape Times" on the eve of his departure, warmly acknowledges the generosity with which he has been treated in South Africa. He expresses the opinion that the atmosphere with regard to the Indian question has wonderfully improved since the beginning of the year. He says that Mr. Gandhi's chivalrous attitude during the January strike and General Smuts' great considerateness at a time of overwhelming pressure, brought about a very conciliatory and reasonable spirit, which was needed. Mr. Andrews suggests that a minor measure of relief might be introduced in Parliament during the present session. As indicating that if outstanding questions were arranged the settlement would be final, he states that the moment that a settlement has been reached Mr. Gandhi will depart for India. The main points are the £3 tax, with regard to which Mr. Andrews anticipates no difficulty, and the marriage question, in connection with which he says that they have still sufficient faith in the omniscience of lawyers to be certain that they will find a phrase to meet the situation. The only rock ahead is on the side of the Mohamedans. "Let there be no compulsion in religion," is one of the most admirable precepts of the Koran, Mr. Andrews points out. If the Union Government legalises and registers one marriage, and one only, there will be no objection made, but if the State goes beyond and attacks, or appears to attack the Mohamedan religion itself, there will be endless trouble and endless misunderstanding.

The Indian Commission resumed the hearing of the evidence to-day.

The President of the Cape British Indian Union complained about the Immigration Department interpreters and accused them of [illegible]. He further expressed the opinion that Parliament should legalise polygamy, stating that only about seven per cent. of the Indians had more than one wife.

Three-Pound Tax.

Capetown, Feb. 24.

Before the commission to enquire into the grievances of Indians to-day, Mr. Meyler, member of the Assembly, and Senators Churchill, Winter, and Johnstone gave evidence in connection with the Three-Pound Tax. Mr. Meyler and Mr. Churchill favoured the repeal of the tax, but Mr. Winter and Mr. Johnstone its retention.

Cost of Delhi.

(REUTER'S SERVICE.)

London, Feb. 23.

In the House of Commons in reply to Sir Charles Hunter, Mr. Charles Roberts, the new Under-Secretary for India, said that according to the estimates of engineers and architects which the Government of India was now examining, the outlay on all Government buildings in Delhi would amount to £2,800,000.

Delhi, Feb. 24.

With reference to the statement made in the House of Commons regarding the cost of new Delhi by Mr. Charles Roberts, no information is available here regarding the Government of India buildings which the estimate of £2,800,000 is supposed to cover.

Apparently the orders have been given that no information of any kind is to be given to the public, as all the authorities concerned with the construction of New Delhi practically decline to answer any queries, and questioners are referred to the recent answer given to a question in the Legislative Council by Sir Robert Carlyle.

March of the "Guides."

Delhi, Feb. 23.

In consequence of two serious raids recently committed by Bunerwals in British territory, the first on 4th January at Balagardhi and the second on 6th January at Chena, near Rastam, in which altogether eight British subjects were murdered, it was decided to move the Malakand moveable column to-day over the Malandri Pass into Buner, with a view to rounding up two of the villages most concerned, viz. Nawa Kili and Langi Khan Bānda, a distance of a few miles from the frontier and taking hostages and moveable property as security for the due settlement of these cases. At 8-15 this morning the Malandri Pass was occupied by the Gudies after slight opposition. The troops had a tiring night march and the country beyond was enveloped in mist when they reached the top. The troops succeeded in taking the villages and in securing a number of prisoners. No casualties have been reported on our side and the column is on its way back.

Our London Letter.

London, 6th Feb. 1914.

"THE PROBLEM OF ASIATIC TURKEY."

This month's number of the *Contemporary Review* contains a very interesting article on the above subject by Mr. M. Philips Price, which is not only characterised by perfect reasonableness of attitude, but is equally saturated with a degree of impartiality which is seldom witnessed in most of the communications on this and kindred subjects, which have been rather frequently appearing in the numerous monthlies, weeklies, and other periodicals of late. It is a curious fact that writers, who usually deal with the NearEast, the MiddleEast and, as a matter of fact, the Oriental questions in general, are broadly speaking, either so heavily steeped in their hatred and prejudice for the Oriental or, on the contrary, are so excessively sympathetic towards the peoples of the East that, on carefully perusing their articles, one cannot sometimes help feeling that their authors have unconsciously been carried away by their sentiments, one way or the other, occasionally even at the risk of sacrificing deep conviction and honest opinion. For the ordinary reader, in such cases, nothing will be more difficult than to succeed in arriving at a reasonable decision.

It is, therefore, with particular pleasure that those who are in any way interested in the question of Asiatic Turkey will welcome Mr. Philips Price's article on the subject. The authoritative personality of the writer and the breadth of view which so forcibly tinges his remarks, added to which is an extraordinary amount of local knowledge and absolute fairness, will undoubtedly proceed far in dispelling the deep-rooted ideas, which are held in certain quarters as regards the so-called Armenian question, with which Mr. Price deals in his article with such lucidity and impartiality.

A more clear statement of facts concerning the re-occupation of the sacred city of Adrianople has never been made before. That step was absolutely imperative for the very existence of European Turkey, and whether it was in accordance with or against the terms of the Treaty of London, had to be taken under the circumstances, and so no reasonable critic could find faults with the Turks for having taken the right step at the right moment. We need not here enter into the vexed question whether the Turks are the only people in modern times, who have not fully observed the terms of a Treaty !

Mr. Price's words on the Armenian aspect of the question are full of significance and should be read carefully. He goes fully into the various modes and methods in which the Armenians are rendering themselves a 'general nuisance' to the authorities.

The writer quotes a happy little instance in which he found the Armenians and Turks assembled under a common roof—this happened on every Sunday—for religious purposes, when perfect harmony and good-will prevailed between the followers of Christianity and Islam, and goes on thus : "All of us, whether Christian or Mohamedan, were worshipping at the same shrine, and whatever may be said against Islam, this incident is enough to prove that there is no other religion which shows more tolerance for the rights and customs of other faiths." Incidentally, what a magnificient and generous tribute to the tolerance of Islam is so truly embodied in these simple yet charming words of Mr. Philips Price!

" . . . . "Such," the writer goes on, "is the paradox of Eastern life. But no one who visits Lesser Armenia can say that the Armenians are crushed under the heel of a tyrannous Turk. In Zeitun at least, it is the other way." The writer recommends as a remedial measure the employment of European advisers, from the neutral States, to help the Turkish authorities in the solution of this problem, which alone would, according to him, render the administration of this part of the Turkish Empire successful. But he is emphatic on the question of "retention" of Turkish control over Armenia, for the sole benefit of the Armenians themselves, if not for any other reason. With that view it is difficult for any fair-minded person to disagree.

"LIFE IN THE HAREM."

Your lady-readers may perhaps be interested to know that, under the above heading, a series of articles, from the pen of an English woman, Grace Ellison, have recently appeared in the *Daily Telegrayh*, which has been giving an unusual prominence to the communications. It is satisfactory to note that on the whole the tone of the articles has been friendly and the writer has certainly rendered a useful service to her Turkish sisters by removing the deplorable impressions which unfortunately exist in Europe concerning the "harem" and Moslem women. Grace Ellison has been in close touch with some of the best families in Turkey, with whom she is on terms of intimate friendship, and so she can speak with an authority seldom possessed by the thousand and one European women, who have in the past atempted to write on this important subject from "personal experience."

"The Turkish woman," says Grace Ellison, "does not often open the doors of her home to the foreigner, not for lack of any friendly feeling towards her, but because the foreigner has lost her confidence, the foreigner has made fun of her, and, above all, the foreigner "pities" her. But when the Turkish woman opens her door to the foreigner, she opens her big, generous heart too. Always and always, however intimate may be their conversations, the honoured guest stands on a pedestal, and the generous hostess is at her feet, longing only for an opportunity of showing courtesy and kindness. In no other land have I met such a lavish hospitality—hospitality even that makes one feel a little uncomfortable, especially when one realizes how little one has done to deserve it. The courtesy also is almost overwhelming. Every time I go in and out of the room the assembled company, men and women, stand, and every time coffee, cigarettes and sweets are brought by the slaves for the guests, my hostess rises to serve me herself. It is the custom, too, for the master of the house to pay all the visitors' bills. That I should have proposed to stamp my own letters hurt my friends more than anything I could have said or done. I feel almost guilty when I accept all and give nothing in return, and always I have before me the haunting fear of the terrible disappointment my friend will have when she visits my country, for our hospitality cannot be compared in any way to this."

The writer goes on " . . . . But cleanliness, as every one knows, is godliness itself in the Moslem religion. . . . . The Minister of the Interior, Talaat Bey, a man of surprising energy with a clear understanding of men and things, a real God-send to this country in its present state, encourages any work for the advancement of women, and he is paying particular attention to their education. . . . . . . The dawn is coming slowly; but it will come if the Turkish woman really wishes it and works always with that aim before her—the uplifting of her sex. . . . . Every time coffee is served—and coffee is offered to every visitor—I take a cup, it gives me a better chance of studying the curious scene in which I am playing a part, and the more I look, the more beautiful it seems to me, and it makes me almost sad to think I cannot meet with this spirit of democracy in any other land. But the most beautiful part of it all is the absolute 'naturalness' of the situation. The rich woman has not the patronising attitude of the Western woman towards her humble sisters, the poor woman has not the cringing gratitude of the West for favours received; each knows her part, each is fulfilling her destiny, each is content with her lot."

WESTERN MISCONCEPTIONS.

Grace Ellison's own words, in her noble attempt to remove the sad misconceptions prevailing in Europe as regards Turkey and the Turks, are precise and full of significance. "I do not swear" she writes, "by everything Turkish, much as I love the Turks. They have their faults; which nation has not its faults? But as a woman, who has led the life of a Turkish woman, surely I am privileged to point out to the reader the most beautiful features of this life as I see them. We have been unjust to Turkey; we have for so long confounded the Turkish subjects with the cruel despots of the Hamidian *regime*; we have for so long now condemned wholsale everything Turkish, and the novel-writers of the day describe a Turkey which certainly does not exist to-day. . . . . And the word 'harem'! When will Europe understand the meaning of that unfortunate word? An Arabic word, meaning "sacred" or "forbidden," it is used to describe those rooms in a Turkish house exclusively reserved for the women. Imagine for a moment a Konak (Turkish palace, a large Turkish country-house), situated on a hill, and with a magnificient view over the sea of Marmora and its picturesque islands. The wooden gates are always open, the beggars enter at leisure and loiter in the carriage-drive, and walk along the garden-paths, and sit under the trees and eat the fruit; so that unless you notice you have entered a gate you would imagine yourself still on the road. To the the ordinary tourist this garden would seem a mass of ruins, a waste heap, a place most shamefully neglected. But the connoisseur knows at once the priceless treasures this garden contains, relics of Byzantian fountains, caves, cornerstones, for which Western museums would give a fortune. There are two entrances to this Turkish house. One leads into the selamlik; and the other leading into the *harem* is at the side. In the selamlik or men's quarters, there are reception rooms, a dining-room and bed-rooms for the unmarried male relations living here. A door in the selamlik leads into a big saloon, and a door also from the *harem* leads into this same big saloon. It is here that European guests are received, having entered by the door of the selamlik, and this is all they see of a Turkish house; it is here they must find all the material for their romances of Turkish life. Occasionally through the open door they catch a glimpse of some of the ladies of the house, who pass by the door, and who strictly keep their hair veiled. They see, perhaps, the slaves in their picturesque costumes, and immediately the thought of "polygamy" enters their minds; all these ladies must be the wives of the Pasha.

Polygamy does not exist nowadays in Turkey, or at least it is very exceptional. Even the members of the Imperial Family content themselves with one wife. The Turkish woman is exceedingly proud, and insists that her honour be respected, and personally I know few would put up with the "polygamy" which women of the Latin races are obliged to accept. The Turk, as a rule, is a good husband and father; perhaps it is that he sees in his wife a charm the European does not possess." " . . . . All these reforms" she concludes "are going on in what Europe considers an almost bankrupt State. Education, new roads, industries, a new navy, everything is needed; but Turkey will pull herself together if only she has confidence in herself."

"ASIATIC IMMIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES."

A Bill to prohibit Asiatics from settling down in the United States of America, according to Reuter, has been rejected in the House of Representatives at Washington. Though the object of the Bill was obviously to arrest the growth of the Japanese colony on the Pacific coast of America, the main plea put forth by the Government as warranting its rejection was the consideration that, bearing in mind the fact that Great Britain, who is about to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the Treaty of Ghent, which has given a century of Peace to her and America, had millions of Asiatics under her rule; it would not be a friendly act on the part of the Americans were they to introduce and pass legislation forbidding Asiatic immigration into American territory. It is, no doubt, a cruel irony of fate that, at the present moment, hundreds of loyal Indian subjects of His Majesty are being treated with open antogonism, if not with actual brutality in certain parts of the Empire itself. The situation is indeed extraordinary and requires the highest statesmanship for its definite and permanent solution.

TETE À TETE

The trouble at the Medical College, Lahore.

A VERY grave situation has come to exist in the Lahore Medical College which is causing serious public anxiety in the Punjab and calls for immediate intervention on the part of the local Government. Practically the entire body of the College students decided some days ago not to attend their classes as long as certain complaints of theirs remained unheard, and after submitting their complaints in writing to the Principal they carried their decision into effect. We received a copy of the students' representation at the time, but we preferred to wait and see the things settling themselves amicably without being drummed and shouted abroad. When the alumni of a public institution find themselves at cross-purposes with their teachers, one's natural wish is to leave the things alone lest by keeping up a running fire of excited comments at a distance one might only injure where one meant to serve. We regret, however, that it is no longer possible in the public interest to ignore the serious *impasse* that has been reached in the affairs of the College mainly, it would seem, through the stiff and unbending attitude of the Principal. Several days have passed since the students ceased to attend their lectures. They have made some earnest attempts to settle the matters and return to their studies, but they seem to have failed. Public anxiety has, in the meantime, been growing and signs of excitement are manifesting themselves in the Lahore student world. A big public meeting recently held in Lahore showed in an unmistakable manner what gravity is generally attached to the situation. Yet the Principal has proceeded with supreme nonchalance to tell the students that their names have been struck off the College rolls and for readmission they will have to apply individually to him presumably bearing in mind his earlier reminder not unlike a threat that each one of them will have "his case considered on its merits." And all this, we may presume, has been done in the name of discipline. We need not say that we know the great value of a regulated educational regime even if it is a little austere on occasions. The maintenance of authority and strict control over students is a postulate that has seldom been questioned in India. But unfortunately we have been accustomed in this country to hear the cry of discipline mostly in cases where common tact and sympathy have been conspicuous by their absence.

The Students' Grievances.

WE must, however, see what it is that drove the students into a course that can be justified only in rare circumstances. We have before us the representation submitted by them to their Principal, and if half of what they complain of is true, their case is indeed deserving of sympathy. They say, in brief, that the treatment accorded to them by the Principal himself and several members of his staff is such as would be intolerable to any person not wholly devoid of self-respect. They have invariably to face brusque and contemptuous manners. They have even to put up with vulgar epithets and abuse, "as if the students were the vilest worms and not respectable youngmen of high University education." The treatment accorded to them by the head of the institution has, they say, lowered them in the eyes of the clerks, the nursing staff and even the menials of the hospital. The only thing they want in this connection is that "we should at least be shown the same consideration as the students of the Arts Colleges are shown by their principals and professors." Then, again, they complain of various disabilities they have to bear in the prosecution of their professional studies, which are both serious and manifold. They complain also that the number of scholarships has been reduced and that the system of taking bonds amounts in actual practice to a mere "hindrance against prosecution of higher studies abroad." There are still further difficulties that are placed in the way of those who wish to go to England for higher medical training. The students proceed to say, however, that "we might have perhaps still put up with the disadvantages from which we have so long been suffering, but the climax was reached on Wednesday last. As the proceedings of the London Hospital students were unfair and unwarranted as condemning the whole race of Indian students and as we feared that their example might be followed by other institutions, we approached you with a request to preside at a meeting we proposed to hold in order to protest against the resolutions of the English students of the London Hospital. . . . We were grieved to learn, however, that you refused to entertain the application and help us in the matter, but added to our chagrin by endorsing the opinions of the London Hospital students and in addition insulting us by condemning our own character, making remarks about our behaviour towards the nursing staff, which we beg to say were quite unjustified." This, as the students say, was the last straw that broke the camel's back. They decided at last in a body to stay away from the college intimating that "we will be only too glad to return to the college when we are kindly given distinct assurance that our grievances will be redressed and no punishment of any sort will be inflicted on any one of us for our staying out of the college." The Principal returned to this representation a curt reply saying that each student's case would be judged on its merit and fixing a date for the unconditional return of the students to their duties after which no roll-calls would be taken.

The Attitude of the Principal.

Now it is obvious that the students alleged inconsiderate and harsh treatment at the hands of the Principal himself. They also urged a number of other complaints of a decidedly serious character. And they asked for nothing beyond a "distinct assurance" that their grievances would be properly dealt with. The proper course for the Principal was to give the assurance and let an independent inquiry be made into the complaints of the students. The allegations about ill-treatment are serious enough in all conscience, and if they could be shown to be groundless the students should have been punished as they deserved. We know what is the usual fate of such grievances when those against whom complaints are made themselves sit in judgment. We can well understand why the students held back. When the date fixed for their return to the College was over, the Principal issued another notice based on the decisions of the College Council, that "the students have severed their connection with the College by their own action" and that they shall be re-admitted only if a fresh application is made by each individual in person not later than the 1st of March. He further stated that the students had made allegations of ill-treatment against the professors and the Principal which shall have to be proved or denied. So there the matter rests. We wonder why the local Government has not yet intervened to save the situation from becoming still more scandalous and grave. It is essential to hold a prompt, thorough and impartial inquiry into the matter and to allow the students in the meantime to go back to their studies. Their time has been wasted enough already. If their grievances are found to be baseless and there action frivolous and unjustifiable, let them by all means bear the consequences. But it is not in all fairness for the Principal of the College to determine whether the students' complaints are just and their action a measure of extreme necessity. Frankly, we have not been impressed with the manner in which the Principal has so far handled the situation. The Indian student is not an unmitigated young barbarian who would kick at the traces for sheer love of revolt. He is by nature docile and patient and has not yet shed his traditional reverence for his teacher even in this irreverent age. The Principal of the Lahore Medical College is reported to have said to the representative of a local paper that he had remarked to the students' representatives "that there was a good deal of truth in what had been said in the report of the meeting of the London Hospital students, although the language used was diabolical and possibly a misinterpretation or a misrepresentation of what actually took place." Perhaps it would not be wholly unprofitable to ask the Principal to reveal the measure of "truth" he sees in the resolution of the students of the London Hospital. It may prove a new illumination to those who have been told with such engaging frankness what the London Hospital students think of them. Rumour hath it that the anonymous author of "Sri Ram, the Revolutionist" and the *Times* reporter at the last Indian National Congress session at Karachi are one and the same person who has the further glory of being the preceptor of India's youths. What a remarkable combination we have in this instance of a friend, philosopher and guide. Such combinations are not very rare. Unfortunately they burst on our intelligence only when we have to lament with the poet :

من از بیگانگاں ہرگز نہ نالم * کہ با من ہرچہ کرد آں آشنا کرد

(I do not shed tears on account of strangers; all that has been done to me has been done by that one who knows me.)

The Resolution of the London Hospital Students.

The immediate cause of the trouble at the Lahore Medical College, is still more serious in some respects than the situation to which it was given rise. As it has already been stated, the students wanted to hold a meeting of protest against a resolution passed at a meeting of the English students of the London Hospital, and asked their Principal to preside at the meeting. The principal, however, refused and added to his refusal certain *obiter dicta* which the students considered to be insulting and altogether unjustified. The arguments advanced in support of there solution are reported to be as follows :—"(1) That it is detrimental to the proper government and discipline of India that youngmen who are by no means regarded as equals by whites in that country should come to England and be treated as such and that it is stated on reliable authority that these students on their return to their native land become discontented and often seditious by reason of this fact : (2) that as an inferior and subject race they have not the rights of Englishmen ; (3) that medical study can be pursued excellently in India and at less cost ; (4) that Indian students are undesirable as a whole, do least work, and are frequently sent back to India in disgrace for having got some poor innocent English girl into trouble ; (5) that these students benefit litte by their stay in England, adopting the white man's vices without his virtues." It is further stated that the meeting at which the resolutions was passed was presided over by the Head of the London Hospital who sympathised with and supported the English students' demands to impose stringent restrictions on the admission of Indian students into the Hospital. There were several speakers who opposed the resolution, but it was carried with a large majority. We need not set about to examine the contemptible aspersions cast on the characters of Indians as a whole. We are sure all fair-minded Englishmen view such exhibition of petty insolence with disgust. It must, however, be noted that the spirit of racial hatred and intolerance of which the Indians have been made helpless victims in some of the British colonies, is beginning to be manifest in strange forms in the heart of the Empire. The virus has been exported from abroad. The microbe that is the transmitting agency is not always of the colonial type. We are told that a former member of the Indian Medical Service was one of the prominent speakers who urged the exclusion of Indians from the London Hospitals. The fact is significant and should carry its own lesson. As regards the English students who have so shamelessly traduced Indian character, the least that can be expected is that they would be debarred from competing for the Indian Medical Service. India and the Empire would both be better served if all avenues are shut on the men to fatten on the substance of the people they have abused.

India in England.

We have received the following very interesting letter from Mr. Frank Hugh O'Donnell of O'Donnell for publication. The writer is a distinguished politician and journalist, having been a Member of Parliament for ten years and bring at present the Foreign Editor of the Tory weekly, *The Outlook*, which has so splendidly championed the righteous sense of Turkey during her recent troubles and which equally splendidly championed the righteous cause of Indian Mussalmans in the Cawnpore Mosque Case. Mr. O'Donnell's is indeed a unique personality. He is a Catholic and an Irishman, but is the Foreign Editor of a Tory paper and has distinguished himself as a valiant champion of "Clean Government" in the recent controversies about the American Marconi Shares and the purchase of silver by the India Office through the firm of the Montagues. During the stay of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali he contributed several articles on Indian affairs to the *New Witness* edited by Mr. Cecil Chesterton, the brother of the famous "G. K. C.", which is the organ of the "Clean Government" movement. In particular Mr. O'Donnell wrote on "The Colour Line: the Negation of God", a subject on which he addressed a meeting also held at Essex Hall under the Chairmanship of Mr. G. K. Chesterton. We value greatly the first contribution of Mr. O'Donnell to *The Comrade* and trust it will not be the last. We write a discussion on the subject by our readers and reserve our comments for the present. Mr. O'Donnell writes as follows :—Dear Sir,—"I have read with "great interest recent publications of the Indian "Press, including in the first place, your well-informed and able "newspaper. Many English friends of mine regretted that Mr. "Mahomed Ali and Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan were obliged to quit "England so soon; as their clear, eloquent, and very instructive "lectures and speeches were of great assistance towards the better "understanding of the Indian questions of the day. When the "Moslem delegates were in England, they brought home to the minds "of many Englishmen the danger to universal liberty which must arise "from lawless outbreaks of tyranny as have been exercised by the "South African Government towards the Indian settlers in Natal and "the Transvaal. Englishmen can now reflect upon the brutality with "which native Englishmen have been treated within the last few days by "the same South African Government, without the slightest regard to "any principle of the Constitution or any tradition of English liberty. "When Indian settlers were exposed to every brutality of lawless "force, few Englishmen expected that it would so soon be the turn of "free natives of England to be treated as outlaws like the settlers "from India themselves. It is in this manner that license for tyranny "in one instance soon becomes a general disregard of human right and "liberty. I have often regretted that the Nations and Princes of "India have not established long ago a general office and mansion in "London for the permanent representation of All-Indian interests in "the British Capital. Something after the manner in which Canada "and Australia possess their central offices and their Agents-General "for the representation and protection of Australian and Canadian "interests, so those native Indian interests which are so deeply "concerned with questions of commerce, education, public reform and "other concerns of general importance, would have much to gain in "possessing a permanent centre of business and patriotism in London "as well. A large and well-planned house, with Indian reading rooms, "with commercial offices representing the Indian Native Chambers "of Commerce, with an office for educational information for the "benefit of Indians resident in England, with two or three halls for "social, literary and scientific meetings, would be an immense assistance "both to Indian gentlemen of distinction, and to British friends of "India desirous of a centre of Indian information close at hand. A "joint contribution to the support of what might be called "The Indian "Empire House", on the part of the Princes, Nobles, Chambers of "Commerce and general public of India, would be a matter of very "small expense, that would be hardly noticeable when spread over so "great an area; and it would be conducive both to the dignity "of India and to the better knowledge and understanding of the "just requirements of India among intelligent and enlightened "Englishmen. It would bring the public opinion of India in contact "with England, and it would enable Indian visitors and residents to "acquire a better knowledge of British civilisation and progress. "With renewed expressions of the great interest derived from the "leaders of Indian opinion whom I have recently had the pleasure "to meet, and with especial recognition of the valuable Indian news- "papers and Reviews, I remain, Yours faithfully, F. Hugh O'Donnell "of O'Donnell."

"Seed Capsules of thought."

We published in our last the discourse of Mr. Justice Beaman on "Opportunities of Life" which was delivered before a gathering of the Bombay Students' Brotherhood. To many of his hearers it must have proved a novel treat. The lecturer avoided the stock banalities of the stump preacher on manners and morals which are frequently inflicted on hapless assemblies of Indian youths. He dived straight into the life-purpose and boldly challenged some of the ideals, enthusiasms and stand-points which carry a great popular appeal in these days. As he said, he hinted at rather profound things, trying to sow "seed capsules of thought." There was nothing intrinsically new or original in what he said. His distrust of earnestness, of sentimental zeal, of humanitarianism and of democracy is of a piece with the general doubts and misgivings which handicap the modern sceptic in his outlook on life in Europe. They have, however, been seldom stated with such directness and emphasis before an audience of young Indian students. If the object of Mr. Justice Beaman was to impress on his hearers the need, particularly in the early stage of intellectual development, to keep an open mind, to cultivate the spirit of free inquiry and to save their young enthusiasm from the snare of cheap formulas and noisy catchwords of the crowd, he could not have chosen a better text for the occasion. But the examples with which he sought to enforce his views are not relevant to the condition of things in India. The intellectual scepticism and social heresies of Europe have grown in a peculiar intellectual climate. They are the products of a society that has passed through many a stage of evolution yet untraversed by the people of this country. Humanitarianism with its solemn creeds and symbols, democracy and its weapons, public "enthusiasms" and public "causes" were born under the stress of a peculiar social energy; and if those of Europe who dwell in "finer regions of thought" have discovered that, like everything else that is human, the enthusiasms and devices of the 19th century Europe are not perfect, the discovery has no very great relevance in its bearing on things in India. That humanitarianism is an absurd thing in logic and, according to European experience, can sometimes mean a foolish waste of effort and that democracy may easily lend itself to social injustice and abuse, have little value even as a warning in a place where humanitarianism of the secular type and democracy of some sort have yet to come. And Mr. Justice Beaman perhaps forgets that democracy is neither an institution nor a popular political device. It means a distinct social atmosphere which comes indefinably and imperceptibly to mould purpose and desire after a certain stage of social development has been reached. India can never be democratic as long as she does not come socially into line with Western Europe. When that time comes she will naturally breathe what is called the democratic spirit, *i. e.*, she will have certain social values and needs, and organise her social energy in certain ways peculiar to her stage of evolution. As a system of government democracy is said to be blundering, slow and inefficient, and logically the most perfect instrument for the coercion of minorities. But it is conveniently forgotten that democracy, like the socialism of the greatest thinkers of to-day, postulates a certain degree of trained intelligence and moral culture, certain social habits and ways of thought, which are the fruits of education and freedom to make "earnest" experiments in pursuit of social "causes." In Europe itself democracy is yet on its trial, for the simple reason that the education of the masses has not yet reached a sufficiently high level. How far it is just or relevant to confound the nascent social purposes of a people still on the lower stages of social efficiency with the errors of the imperfect democracy of Europe we need not pause to consider. Mr. Justice Beaman seems to think as if some kindly Fate intervenes perpetually to save mankind from ever attaining perfect democracy, for it would, in his opinion, be a condition of perfect tyranny. Perhaps the fate of social experiments in Greece and Rome and elsewhere in a remote period of human history haunts his imagination. The simple fact is that democracy in the real sense of the term has never existed before. Universal suffrage and equal political status among individuals are mere devices that have often been adopted in the past, inspite of the absence of true democracy. Behind these devices lay a mass of social inequalities, conventions and customs which were as formidable as any "cracy" that rouses the scorn of Justice Beaman in modern times. Equality may be a chimera, but the equality of opportunity is something worth having and not a hopeless quest. It is this condition of things that true democracy promotes, and in fact it is this feature of the modern social experiments which sets them far above all kindred efforts in the past and may ultimately lead to the solution of the terrible riddles that have puzzled the ingenuity of man since the dawn of history. As Justice Beaman says, it is useless to dogmatise—either one way or the other. Enthusiasms, ideals, "causes" may be illusions after all. We would have only to admit in that case that God has chosen thus to fulfil his purposes on earth.

Snehalata's Martyrdom.

The story of Snehalata Devi's pathetic end has naturally aroused great pity and horror among social reformers in Bengal and it is possible the woe of a young life flinging itself as a burnt offering at the altar of custom may ultimately sear the social conscience of the Bengali community. The demand for extortionate dowries made by the parents of eligible boys has grown into a tyrannous usage, and murmurs of disapproval were fast becoming audible amongst a section of the educated Bengalis. Snehalata's tragic death has revealed in a flashlight how far this pernicious custom has become a terrible social evil. Her father was not rich enough to provide the customary dowry. He tried to borrow without success, and when all other means failed he decided in the last resort to raise the necessary sum by mortgaging his house. When the girl became aware of her father's troubles and the decision to which he had been driven on her account, she was stung with grief and resolved to quietly end her own life in order to save her father from the odium and humiliation of such a course. She carried out her resolve in the stillness of night and with a terrible, all-consuming earnestness that is the soul of all moving tragedy. If the flames that devoured this young, hapless, devoted thing, because the symbol of a mightier conflagration and set the consciences of the people ablaze, her sacrifice would not be in vain. Nothing can be more fatuous at this time than the petty controversy that is going on in some papers as to whether Snehalata's deed was heroic. The deed may have in it elements of a grave spiritual struggle which ultimately convinced a young, passionate and brave heart that the path of duty lay through self-destruction. Or it may be the result of morbid, brooding of a fragile spirit over difficulties that fates were spinning darkly around her. In any case it is tragic enough to rouse pity of and turn in a whole community and set it to seriously examine the plague-spots in its social system. If the demand for extortionate dowries has sprung up because the supply of educated young men is not adequate, the only reasonable way of adjusting the equilibrium is to stop the practice of marrying girls before they are well grown in years. The revision to child-marriage suggested by some orthodox Bengali Hindus as the best way to escape existing evils is a counsel of despair.

The Comrade.

The Press Act.

VII.

We have dealt in our last two articles on the subject of the Press Act with the discussion in the Viceroy's Council on the question of the statement of grounds in the orders of forefeiture, and we have shown how the Executive in India has practically flouted the highest judicial tribunal in this country in a matter which is entirely within the province of the judiciary. Let us now turn to the second part of the Hon. Mr. Bannerjea's resolution in which he prayed that "section 22 ot the Act be so modified as to definitely empower the High Court to set aside an order of forfeiture not made in conformity with the provisions of sections 4, 6, 9, 11 and 12 of the Act."

It will be remembered that although the Special Bench of the Calcutta High Court held in our Pamphlet Case that a mandatory condition of a valid order of a forefeiture under section 12, namely the statement of grounds, had not been fulfilled, the Court felt itself to be impotent before the bar of all jurisdiction under section 22 of the Act except that of the High Court on a single point of fact. The Chief Justice had said in his judgment that—

> The Notification therefore appears to me to be defective in a material particular and but for section 22 of the Act it would (in my opinion) be our duty to hold that there had been no legal forfeiture. . . . . . The result is that though I hold the Notification does not comply with the provisions of the Act, still we are (in my opinion) barred from questioning the legality of the forfeiture it purports to declare.

It is not difficult to see that this interpretation of the Act is bound to have far-reaching results. It does not merely refer to a particular mandatory condition, much less to a particular case. If the jurisdiction of the only competent court under the Act is so restricted, then *every* mandatory condition in the Act loses all significance and value. The Hon. Mr. Das in the course of the debate in the Legislative Council very rightly said :

> Sir, I have always understood that the mandatory conditions of an Act, especially when the conditions are conditions precedent to any action, or to any measure, or to any procedure, are a *sine qua non* to the validity and legality of what follows. But here we have a case where the mandatory conditions have been differently interpreted. It is admitted that there are conditions of a mandatory character, and yet it is contended that the Hight Court's power to pronounce on the legality of the forefeiture, by reason of the failure to observe the mandatory conditions of the Act, is barred. If they are to be held mandatory conditions, certainly they must be tested by those rules and canons of interpretation which have always been held to be applicable to mandatory conditions.

The speaker asked Government to consider the effect that its own interpretation of the force of mandatory conditions would have in other cases. For instance, sections 4, 6, 9 and 11 make it a mandatory condition of a valid order of forfeiture that, (*1*) the Local Government shall give notice of the forfeiture in writing to the keeper of the offending press or the publisher of the offending newspaper, and that, (*2*) it shall state or describe the words, signs or visible representations which in its opinion are of the nature described in section 4 sub-section (*1*). If a Local Government fails to observe these mandatory conditions and merely confiscates the security deposited together with the printing-press concerned, the person adversely affected by such action can have no redress of his grievance. As it is, he is not very much the wiser for a "description" of the offending words, signs etc., and it may be that even the formality of a written notice with such a "description" may some day be dispensed with. As the Act stands, what is there to prevent it?

[illegible] see what the Executive had to say on this question. [illegible] the Advocate-General who had unsuccessfully contended [illegible] in the Calcutta High Court that a similar [illegible] mandatory but only *directory*, preserved a discreet silence. No other Hon. Member spoke on the side of Government, [illegible] the Hon. the Home Member, and all that he had to say on this subject is contained in the following significant pronouncement:—

> [illegible] it was intended should be submitted to judicial [illegible] the Special Bench of the High Court, was [illegible] whether the words, illustrations etc., which formed the [illegible] fell within the aim of section 4 of the Act . . . . . It is quite clear that there never was any [illegible] Special Bench of the High Court any other [illegible] to decide Aye or No, whether the words, etc., [illegible] did, or did not come within the description contained [illegible] and sub-clauses of section 4. *Very naturally,* [illegible] *Government will always desire to comply* [illegible] *and prescriptions of the law as to the procedure to be* [illegible] *the vital issue in this case in all these cases—is* [illegible] *document* [illegible] *was, or was not, open to the* [illegible] *made its forfeiture proper,—whether* [illegible] *or did not, fall within the terms of section 4 of the* [illegible] is the vital issue—vital to public interests and vital to private interests. *If a technical error*, and as I said, any irregularity of that kind would be unintentional on the part of the Government, *if such irregularity were to come in and if that error in the form of the Notification were to vitiate the action taken, then the most revolutionary pamphlet might have a free circulation while the error was being discussed and rectified.*

That is to say, all mandatory conditions are merely "technical" matters, and such "technical errors" as their non-observance are vital neither to public nor to private interests. Local Governments should be trusted not to commit them ; but, all the same, if they do commit them in fact, it does not matter a straw. No Court in the world can intervene, and no redress is possible. After this pronouncement what can we do but echo the words of the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahmitoola who said : "I think the Council is indebted to the Hon. the Home Member "for having clearly explained that though so much was made of the "safeguards, in actual practice the safeguards are *nil*." In the word of the speaker, the Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock's speech "completely disposes of the question of safeguards."

If that is so, may we ask why so much fuss was made about the pledges of the then Law Member? Why need Government have discussed at so much length and with so much elaboration whether the so-called safeguard of stating or describing "the offending "words, or articles or pictures or engravings or whatever it is upon "which the Local Government bases its orders" could, or could not be extended to section 12? In either case it was ineffective, for although Mr. S. P. Sinha was emphatic enough in declaring that "it is of no use to attempt to convince us that it is a very drastic "measure, because we have put in all kinds of safeguards," Sir Reginald Craddock tells us that his predecessor and Mr. Sinha's colleague, the Hon. Sir Herbert Risley, had clearly intimated "that "there never was any intention to give any special Bench of the "High Court any power to declare a forfeiture null and void on the "ground that this pledge was ignored." We confess we have never seen casuistry carried to such lengths by a responsible member of the Government of India. When the non-official members remind Government of its own solemn pledge, they are equally solemnly assured that the pledge referred to quite a different matter; but when they ask that whatever the subject on which the pledge was given, it should be made compulsory on Government to redeem that pledge, they are told that there never was any intention of making it legally binding on Government. Are we to understand that this was another "Amichand's Treaty" devised by a "slim" Secretariat? We are fully convinced, and we know what we talk about, and say this with a full sense of our responsibility, that not all the seditious writings in all the seditious newspapers in the world can bring Government into so much hatred or contempt as the least suspicion in the people's mind, justified by any declaration of Government, that it plays fast and loose with its pledges to the people. In 1878 Government had frankly enough asked for and obtained the necessary legislative sanction for executive action designed to suppress seditious writings in the Venacular Press of India. It wanted no reference to the judiciary and said so. In 1910, too, it had a large enough official majority to pass any kind of Press Bill that it felt disposed to enact into law. Instead of avoiding judicial reference, the Government of the day boasted of "all kinds of safe-guards" which it had provided in its Bill. Does it, then, lie in the mouth of the Government to day to say in one and the same breath that those safeguards were very limited in their application and that even as they are in practice they are of no value.

It is all very well to talk of the intentions of Government. But when we are told openly enough that even the best of intentions on the part of a printer or publisher do not make him immune from the rigours of the Press Act, what consolation can it be to him to believe that the so-called "technical errors" of Government are unintentional. That brings no grist to the mill, and for all we know the good intentions of Local Governments may serve for gridirons in roasting an equally well-intentioned Press. The Hon. Mr. Vijayraghavachariar said in the course of the Council debate: "Is it plain that there was a defect or is it plain that there was "not a defect? It seems to me that the trend of the argument "is this. Apparently there was a defect, but as it suits us we "wish to have it. That I understand to be the upshot of the "argument in opposition to the resolution." We ask, is Government content to leave the question at that? Not a single Notification declaring a forfeiture has exhibited the least effective improvement consequent upon the declaration of the Hon. the Advocate-General in our Pamphlet Case that in that case the Notification was "loosely worded" and "couldn't have been drawn up by a lawyer," and the Chief Justice's apt retort that "surely, you can't confiscate people's property on loosely worded notifications." In the case of *Al-Hilal* of Calcutta even the date of the issue declared to have been forfeited happened to be one on which that weekly journal was not, and could not have been, published. In the case of the *Hamdard's* translation of the Macedonia Pamphlet, three issues out of a total of eighteen were left out in the declaration of forfeiture in spite of our having supplied a full list of the "guilty" issues along with all copies thereof when the District Magistrate had gone one better than the Government of the Province of Delhi. That shows the care and diligence with which Government make their declarations of forfeiture and in which we must plea our trust for the due observance of necessary and proper procedure. The *Pioneer*, that sturdy champion of *Nadir Shahi* procedure, laughed only the other day at the shifts to which local Governments were put in drawing up Notifications as a lawyer, say, the Hon. the Advocate-General of Bengal, would have drawn them up—not "loosely worded" but as tight, we presume, as a wedding knot. And yet not one could have satisfied the Courts as being in conformity with the provisions of the Press Act. So much for the unintentional "technical errors" of Local Governments. As for the excuse that if such "technical errors" could vitiate the action taken, "then the most revolutionary pamphlet might have a free circulation while the error was being discussed and rectified." Can Government supply many instances of such prompt action as they would like themselves to be credited with? The Macedonia Pamphlet reached India last April and was reproduced by us in May. The declaration of forfeiture by the Government of India did not come till the middle of July, and our reprint was not forfeited for another month. Similarly, the *Zamindar* Press was confiscated nearly two months after the publication of three articles which constitute the subject matter on which the order of forfeiture has been based. These are not rare instances but typical of the "prompt" action of Government. And if these are all the arguments that can be offered in defence of Government's attitude, we fear Government may appear to be altogether bankrupt in every thing save "good intentions."

Member after member rose from his place in the Council Chamber on the 9th January to press for the amendment of the Act, and the still small voice of the Hon. Malik Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana's dissent which alone seems to have reached England, only served to emphasize the unanimity of non-official opinion. One member in particular, the Hon. Mr. Qamrul Huda, supplied in his short speech the key note of non-official protest and prayer. Refering to the assurance of the late Sir Herbert Risley to which we have referred more than once in previous issues, he said: "This sacred assurance and promise of complete check was endorsed and supported by the Hon. Law member of the time. We believed in, and relied fully and completely on, the words of the responsible officers of the Crown. But when the first appeal under the Act goes to the High Court of Calcutta, we, to our amazement and disappointment are told that 'the complete check' promised to us and provided in the Act are words without meaning. . . . . The Resolution we are discussing is nothing but a request to Government to rectify its unintentional error in an Act which was passed in a hurry and under peculiar circumstances. Sir, *pray do not give any one ground to think that the Government can err but it does not possess courage enough to mend that error. Let it not come into the minds of the people that the Government in its assurances and promises plays upon words.* Sir, we cannot for a moment suppose that the Government ever says anything to the people it does not mean. . . . . It was expected of the Government to come forward ere long with a Bill to amend the Press Act of 1910. Sir, IT WAS A MATTER OF HONOUR FOR THE GOVERNMENT!" Nothing could be more clearly indicative of popular feeling than this quiet but forcible appeal of one of the most sedate and quiet Members of a quiet and sedate Council. And yet the response of the Government of India was what we have seen.

Now comes the response of the Home Government. Reuter tells us that in answer to Mr. Morrell's question with reference to Sir Lawrence Jenkin's judgment, Mr. Roberts, the new Under Secretary of State for India, said that "Mr. Morrell was extending to all action taken under the Act, certain remarks regarding action taken under section 12. Lord Crewe, after careful consideration of the recent debate in the Viceroy's Council, held that the powers of appeal provided by the Act might suffice to supply a remedy against the arbitrary administration of the Act." This is, indeed, most hopeful, for evidently there is at the present moment neither a copy of the Press Act in the India Office nor of the judgment of the learned Chief Justice of Bengal, and equally evidently the Secretary of State for India requires, if not as many readings of "the recent debate in the Viceroy Council" as the Home Rule Bill of his Government has had, at least one more to recognise that the debate here justifies no such conclusion as he has drawn. The task imposed on the applicant to the Courts, who must show that the the publication in question did not contain "words falling within the all-comprehensive provisions of the Act" was declared by Sir Lawrence Jenkins to be "almost hopeless," because of section 4 sub-section (*1*) as the very next sentence, and, in fact, the whole judgment clearly indicates. And if the new Under Secretary has a copy of the Press Act handy, he will find that section 4 sub-section (*1*) runs through every section empowering Government to declare a forfeiture and not merely through section 12. As for the Secretary of State, it is obviously not for us to question his Lordship's competence for the high office he holds. But we venture to question his ability to reverse the judgment of the High Court of Calcutta. That only the Privy Council can do. But we believe his Lordship harboured no such intention but has been confused by the report of the debate here, for we have shown amply enough that the points at issue were befogged and the two Government Members never attempted to face the situation created by the judicial pronouncements of great value and importance embodied in the judgments in our case. May we not hope that when Mr. Roberts understands the case better and is convinced by a perusal of the Press Act and the Calcutta judgment that it was not Mr. Morrell who was extending to all action taken under the Act the Chief Justice's remarks in our case, but that the Act itself made them applicable, and that the Chief Justice himself applied them, that he would announce in Parliament on the next occasion that he refers to this crude and cruel Act that "the Order of Release" has already gone forth. Evidently Lord Crewe is not quite sure that the Act *does* suffice to "supply a remedy against the arbitrary admininstration of the Act." He only held that it *might*. Well, we think we know better, for in our own case it *hasn't*. And we live in hopes that his Lordship's present absence of certainty would soon be replaced by the presence of the fullest conviction that the Act supplies no remedy against its arbitrary administration.

Education of Mussalmans.

The Sixth Quinquennial Review of the progress of education in India, which has just been published by the Education Department, is an industrious survey covering a wide range and brings together a mass of facts and figures which afford a useful and interesting study. The chapters dealing with the evolution of the State policy and the general lines and scope of educational advance are interesting in particular and must naturally engage the utmost public attention. We reserve the consideration of these vital matters for another occasion. For the present we would only note at some length the facts, inferences and conclusions set forth in the chapter on Moslem education, especially in view of the fact that we have devoted several articles for some weeks past to emphasising the importance of the subject as the chief factor in the general problem of Moslem advancement. It is essential that the Moslem standpoint in regard to communal education should be tested in the light of the official survey, just as it is necessary to examine official policy and measures with reference to the real needs of the community.

In considering the attitude of the Mussalmans towards modern education it is necessary to bear in mind the general position and distinctive features of the community. The Mussalmans of British India, as is pointed out in the Review, comprise 22 7 per cent., of the total population. They form a large and important minority differing from the rest of the people in religion, tradition, ideals, manners, and the language of their sacred and classical literature. It is rightly held, therefore, that their needs require special measures and the account of their progress demands separate treatment. The earlier attitude of the Mussalmans towards Western education was one of distrust if not of actual hostility. The traditions of their past political power and social influence were still fresh in their minds, and they retained intact a marked individuality in thought, manners and outlook which they had acquired in the atmosphere of a powerful and independent culture. The spread of the ideals embodied in the arts and sciences of the West was, in its earlier stages, a source of great anxiety and alarm to the Mussalmans. They felt as if an irresistable moral and intellectual avalanche was imminent which would sweep away all ancient landmarks and wipe out the symbols of their communal individuality. Time, however, proved a soothing tonic. The earlier distrust began to wear away as experience grew apace. It began to be realised that no community could afford to eschew modern education in the new conditions of existence and that the Western culture was neither a thorough-going iconoclast, nor of so insular a character as to be utterly inadaptable to the needs of the various communities in India. As this perception dawned and the pressure of circumstances increased, the early Moslem indifference and dislike towards Western education began to give way. The rapid change of feeling has become manifest to a remarkable degree in recent years. The demand for education has grown up enormously; new ideals have taken the place of the old; and active efforts are being organised on a vast scale to bring the community educationally into line with the most progressive races in India.

The problem that now faces the Mussalmans is, as has been truly said, "the maintenance of religious observance and discipline amid the disintegrating influences of higher secular education."

The educational progress of the Mussalmans during the quinquennium (1907—12) is worth noting. The number of Mussalmans under instruction in all classes of institutions in 1912 was 1,551,151 against 1,172,371 in 1907. This increase represents nearly 32·3 per cent. on the previous figure against 25·8 per cent. in the case of pupils of all classes in India. The advance represented by these figures is appreciable and shows that the Mussalmans are becoming increasingly alive to their educational needs. The percentage of Mussalmans at school to the total of pupils of all creeds at school now just exceeds the proportion of the Moslem population to the whole population: the latter is 22·7 per cent., the former is 22·9 per cent. In some localities the percentage of Moslem pupils at school considerably exceeds the percentage of Hindus; thus, in the United Provinces, 13·4 per cent. of the Mussalmans of a school-going age are under instruction, and 9·3 per cent. of the Hindus. Of the total number of Mussalmans under instruction in all kinds of institutions, [illegible] are boys and 213,197 are girls. The figure relating to girls represents an increase of over 75 per cent. upon the number of girls in 1907. But while the Mussalmans now fully hold their own in educational institutions regarded as a whole, their proportion in secondary and higher education is still below their numerical strength in the population. But before we set forth this deficiency in figures, enumerate the causes and consider remedial measures, it is desirable to show the net actual increase of Mussalman pupils in the various classes of *public* institutions during the past five years. In the arts colleges the number of Moslem pupils has increased by [illegible] per cent.; in professional colleges by 41·0 per cent.; in secondary schools by 89·1 per cent.; in middle vernacular schools by [illegible] per cent.; in primary schools by 29·9 per cent.; and in special schools by 315·3 per cent. It will be noticed that, while the increase among those in primary school pupils has been comparatively small, the increase in arts colleges and in secondary schools represents not far from a doubling of the pupils, while that in special schools has more than trebled. In professional colleges (save those for the study of law) there has been no decided progress—indeed, there has in some cases been retrogression. Among special schools those for training as teachers and those for technical and industrial instruction exhibit increases of Moslem pupils in the one case from 1,102 to 2,104, and in the other from 1,488 to [illegible]. But the great advance in the numbers enrolled in special schools as a whole in reality represents enhanced numbers in [illegible] and the transfer of *maktabs*, etc., to this class of institution. [illegible] that the growth of Moslem education as a whole has not been in the direction of numbers alone. A far larger proportion of pupils now seek higher forms of instruction than was the case five years ago.

[illegible] a comparative study of the statistics of the past five years relating to the progress of Indian education as a whole shows that the proportion of Moslem pupils in secondary schools and arts colleges is still considerably below their relative strength in the population. The percentage of Moslem pupils to the total number of pupils of all creeds in various classes of public institutions is as follows:—In the arts colleges the percentage is 10·4; in professional colleges it is [illegible]; in secondary schools, 19·0; in middle vernacular schools, 17·0; in primary schools, 20·5; and in special schools, 66·2. The leeway [illegible] in secondary and collegiate education seems particularly [illegible] when we bear in mind that the Moslem population of British India is 22·7 per cent. of the total population. The general position of the Mussalmans in all branches of public instruction is not uniform [illegible] the country. It varies with the conditions obtaining in [illegible]. It would thus be observed that according to the [illegible] 1911 the percentage of Mussalmans to the total [illegible] Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, Punjab, [illegible] Eastern Bengal and Assam, Central Provinces and Berar, [illegible] N.-W. West Frontier Province is 6·6, 18·1, 17·1, 14·1, [illegible] 3·7, 7·5, and 92·8 respectively, while the percentage [illegible] to the total of pupils of all classes in public institutions is 9·0, 16·6, 17·4, 15·2, 38·2, 3·6, 52·0, 9·3, [illegible] respectively. In Madras, Bengal, the United Provinces [illegible] Central Provinces, the proportion to the number at [illegible] to the total population. The advance [illegible] been appreciable, while the Punjab and the [illegible] Frontier Province show marked backwardness.

[illegible] responsible for the relatively inferior position of the [illegible] educational progress of the country are not far to [illegible] Moslem educational activity is only of recent growth. The [illegible] indifference and distrust shown by the community has [illegible] effect on the proportionate growth of education [illegible] communities. The start made by the Mussalmans [illegible] comparatively later hour requires a much more accelerated pace [illegible] cover the distance that divides them from the other races and creeds. Then, the Moslem community has special religious and social needs which can be met only by special measures. It is also comparatively poor. Then, again, over large areas the Mussalmans are included mainly in the cultivating classes who only proceed to secondary schools in exceptional cases. It is plain therefore, that the problem of Moslem education will have to be solved according to the varying conditions of the different localities. The measures to be adopted in each case will have to be evolved after a carefull inquiry into local conditions; and we may mention in this connection that we are awaiting with keen interest the results of the provincial inquiries based on the Circular of the Government of India on Moslem education. It may, however, be observed as a matter of general application that an effective increase in Moslem teachers and educational inspectors should be made irrespective of local circumstances. As special measures suited to special provinces, scholarships will have to be increased, exemptions of fees granted in larger numbers, rural schools will have to be opened and school curriculum will have to be devised in accordance with the linguistic and other requirements of Moslem pupils. All these questions have been touched upon in the Quinquennium Review with special reference to the existing facts, but little mention has been made of the steps that the Government intends to take with a view to remove the obstacles lying in the path of Moslem education, and no effort has been made to indicate the directions in which Government encouragement and support would seem to be desirable. Perhaps these omissions are due to the fact that the Government of India has already emphasized in general terms its own point of view by issuing a special circular on the subject and is, like the Mussalmans themselves, awaiting the formulation of definite measures by local Governments.

Government help and encouragement is most certainly indispensable in the interests of Moslem education, but the real problem would only be solved when the Mussalmans themselves are allowed to organise the higher education of the community according to its peculiar needs. In other words the creation of the Moslem University is the first and most urgent step that shall have to be taken without delay if the Moslem educational advance is to be assured. We dealt with the University question in our last mainly from the Moslem standpoint and recapitulated the circumstances which have delayed the scheme from coming to fruition. It would, however, be obviously unfair if we only blamed the Government for what is mainly the result of Moslem inaction particularly since July 1912. As a matter of fact the Government of India is not in any way responsible for "the final decisions" which emanated directly from Whitehall. Those decisions were naturally communicated to the President of the Moslem University Constitution Committee the moment they were received from the Secretary of State for India. They were considered by the constitution Committee at its last meeting in Lucknow in July 1912 and a reply was sent to the Hon. Member for Education that, while these decisions conflicted in some aspects with the principles on which the Committee had based its task, it had no power to accept them, for its mandate was derived from the Moslem University Foundation Committee and it was naturally limited to the framing of a suitable Constitution for the Moslem University. Nothing has since then passed on the subject between the Government and those responsible for the creation of the Moslem University. It rested wholly with the Mussalmans to take early steps with a view to convince the Government or the Secretaty of State of the reasonableness and justice of their views. But they did nothing of the kind. The only thing so far achieved is that the Foundation Committee has declared the Secretary of State's decisions to be unacceptable in the best interests of the Moslem community. It was in August 1913 that a resolution was unanimously adopted at the Foundation Committee meeting at Aligarh to organise a strong, representative Moslem deputation to negotiate with the Government, to state and explain the Moslem point of view and to ascertain the views of the former with a view to final settlement. But no effort has yet been made to carry out the resolution. There has been a great waste of time already, and we trust the proposed deputation will soon be organised and proceed to business. We are confident the Government will consider with sympathy all the points that the deputation has been authorised to urge. The Moslem University scheme does not owe its origin to a spirit of adventure nor has it been trumpted abroad as something desirable for pure communal glory. It embodies the supreme educational need of the community, and the longer it is delayed, the greater would be the general harm to Moslem education. The responsibility of Moslem leaders is heavy in the matter. The question is hanging fire simply through their indifference, weak-kneed pusillanimity or procrastination. If they do not bestir themselves even now, they would have the finger of scorn pointed at them. It would be absurd to blame Government now if the University scheme is indefinitely delayed. It would mainly be another direct consequence of the masterly inactivity of the communal wiseacres and guides.

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Snehalata's Martyrdom.

Her Letter to her Father.

The *Bengalee* publishes the following free translation of a letter reported to have been written by Snehalata Devi to her father before her tragic death:—

"Most Honoured Father,—I cannot bear to think of your mortgaging the house for the sake of my marriage. You shan't do it. You will have no necessity to do it. For, ere the sun shines again to-morrow morning, the troubled spirit of your inauspiciously-born daughter will have winged its flight to where beyond these voice there is peace.

"You have lavished your affection upon me. You have let this tender tendril of love entwine your manly breast. I have been happy in the love of my doting parents, beyond the dreams of Princesses. Am I then to requite all this wealth of love by making myself the cause of the whole family being turned out into the streets and you, my loving father, doomed to life-long penury and misery?

"Day before yesterday, late in the afternoon, when you returned home, footsore and weary, after having been out the whole day since the break of dawn, I saw your face, saw the world of anguish and despair which was depicted on it and heard with my own ears those fatal words—"all is lost." That face has never ceased to haunt me since. Those words are still ringing in my ears. And I heard the rest of that heart-breaking story, how the big mortgage, which you were so sanguine of your ability to put through and which was to furnish the money required for my marriage, had almost at the last moment been cancelled and how the only way out of the difficulty was to raise the money by a mortgage upon the house.

"Father, I can't bear that idea. What is marriage to me, except as a means of lifting the weight of anxiety on my account, which lies so heavy on your breast? What social obloquy have you not already endured because I am still unmarried? What heroic efforts have you not already made to find a suitable match for me and with what ill success? No, the hall of my ancestors will not be trodden by the feet of strangers nor resound with unfamiliar voices. Not you, adored father, but I am to be the sacrifice.

"Father, I have heard that many noble-hearted and educated young men volunteered for philanthropic work for the relief of the sufferers from the Burdwan floods. God bless their kindly hearts, so full of compassion for their suffering fellow-beings. I have also heard that many young men have taken a vow not to buy *bideshi* articles. Only the other day I heard how bands of noble minded youths had gone from door to door to raise funds for the relief of some people in far away South Africa. But is there no one among them to feel for their own people.

"Last night I dreamt a dream, father, which made me take my vow. To the enthralling strains of a music unheard before, and amid a blaze of light as never was on land or sea, I saw the Divine Mother Durga, with benignant smile, beckoning me to the abode of the blest, up above, and then I thought of you father, of the ever sorrow-laden face of my beloved mother and of the dear little ones who have done so much to brighten our home. And then I resolved to save you all and made a sign to the Divine Mother that I would not delay obeying her merciful call.

"After I am gone, father, I know you will shed tears over my ashes. I shall be gone—but the house will be saved. Since then I have been pondering on the best way of ending my worldly pilgrimage—Fire, Water or Poison. I have preferred the first and may the conflagration I shall kindle set the whole country on fire.

"And now, dear father, farewell. The hour of sacrifice is come. All nature is slumbering peacefully and ere long I am going to fall into that sleep which knows no waking. A strange and sweet sensation overpowers me. Up above, in my new home, at the lotus feet of the Divine Mother and lying within the light of uncreated rays, as I used to lie upon your loving breast, I have only to wait a little while till you and mother come!—Your ill-fated daughter. SNEHALATA."

The Lahore Medical College Strike.

The following application was submitted to the Principal.

TO—THE PRINCIPAL, Medical College, Lahore.

SIR,—We, the students of your College respectfully beg to submit that we have been labouring under a number of grievances in the Medical College, which we beg to lay before you in the following few lines:—

1. The first and the foremost grievance from which we suffer is the treatment accorded to us by yourself and some other members of the teaching staff. The Indian student has never been found lacking in due respect to his teachers and the students of your College have never failed in their duty towards their professors. There is moreover a standing regulation in the College to the effect, "that every student shall salute the professors and the teach by raising the right hand to the forehead." This regulation is strictly obeyed though the professors, with some noble exceptions, do not show us the common courtesy of acknowledging our salute. The students of your College have never deviated from the path of duty and have always shown the greatest respect to their teachers. Still, however, the members of the staff have had nothing but the greatest contempt for the students. It is an ordinary thing for them to address us by such insulting names, as bloody fools, donkeys, asses, devils, and slaves, as if the students were the vi worms and not respectable youngmen of high University education. We have borne these insults as best as we could, but the treatment has now become intolerable and has compelled us to make a practical protest against it.

The treatment accorded to us by the Head of the Institution has lowered us in the eyes of the clerks, nursing staff and even the menials of the Hospital. We are not desirous of any special conces-sions at your hands, all that we want is, that we should at least be shown the same consideration as the students of the Arts College are shown by their Principals and Professors.

2. Our second grievance is with respect to the disabilities fro which we are suffering in the prosecution of our professional stud so far as the practical work is concerned. Although the practical Examinations are becoming stiffer and stiffer, our opportunities doing practical work are growing rarer every day. We are neither allowed sufficient use of the surgical apparatus, instruments, mod etc., nor given a fair opportunity to watch surgical operations. There is in fact a strong impression growing up that the staff d not like the idea of Indians attaining any efficiency in the Surgi work.

3. Contrary to the practice in other Colleges the students the Medical College are not allowed to avail of the Library in College, as no student is allowed to take out any book for study on payment of any security whatsoever.

4. The students are always unreservedly suspected of fo their attention upon the nurses. "The students should on account talk to the nurses" is the standing order and although one of us tries honestly to obey this order not only in letter, b spirit too, yet there are almost daily uncharitable and unwarra remarks cast against us. Should a student prefer any comp against a nurse, it is dismissed summarily and the student is believed whereas immediate action is taken on any report agains students by any nurse. The contemptuous treatment of the n therefore towards the students never finds any redress.

5. The number and amount of scholarships has been red this year although the number of classes will really increase two years.

6. The system of taking bonds for merit scholarship is pe to Medical College alone. A bond does not entitle the execu Government service after completion of the College cour only used as hinderances against prosecution of higher st abroad.

7. We also beg to draw your kind attention to the fact great difficulties are put in the way of students proceeding to for the prosecution of studies there. Exorbitant fees are before certificates in the various subjects are issued. It is tiring the patience of the applicant that the necessary certificat granted. The students intending to proceed abroad are disco and thus cold water is thrown on their just and noble aspirations.

8. We might have perhaps still put up with the disadva from which we have been so long suffering, but the climax was re on Wednesday last. As the proceedings of the London H students were unfair and unwarranted as condemning the whol of Indian students and as we feared that their example might followed by other Institutions, we approached you with the re preside at a meeting we proposed to hold in order to protest a the resolutions of the English students of the London Ho This, as you would see, Sir, was the best course that we coul We were grieved to learn, however, that you refused to entert application and help us in the matter but added to our cha endorsing the opinions of the London Hospital students addition insulting us by condemning our own character, remarks about our behaviour towards the Nursing staff wh beg to say were quite unjustified.

Smarting as we were under the numerous grievances which have been referred to above and were represented to yo time to time directly or indirectly, the unsympathetic treatm met at your hands was the last straw that broke the camel's We did not think it consistent with our sense of honour and respect to continue attending the College unless these remarks withdrawn and our grievances redressed. We ceased to atten College with the idea that it was impossible to represent the to you while staying in the College, as you refused to conside such applications. We have detailed these grievances for your sympathetic and best consideration and we will be only too gl return to the College when we are kindly given an assurance that our grievances will be redressed and no punishment of any sort will be inflicted on any one of us for our staying out of the College.

Waiting for a favourable and an early decision.

We beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient pupils,
Students
of the Lahore Medical College.

[illegible] February, 1914.

The Lapse of Mr. Lovat Fraser.

[illegible] Tory circles it goes almost without saying that General [illegible] is the hero of the hour, just as Lord Morley was in 1909. Mr. Lovat Fraser, who rhapsodises on the theme of "Strong Men and Measures" to the extent of a column in Saturday's *Daily Mail*, is so completely carried away by his enthusiasm that he declares [illegible] the real truth" that "the English are not inherently [illegible] law-abiding race."

When we see that South Africa has produced one great, character[illegible] man who stands for peace and good government [illegible] at any risk, we are ready to say he is right without [illegible] regard for the lawyers who wag their heads in dismay.

Lord Kitchener, it would appear, is another of the same kidney: [illegible] say, he is "intellectually, not among our greatest [illegible] men," is proclaimed to be that "he sometimes [illegible] the means he employs so long as he attains his [illegible]"

[illegible] deportations, for he had a share in [illegible] when a dozen prominent agitators in Bengal [illegible] months. Bengal was calmed in an [illegible] the stress of Lord Kitchener's anger when [illegible] the agitators were incontinently released at the [illegible] Calcutta.

[illegible] by the deportations, as Mr. [illegible] that matter? Lord [illegible] is being pushed [illegible] by Mr. Fraser and [illegible]. No [illegible] this epidemic of deportation [illegible] a relapse into the habit of [illegible] the respect for [illegible] liberties [illegible] to the governing classes.

[illegible] strikes the Lovat Fraser type of [illegible] in Ulster and [illegible] politi[illegible] the application of exactly the same [illegible]. On the contrary, says Mr. Fraser, "had [illegible] have the courage to tell Mr. [illegible] that he could not keep his pro[illegible]." That is to say, perfidy is [illegible] interests of a small and privileged oligarchy are [illegible] and arbitrary punishment must [illegible] wage-earners"—which is [illegible] against the South African strike leaders.

[illegible] to which most [illegible] Curzon [illegible] the indignation [illegible]

[illegible] await the appear[illegible]

[illegible] Mr. [illegible]'s biography will [illegible] a letter to Lady Hunter.

[illegible] about his lying letters [illegible] pitilessly—a single blow, but [illegible] of the whole of India, and left [illegible] I hope it will stop his wicked men[illegible]

[illegible] takes good care not to be "nameless": but [illegible] reason why he should mingle discretion [illegible]

Journalism as a Career for Indian Youths.

Mr. Blair's Lecture at University Institute.

Mr. A. J. Fraser Blair of the *Statesman* delivered a lecture on "Journalism as a career for Indian Youths" at the University Institute, Calcutta, on Tuesday evening. Mr. Justice A. Chaudhuri presided.

In introducing the speaker, the President said that Mr. Blair was an eminent journalist. For some years he had been connected with some of the biggest journals in Calcutta. He was connected at the present time with one of the biggest newspapers in India.

Mr. Blair said that when he was invited to address them on the subject of journalism as a profession for young Indians, he at once thought of the advice to those about to be married "Don't." When he dwelt upon all the draw-backs of journalistic career he did not want to impress on them that he was against taking it up. It was possible that that might be the effect of the remarks he was going to address to them. But they would acquit him of such deliberate intention.

Before entering upon the question of how far journalism was a career for young Indians he would consider journalism as a profession from a general point of view. He would first consider its relation to the civilisation of the world. Newspapers existed, because they served a very useful work. The main function of a newspaper was to keep the people in touch with the events of the day, to break down the limitation of time and space which hedge in every individual and to widen their experience. A regular reader of a daily newspaper is kept acquainted with the leading events not only of his own country but of all countries in the world. Newspapers constituted a great influence. They broadened the outlook and led to unify the races.

The speaker then dwelt at some length on the influence which newspapers had exercised in the international politics of Europe and in removing race hatred. There were, he said, of course, other causes at work. But most influential among them had been the newspaper Press. That was a great task to have accomplished.

If there was any aspiring journalist there he would bear in mind that good newspapers were those which were truthful and bad newspapers which could not be relied upon, no matter how well written the articles might be or how distinguished names were associated with them. If newspapers were unscrupulous their value was nil. They were not newspapers whatever else they might be. It must be admitted that the function of a newspaper was also to influence public opinion by reasonable comments upon the leading events of the day. The greater the weight of their comments the greater were their influence. The functions of newspapers were thus divided into two parts—the news service which served the purpose of keeping the reader in touch with the events of the world and then the comments and criticisms of events. The first was generally admitted to be by far the more important. One could not imagine a daily newspaper without comments and a good newspaper was one whose comments were always reliable and whose views were always correct. But newspapers, as every other human invention, had their drawbacks. They sometimes destroyed the sanctity of private life. In India they had not done that to any great extent. In England and in America, especially in the latter country they constituted a [illegible]. In the United States that practice had no limits. Perhaps the President would be able to tell them if there was any [illegible] in that country. If there was any it was never called into [illegible]. It was one of his greatest pleasures, said Mr. Blair, to find that the Press in India was conducted with a certain amount of decency and restraint. Might the Press in India live long to maintain that [illegible] tradition. Another drawback about daily journalism was that the editors were compelled to give their views on every [illegible] subject under the sun. With regard to many questions no man could do justice without investigation. But how much investigation was an editor able to undertake when the paper was going to the press—when he was expected to say something about the leading topic of the day? Even with regard to some of his own articles when he came across them casually and read them, he experienced a feeling unlike that experienced by Dean Swift when he read his Gulliver's Travels. He said, "Great God, what genius I was in writing that book!" A journalist was not even adroit enough to conceal his ignorance. Newspapers exercised a great influence in moulding the thought of the readers, consciously or unconsciously. When a journalist went wrong, he also led others astray. Whether the draw-backs of newspapers outweighed their advantages, the fact remained that it was one of those things necessary for civilised mankind. If it was an evil, it was a necessary evil and was likely to remain one for a good many years to come.

Coming to the second question, namely how far journalism opened a career for Indian youths, Mr. Blair said that the Indian possessed a remarkable aptitude for journalism. He took to it as he took to law. Mr. Blair came across a good many Indian journalists of every creed and he could unhesitatingly say that he did not come across one whom he did not admire. Even the lowest among them displayed a power of observation of a high order. While some among them were worthy of respect of the best exponents of Europe. The father of Indian journalism was, he took it, Raja Ram Mohan Roy whose writings were as inspiring at the present time as when they were written, three-quarters of a century ago, then although Keshav Chandra Sen, was not a journalist in the ordinary sense of the term many of his writings displayed the signs which marked the writings of practised newspaper writers. Then coming to latter days they had Shambhuchandra Mukerjee of the *Reis and Rayet* and Kristo Das Pal of the *Hindu Patriot*. Mr. Blair doubted whether among the many able writers that Bengal had produced there ever was any man who had a greater command of English than Shambhu Chandra Mukerjee. He had a command of the English language to which not many Englishmen could lay claim. Kristo Das Pal was above all other things a man of stubborn spirit. A manly spirit breathed through his writings which gave them all their charm. Coming nearer to our own time they had Mr. Malabari of Bombay and Mr. Shishir Kumar Ghose, two distinguished journalists who had recently passed away. Coming still further down we had still living and active journalists—Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and Babu Motilal Ghose. It could, of course, be said of Mr. Bannerjea that he was more of an orator than a journalist. He had often heard it said that some of Mr. Banerjea's articles were unspoken orations. Moti Babu was more of a journalist and his simple sense of humour was inimitable. Coming to younger class of journalists there was Mr. Mahomed Ali who seemed to combine the qualities of both Mr. Banerjea and Mr. Motilal Ghose. Each of these gentlemen, however, was unique in a way and the fact suggested enormous possibility of Indian journalism. The speaker would hesitate to advise any young man to embark upon the sea of journalism in which there were under-currents and hidden rocks for young mariners. The first advice which he would give to the would-be Indian journalist was to be honest. That was a difficult task in most walks of life, especially in journalism. Friends will press a journalist to put back something which ought to appear, or ask him to put in something which ought to be left out. Then, in order to fill so much space in a limited time, a journalist sometimes wrote things which he did not mean. They must resist that temptation. It was better not to write anything which the writer did not mean. The journalist was called upon to exercise the function of a critic. They could not be too careful to see that their criticism was as constructive as possible. To indulge in destructive criticisms was one of the boons of public life in this country. It could not be said that in the writings of Mr. Surendranath Banerjea or Babu Motilal Ghose there was much of constructive criticism. The speaker did not say that no result came out of their criticism. The *Patrika* hammered at the question of water-supply until Government took up the matter in hand. The *Bengalee* kept on agitating over the Partition of Bengal until, according to the Government of India, it managed to persuade the Government to believe that the Bengalees would never be satisfied until the Partition was annulled. For the most part, were the criticisms to which the *Patrika* subjected Government helpful. Did they make any allowance for the difficulty of administration? The speaker was afraid the answer must be "hardly ever." He did not say that Government did not deserve all criticism it got. It deserved perhaps a great deal more. But the man who is a statesman as well as a journalist would try to look at a public question not from the point of view of a critic alone but he must look at it from the point of view as to how far it was expedient for him to criticise. A certain amount of criticism was good for every body including the critic himself. But criticism without offering any hint what was to be done was bad for the critic for Government and also for the people. It was bad for the critic because fault-finding became a habit with him. It was bad for Government because it placed an inferior picture of men and things before Government. It was bad for the people because they obtained one-sided view of things. What is the impression that those editors left upon the minds of the readers? Surely they were that India was poor because of British Government. The European Magistrate was hard upon the Indians when Indians and Europeans were concerned; trade and commerce were practically monopolised by Europeans leaving for Indians nothing but clerkships and jute-growing. That was the impression one could not help carrying. Was that the case? They knew very well that things were not so bad. No one was more aware of the shortcomings of the Government than he was. But it was better than no Government at all. He ventured to say that it was great deal better than what any other foreign Government was likely to be. So long India remained under foreign rule it would not pay her to exchange any other rule for British rule. Those criticisms only made the task of Government more difficult than it need be.

Mr. Blair in passing referred to Snehalata's suicide. How profoundly he said he was moved by the tragic story of the Hindu girl's suicide. He earnestly wished success in the campaign they opened against the evil of extortionate marriage dowry.

Returning to the subject-matter of the lecture Mr. Blair said "Let your criticisms be constructive whenever possible. Don't merely say this is wrong; but show how it can be put aright with friendly disposition towards Government and towards every body else. Government like individuals are more easily led than driven."

Proceeding the speaker said that it was difficult to establish a reputation for trustworthiness. When one lost it one realised its supreme value. He would say to the aspiring journalist never to get into the habit of doing just what he was to do. They should not do their duty with their eyes fixed on the clock. They must make their paper their first consideration. He asked them to be keen and self-sacrificing.

In conclusion he said to those who were meditating to take up journalism as their profession or those who had already taken the plunge that it rested on them to uphold the tradition of the profession in future. Their admirers—among whom Mr. Blair included himself as he had been an admirer of Bengalee journalists for many years—would watch their efforts with keen interest and applaud your success with heartiest good-will.

Rai Radhacharan Pal Bahadur in addressing the meeting referred to the work of the late Babus Kashinath Ghose, Kishori Chand Mitra, Harrish Chandra Mukerjee, Girish Chandra Ghose and Shisir Kumar Ghose in the field of journalism.

Referring to the lecturer's observation that criticisms in Indian Press were not in many instances of a constructive character, the Rai Bahadur said that it must not be forgotten that they laboured under great disadvantages. How often, he asked, they were placed in a position to offer constructive criticisms? That state of things was due to want of reciprocity between the rulers and the ruled which notwithstanding the progressive age was wanting at the present time. At a time when there was no council and other representative institutions as at present editors of newspapers who were inclined to offer criticism were helped by Government in offering such criticism. He remembered when the Press Commission was established. The first Commissioner he remembered was Sir Robert Le-ridge who interpreted the motive and intention of Government to the Press. But at present the Press was in the dark as regards the intention of Government about the measures intended to be enunciated or the objects which led to such enunciation. The Rai Bahadur did not know what led Government to abolish that institution. Although that institution was abolished certain members of the press had the privilege of close association with members of Government and, therefore, were in a position to know the motive and intention of Government and were thus in a position to offer constructive criticism. But at present, notwithstanding councils and representative institutions they were far off from Government. That was the disadvantage under which the Indian press laboured. The Anglo-Indian Press was situated in a different position.

Whatever might be the motive of the criticisms in the Press it should not be said or thought of that they wished a change of masters. They fully appreciated the benefits of British rule. What they learnt to love and what they wanted were the rights of citizenship of the British Empire. They wanted to enjoy the same privileges as other subjects of the Empire. He hoped that their motives should not be misunderstood.

Babu Janan Chandra Rai B. L. in an eloquent speech thanked Mr. Blair for his most interesting lecture.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri said that the newspaper in India had great possibilities. It was a great power both for good and for evil. That depended on the conductors of newspapers. Mr. Chaudhuri had great faith in their youngmen. He found writings by local youngmen which would do credit to any man engaged in journalism in any country. They had great facility of expression—he might almost say a fatal facility of expression. They were blessed with an imagination that helped them and led them to write articles in newspapers which they ought never to have written. The life of a journalist was a strenuous life. He was to write, as they heard from Mr. Blair, on any subject that came before him. That required a great strain. Mr. Blair would bear him out when he said that in England journalists worked for 18 hours a day and that for years to acquire some position as a journalist in England. It was difficult to acquire a good knowledge of the English language. There was a great scope for them in journalism in the vernacular. Their newspapers should not extend their vision beyond the [illegible] horizon. Mr. Chaudhuri asked them to conduct themselves in a manner which befitted the society to which they belonged. If they could do that they would have done a great deal. They must be placed and according to the circumstances in which they were placed and according to their environments. If they began to do that that would be a great step forward. Having regard to the number of papers in the country one was amazed to think that there was no institution in the country where young journalists could get some help or some books of reference and acquire some knowledge of journalism.

One monthly journal published the sensational news that a young man fell in love with a young lady at Darjeeling while skating and motoring up and down at Darjeeling. They all knew that there could be no skating or motoring up and down at Darjeeling, there might be love-making. That might be a bit of romance but a news of that kind degraded everybody connected with the journal. In taking up journalism as a career they had to equip themselves with the actual knowledge of things to be able to write truly. What Mr. Blair had asked them to do is to be able to think truly and write truly.

With a vote of thanks to the chair and the lecturer proposed by Mr. R. D. Mehta the meeting came to a close.

Warm Girls.

By James Douglas.

B-r-r-r! Excuse me: I can't help doing it. B-r-r-r! I am thinking of the weather we are having in London this week. It is real Shackleton weather. I am a fresh air man, as a rule. Every morning, W. P., I take my duty walk in Rotten Row. ("W.P." means "weather permitting.") But just now the weather does not permit me to watch the merry little Amazons cantering on their merry little horses beside their merry little men. I really don't know how Achilles contrives to keep up his circulation in the east wind.

* * *

B-r-r-r! How Nelson keeps warm on his monument without Lady Hamilton I cannot imagine. Some of these days his sword will fall from his frost-bitten fingers. I think the nation ought to send up to him a fur coat and a hot-water bottle. The Landseer lions might also be supplied with cosy red flannel waistcoats. As for the Griffin of Temple Bar, she ought at least to wear a muff, and Boadicea deserves a pair of fur-lined gloves. Driving all day and all night at this time of year!

* * *

There is only one thought that comforts my shivering heart as I wander about the refrigerator of London. The girls are warm. Do not ask me why or how. The girls of London take no notice of the weather. They go about as if they had never heard of pneumonia, or bronchitis, or laryngitis, or tuberculosis, or phthisis, or cata-r-r-h. Sometimes I rub my eyes and wonder whether I have suddenly gone mad when I behold the girls of London breasting the blizz of the blizzard and the freeze of the [illegible] with one yard of frock round their waist and two yards of fur round their elbows. They might at least wear a walking gown when the climate is fit for nothing but Emperor penguins and Esquimaux.

* * *

My teeth chatter when I see the snowy throats of these cold-[illegible] pets leaping out of their furs and simply asking for [illegible] of the lungs. If I were to lay bare my chest to the breezes of the Serpentine and the Round Point I should not live five minutes. But these fearless maidens lower their neck-line faster than the thermometer. At present it is at least eighty below zero, and a further drop is anticipated. It is enough to make the mer[illegible] and the Clerk of the Weather cut his throat. The [illegible] thing is that the darlings will wear their furs for decoration instead of warmth. I know that there is a legend which says that there were two holes in the Ark and that Noah stopped one with a dog's nose and the other with a woman's elbow. [illegible] the girls of London ought to cover more than their [illegible]

* * *

When I remonstrate with them, they assure me that they are warm [illegible] unfortunately, I cannot contradict them. They [illegible] and certainly they present all the appearance [illegible] the furs are there or thereabouts, although they [illegible] any. I suppose they wear them for publication [illegible] as a guarantee of good faith. A girl with furs [illegible] may seem to be reckless, but so long as the furs are [illegible] you to understand that she can be warm [illegible]. When is a fur not a fur? When it is a [illegible]

* * *

[illegible] puzzles me. Why have men less hardihood than [illegible] Why is the blood of the Nut colder than the blood of [illegible] Every Nut who is seen abroad just now wears a [illegible] his dainty neck. No Nut ventures to be a [illegible] in the open air. It is not strange that the stronger sex [illegible] muffle itself to the chin, while the weaker sex [illegible] itself to the—well, let us call it the collar-bone? [illegible] that women are warmer than men?

* * *

I think Sir Ernest Shackleton ought to reconsider his plans in the light of the revelations being made this winter. Why should men be allowed to monopolise Polar exploration, when it is evident that women are far more suitable for ice-work? I advise him to lead an expedition of London girls to the South Pole. They would not notice the cold. Probably they would travel lighter the nearer they got to the Pole. They are wearing less in Bond Street in January than they wore in July, and they are still moulting. It is a case of the colder the fewer. Their stockings, for instance, are growing thin by degrees and beautifully less. Two skirts are hardly equal to half a pair of trousers.

* * *

I am told that the latest stockings are made of invisible enamel blown through a glass tube. The enamel is made of liquid air. If you fan it gently it vanishes in a cloud of vapour. There is a rumour, that the new spring frocks are to be made of liquid air dyed in fast colours to reduce the diaphany. What will happen when they fade heaven only knows. Mrs. Grundy may see through them. B-r-r-r!—*London Opinion*.

The Ottoman Association.

Lord Lamington, who returned from the Continent specially for this purpose, presided at a meeting of the Ottoman Association, held on the 21st January, at 22, Albemarle Street.

Although the Ottoman Association has been only recently founded, it has already a strong and representative executive committee, composed of Lord Lamington, Lord Bury, Lord Brooke, the Hon. Aubrey Herbert, M.P., the Hon. Walter Guinness, M.P., Lieut.-General Sir Reginald Pole-Carew, M.P., Mr. George Lloyd, M.P., Mr. Harold Cox, General Sir John Brabazon, Major A. Paget, the Hon. Montagu Parker, Dr. M. Gaster, Rev. Dr. H. G. Rosedale, Mr. L. Wills, Mr. O. Wills, Mr. H. Seppings Wright, Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, Mr. G. Raffalovitch, Dr. A. Pollen, Mr. E. Pennington, and others while Mr. E. N. Bennett and Mr. W. H. Seeds are the hon. secretaries.

The objects of the Ottoman Association are:—(1) To study the needs and conditions of the Ottoman Empire. (2) To help in maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. (3) To promote a cordial understanding between Great Britain and Turkey.

The following resolutions, proposed by the Hon. Walter Guinness M.P., and seconded by the Rev. Dr. H. G. Rosedale, were unanimously adopted:—

"That this meeting views with great concern the proposal brought forward by the British Government that the islands of Chios and Mytilene should become Greek, and is of opinion that such a solution, is likely to be followed by political disturbances in Western Anatolia.

"That this meeting regrets the failure of the British Government to accede to the requests of the Porte for help in its sincere efforts to reform the administration of the Asiatic provinces."

The association has decided to start an energetic campaign to enlighten public opinion on the true state of affairs in the Near East, and to emphasize the political, strategical, and commercial importance to the British Empire of maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

Memorial to Sir E. Grey.

On behalf of the Ottomon Association Lord Lamington, Sir Thomas Barclay, Mr. Harold Cox, Mr. Aubrey Herbert, M. P., Mr. Walter Guinness, M. P., and Mr. E. N. Bennet have addressed to Sir Edward Grey a memorial upon the subjects of: (1) the Eastern Anatolian *vilayets* and (2) the islands of Samothrace, Lemnos, Chios, and Mytilene. Regarding the first subject the memorial says:—

"It appears to be the case that the Armenian and Chaldean Christians are generally desirous to remain within the Ottoman Empire provided that in addition to the full religious liberty already enjoyed they are guaranteed sound civil administration and real security against violence and ill-usage at the hands of the Kurds. It seems to be equally clear that deliberate efforts are being made by foreign agents to foment civil discord in Eastern Anatolia and frustrate the sincere endeavours of the present Ottoman Government to establish a just and orderly administration in the Armenian provinces. Under these circumstances we regret that His Majesty's Government has not seen fit to accede to the Turkish proposal that a number of able and experienced Englishmen equipped with adequate powers should be employed by the Porte for the purpose of restoring and maintaining order in the disturbed *vilayets*. . . . . By acceding to Turkey's urgent and reasonable request we should not only evince our goodwill to the Ottoman nation but secure the grateful approval of millions of our Moslem fellow-subjects in India and other portions of the Empire."

With reference to the second point, the memorial suggests that Sir Edward Grey should press Italy to evacuate the islands that she has held since the war with Turkey. It directs attention to the

opinion expressed by the best naval and military experts (including, the association understands, Admiral Limpus, whose services have been placed at the disposal of the Porte by the British Government), that the cession to Greece of the islands of Lemnos, Samothrace, Chios, and Mytilene would be fatal to the security of the Dardanelles, the port of Symrna, and the adjacent mainland. The association believes that the loss of these islands, after the previous surrender of Ottoman territory in Europe and Africa, would produce a bitter feeling of exasperation in the Turkish nation which may compel the Turkish Government, sooner or later, to re-open hostilities with Greece, while, even if war is avoided, Chios and Mytilene may well be made the base of Hellenic propaganda on the mainland on the lines of the former activities of the Greek bands in Macedonia.

Islam.

To the Editor of the *Near East.*

Dear Sir,—The Ottoman Association proposes to resist encroachments upon the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. This is only an act of justice and a moral obligation, as all Powers who profess to be honest, and not theives and brigands, would scorn to attempt to appropriate that which is not their own; but it is astonishing what pretexts for robbery they can advance, like the wolf in the case of the lamb, when themselves the dishonest aggressors.

This Association also desires to emphasize the strategical and commercial importance of the Ottoman Empire to Britain. There is no question regarding the necessity of this proposition, as the intrigues of the present day are so far-reaching and malevolent that at any moment, if not rendered impossible of fruition, they might develop into something that would change the whole aspect of Europe, even with the disappearance of one or other of the Great Powers, such an intrigue and secret alliance having already been proved to be a fact.

Finally, the Association proposes to establish the most cordial understanding between Turks and Britons on all points, and such an understanding is commendable, morally, politically, and from mercantile points of view.

In all this there is no element of violent propaganda: an alliance is a friendly relation, and should any violence ensue, that would be because some Power with less honest motives objected to it as being a bar to its dishonesty. The violence would only arise from that source, which would certainly get in return the full allowance of its deserts. It is simply desired to keep a watchful eye, so as to be able to counteract a mischievous use of the Press for scattering broadcast anti-Turkish views and abusive narratives, wholly fictitious, with the deliberate purpose of ruining Turkey and British interests, the centre of the [illegible] of which" absolutely rests upon Turkey, at least in the Eastern hemisphere. On the whole, we think we can deal efficiently with any adversaries of Anglo-Turkish interests in the British Press. Their malignant aspersions and the purpose of them can be easily rendered [illegible] in the eyes of the British public. But a little more effort will have to be exerted to dispose of similar antagonism in the Continental Press, and to obtain a clear insight into its origin and ultimate purpose. However, there is one way of rendering such attempts entirely abortive. It is all very well to watch the [illegible] a watch, however careful, may, from some cause or other, momentarily fail, and it is much [illegible] to lock the door with a lock that cannot be picked, and which is [illegible]. The only way to do this is to form an alliance with Turkey as soon as it can possibly be done, thus securing the best interests of both England and Turkey. No other Power [illegible] have the power to alter Turkey's [illegible] the most [illegible] look upon Turkey as [illegible] will [illegible] and [illegible] of friendship [illegible] to a maximum.

We [illegible] an alliance with Islam, [illegible] to the [illegible] which does not [illegible] political [illegible] we [illegible] so [illegible] compared with one that includes that principle.

[illegible] House, Ingleton, near Kirkby Lonsdale.

[illegible] R. M. [illegible], Ottoman Association.

Russia and Armenia.

"The Armenian Question," a pamphlet just [illegible] by Captain Dixon-Johnson, may be commended to the attention of all thinking people who desire a happy issue for Turkey out of her difficulties in Asia Minor.

Captain Dixon-Johnson commences his booklet with the quotation *in extenso* of Sir Charles Wilson's figures with regard to the population of Asia Minor. They show that the Armenians are barely more than one-seventh of the population, and that the Armenians are in a majority in only nine out of the one hundred and fifty-nine Kazas or sub-districts into which Turkey-in-Asia is divided. "Armenian emigration to Adana and Trebizond is due," says the writer, "to Russia's future aspirations, and it was owing to her grasp of the situation that Turkey requested the British Government to lend her officials to aid in the re-organisation of the provinces of Asia Minor."

"The reformed Government of Turkey desires to fulfil her part of the Constantinople Convention by re-organising the administration of her Asiatic Provinces with the help of British officials and looks to Great Britain for the help she is entitled to expect; and so long as Great Britain remains in Cyprus she is bound by the Convention 'to undertake the onerous obligation of a defensive alliance with Turkey if Russia should attempt to extend her annexations beyond the present frontiers which the present negotiations will assign.'" (*Letter of Lord Salisbury to M. Waddington, July* 7, 1878.)

Russia, continues Captain Dixon-Johnson, is said to have objected to the right of Turkey to select European officials for employment in Kurdistan to carry out the necessary reforms, and suggests as a counter proposal:—

"A scheme of international control which would practically abolish the sovereignty of Turkey in her own dominions and which, as an insult to their national prestige, would be most distasteful to the great majority of the inhabitants and would probably lead to their giving vent to their wrath by persecuting the small minority, whom they would naturally consider responsible."

The writer cites four reasons which he avers actuate Russia in objecting to European officials—namely, that British officials would curtail Russia's facilities for smuggling arms into Kurdistan and for introducing *agents provocateurs*, that the country would be in touch with the Press of Europe, "and the British officials on the spot would fearlessly report the true facts," that the Provinces would become prosperous and Turkey herself would be stronger; and finally, that "the excuse for intervention would then cease to exist."

The suggested international control is, he continues, proposed by Russia in the hope that either Turkey will refuse point blank and her possible subsequent [illegible] will afford time to promote trouble, and thus create an excuse for invasion, or that her (Russia's) claim as the neighbouring State will enable her to predominate on the Commission for the appointment of the officials, and thus, by a round about way, give her a pretext for intervention.

The following passage speaks of [illegible] of the reasons of the disturbed conditions of Turkey-in-Asia:—

"Until 1877-78 the Armenian's relations with his Kurdish neighbours were [illegible] Then until the death of [illegible] active propaganda by Russian Consuls; these [illegible] schools, encouraged the Armenian language and inculcated the belief in a [illegible] Armenian [illegible] a State in which [illegible] the proud Moslem [illegible] the Kurd [illegible] bloodshed."

[illegible]

The Problem of Asiatic Turkey.

A Student of Eastern politics, whether he has traced [illegible] history at home or whether he has watched the course of events upon the spot, is often apt to become a partisan of one or other of the many sects and factions whose mutual antipathies create the "Eastern question." I am painfully aware of an unconscious tendency on my own part to fall into this error, and to sympathise with this nationality or that creed because I imagine I can detect therein some quality which appeals to an ingrained sentiment or emotion within me. This is doubtless one of the failings of human nature. But before going further I beg the reader to believe that in spite of this unconscious tendency, which we all have, I have attempted in this article to see all sides, and to form a judgment, which, even if he does not agree with, he will recognise as sincere

Last autumn, for the third time in four years, I set out on another journey in search of knowledge about Oriental politics, and with the object of touring the Ottoman Empire from Thrace to Armenia. The Balkans had just been swept by a desolating war; Bulgaria was crushed; Albania born; the Concert of Europe was but a name without prestige south of the Danube. Turkey, [illegible], was now returning to her own through victories won by others, straining eagerly to divert attention from her Asiatic [illegible] by a further dose of "Balkan narcotic." Such was the position when I reached Constantinople last October to begin a journey into Eastern Thrace.

First of all, it interested me to know what was the effect on Turkey of the re-occupation of Adrianople and the surrounding country, and how far this new move would prejudice her regeneration in Asia Minor. In Constantinople I heard the point of view of the civil official, in Adrianople I heard the point of view of the military, and in *bazars* and street-corners I heard the views of [illegible] public opinion, as far as this is at present articulate. All [illegible], including those of many impartial foreign observers, [illegible] that the position of Turkey under the Treaty of London would have been one which scarcely left room for the exercise of her independence. It was pointed out to me that the Midia-Enos line laid down by the Powers was strategically indefensible. An arbitrary line drawn without regard for physical conditions across that [illegible] downland, it would have enabled a Bulgarian force on the Ergene at any moment to cut the communications between Chataja and Dardanelles. The absence of any means of breaking [illegible] from the north-west and of securing co-operation between the military forces at these two points would make the capital strategically indefensible. Whatever we may think of the method of Turkey's move last August, it is only fair to remember that by that action she extricated herself from a position which practically meant dependence on the will of neighbouring states. I cannot [illegible] knowledge of military affairs, but the impression that I gathered from various quarters led me to believe that the re-[illegible] of Eastern Thrace would impose no extra burden upon [illegible] Finance. The problem of the defence of that frontier may [illegible] be solved, not by fortifications at Kirk Kilisse and [illegible], but by a re-organisation of the methods of mobilisation [illegible] affects the Ottoman Empire as a whole.

[illegible] a few weeks in Thrace, I crossed the Straits and travelled [illegible] the Anatolian railway through the heart of Asia Minor. [illegible] the *vilayets* of Konia and Angora the true home of the [illegible] found. Here live those kind, hospitable, lazy, and [illegible] sons of Osman, who for centuries have borne the [illegible] of empire in order to gratify the greed of tyrants in [illegible]. The Turk of Anatolia is the backbone of the Empire, [illegible] he can be seen, living like a highlander in the forested [illegible] of the Taurus, or on the high plateau of Central Anatolia, [illegible] his patches of wheat and maize, and living at peace [illegible] neighbour. His hardy life on the highland plateau has [illegible] a physique fully equal to that of the Cossack, and [illegible] has fallen the whole burden of military service, which he [illegible] uncomplainingly. But in this twentieth century there [illegible] sign of material progress, for while other parts [illegible] are distracted by massacres, brigand raids and wars, [illegible] at least the sword has given place to the plough, and [illegible] methods and western education are making slow but [illegible]. The great medium of western civilisation is Germany [illegible] is, I am persuaded, in every way beneficial. By [illegible] and irrigation works, which her companies and banks [illegible] co-operation with the Turkish Government, [illegible] of roads and the establishment of schools, she is, [illegible] the development of the Ottoman national ideal, [illegible] European methods into a state of society now worn out [illegible]. [illegible] south-east Anatolia on the plains of Cilicia, western [illegible] even greater headway than on the Anatolian [illegible] is a large Armenian population in the towns, [illegible] question has been considerably to the fore of [illegible]. Unlike Anatolia, which in recent years has never [illegible], the Cilician plains only a few years ago were [illegible] the worst holocausts which have ever taken [illegible]. This was all the more remarkable in view of the [illegible] influence, which had undoubtedly got a good [illegible] parts even at that time. The massacre at Adana [illegible] the fact that such occurrences as these never [illegible] without a direct inspiration from above. But [illegible] through which the Empire was passing [illegible], and in view of the peculiarly dangerous [illegible] agitation which had sprung up at the time among the Armenians, a collision of some sort was hardly surprising. I think it would be safe to say that the advent of the Bagdad railway to the Cilician plains, accompanied by the rush of modern improvements and European methods, will prevent any artificially-organised reprisals between Mohamedan and Christian in future.

As soon as I left the zone of German influence, I at once observed a change to a more primitive state of society. Indeed, it would not be too much to say that if some of the influence which Germany is now exercising in Anatolia and Cilicia were introduced into the Armenian *vilayets*, we should go a long way towards solving the Armenian problem. Desirous of visiting some of this more primitive country, I made up a small caravan last November at Adana, and tracked into the highlands of Lesser Armenia. The northern parts of the *vilayets* of Aleppo and Adana contain a large Armenian population, severed from their brethren in the north-eastern *vilayets*, and forming part of the ancient kingdom of Lesser Armenia, which was known in history as the ally of the Byzantine Emperors. At the present day the Christian population here is confined to the secluded mountain valleys of the Anti-Taurus Range. Thither they have been driven in times past, while the Mohamedan descendants of Seljuk and Saracen inhabit the plains to the north and south. Lesser Armenia is a striking example of the principle that humanity becomes what its environment makes it, for here we find a semi-independent race of highlanders, with six centuries of freedom behind them, not cringing and whining like the Armenians of the Asiatic coast town, but vying with the Caucasian for bravery, and with the Kurd for rascality. During the few weeks that I was in Lesser Armenia, I visited Sis, Hadjin, and Zeitun, the last two places being noted as out-law retreats for the whole countryside. Situated at the head of rocky gorges, these towns consist of mud houses, literally piled, like packs of cards, up the precipitous mountain slopes, and even against cliffs, for protection from enemies in the valleys below. At Zeitun I found a large colony of out-laws and brigands, headed by a bishop who had a closer acquaintance with military lore than with principles of theology. A state of warfare existed on all week days between the inhabitants of Zeitun, headed by its bishop and four so-called noblemen, against the Turkish garrison of fort lower down the valley. Raids and forays were frequent on the rocks above the town, one of which I witnessed one evening from the verandah of the bishop's house, between a Turkish out post and a gang of out-laws. The Armenians of Zeitun were up in arms against anything which savoured of central government control. Nothing would persuade them to pay their taxes, or send a soldier to serve in the Turkish Army, while, of course, any caravan of Turkish goods or a flock of sheep passing from one town to the other, was in their eyes a lawful object for plunder. In fact, here is a country unsubdued by Turkey in the heart of her Empire, living in a tribal state, and one can hardly wonder at the Young Turks taking some steps to bring these primitive tribesmen to law and order. But, as usual, their methods have been clumsy and stupid. One of their methods is to find out the Armenian villages lower down the valley, where the Zeitun brigands and out-laws come, and to put pressure upon these innocent peasants in order to make them betray their brethren. As a result, the latter have to large extent joined the out-laws, and the position is made infinitely worse. There is thus a state of guerilla warfare continually going on in and around Zeitun, with a truce every Sunday. I witnessed the comedy of Oriental warfare one Sunday morning last November, when I attended mass in the ancient Gregorian church on the rock at Zeitun. The Bishop officiated in full robes, and as I reached the church who should I find at the entrance but the Turkish commander of the soldiers with whom the Zeitunlis were at war on week days, accompanied by the "mufti" or Mohamedan chaplain of the Ottoman forces. I shall not readily forget the sight of that gaunt, bare church, perched upon the cliff, half-fortress like, battered by storm and siege for many a century. Within its walls stood the rude Christian altar with its screen of lattice, behind which went forth the ancient Gregorian chants in shrill, weird Eastern strains, while the incense enveloped the body of the little church in its fragrant haze. It was a display of Oriental Christianity, with all its pomp and mystery. And there, crowded in the nave, were the rude picturesque Armenian highlanders, armed to the teeth with knives and rifles, and standing beside me the representative of the Turkish Government, commander of the forces, with whom these highlanders were at war on week days. All of us, whether Christian or Mohamedan, were worshipping at the same shrine, and whatever may be said against Islam, this incident is enough to prove that there is no other religion which shows more tolerance for the rights and customs of other faiths. After the service, the Bishop, the Turkish officials, and myself, all retired to the vestry, where a spread of rice, mutton, and grease was served with wine and cognac. Speeches of a semi-political nature were accompanied by uproarious toasts, and finally the Bishop became very merry, and the Turkish Governor required the assistance of a gendarme to get him out of the room!

Such is the paradox of Eastern life. But no one who visits Lesser Armenia can say that the Armenians are crushed under the heel of a tyrannous Turk. In Zeitun at least, it is the other way. In the country of the Geok Su river, the principal brigand bands are all Armenian. In fact, I found just the same state of affairs here as I found further east, in Greater Armenia, when I visited it last year. The only difference is that here Zeitunli Armenians, and to a certain extent Circassians, are the disturbing element, while in Greater Armenia that function is usurped by the Kurds. Gradually the Turks are penetrating both these districts, and indeed, considerable progress has been made in the last ten years in building roads, and in establishing gendarmerie posts in these highlands. An American missionary, whom I met at Marash, and who had lived forty years on the borders of this country, told me that he had himself witnessed during that time a great improvement in the social state of the population. Raids on villages by robber bands are less frequent as compared with former times, the power of the tribal chiefs is less, and gradually the Turkish Government is asserting its control.

Leaving the Armenian highlands, I reached the Syrian plains, and here I crossed the social dividing line north of which the population consists of Turks and Armenians, and south of which the Arabs commence, and form the bulk of the population up to the edge of the Arabian Desert. This line runs from Aintab to Urfa and Diabekr. The Arab-speaking population of the surrounding plains have little in common, either historically, racially, or politically, with the Turk of Asia Minor. The present-day descendants of Seljuk and Saracen love each other but little. The Arab despises the Turk, because he has sharper wits and keener intelligence. Partisans of the Arabs, however, forget that their one great failing is their lack of coherence and of constructive ability, of which the Turk, with all his faults, has some small amount. The Turk is able to govern the Arab because he can conceive a plan and carry it out with a stolid perseverance unknown to the Arab. The result of this difference in character, due I think partly to race and partly to environment, has caused the Arab question recently to become acute, and has threatened to disturb the stability of the Ottoman Empire in a part hitherto regarded as invulnerable. In Damascus and Aleppo I met several members of the Arab party, and from them I gathered the nature of the demands which they are making upon the Turkish Government. The chief points of their programme are: recognition of Arabic as an official language for Government offices and Law Courts; the increase of schools in which Arabic is the medium of instruction; the restriction of the native liability for military service to the Syrian *vilayets*. The principle of all these proposals has been admitted by the Turks, and at present the first two have been carried out, but the settlement of the third is still pending. Thus the Arab and Syrian problem in the south-east of the Ottoman Empire differs from the Armenian problem in the north-east in at least one respect. While the former can only be solved by tactful concessions based on Home Rule for local nationalities, the latter requires a policy of consolidation of the power of the central government, so as to control a still primitive Nomad and highland population. The former problem requires the exercise of a little common-sense in Stambul, but the latter cannot be solved without the application of European assistance to the central Turkish authority. In Armenia an adequate nucleus of European officials must be introduced into the local administration and the gendarmerie, and must be accompanied also by the construction of roads and raliways along the principal trade routes. There are two ways of accomplishing this. Fristly, the eastern *vilayets* may be separated from the rest of Asia Minor and put under direct international control, with Russia as the agent of the Powers. This, of course, as the history of Russia in Central Asia shows, would be tantamount to Russian annexation. On the other hand, I can testify from what I saw when I was in the Caucasus and Turkestan in 1911, that those parts of Central Asia which had been definitely annexed by Russia have benefited to a certain extent by the comparatively orderly and peaceful rule which she has brought in her train. But I also did not fail to see that this result is obtained at the expense of local nationalism, and is in direct antagonism to the spread of the Mohamedan idea, and of anything that makes for the regeneration of the east on the lines of native culture. Russia absorbs every race she comes in contact with, and while her expansion has been materially beneficial up to a point, so far as it has gone, nevertheless there is no reason why she should be allowed to acquire the hegemony of Asia and to overwhelm the Moslem nationalities of the east, who are struggling to regenerate themselves, in a wilderness of crude Slavism. It is true that the Caucasus has recently been blessed with a humane and progressive viceroy, but it is not a decade since the confiscation of the Armenian church properties, the massacre of Baku, and the terror of the Galitzin *régime*. Anyone who knows Russian politics is aware of the constant danger of reactionary upheavals, and of the peculiarly unstable state of that country internally. Moreover, the history of Russia's Finish and Polish policy is not calculated to inspi confidence in the minds of Russian Armenians. From the conversation I had with Armenian ecclesiastical dignitaries in Turkey last autum and also with certain members of the "Dashnakstion," I am strongly under the impression that Turkish Armenians would infinitely prefer to remain under Turkish rule, provided that they secure benefits of law and order in the remoter parts of Asia Minor, where at present they are at the mercy of Khurdish tribes. They realise, in fact, that under Turksih rule their religious freedom and autonomy are recognised by the capitulations, and that there is infinitely more chance of the development of their national culture than under the Russifying policy of the St. Petersburg Government. Why, therefore, should such drastic measures as a Russian protectorate for Armenia be adopted when the process of civilising the eastern *vilayets* of Turkey is going on steadily, if slowly, under Turkish rule at the present time, albeit under conditions of peculiar difficulty. As I have shown, the independent witness of American missionaries is on the side of Turkey, and after all it is only six years since the Empire has been rid of the corrupt rule of the single tyrant. Now, because a group of enthusiastic, if inexperienced, Jews and Turks have grasped power in Stambul, and have failed to convert the whole of Asia Minor in six years into a Paradise, is that any reason for allowing Armenia to be crushed under the heel of the Cossack? It is merely exchanging one tyrant for another, without having ev attempted to reform the first. When I was in North-West Persia last year, I saw the working of Russian diplomacy at Baku and Kotur, where Khurdish chieftains were being bribed by Russian agents to keep up a state of disorder along the Turko-Persian frontier in order to embarrass the local Persian governors and Turkish *Kaimmakams*. A fuller account of my observations was contributed to the *Contemporary Review* for April, 1913. I would ask, therefore, has Turkey had a fair chance? It is well known that nothing would assist Armenian reform more than the construction of railways and roads; but a treaty between Turkey and Russia prevents the former from constructing any railways in the Armenian *vilayet* without Russia's permission. Thus Russia, while unctuously pretending to favour Armenian reform, at the same time with one of the chief methods of effecting it. Moreover, the re action of Russia, in preventing British officers from being used reform the gendarmerie in Armenia, indicates that Russia is interested in Armenia, not in order to reform it, but to make it a stepping stone for further advance southwards. Mr. Noel Buxton, whose opinions on this subject I cannot share, in his article in the *Nineteenth Century* for December, appears to maintain that the north-eastern *vilayets* of Asia Minor could be annexed to the Caucasus without any effect on the political situation in the middle east. He tries prove at one point that "the boundary of true Armenia is "highland, with its borders in the lofty hills north of the Diabekr, and argues that she could quite well annex the country north of point without affecting the other parts of the Ottoman Empire. one who has traversed a part of the territory in question, let me that to my knowledge no such natural boundary exists. North Asia Minor, like the rest of the central Asian plateau, is traversed disjointed mountain ranges, cut off at various points so that no defi physical boundary over a large area of the country can be tr Thus the mountains north of Diabekr are not contiguous with end of the Anti-Taurus on the west, nor do they form an impene wall to anyone journeying south, since the Euphrates cuts a right through them. In fact, the saying of Moltke, who knew country half a century ago, is full of meaning: "The power "holds Erzerum can control the lower reaches of the Euphrates Moreover, the whole history of Asia Minor shows that a p power in its eastern provinces must sooner or later permeate whole of the continent, for the physical conditions are such access east and west is even easier than access north and If Russia advances beyond the Araxes, she will be able to dom Mesopotamia on the south, and Anatolia on the west. The apolo of Russia in this country fail to realise that an Anti-Turk camp is merely assisting Russia to convert that country into an Azerbaijan, and to re-enact the tragedy of north-west Persia on plateau of the Upper Euphrates.

What, then, is the alternative scheme? The most common policy, and the one which seems to be in process of adoption by Powers at the present moment, is to assist Turkey to reform north-eastern *vilayets* by supplying her with the means of carry out reform. The re-organisation of the gendarmerie and of the under European officials would be accompanied by the appoint of European Inspectors-General to act in co-operation with Turkish Governors-General. In the event of disagreement be these two heads, the matters at issue would be referred to the Su Porte, and the Powers, if united, would be able to bring diplo pressure to bear in the settlement of any such dispute. The P is believed to be willing to agree to these conditions, which do infringe the sovereignty of the Empire, but at the same time intro the elements of reform. The chief difficulty here is the questi the nationality of the European officials. Russia objects to any foreign officials in Armenia who are not subservient to her "high policy" and ulterior designs. If England backs Russian diplomacy and becomes a party to an unofficial "triple entente," she will have to sacrifice not only the idea of a reformed Ottoman Empire, but also her duty to the Armenians, to say nothing of her own prestige as an eastern Power. To my mind, the best solution would be found by introducing officials from the neutral States of Europe. The Swedish gendarmes and the Belgian Customs officials in Persia have shown what can be done under most trying circumstances by subjects of neutral nationalities. Moreover, the Dutch in the East Indies have given distinct proof of ability to govern Orientals. In this way, therefore, and by the construction of roads and railways in the east of Asia Minor, the Armenian problem can be solved, and then it will be seen to be only a part of the general problem of consolidating the central authority in the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire. I maintain that this can be done without infringing the sovereignty of the Sultan, and without giving the already overgorged Russian Bear yet another slice of the juicy East. History must once again repeat itself, and another wave of western civilisation must sweep across the continent from the Bosphorus to the Euphrates. Asia Minor has had many of such waves before, Aryan, Hittite, Greek, Parthian, Roman, Arab, Seljuk, and Osmanli: all these represent successive waves of civilisations, which have surged to and fro across this highway between east and west. But the new wave of the twentieth century, coming from the west, will, we hope, not be accompanied by those violent political commotions military invasions, and social upheavals, which have characterised the race movements of history, but will rather prove to be a peaceful penetration, which under the influence of western science and industry will herald a new era. What Peter the Great did for Russia in the eighteenth century, when he introduced Germans to reform his Government, can also be done for Turkey in the twentieth century. Previous attempts to introduce foreign officials into Turkey have failed because of the lack of sympathy between Turk and European. Mutual hostility, based on religion, has created a barrier which up to now has been unsurmountable. But the days are at hand when Europe will realise that Islam and Christianity, so far from being enemies, are but different aspects of the same great fundamental truth. The awakening of Islam from the lethargy of centuries will thus be stimulated by its contact with a sympathetic Europe, and will have its first-fruits in the material progress of the continent of Asia Minor, one of the fairest lands of the Ottoman Empire.—M. Philips Price in The *Contemporary Review.*

Indians in South Africa.

Lord Ampthill addressed the members of the United Empire Club on January 28 on the Indian problem in South Africa.

The Speech.

The question, he said, was one of vital importance to the Empire, and 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 of 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 persistant appeal, patient endurance of suffering, passive resistance, 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; (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 marriage between 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. They were not, he said, contending for material advantages, but for a high ideal—the honour of their race. The position at the present moment was that a *modus virendi* was being maintained, pending enquiry into the origin of the disturbance, and all we could do now was to wait patiently for the report of the Commission in the hope that it would lead to a fair solution of the problem. There had been scandalous mismanagement of this question during the past 14 years, which had led to widespread indignation throughout the length and breadth of India. If there were much delay in the settlement of the question there might well be a dangerous agitation in India which would be fraught 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. (Loud applause.) 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 he had some knowledge even in the heart of this great metropolis—pepole 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.

The Discussion.

According to the *Manchester Gurdian*, this speech placed the members of the United Empire Club in somewhat of a dilemma, for, while they were asked by Lord Ampthill to protest against the treatment of British Indians by the South African Government, they were warmly in sympathy, as they testified by their applause, with the "virile" action of the same Government in regard to Europeans during the last few days. The only logical way out of the difficulty was to commend the action of the Government in the case of the British Indians, and this was the course which most of the speakers took, rather to the discomfiture of Lord Ampthill.

Lord Ampthill introduced the subject as one of vital importance to the Empire, and complained of its neglect by the Press. As a nation we had not yet learnt to think imperially. "It does not pay," he said; "Imperial business does not attract votes." It was said we were unable to fulfil pledges because South Africa was a self-governing dominion. That, he held, was an unsound and cowardly excuse. There was no law of any dominion which could be enacted without the consent of the Crown, and in the new constitution a right in matters of this kind had been specially reserved. If British subjects in any part of the world were ill-treated, should we say we had no power to interfere?

It had been proposed by Mr. Richard Jebb that a solution was to be found by deporting the Indians of South Africa to some tropical territory and starting them in colonisation with an Imperial grant. ("Hear, hear," remarked a member). "If you favour that," replied Lord Ampthill, "you should advocate the same solution of the Irish difficulty. (Laughter.) Why not deport Ulstermen to New Zealand or to Botany Bay? It is quite true some such way of cutting the Gordian knot has been advocated in the case of the suffragettes. The difficulties in the way of deporting Ulstermen and suffragettes are precisely the same which are in the way of deporting Indians from South Africa. The Indians of South Africa do not want to go, and they have every right to stay. South Africa is their home. They have more right to be there than the somewhat cosmopolitan riff-raff who receive an undue and excessive welcome in South Africa." ("Oh.")

In the course of discussion, Mr. Richard Jebb maintained that the ultimate aim of the Indians was social and political equality, and that the South Africans had a perfect right to prevent further immigration and to prevent those already there encroaching on the field open to white labour. Did the defenders of the British Indians proposed to send an army to fight the 80,000 burghers who so lately gathered to protect the railways? There was no solution except persuading the bulk of these Indians to leave the country.

Other speakers urged that regard must be paid to the views of the South Africans themselves.

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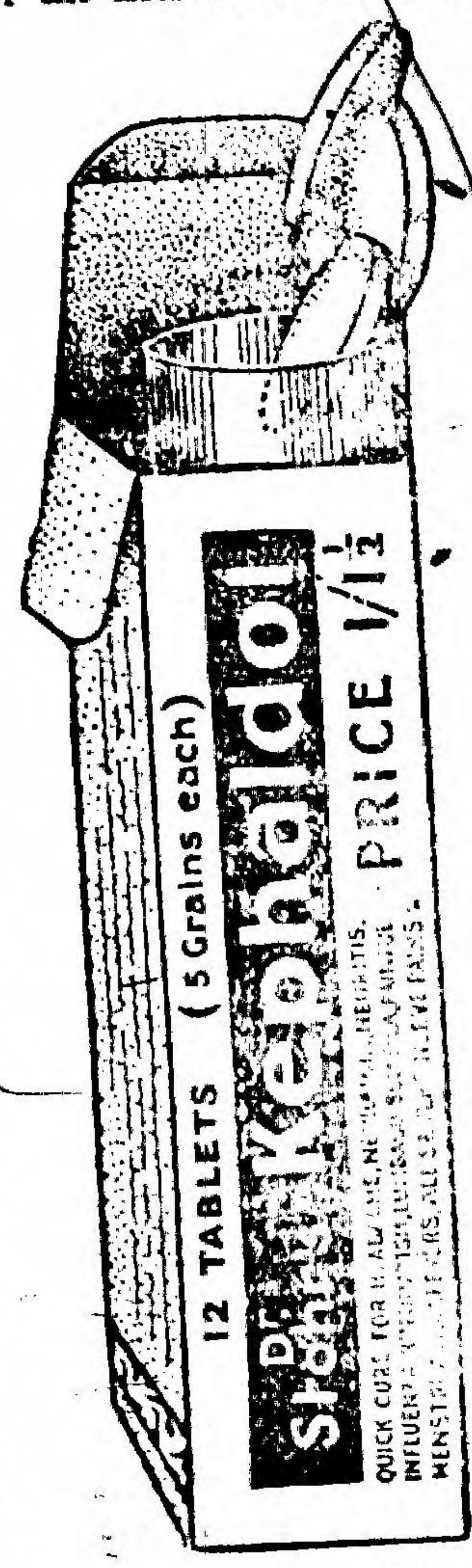
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