The Comrade.

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.

[illegible]rum Ferment.

London, Feb. 28.

The autonomists in Epirus propose to declare a republic so soon as provisional Government, which is being organised, is com-[illegible]

Valona, Mar. 2.

Mr. Zographos, formerly Greek Governor-General in Epirus, has been elected the head of the autonomous Government of north-Epirus and has telegraphed to the International Co[illegible]sion in Albania, saying that in accordance with the resolutions passed by Argyrocastro a few days ago, the Epirotes will never recognise an Albanian Sovereign and that even if Greece withdraws her troops, the Epirotes will place every obstacle in the way of the Albanian gendarmerie sent to occupy the territory.

Athens, Mar. 3.

The Greeks have handed over Korytza to the Albanian autho-[illegible] An official communique states that there is much unrest at [illegible]o and Argyrocastro. The Government, while instructing [illegible]l authorities not to recognise Mr. Zographos, who has just [illegible]ppointed head of the autonomous Government in Epirus, ad-[illegible]them not to take coercive measures against him as his presence [illegible] guarantees of patriotism and moderation. The Government [illegible]gives orders to the authorities to prevent the emigration of the [illegible]nts. The flag of autonomy has been raised at Santi Qnar-[illegible]where the Greek authorities are helpless. Delvino is surround-[illegible]by insurgent.

Athens, Mar. 3.

Despite all military measures, 3,000 insurgents assembled outside Argyrocastro.

M. Zographos proclaimed the autonomy of Epirus declaring that the Epirotes were prepared to die in the defence of their liberties, and concluded by calling for cheers for King Constantine.

Greek soldiers participated in the demonstration.

London, Mar. 3.

The situation in Epirus somewhat resembles the state of affairs in Ulster. The self-proclaimed autonomous Government refuses to be annexed to Albania, and relies upon Greek troops refusing to enforce the annexation upon their compatriots, and even deserting to help them.

Albania.

Vienna, Feb. 28.

The Emperor Francis Joseph to-day received Essad Pasha's Albanian deputation in special audience. His Majesty hoped that the Albanians were now united. The future of Albania would then be assured.

The deputation afterwards lunched with Court Berchtold.

London, Mar. 5.

Prince William of Wied and his consort embark at Trieste to-day for Durazzo. They will be escorted by an international fleet. The difficulties awaiting the new Sovereign are evidenced by the spread of the Epirote revolt and the outbreak of inter tribal fighting among Albanians.

Cetinje: A telegram also reports that the Mohamedans of Skutari have decided not to send a deputation to greet the Prince.

Persia.

London, Feb. 25.

In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. Morrell, Sir Edward Grey declared that according to the latest information the Russian troops in Northern Persia numbered 14,200, showing a reduction of 3,300 since July 8th last year. Orders had also been issued for the withdrawal of the bulk of the troop from Kazvin.

Replying to a question from Colonel Yate, Sir Edward Grey said that there was no reason to believe that the Persian Government would not readily admit the claim for prolongation of the option concerning the Mohammerah-Khoramabad Railway surveys of which had been delayed by disturbances in Luristan.

London, Feb. 27.

In the course of the discussion in the House of Commons yesterday on the supplementary Estimates for the Treasury, reference was made to the advances to Persia from the Treasury. Several Opposition members criticised the procedure. Mr. Montagu said that a sum of fifty thousand sterling would be reimbursed out of the Foreign Office Vote, and that no inconvenience had been caused by the measure adopted.

London, Mar. 3.

In the House of Commons, Colonel Yate raised the question of Kerman and Persian-Baluchistan and asked whether, if the Bandar-Abbas-Kerman Road was unsafe, Sir Edward Grey would consider the advisability of lending a few British and Mohamedan officers to form a force of Persian levies to protect the road.

Sir Edward Grey:—The new Governor-General, Bakhtiari Khan is proceeding to Kerman, and it is expected that he will preserve

order. Therefore I am not contemplating taking the suggested steps.

Teheran, Mar. 3.

Fighting continues at Kazerun. Two Swedish Captains, Killander from Shiraz, and Lunberg from Bushire, have entered the town with reinforcements.

London, Mar. 5.

Bushire: The gendarmerie has re-occupied Kazerun and it is reported that the tribesmen are fleeing.

Teheran: Nasridiwan and his men have been driven out of Kazerun by the gendarmes.

The Persian Legation declares that Ohlson has not been killed, but that he has gone to Shiraz.

The Estimates for Foreign and Colonial Service include £220,000 for the Persian loan.

H. H. the Begum of Bhopal.

Aligarh, Mar. 1.

Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal has been pleased to make a grant of twenty-five thousand rupees for the building of the central offices of the All-India Mohamedan Educational Conference at Aligarh.

Aligarh, Mar. 3.

Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal left here for Delhi by motor yesterday. Her son, Prince Major Hameedullah, invited her as the Captain of the College Cricket Team to an "At Home." She made a permanent grant of two hundred rupees monthly towards the Cricket Club of the College.

Her Highness performed a number of ceremonies in connection with the female education movement and laid the foundation-stone of the new Zenana Boarding House to be named after her the Sultana Boarding House.

An address was presented to Her Highness on this occasion. In replying, she laid great stress on equally looking to both the wheels of the communal cart. She then declared open another boarding house in connection with the Mohamedan Girls' School lately established. Her Highness the Begum of Janjira and a large number of Mussalman ladies from Lahore, Moradabad, Lucknow, Allahabad, Hyderabad, Delhi, Karachi and other places, also some European ladies of the station attended the ceremony, after which the ladies assembled in their Zenana Conference presided over by Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal and held in the newly opened Zenana School. It was resolved that the Conference be held annually. The other resolutions passed dealt with social reform and the constitution of the Conference. Her Highness then visited the science laboratory of the College, and bestowed *Khalats* on Maulana Haqqi and Qazi Jalaluddin, Professors of the College.

Delhi Eestimate.

London, Mar. 3.

In the House of Commons to-day, Sir J. D. Rees inquired respecting the estimated total cost of the move of the capital to Delhi.

Mr. Roberts replied that there would probably be some excess over the original estimate of four million, but how much, could not be said at present. The Government of India was closely scrutinizing the engineers and architects' proposals with a view to effecting all possible economies.

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Our London Letter.

London, 13th Feb. 1914.

The Opening of Parliament.

The State opening of the new Parliamentary Session and the all-absorbing Ulster debate, which has followed the Speech from the Throne, have eclipsed all other matters during this week. The unusual course adopted by the Opposition in forthwith moving an Official Amendment to the Address on the Irish question has naturally deprived the House of Commons of the opportunity for engaging into a general discussion, during the debate on the Address, and thus matters of Imperial interest in other parts of the Empire have been necessarily ignored so far. However, now that the Ulster problem has been for the time being set aside, as far as the Commons debate on the above Amendment is concerned, it is hoped that the subsequent course of debate in the House will lead to an interesting discussion on matters affecting the British dominions beyond the Seas as well as the numerous important problems in foreign affairs which are at present in a rather unsettled condition.

The King's Speech has been singularly devoid of Indian interest. Apart from a brief reference to the regrettable failure of the rains in the peninsula last autumn, no mention is made of anything else, though it was fully expected that the Speech would at least touch upon the Indian question in South Africa, which is undoubtedly one of the gravest problems that has ever presented itself to the British Government. The House of Commons, however, will soon be able to discuss this Imperial question, as Mr. MacCallum Scott's Amendment, which "regrets that no mention is made of any amelioration of the position of British Subjects of Indian origin in South Africa," is coming before the House in a day or two. No doubt the debate on this Amendment will be followed with intense anxiety by all those who are fully aware of the importance of the subject to the Empire as a whole.

London School of Oriental Languages.

It is satisfactory to note that good progress is being made with the project for establishing a School of Oriental Languages in London. The Government have intimated that they will approve of the incorporation of the School in the University of London after the passing of an Act in substantial accordance with the recommendations of Lord Haldane's University Commission; and, pending such legislation, the School is to be established under Royal Charter. According to the "Times," the draft charter has been already approved by the Privy Council and communicated to the various bodies to whom it is proposed to give representation on the governing Council. It is hoped that contracts will be settled in April and that the work will be completed early next year. The Government have undertaken the financial responsibility for the structural adaptation of the buildings, now belonging to the London Institution in Finsbury Circus, which are to be repaired and extensively altered to meet the necessary requirements. It is estimated by the Committee, of which Lord Cromer is Chairman, that the annual cost will be £14,000. The Government grant will be £4,000 and that of the India Office from Indian revenues £1,250. An appeal is to be made for an endowment fund and for annual grants and subscriptions.

This School will certainly provide an institution here, which has been a long-felt want. Curiously, though England's interests in the East are enormous, she has been sadly neglecting to place suitable facilities before the large number of Englishmen, who are serving, or about to serve, in India and other parts of the East, for acquiring an adequate knowledge of the Oriental languages. In Germany and France, however, the case is quite different, as Berlin and Paris can already boast of excellent Schools, where Oriental languages are taught by efficient teachers.

The scheme has the best wishes of all those who have the true interests of the British Empire in India at heart. Efficient knowledge of Oriental languages, particularly those spoken in India, on the part of British officials cannot but lead to that desirable degree of mutual understanding and promote that harmony and concord between the Indian and the Englishman, which are so essential for the successful administration of that great Dependency of the Empire.

Cambridge: Appointment of Oriental Teachers.

The Foreign Service Students Committee have appointed the following gentlemen as University teachers:—Shaykh Ahmad Abdul Khayr-ud-Din in Arabic; Husayn Kazim Zada in Persian and Ali Riza Bey in Turkish.

Integrity of the Turkish Empire.

A meeting under the auspices of the Ottoman Association was held in Cannon Street Hotel on the 11th inst. with the object of arousing public interest in the importance of maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Sir Thomas Barclay, who was in the chair, moved the first resolution opposing the interference of the Powers in the internal affairs of Turkey, and declared that from the outset of the Balkan crisis, even from the beginning of the Turco-Italian War, business in the city of London had been almost at a standstill. Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall read a letter from a Turkish business man, who complained that Turkey was in the hands of a gang of shady and unscrupulous foreign financiers. The motion, which was seconded by Sir J. D. Rees, M. P., and supported by Mr. T. Harper and Mr. Barrett, was carried unanimously.

Mr. Harold Cox moved "That this meeting regrets that the recent policy of Great Britain has the appearance of having been persistently directed against the Turkish Empire." He admired Sir Edward Grey as a man and a speaker, but could not admire his foreign policy, which had been marked by a long series of blunders and disasters. The whole policy of Great Britain; since Sir Edward Grey went to the Foreign Office, had been marked by deliberate subservience to Russia, and the intention appeared to be to keep Turkey weak to be ready to be swallowed by Russia. Sir Edward Grey was unable to move hand or foot until he received his instructions from St. Petersburg. A similar policy had been followed in regard to Tibet and Persia. There had been a complete departure from the traditional policy of this country.

The Hon. Walter Guinness, M. P., seconded the resolution, which was supported by Professor E. G. Browne and passed unanimously.

The meeting has made a profound and sympathetic impression in the City.

Sir Edward Grey and Turkey.

The Ottoman Association has forwarded to Sir Edward Grey a memorandum on the situation in Eastern Anatolia and the Ægean Islands, maintaining that attempts were being made to "frustrate the sincere endeavours of the Ottoman Government to establish a just and orderly administration in the Armenian provinces."

To this Sir Eyre Crowe writes on behalf of Sir Edward Grey: "I am directed to inform you that Sir Edward Grey has under his consideration the memorial of the Ottoman Association. I am to state that he is in full accord with their desire to see peace and good government in the Turkish Empire, and that the considerations urged by your Association have been duly weighed by His Majesty's Government in the efforts they are making, in conjunction with other Powers, to secure a permanent and satisfactory settlement of the questions still outstanding in the Near East."

Persian Problems.

The Times publishes a long conversation which its Teheran correspondent has had this week with M. Korostovetz, the Russian Minister in the Persian capital. According to *The Times*, M. Korostovetz, though somewhat reticent in the expression of his views, has impressed its representative with his sincere desire to deal with Persia and the Persian problem in a sympathetic and enlightened spirit.

His Excellency, according to the report, has said that both he and the Viceroy of the Caucasus, with whom he had spoken at Tiflis, thoroughly approved of the policy of the withdrawal of Russian troops now in Persia. The withdrawal, which had already begun, would be continued in the spring. There were, however, many Persians who feared a recrudescence of unrest in Azerbaijan Province.

In response to a suggestion that the Swedish Gendarmerie organization should be extended to fill the void, the Minister replied that the Russians would naturally prefer the Cossack Brigade to be entrusted with the task of preserving order in the Russian sphere, though he was well aware that the question of an increase in the numbers of the Russian officers in Northern Persia was a delicate one. He added that it was the policy of his Government to maintain the Anglo-Russian Convention, to support the Constitution, and as much as possible to smooth away all difficulties.

In regard to the question of the Azerbaijan elections and of the support alleged to be given by Russia to Shuja-ed-Dowleh, His Excellency said that the Russian Consuls in Azerbaijan had been instructed not to interfere with the course of the elections. He thought it unlikely that any question of a revision of the Anglo-Russian Agreement would arise out of the situation in Azerbaijan.

M. Korostovetz expressed scepticism with regard to the immediate realization of the scheme of a Trans-Persian Railway, though he was in favour of the more practical project of a railway from Astara or Julfa to Teheran. Progressive schemes were, in any case, well able to take care of themselves without pushing. He further expressed himself in favour of a loan to be made as soon as possible, as he thought that the country could not go on much longer without money. He was also concerned to place the Russian Bank, which for some time past had not been in a flourishing condition, on a firmer and more business-like footing.

Though the above statement of M. Korostovetz is on the whole reassuring, our past experiences of Russian diplomacy do not unfortunately render us very hopeful as to the future of Persia. We shall wait and see.

The London Indian Association.

The Executive of this Association have decided to give informal dinners periodically, at which the members may meet one another, with a view to promote social intercourse between them. The scheme is a happy one and is certain to meet with the hearty approval of the general body of members.

The first dinner, under the new scheme, was held last Saturday and was largely attended. Subsequently those present were entertained to a very interesting programme of music and singing. The intervals provided ample opportunity for social intercourse and the most cheerful and pleasant feelings prevailed during the evening. Judging by the success of the 'opening night', there is every reason to look forward with no little interest to the subsequent periodical dinners, the most happy feature of which will be their purely informal character. The Committee of the L. I. A. are to be heartily congratulated on the step they have thus taken.

An Egyptian "Blue."

The most interesting person in last Saturday's 'Varsity Soccer match at Queen's Club was an Egyptian undergraduate, H. Hegazi, who played for Cambridge, the winning team. He is, I believe, the first Egyptian to get a Blue, and though he is only in his first year at the University, his name is quite familiar in the sporting circles, as he has already established a reputation on the Football-ground. Hegazi plays forward and is an excellent shot. The Light Blues were looking to him more than any one else to win the match for them, and though he certainly did not do full credit to himself on that occasion—and it must be remembered that the weather was not ideal by any means—he undoubtedly proved himself a pillar of strength to his side. Hegazi plays in very light soft kid boots, without toe-caps, which give him a remarkable control of the ball: he gets the "feel" of it. The Young Egyptian is most popular with the crowd whenever he appears on the field, and the London Press has lately been full of his praise. Hegazi's future career will be followed with very great interest by every lover of the game.

Woman in Turkey.

A leading article, under this heading, appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* this week. The communication, which is based on the series of articles, which Miss Grace Ellison has lately contributed to the columns of this journal, dwells upon the various aspects of the Turkish woman, who, it must be at once admitted, is very favourably treated and dealt with in this article. It is highly encouraging to notice that after all the true virtues and the real worth of the Turkish woman have been driven home to the Westerners with such force and emphasis, and no little credit is due, as I have said in my letter of last week, to the efforts of Miss Ellison, who has thus rendered a great service to her Oriental sisters. Turkish women will no doubt remember her with nothing but genuine affection and esteem.

To those who have been closely in touch with the national movement for liberty and freedom in the Turkish Empire, the unique patriotism of the women in Turkey has struck them as the most hopeful sign of Turkish regeneration. A similar spirit has likewise been manifest in Persia among the women, to whose strong sense of patriotism Mr. Morgan Shuster bears ample testimony in his "Strangling of Persia." Nothing can extinguish this fire of patriotism and liberty which has been kindled in the bleeding heart of these women in Turkey and Persia and the torch of light and guidance with which they are determined to proceed on the path of national freedom and national salvation will be in time productive of stupendous results and substantial consequences for the ultimate welfare and prosperity of their countries. It is indeed a magnificient spirit and Turks and Persians have every reason to be immensely proud of their womenfolk.

The Indian woman, and in fact the Oriental woman in any part of Asia, has equally imbibed the same spirit and the same sentiment. The time is fast approaching when the Oriental woman will demand, and rightly demand, her recognition in the affairs of State and that claims for "Votes for Women" will, I am sure, be put forward by the Oriental woman with more dignity and more grace than is done by her zealous sister in these islands.

A new chapter is thus about to open in the national life of the East, which if conducted with care, perseverance and statesmanship will go a long way towards the uplifting of the Orient in general.

Important London Conference.

A Conference, under the auspices of the "Nationalities and Subject Races Committee," of which Mr. L. T. Hobhouse is Chairman, is to be held next week in London to discuss the following subjects:—(1) The Press Laws in India and Egypt, (2) Russia's Influence on British Policy and (3) Indentured Labour within the Empire.

Sir Henry Cotton, K. C. S. I., Mr. J. A. Hobson, and Sir Roger Casement, C. M. G., are the Presidents of the Committees and the following gentlemen are expected to speak at the conference:—Mr. Keir Hardie, M. P., Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, Dr. Mansur Rifat, Mr. W. Tcherkesoff, Dr. H. Rutherford and others.

TETE À TETE



Our Supporters.

Our readers will remember that it was our invariable custom to take them into our confidence as regards the financial position of *The Comrade* and we used to supply them in as great detail as possible the data for judging of the progress of our circulation. This was the only method we adopted for advertising *The Comrade*, for we felt sure that in view of the spirit of *camaraderie* that existed between us and our readers, they would be the best of our canvassers, and that they would need no other whip or spur to urge them on than the bare facts of our circulation. Like so many other things that have suffered a sea-change since we migrated to Delhi, this procedure also was dropped. The reason is not far to seek. As the poet says,

"پنہاں تھا دام سخت قریب آشیاں کے
اڑنے نہ پائے تھے کہ گرفتار ہم ہوئے"

Soon after we had reached Delhi the Balkan War commenced, and with a staff far from complete and in fact not even as large as that which we had at Calcutta we were compelled to deal with the situation arising out of the war and the Fund that we commenced to collect for the relief of its sufferers. The arrangements that we were called upon to make for the sale of Turkish Treasury Bonds took up still more time, and it now appears to us that so much did we look after the finances of others that we crippled our own. The figures of our circulation which we used to furnish to our readers from time to time ceased to be compiled and on going through our books we have now for the first time leisure to realize that the utmost confusion prevailed in our office. We have no doubt many of our readers must have had to put up with a great deal on account of such confusion; but they will be more disposed to show us some indulgence when they are in possession of all the information as regards the losses that we ourselves had to sustain through the unkindness or neglect of some of our readers. We have had a statement prepared of the number of new subscribers enlisted from month to month during 1912 and 1913, and of the number of subscribers whose names were struck off during the same period. An examination of these figures is not without some interest. In the first place, it completely disposes of the theory of some of our kind friends who would have the world believe that we sacrificed the pursuance of an honest policy to the desire to increase our circulation. As it happens, there has been a perceptible falling off in the number of fresh subscribers during the months in which we may be presumed to have reconciled ourselves—"for valuable consideration"—to the loss of grace. In the next place, the Balkan War too brought no grist to our mill. If, however, we turn to the figures of names of subscribers struck off we find that just at the time when Indian Mussalmans were most generous in dealing with the sufferings of their brethren in Turkey or at Cawnpore they were most unjust to us. In January, 1913, alone we had to remove no less than 537 names. In August last another 234 had to be struck off, and this followed similar treatment in the case of 188 in the previous June. If we turn to the net increase or decrease we find that in 1912 the net increase ranged between 96 and 179 in the first four months, that in the next two months there was actually a slight decrease owing to the extensive weeding out that went on for some three months, and that gradually the decrease was converted into a progressive increase which practically lasted to the end of the year. The year 1913 commenced with a "Slaughter of Innocents" as we have shown, and no wonder there was the tremendous decrease of 419 in January. In February and March there were net increases of 115 and 73 respectively; but after that decreases continued throughout the year except for two months of modest increases, July and September. In the two years 1912 and 1913 our circulation went up only to the extent of some 400, and if we take into consideration only the year 1913 we find that our circulation has indeed gone down to the extent of very nearly 500. Since our migration to Delhi there has been a net decrease of about 250 instead of the increase which we had so confidently expected. These figures would cause us the greatest disquietude if they were indicative of a decrease of appreciation of the views published by *The Comrade*. To a certain extent they undoubtedly mark the natural chagrin of the less indulgent readers at our very unfortunate but equally unavoidable delays. But the data which we now propose to supply would convince our readers that the decrease is in the main indicative of the injustice or at least negligence of some of our readers in their dealings with ourselves. In the issue of 8th February, 1913, we published the amount of arrears which had not been paid up by the subscribers whose names we had reluctantly removed from our books as defaulters. It exceeded Rs. 2,700. The arrears during 1913 exceed Rs. 4,600; and it appears that Rs. 550 are due from subscribers whose names have been removed during the last two months, while nearly Rs. 1,300 are due from subscribers to whom the paper is still being supplied in spite of their default. This represents unpaid dues of more than Rs. 9,000 in two years, and we ask our readers whether it is possible for us to go on much longer at this rate. We can well understand a subscriber finding a newspaper not to his liking and discontinuing to be a subscriber, though we must acknowledge with gratefulness that we have had remarkably few such cases to deal with. But we fail to understand the justice of continuing to receive a newspaper and from time to time expressing admiration of the way in which it was conducted, and yet depriving it of its legitimate dues. This shows some defect of character in our people which cannot assist them in attaining the position at which their gaze is fixed. We intend to send the list of such defaulters to the more enthusiastic among our subscribers in each district with a view to request them to assist us in having these arrears cleared, and such of them as would volunteer to do this work for us would, we need hardly say, deserve our heartiest thanks and save us considerable trouble. To us nine thousand rupees are a fortune, but the few rupees that each individual defaulter owes us must be only a flea-bite to him. We, therefore, trust that each of them would bear this in mind and discharge his liability to a friend and comrade. But that is not all. We find that it is necessary for us to have at least 2000 more subscribers within the next six months to place the finances of *The Comrade* on a solid footing. This should not prove to be a difficult task. In fact if we had not had to remove the names of defaulters from our lists for petty arrears not paid up chiefly through sheer indolence and unbusiness-like habits, we would not have needed to issue this appeal. Our existence entirely depends on the support of our readers, but we did not trouble them even in our greatest difficulties because there were the greater difficulties of others in which we desired to bespeak their generous assistance. All those difficulties are now happily over, and it is only because we do not feel that there is a deserving person or community whose need is greater than ours that we outstretch our hand. We shall now give every week the result of this appeal, and we need hardly add that any other assistance which *The Comrade* receives from its numerous supporters will be welcome to us. Let our readers only remember that this is no commercial concern, nor the pet of a grandee on whose support it exists, but an organ of public opinion entirely dependent on public encouragement or support. If it languishes for want of such encouragement or support, whatever conclusion would be drawn it would be a conclusion adverse to the interests and reputation of the public on the support of which we have always relied.

The Late Earl of Minto.

The death of Lord Minto has caused widespread and genuine sorrow throughout this country. The period of his Viceroyalty was associated with the opening of a new and fruitful era of political advance in the history of the people under British Rule. He had succeeded Lord Curzon when the political sky was heavily overcast and there were ugly intimations of storm and thunder above the horizon. His brilliant and masterful predecessor had, by his strenuous administration of affairs, left for him a perfect heritage of trouble. Shortly after his assumption of the reins of office the Conservative Party was crushed at the polls and the Liberal Government, borne on the crest of the popular wave, was installed at Westminster. The situation was generally felt to be awkward and embarrassing to a Viceroy of great Conservative traditions like Lord Minto. There were the usual, inevitable prophesies about his impending resignation. It, however, speaks volumes of the strength of character and sense of duty of Lord Minto that he did not shrink from shouldering his burden because a Radical statesman came into power at the India Office. An intimate understanding and unity of effort and standpoint was soon evolved between Lord

7th March.

Minto and Lord Morley, and both addressed themselves in mutual sympathy and co-operation to the task of Indian governance. Indeed their earnest co-operation furnished another notable example of the great truth that principles may differ but men can agree. As we have said, the situation in India wore at the time a decidedly ugly aspect. The agitation against the Partition of Bengal was growing in fury and heat. Signs of grave unrest were breaking forth in various parts of the country. The bomb made its first appearance as a weapon in political crime, and it was soon realised that a serious anarchical conspiracy was organising itself underground in the soil of Bengal and spreading forth its tentacles in invisible ways to distant provinces. It is not difficult to imagine what might have happened if a man of less courage and resource than Lord Minto had been at the helm of Indian administration. As it was, the situation was saved by admirable tact and wisdom and a courage of a high order. Not only was anarchical movement was arrested by the application of drastic measures, but it was shamed into self-rebuke by its being robbed of all pretence at patriotism or moral justification. Lord Minto had the insight to perceive the distinction between anarchical crime and legitimate and healthy unrest, and the courage to apply to the latter a measure of liberal political reform in frank sympathy with the growing aspirations of the people. Those who have never been able to reconcile themselves to the Minto-Morley reforms, who in fact would fain have them torn out of the Statute-Book and the country handed over once more to the sole and tender mercies of the "men on the spot," have a curious fondness for discussing the authorship of the measures. They like to persuade themselves and others to believe that Lord Minto was a well-meaning but a simple-minded Viceroy who easily fell into the wiles of an astute Radical statesman and was gently cajoled into doing what he, if left to himself, would have never ventured to do. As an estimate of Lord Minto nothing could be more inaccurate. As a matter of fact, Lord Minto himself claimed on more than one occasion that he took the initiative by formulating a scheme of reform which the urgency of the situation demanded, and we have no reason to doubt its veracity. The form in which the reforms ultimately emerged was of course the result of an earnest and fruitful collaboration with Lord Morley. But this does not mean that Lord Minto was led into a course which he disliked at heart. He was a man of upright and independent character. He was too alive in his sensibilities to become a dupe or be easily gulled. He saw with clear and steady gaze the forces working around him. He saw unrest was growing. Political crimes were becoming dangerous both in character and magnitude. An overwhelming section of the educated classes, who had no sympathy with political murders and anarchism, were nevertheless feeling impatient of the narrow limits within which their political energies were cooped up. All this was borne in with irresistible effect on the inquiring mind of the Viceroy, and he immediately saw the danger of sticking to his guns and refusing to move ahead. He took his courageous decision, which finally laid down the lines of India's political advance and strengthened the foundations of the British Rule. That is the greatest service that any statesman can have the privilege to render to this country and to the Empire. Another service that Lord Minto did to India was his bold recognition of the principle that all political evolution should have a communal basis in a country where religion was the dominant force in the lives of the people. This historic pronouncement was made at Simla in 1906 in response to the famous Moslem Deputation, and the debt of gratitude that the Mussalmans owe to Lord Minto can hardly be overestimated. Lord Minto was a straightforward, chivalrous and generous hearted nobleman whose personal integrity and charm won the hearts alike of the princes and people of India. His death is a great loss to India and the Empire. We join with the entire Indian people in offering our respectful condolence to Lady Minto in her heavy bereavement.

The Agra Medical School.

We are glad to note that through the wise and timely intervention of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab the strike of the Lahore Medical College students has come to an end. They have been readmitted in a body to the College, and it has been decided to hold an independent inquiry into their grievances and the whole trouble to which they gave rise. The Lieutenant-Governor's note on the subject refers to "such disciplinary measure in regard to all or any of the students as the circumstances may appear to" We trust, however, that after a searching inquiry into the affairs of the College no such measure would be found to be necessary or desirable. The students' attitude throughout the period of trouble been marked with moderation and restraint, and one may reasonably conclude that they did not decide to embark on an extreme course with a light heart and in a spirit of defiance. We are convinced, however, that Sir Michael O'Dwyer, whose administration of affairs in the Panjab is already growing in popular esteem, will not sanction any measure that may be needlessly harsh. His example may well be followed by the United Provinces Government in dealing with the situation at the Medical School, Agra. In some respects the Principal of the Agra School has proceeded to lengths that are decidedly drastic. He has met the students' strike by closing the school for one year. Such heroic remedies are simple enough to adopt, but they invariably cause infinite harm all round, more particularly to the reputation of the responsible authorities for administrative capacity and tact. We need not go at length into the causes of the trouble at the Agra School. They may briefly be summed up under the one general head of harsh and unsympathetic treatment. The complaint in this case is not against the principal himself—the students, in fact, speak of him in terms of sincere respect. But they say that under the existing rules he is absolutely unapproachable, and his assistants, Drs. J. P. Modi and C. M. De, with whom they have to deal directly, are invariably overbearing in their manners and never let the students' grievances reach the Principal. Complaints against Dr. Modi have been frequent, and we can well recall a particular occasion when he pursued rather vindictively a student that had somehow incurred his displeasure. He seems to have acquired considerable influence over the Principal and is considered to enjoy unlimited freedom to have his own way in all matters relating to the instruction, discipline and general welfare of the students. Be that as it may, we trust that the local Government will promptly intervene and remedy the situation. The School should be opened and the students allowed to go back to their studies, and if any disciplinary measures are deemed necessary, they should be devised in the light of the results of an impartial inquiry into their grievances.

Mosques and Burial Grounds.

Our Calcutta contemporary, the *Mussalman*, calls attention to a serious situation in connection with a number of mosques and burial grounds in a suburb of Calcutta which are situated on a vast tract of land that has been acquired for the extension of the Kidderpur Docks. The mosques are threatened with demolition and the burial grounds are being swept clear of all vestiges of tombs. Our contemporary thus describes the situation:—"Now, the acquisition of a vast tract of land, for the extension of the Kidderpur Docks, at Sonai, Krishtapur, Belpukur and other villages, in the suburbs of Calcutta but within the jurisdiction of the District of the 24-Parganas, affects some 15 mosques and about 12 burial-grounds. With the exception of 2 or 3 which are likely to be spared, all the mosques are going to be demolished, some of the grave-yards have already been dug up and human bones and skulls have been taken out and exposed to public view, some of the grave-yards have been levelled to the ground, and thus Moslem feeling has already been outraged. Several days ago the demolition of a large mosque at Nashkarpur was undertaken, four of its 6 domes were dismantled, when some Mussalmans interfered and the work of demolition has thus been stopped for the time being. The question has become a serious one and unfortunately the authorities are still lethargic inspite of the repeated representations of the local Mohamedans. So long ago as November 1909, the Mussalman residents of Sonai, Indri, Muchikhola, Krishtapur and other villages submitted a memorial to the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, stating that the 6000 bighas of land acquired by the Port Commissioners contained mosques and burial-grounds wherein lay entombed the remains of several saints and pious men who were looked upon with much veneration by the Mohamedan public and the extinction of which would be considered as an act of sacrilege, telling very heavily upon the religious susceptibilities of the Mohamedans. While drawing the attention of the Government of Bengal to that memorial we said in our issue of the 19th November, 1909: 'We join the memorialists in 'their prayer that the mosques and burial-grounds in question may 'be retained and we trust that the case will receive a most sympathetic 'consideration at the hands of a level-headed ruler like Sir Edward 'Baker.' We find our trust was misplaced and our hope has been falsified. The matter has now reached serious proportions, and that under the rule of a Governor, known to be so just and sympathetic. For sometime we are being informed of the acts of sacrilege that are being perpetrated by the Dock authorities. We ourselves went to the spot several weeks ago, saw things with our own eyes and were satisfied that the grievances were quite genuine. Before we took the matter up in the columns of the *Mussalman* we considered it advisable to write to His Excellency the Governor a demi-official letter and seek redress from him." Accordingly on the 31st January the Editor addressed a letter to His Excellency's Private Secretary setting forth the facts of the matter and requesting His Excellency to intervene and settle it peacefully in view of the serious shock it would otherwise cause to Moslem feelings. The Editor, however, received a "stereotyped reply" from the Private Secretary to H. E. the Governor, informing him that his letter had under His Excellency's orders been transferred to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal for disposal, "to whom any further correspondence on the subject should be addressed." Our contemporary proceeds: "We have since waited for a favourable reply from the Chief Secretary but have received no response as yet. As the matter is becoming more and more serious every day and as apparently the authorities are apathetic, we consider it our duty not to be silent over it any longer and at once to voice the feelings and sentiments of our community on the subject. The question is not a local one. It affects the Mussalmans all over India. No less than 15 mosques and 12 burial-grounds are involved." We trust, with

our contemporary, that the Bengal Government would take immediate steps to inquire into the whole matter and allay public anxiety and alarm. But the *crux* of the situation, to which the *Mussalman* has rightly drawn pointed attention, is that the Government of India should move promptly to amend the Land Acquisition Act so as to exclude all places of public worship and burial-grounds from the scope of its operation. The All-India Moslem League unanimously passed a resolution on the subject at its Agra Session, and now it remains for some Mussalman Member of the Imperial Legislative Council to ask a question with a view to ascertain what the Government intends to do in the matter. We need not say how urgent the matter has grown. Its right solution would for ever remove a source of public anxiety and alarm which is responsible for numerous difficulties and embarrassments that the officials have to face in their efforts to maintain public tranquillity.

A lost tomb.

"EX-CITIZEN" writes to us as follows :—"I must thank you for your kindly publishing my last letter and for your generous remark in reference to myself. May I ask the further indulgence of your allowing this short letter also space in one of your issues. I hear that the 'Zinat-ul-Masajid'—architecturally perhaps the second best mosque in the Delhi town—is now included among the 'ancient monuments' to be looked after by the Government. This is, as it should be, a matter for congratulation both to the Government and the public. It seems to me it would be appropriate now to suggest a fitting recognition of the claims to memory and respect of the founder of the mosque—Princess Zinat-un-Nisa Begam, daughter of Aurangzeb. At her own request she was buried within the mosque, close to another enclosure said to have been the receptacle of sacred relics, probably a similar institution to what you have in the Jami Mosque. The two enclosures do not exist now. Stephen in his book on the archæology of Delhi mentions that the tomb disappeared immediately after the mutiny. It would be a simple matter, I think, and not very expensive either to raise a tomb with an engraved head-stone at the exact spot which can equally easily be located. *Asar-us-Sanadid* contains a complete record of the head-stone engraving including the verses, evidently her own composition and after the familiar style of those of the lady's aunt, Jahan Ara :

مونس مادر لحد فضل خدا تنها بس است
سایه از ابر رحمت قبر پوش ما بس است

The work could perhaps be taken in hand as part of the repairs which I think are needed to the mosque. There were evident signs of neglect and decay when I last saw the place not long ago. I have no doubt that the authorities have already taken notice of the condition of the mosque, and that my present suggestion will receive a sympathetic consideration, should it be placed before them in a suitable form. In case there should be more pressing demands on public funds in other directions, I hope permission would be forthcoming for doing the work by private subscriptions. By the way, 'Zaib-un-Nisa' in *Asar-us-Sanadid* is clearly a misprint for 'Zinat-un-Nisa.'"

The Financial Boycott of Turkey.

THE Constantinople correspondent of the *Near East*, writing about the financial difficulties of the Turkish Government, says that the financial boycott of Turkey by France, at the instance of Russia, appears to be maintained, with the result that there is an ever-increasing anxiety in this country as regards the future. The process of putting the screw upon Turkey is being carried dangerously far; for the continued inability to pay salaries will inevitably lead to anarchy in Government departments. Heretofore the army has at least been provided with sufficient pay to maintain discipline, and the feeding and supplying of the troops has not failed. The difficulty, however, of finding contractors who will continue to supply the army on credit is becoming daily more marked, and it is obvious that a failure in this respect would lead to military disturbances, the outcome of which it is not difficult to predict. "Is Russia or France, or, indeed, any other Power, ready and willing to incur the responsibility of such a collapse of the governing body? Money, like any other commodity, should be an open market, subject to the natural laws of supply and demand, and this conversion of it into a political instrument of oppression does not lack its dangerous features." Every Chancellory in Europe seemed not long ago to be overflowing with solicitude to help Turkey in applying herself to the tasks of peaceful reconstruction in her Asiatic provinces. But the solicitude would appear to have been another diplomatic guise for the greed of concessions. We would like to know if Great Britain has no concern to prevent France from using the usurer's threat simply that Russia may drive her bargains. Is Turkey to have no respite for peaceful development even after the close shearing to which she has had to submit of the Concert and the assurances that her heavy losses should be taken as a price for her future immunity.

The Comrade.

The Press Act.

VIII.

WE are afraid we have already taxed the patience of our readers by the close study which we have made in so many successive issues of the Press Act and its many defects brought to light by the judgment of the Calcutta High Court in our Pamphlet Case and the arguments used for and against the amendment of the Act in the course of the debate in the Viceroy's Council. But so long as the Act remains on the Statute Book of India there is no such thing as the liberty of the Press, and although it is not within the power of any of us to repeal or amend the Act, we must do the next best thing we can and convince every fair-minded reader that the Act is an impossible one. To-day we turn to the question of the duration of the Act and discuss whether the Government of to-day has the same conception of its temporary character as the Government of Lord Minto that passed the Press Bill.

It must be noted that when the Press Bill came up for discussion in the Viceroy's Council four years ago more than one amendment was moved by non-official members with a view to limit the duration of the Act. The first was moved by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale who asked that the Act shall remain in force for three years only from the date on which it receives the assent of the Governor-General. This amendment was fully justified by the speech of the Hon. Sir Herbert Risley who piloted the Bill through the Council. In tracing the history of Press legislation and the administration of the penal laws of the land in connection with the Press, the then Home Member pointed out that the Press in India had been free (except during two periods) for seventy-five years, in fact ever since Sir Charles Metcalfe repealed the Licensing Act which was in force up to 1835. The two periods during which the freedom of the Press was interfered with were, first, the period of the Mutiny when the entire Press was under absolute control for one year and no more, and second, the period from 1878 to 1881 when only the Vernacular Press was subject to the control imposed by the Vernacular Press Act of 1878. During the latter period recourse was only once had to the provisions of the Act which was repealed in 1881. Between 1870 and 1907 even the ordinary law was put in motion against the Press only sixteen times. On the 3rd of June, 1907, however, the Government of India issued a Resolution in which they referred to "the recent outbreak of lawlessness in the Panjab and Eastern Bengal" and to the "deliberate efforts made by a number of newspapers, both English and Vernacular, to influence the minds "of the people, to encourage ill-will between classes, to promote "active hostility to the Government and to disturb the public "tranquillity in many different ways." Now we know what these newspapers were, what motives they had for their writings and what lessons they preached. We also know the nature and far-reaching character of the outbreaks of lawlessness in certain parts of the country which had forced upon the attention of the Government of India the efforts made by these papers. These matters are of such recent date that we need not refer to them in detail. But the circumstances of the time would be forcibly brought to one's mind if we refer to the defence of the Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act of 1908 by Lord Morley at the Indian Civil Service dinner in London. The Secretary of State for India said on that occasion:

> When I am told that an Act of this kind is a restriction on the freedom of the Press, I do not accept it for a moment. . . . It is said, "Oh, these incendiary articles"—for they are incendiary and murderous—"are mere froth." Yes they are froth; but they are froth stained with bloodshed. When you have men admitting that they deliberately write these articles and promote these newspapers with a view of furthering murderous action, talk of the freedom of the Press in connection with that is moonshine. We have now got a very Radical House of Commons. So much the better for you. If I were still a Member of the House of Commons, I should not mind for a moment going down to the House—and I am sure that my colleagues will not mind—to say that when you find these articles on the avowal of those concerned expressly designed to promote murderous action, and when you find as a fact that murderous action has come about, it is moonshine to talk of the freedom of the Press. There is no use in indulging in heroics. They are not wanted. But an incendiary article is a part and parcel of the murderous act. You may put picric acid in the ink and pen, just as much as in any steel bomb. I have one or two extracts here with which I will not trouble you. But when I am told that we should recognise it as one of the chief aims of good government that there may be as much public discussion as possible, I read that sentence with proper edification, and then I turn to what I had telegraphed for from India—extracts from *Yugantar*. To talk of public discussion in connection with mischief of that kind is really pushing things intolerably far.

This was the state of the country when Government were compelled to devise measures for dealing with the Press. But one

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when Lord Minto, whose loss India mourns to-day with deep anguish as of a true friend, announced in the Resolution of the 3rd of June, 1907, that "the Governor-General has no desire whatever to restrict the legitimate liberty of the Press to criticise the action of the Government, and he would be most reluctant to curtail the freedom of many well-conducted papers because of the misbehaviour of a few disloyal journals." All that he did on that occasion was to ask Local Governments to institute prosecutions against the disloyal journals under the ordinary law of the land. The result was that up to the end of 1909 forty-seven prosecutions, or almost exactly three times the numbers of prosecutions undertaken in the previous thirty-seven years, were undertaken in pursuance of these orders. As a further precaution the Newspaper (Incitements to Offences) Act was passed in 1908. Although these measures proved ample for the suppression of incitements to murder and like offences, and newspapers of the character to which Lord Morley referred in his defence of the Act of 1908 ceased to exist before the Press Bill came on the legislative anvil, Lord Minto's Government asked for the passage of the latter Bill in 1910. To our mind it was a wholly unnecessary precaution at the time; but Government thought otherwise, and with the help of their official majority carried the day. The Hon. Sir Herald Stuart, then Home Secretary, based the defence of the Bill on the circumstances existing. He said that "the counterpart of its provision will be found in an Act passed by so great a Liberal statesman as Mr. Gladstone. As he said in his speech in the House of Commons, 'the question is whether the measure is required by the circumstances, and whether it is adapted to the circumstances.' My Lord, we believe that it is adapted to the circumstances; that it is required by the circumstances no one can doubt for a moment." His colleague, Sir Herbert Risley, had in introducing the Bill four days previously described in great detail what those circumstances were. He had said that "every day the Press proclaims, openly or by suggestion, by allusion, that the only cure for the ills of India is independence from foreign rule, independence to be won by heroic deeds, by sacrifice, martyrdom on the part of the young, in any case by force of arms. Hindu mythology, ancient and modern history and more especially the European literature of revolution are ransacked to furnish examples that justify revolt and proclaim its possible success. The methods of guerilla warfare as practised in Circassia, Spain and South Africa; Mazzini's gospel of political assassination; Kossuth's most violent doctrines; the deeds of Russian Nihilists, the murder of Marquis Ito; the dialogue between Arjuna and Krishna in the Gita, a book that idealises what the *Imitation of Christ* is to emotional Christians—all these are pressed into the service of inflaming impressionable minds."

As we stated in a previous article of the series, on the authority of the late Viceroy himself, circumstances had greatly been altered by the introduction of the Minto-Morley reforms, and, in the words of Lord Minto, we were then "at the commencement of a new political era." Can any one say that there has been since 1910 even for a single day the kind lawlessness which had induced Government to interfere with the freedom of the Press, or that there has been incitements of the character mentioned by Lord Morley and the late Sir Herbert Risley? Where are the incitements to violence, and where the references to eastern mythology and western literature of revolution justifying revolt and proclaiming its inevitable success? Where talks of guerrilla warfare as practiced in Circassia, Spain and South Africa and who preaches from the gospel of political assassination according to Mazzini? There are no doubt anarchists working underground, but they neither influence the normal political life of the country nor succeed in securing recruits from among the ordinary citizens through the inducements offered by any section of the Indian Press as they could do in the troublous times before the reforms Councils were established. Lord Minto had truly gauged the situation when he based his justification for the release of the leaders immediately on the passage of the Press Bill upon the ground that "the political position has entirely changed, that the political movement of which they were leaders—seditious it was—has degenerated into an anarchical plot, which can no longer be legitimately included as part of the political agitation in which they were so culpably implicated." Lord Minto then said that "we believe that we are no longer confronted by a political movement as they inaugurated, but are face to face with an anarchical conspiracy for waging war against British and Indian communities, and that it will be long before we can exterminate the conspiracy or communities agree to work together hand in hand." His words are as true to-day as they were in 1910 when he uttered them. The Press Act does not touch the treason that underlies the plot, and if in 1910, when recommending the suppression of treason, the Home Member could cite instances of the freedom of the Press several attempts at train-wrecking, murders of European and Indian officials and cases of bomb-throwing the one at Ahmedabad aimed at the life of the then Viceroy, Lord Minto, the present Home Member will not find it difficult to furnish an equally long and horrible tale of such outrages, including the awful crime of the 23rd December, 1912, when our present Viceroy was so miraculously saved by Providence, though not without most severe injury. The Press Act prevented none of these crimes and the rigour with which it is being administered does not seem to make the least impression on the secret conspirators. As for any good effect that it may be claimed to have produced on the ordinary citizens, the reformed Council had already succeeded in rallying the moderates who could have been induced, if the reforms had long been withheld, to indulge in violent writing and thus court the rigours of the Press Act. If these Councils are to be made to degenerate into ineffective and puerile debating societies that make no impression whatever on the Government and assist in no way in making Government's policy more and more popular, then indeed there is every prospect of a journalistic saturnalia such as India witnessed in the period just preceding the reforms. But if such is not the desire of Government, the *raison d'etre* for the Press Act has ceased to exist and it should not stain the Statute Book a day longer.

The Hon. Mr. Gokhale whose support of the principle of the Press Bill in 1910, although very reluctant, had made such a tremendous difference both to its supporters and opponents, had also based it on the extraordinary situation when the Bill was introduced in the course of his first speech with which the consideration of the Bill in the Council had commenced. He had referred to the hardships and risks involved in the existence of such an enactment, but he had said that "all these risks may be *temporarily* borne if they help in some measure to free the air of ideas of which I have spoken. *Only it is of the utmost importance that they should be temporary, and I therefore most earnestly urge that the operation of this law should be limited to a period of three years only.*" Mr. Gokhale subsequently moved an amendment designed to make the demand of security an exceptional instead of a universal measure of precaution, but he could not get more than 9 votes against 50 on the side of Government. In Mr. Gokhale's own words, his amendment was "not only defeated, but positively slaughtered," and he used this as an argument to prove that "if after "the expiry of three years the general situation in the country requires "that similar legislation should again be in force, there would not be "the smallest difficulty in the way of the Government passing another "Bill like this through the Council as it is constituted." When he moved the amendment limiting the operation of the Bill to three years, instead of a bare 9 Mr. Gokhale secured no less than 16 votes, or practically the votes of all the Indian Members except the nominees of the Punjab Government and a couple of "territorial magnates." Even Hon. Members like Nawab Abdul Majid C. I. E., and Raja Partab Bahadur of Partabgarh had opposed Government. Mr. Mudholkar who subsequently moved a similar amendment of his own, had said in support of Mr. Gokhale's amendment that "there is no principle which has "been more unreservedly admitted and considered more sacred, and "which is regarded as more in accord with the British Constitution "than the principle of the supremacy of law, and I would beg the Council to see this, that of the clothing of the Executive with extraordinary "powers should be confined to the narrowest possible limits and "should not go beyond the exigencies of the situation. When these "exigencies cease, it would be a fit occasion for the expiry of the Act. "It would be not a little difficult to obtain a repeal of the Act. "I say, as in the case of the Irish Act, this present Act should expire "of itself at the end of three years unless its continuance then is "considered necessary by the Governor-General in Council." The Hon. Mr. Basu, who also had a similar amendment standing in his name, gave his support to Mr. Gokhale's amendment and based it on the speeches of Government Members. Replying on behalf of Government Sir Herbert Risley feared he could hold out no hopes that the amendment would be accepted, but it is of the utmost importance to note that he based his rejection on the ground that "we cannot predict with any degree of certainty that "that end (getting a Press temperate in tone and honest in intention) will be attained after two or three or even after five "years." He added: "The Hon. Mr. Gokhale told us at an earlier "stage of the debate that the air was thick with antagonism. "How soon will it clear? Can we be certain that it will be cleared "within a certain number of years? . . . If the people concerned "have themselves applied the remedy that we desire, nothing will be "easier than to repeal the Act." From this it is as clear as it can be that, although Government could not at the time accept a definite period as the temporary limits within which the exigencies that had called the Press Act into existence would cease to exist, they did regard it as a temporary measure to be repealed "if the "people concerned themselves applied the remedy that we desire." Mr. Dadabhoy had very effectively quoted in the debate in 1910 an observation of that unbending Tory journal *The Spectator*, that "we must always look upon such measures as temporary "precautions; India cannot be governed by a series of restrictions

"which contain no seed of progress, no possibility of fructification."

Let us now turn to the reply of the Hon. the Home Member of to-day to the argument that the conditions of 1914 are wholly unlike those which called the Press Act into being. He said: "Although the Hon. Mover from time to time and other Hon. "Members represent to us, that the tone of the Press has greatly "improved, that the general situation has also greatly improved— "it is a favourite topic with the Hon. Mover—it seems to me it "would be very rash to remove these very things that have secured "that improvement. You might as well say to us when after "great labour and expense and many sanitary regulations we have "improved the health of a town, 'why have this expense and these "'harassing regulations, why not get rid of them?' What applies "to the bodily health of a country may also apply to the mental health of its newspapers."

Now, if this means anything, it means that like "many sanitary regulations" necessary *at all times* for "the bodily health of a country," the Press Act must be treated as a *permanent* measure necessary for the maintenance of "the mental health" of its newspapers. We wonder whether we shall be courting merely the mild treatment meted out to newspapers under the Press Act such as the confiscation of their security and the seizure of their entire printing-press, or bringing on our devoted head a few years' deportation, if we refer, "directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication" or the all-comprehensive the "*otherwise*" that in making such a statement as he did on this occasion the Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock was breaking a pledge given on behalf of Government by his late predecessor, Sir Herbert Risley. Mr. Bevan's thoughtful and admittedly impartial study of Indian Nationalism suggests to us a simile somewhat different from that used by the Hon. the Home Member. The Press Act remaining permanently on the Indian Statute Book will not be the sanitary regulations of Sir Reginald Craddock to insure "bodily health" in the country but the surgeon's steel frame of Mr. Bevan which assists the patient's recovery and thus justifies the temporary restraint it imposes, but which the Hon. the Home Member would prefer to use permanently—as a substitute for natural paralysis. Even Sir Reginald Craddock could not deny that the tone of the Press and the general situation had greatly improved. If any confirmation of this significant silence is needed, the comments of *The Pioneer* on the "Indian Peril" articles of *The Times* supply it. The whole thing has fallen flat.

But "the improved tone of the Press" must not be misunderstood. It simply means that even before the Press Act came into force the seditious newspapers had ceased to exist. As for the newspapers that were then in existence, their tone is no better and no worse than before. The papers that came into existence subsequently are naturally better conducted than many of their predecessors that had worked as pioneers of Indian journalism for those that would follow. But for every article proscribed during the last eight months we can produce from the newspaper files of the three and a half years immediately following the enactment of the Press Act fifty articles equally vigorous in their criticism of the Supreme and the Local Governments, and of individual officials subordinate to them, not to mention criticism of His Majesty's Ministers and the policy and civilization of Christendom and Europe. So long as the Press Act remained a dead letter, it was tolerated; but the moment it was brought into use it proved to be intolerable, and it is a sad commentary on the argument of Sir Reginald Craddock about its salutary effect that when it was treated by Government as a dead letter Government found no occasion to complain of newspaper criticism, but ever since it is being used the necessity for using it still more frequently and for imposing more and more severe penalties under the Act is being proved by the action of Government itself. As for the improvement in the general situation that, as we have repeatedly said, is due not to such hopeless restrictions which, in the words of *The Spectator*, contain no seed of progress and no possibility of fructification, but to the fruitful reforms of the Minto-Morley *régime* and the sagacious policy of H. E. Lord Hardinge. Let the reactionaries assert themselves once more and not hundred Press Acts would be able to cope with the gravity of the situation.

We now appeal to His Excellency the Viceroy to take the earliest possible steps to repeal the Act and not delay any longer a consummation so devoutly to be wished merely at the suggestion of some reactionaries who have no sympathy with his ideals and policies and with whose ideals and policies it will be a foul libel to credit him with any sympathy. One thing is certain. This Act will not for ever disgrace the Statute Book of India, and in fact its span of life is now but a short one. It will hardly be considered fair to his successor if His Excellency repeals the Act towards the end of his term of office. And by then the agitation against it would have swollen to a far greater size than it has assumed to-day, so that a repeal would then be claimed, and rightly claimed, as a triumph of the agitator. Government is now in a position to rob the much-maligned, yet much-encouraged agitator of his triumph, and we shall be happy to be accessories of the Government in such a robbery. But failing that, whether we could reasonably be excepted to resist the temptation of triumphing with the agitators, we leave Government to judge.

The Financial Statement.

The Financial Statement for 1914—1915, which was presented by the Hon. Sir William Meyer to the Imperial Legislative Council on Monday last, contains few features worthy of note. It is a prosaic review of the current financial year which has been marked by few abnormal conditions. The appearance of famine conditions in parts of the United Provinces, Central India and Rajputana, due to a partial failure of the rains, and the disturbance of the commercial conditions due to the banking crisis have not materially altered the general financial position. It is plain, however, that the fat years of the prosperity budgets, which it was the good fortune of Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson to produce during his term of office, have for the time being come to an end. Sir William Meyer's task has not been an easy one in view of the transitional period that he has had to face in the first year of his office, and he has acquitted himself with ability. Without imposing any additional burdens he has contrived to budget for 1914—15 for a surplus of £1·280 million. The existing agricultural and trade conditions have led him to estimate on more cautious lines and hence in the present budget dispositions we are naturally warned not to expect "some of those attractive features which have grown customary in recent years" The regret for the absence of "attractive features "will not, we trust, be keenly felt if Sir William Meyer's caution has not been inordinately excessive. For many years past there has been a steady and marked growth in the Indian revenues. Even the revised estimate for the year 1913—14, in which the general prosperity has received a set-back owing to the failure of the September rains and the disturbance of the trade conditions, show a surplus of £1·328 million. In view of this it is not unreasonable to urge that the "attractive features" of the Indian budget estimates should cease to be mere kindly devices to satisfy popular clamour and should become permanent features like other normal heads of expenditure, for which provision has got to be made whether the general conditions are abnormal or otherwise. A Finance Minister has, of course, to see in the first place to making the both ends meet. But it is something quite different to deliberately budget for surpluses which may be sometimes enormous. Such practice does not give any real clue to the general financial position. It certainly leaves out of account the steady and normal expansion of the general revenues, while it tends to perpetuate the habit of introducing, what Sir William Meyer calls, "attractive features" in the budget by doling out uncertain and capricious help in directions in which lie the larger interests and wider needs of the people.

The Finance Member before proceeding to the actual figures for the revised estimate of revenue and expenditure in the current year and the budget estimate for the financial year 1914—15, drew the attention of the Council to the material difference between the special activities of the Government of India and those of the local Governments. The Central Government is exclusively responsible for services such as defence, the railways, the posts and telegraphs, besides the charges which are finally accounted for in England. The local Governments administer the various branches of ordinary civil administration throughout the country. As the Hon. the Finance Member said, it would make for perspicuity of finance if conditions admitted of a complete parallelism in the allocation of revenue. According to existing arrangements, however, there are wholly Imperial heads such as opium, salt and customs, while the local Governments have as wholly Provincial heads the revenues from forests and registrations and in some provinces excise, but the receipts under the remaining important heads are divided in certain proportions fixed by the terms of the Provincial settlements. The distinction between Provincial and Imperial finance, though artificial, is for certain purposes very significant. An Imperial deficit, for instance, may render it necessary to impose fresh taxation, while in the present circumstances a Provincial deficit merely means that the Local Governments are drawing upon balances which are made up of special grants from the Imperial revenues for expenditure on special objects such as education and sanitation.

The aggregate revenue for the year 1913—14 was estimated in the budget at £82⅓ million, but according to the revised estimate it is expected to reach the figure of £84¼ million. The improvement is due to substantial increases under Customs, Irrigation, Assessed Taxes, Excise and Forests. There is some falling-off in the land revenue and in the gross Railway receipts. Taking the revenues as a whole,

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the Finance Member has no reason to be dissatisfied with the result. The Opium windfalls have of course disappeared. Excluding Opium altogether the aggregate revenues of India in 1912—13 amounted to £81,738,000. The revenues in the current year, excluding Opium, have yielded £82,656,000 inspite of a deficient rainfall and a commercial crisis.

The total expenditure provided for in the Budget (1913—14) was £83,911,000, but in the revised estimate it is reduced to £83,675,000 as a result of an increase of £573,000 under Imperial charges and a decrease of £809,000 under Provincial. The increase under the Imperial expenditure is chiefly due to over-spending under Military Services, while the decrease under Provincial is the result of under-spending under Medical and Education. The Imperial revenue which was estimated in the budget at £1,326,000 becomes £1,328,000, that is, it remains practically unchanged. The Provincial deficit of £741,000 has been met by drawings from balances which were £10,557,000 at the beginning of the year and are expected to stand at £9,816,000 at its close. Of this large closing balance, we are told, £4 million roughly represents special grants given by the Government of India for expenditure on education and other beneficent local objects.

Turning now to the budget estimate for the year 1914—15, the aggregate revenue for the coming year is placed at £85,033,000, and the aggregate expenditure at £86,962,000, thus showing a deficit of £1,929,000. There would not, however, be any actual deficit to face, for the enhanced Provincial expenditure of £3,209,000 in the budget estimate will be met by drawings from the balances. As a matter of fact, it is hoped to obtain an actual Imperial surplus of £1,280,000 in 1914—15. The Finance Member says that in present circumstances it is desirable to have an unallotted balance and thus this amount to assist the Government in their heavy capital investments. The Revenue estimates under various heads anticipate increases of £145,000 under Opium, £612,000 under Land Revenue, £134,000 under Stamps and £242,000 under Excise, while receipts under Customs, Mint and Railways are expected to decline to the extent of £118,000, £155,000 and £190,000 respectively.

The aggregate Imperial and Provincial expenditure for which it is proposed to provide in 1914—15 is, as we have already stated, £86,962,000, or an increase of £3,287,000 above the expenditure of the current year. The increase under the Imperial heads amounts, however, to £690,000 only, the remainder being due in the main only to drawings on the abnormally large balances at present in the possession of local Governments. Budget provisions under principal heads of expenditure are £21·886 million under Military Services, £9·575 million under Interest on Public Debt, £4·183 million under Land Revenue, £5·203 million under Salt, £4·000 million under Education and £7·455 million under Civil Works. Expenditure under Opium shows a decline of £2,000. The interest on Public Debt increases every year as loans are raised, and with the heavy borrowings which the Government of India contemplate in 1914-15 they have to provide for an addition of £262,000 for interest on the Public Debt as well as for £214,000 more in connection with that portion of the Secretary of State's borrowing transactions which are met through the agency of companies working State lines. Under Revenue expenditure there is an increase of £199,000, under Forest an increase of £172,000, under Police an increase of £37,000, under Education an increase of £758,000, and under Military Services an increase of £481,000.

Some of the main heads of expenditure require a brief examination. It is manifest that about one-fourth of the Indian revenues are absorbed by the expenditure under Military Services. The Military Budget has been steadily growing from year to year and the latest provision represents an advance of £853,000 above the standard adopted in framing the budget last March. The increase is justified mainly on the grounds that the cost of provisioning the army will be greater owing to the higher scales of prices, that new stores have to be purchased and that the pay of British Service officers will have to be increased in accordance with the concessions recently made in this direction in England. The Finance Member says that the reasons for proposing a higher standard of expenditure are "special and temporary" and he gives the assurance that the proposals "do not imply any setting aside of the Army in India Committee's recommendations." These have yet to be considered with great care and "subject to the fundamental consideration that we cannot, for the sake of any immediate money gain, do anything which would weaken our military position." It is, however, equally desirable to bear in mind that reasonable retrenchment in military expenditure is no less weighty consideration, and we do not see what purpose special Committies on military expenditure are intended to serve if "special and temporary reasons" continue to emerge in unbroken succession.

The budget provision for the next year for education is, as we have stated, £4 million. It stands in the approximate ratio of 1 to 21 in respect of the general revenues and of 1 to 5 in respect of the military expenditure of the country. This niggardly proportion can satisfy none of India's well-wishers, especially when one compares it with the proportion of public expenditure on education in other civilised countries. A great advance, it is true, has been effected during the last few years on the conditions existing before Lord Hardinge assumed charge of his office. Since 1910-11 the scale of the expenditure on education has practically doubled. Comparing 1914-15 with 1910-11 it appears that the direct expenditure has risen by £2,406,000. Of this amount £2,315,000 is Provincial and is being financed to the extent of £1,856,000 from special grants given by the Central Government. But, as the Finance Member himself pointed out, the higher figures of expenditure on education and sanitation for the coming year should not be taken as necessarily representing a permanently established standard. The provision for 1914-15 is found to a considerable extent from non-recurring grants which are likely to be rapidly exhausted if the local Governments develop an adequate spending capacity. In analysing the figures it will be seen that the recurring grants given between 1911-12 and 1914-15 amount only to £756,000 for education and £245,000 for sanitation. They no doubt represent a decided advance on the past and a more liberal and progressive policy on the part of the Government. But bearing in mind the magnitude of the country's needs in these directions it is manifest that the pace of advance should be accelerated year after year. Much, however, depends on the energy with which the local Governments address themselves to these tasks. The unspent balances that have accummulated out of the Imperial non recurring grants for education and sanitation do not give a satisfactory measure of the enthusiasm that seems to inspire the local Governments. We do not see any adequate reason why the Imperial grants should remain unspent. No one can seriously maintain that general demand for education is not growing in the country, or that the local Governments find it difficult to devise suitable and prompt measures for broadening the scope of public instruction in the Provinces. What is really wanted is to infuse into the Education Departments of the local Governments the vigour, the energy, and the enthusiasm of a new and well-directed purpose which should aim at the spread of knowledge and enlightenment in the mass of the people.

As the Hon. the Finance Member pointed out in his statement, there is a large field of Governmental activity outside the revenue account of the current and coming years and the administrative expenditure. Every year heavy capital expenditure is incurred on Railways and Irrigation works, to which the construction of new Delhi has now been added. The Finance Member discussed at length the capital outlay on Railways and, though he enumerated great many difficulties, he nevertheless declared his intention to adhere to the railway programme of £12 million laid down last year by Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson. This is probably the result of the pressure that has been brought to bear on the Secretary of State and the Government of India by those who are materially interested in the extension of railway communications. Irrigation receives a grant of £1¼ million for the coming year, and New Delhi £¾ million. These and other items under capital outlay, amounting in all to £18 million, are to be financed in various ways especially by further borrowing to the extent of £9¼ million in India and England. There has been much hue and cry in a section of the Calcutta papers about the probable expenditure on the building of New Delhi, much of which has, however, been singularly ignorant and ill tempered. A yearly outlay of £¾ million on the construction of the New Capital of India is not a drain that would disorganise Indian finance or impoverish the general taxpayer. Whether the change of capital was well-advised or not, is now an idle question. None but a few malcontents in Calcutta would now seem to brood over the loss that the city is said to have sustained in prestige and dignity. When the New Capital has got to be built, it is necessary to provide that it should be built well. The scheme should be financed in a way that the finances of the country may not be thrown out of gear. The Government of India seem to be in no particular hurry to raise fine palaces for their winter residence without carefully weighing the cost and considering the ways and means. The Finance Member has said enough to reassure all reasonable critics that the progress of the work would not be unduly hastened, but that it will be steady and all considerations about cost would be fully weighed in the light of the annual financial position of the country.

The Indian Press Act, 1910.

AN APPEAL TO THE BRITISH PUBLIC.

India in its issue of the 13th February publishes the following influentially signed appeal to the British public on the subject of the Indian Press Act of 1910:—

The news which is continually arriving from India of the confiscation of newspapers and printing-presses affords evidence of a serious state of things which is not receiving the attention it requires in this country. While recognising that all proper steps must be taken to deal with incitements to violence and disorder, it seems clear to us that the provisions of the Indian Press Act of 1910 are being used on a scale and in directions which were not contemplated when that Act was passed. The publication of criticism of the action of local authorities, and even the expression of sympathy with the misfortunes of such Moslem States as Turkey, Persia, Tripoli, and Morocco have been made the excuse for the most drastic repression.

It is stated that since the introduction of the Press Act there have been twenty-eight cases dealt with, of which twenty-two represent Moslem organs, and in twenty-one instances newspapers have ceased to exist, either because the presses have been confiscated or because the good conduct security demanded has been too onerous. In the other cases, the securities demanded have been paid sometimes by public subscription. More than a dozen forfeitures, either of money or of presses, have occurred during the last few months.

The Press Act authorises action without judicial proceedings, and, should an appeal against the orders of the Executive be lodged, we have the authority of the Chief Justice of Bengal for saying that "his powers are of the narrowest," that even if an illegality has been committed he has not the power to rectify it, that his "ability to pronounce on the wisdom of the executive order is withheld," and that any chance of redress is "almost hopeless." These opinions are extracted from his judgment in the case of the confiscation of the pamphlet, "Come Over Into Macedonia and Help Us," and in the same judgment it is definitely stated that the Press Act is being used for purposes for which it was never intended: that its drastic penalties are inflicted upon men of position and repute; the conviction under it implies no stain upon the character of the accused; and that its operation "would certainly extend to writings that may even command approval."

The sting of these judicial comments is intensified by the fact that, when the Press Bill was under the consideration of the Government of India, the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha, who was in charge of the Bill, speaking on behalf of that Government, emphatically declared that an appeal to the Civil Courts had been introduced into the Bill in order to afford an effective safeguard to the independence of the Press.

We wish further to draw attention to the fact that both the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League have passed strong resolutions calling for the repeal of this particular Act, though not, of course, of any measures under which incitements to violence may be dealt with, and that influential public meetings of protest have been held all over India.

We therefore make an earnest appeal to the public of this country, in whose name and by whose authority the Indian Press Act is administered, to demand such an immediate alteration of the law, whether by amendment or repeal, as will put an end to the abuses which have accompanied its operation.

Edward Lincoln (Bishop); Courtney of Penhurst; Percy Alden (M. P.); W. C. Anderson (late Chairman I. L. P.); E. S. Beesly (Professor); E. N. Bennett (ex-M. P.); M. M. Bhownaggree (K. C. I. E., ex-M. P.); Wilfrid Scawen Blunt; Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner; Harbert Burrows; W. P. Byles (M. P.); Edward Carpenter; J. Estlin Carpenter (Litt. D., Principal, Manchester College, Oxford); H. G. Chancello (M. P.); G. B. Clark (ex-M. P.); John Cliffor (D. D.); J. R. Clynes (M. P.); Henry Cotton (K. C. S. I., ex-M. P.); H. E. A. Cotton (L. C. C.); Edward Dalgado; Bhugwandin Dube; Sophia Duleep Singh (Princess); C. J. H. Evatt (Surg.-Gen., C. B.); A. J. Gardiner ("Daily News and Leader"); J. Fredk. Green (Sec., International Arbitration and Peace Society); G. G. Greenwood (M. P.); W. Douglas Hall; H. B. Hanna (Colonel); J. Keir Hardie (M. P.); Fredric Harrison (D. C. L.); L. T. Hobhouse (Professor, University of London.); J. A. Hobson; Bernard Houghton (I. C. S., retired); Harry Jones ("Daily Chronicle"); C. E. Maurice; William Markby (K. C. I. E.); H. W. Nevinson; J. M. Parikh; Ernest Parke ("Daily News and Leader"); G. H. Perris; Herbert J. Reynolds C. S. I., I. C. S., retired); V. H. Rutherford (ex-M. P.); A. MacCallum Scott (M. P.); W. H. Seed; G. Bernard Shaw; N. P. Sinha (Major, I. M. S., retired); Francis H. Skrine (I. C. S., retired); Herbert Snell (Secular Education League); Philip Snowden (M. P.); S. H. Swinny (President, Positivist Society); T. Fisher Unwin; Jane Cobden Unwin; A. J. Wilson ("Investors Review"); Sidney Webb; W. Wedderburn (Bart., ex-M. P.); H. G. Wells.

Indians in South Africa.

A MASS meeting of Indians, numbering over 3,000, was held, by permission of the Martial Law authorities, on the Indian Football Ground, Durban, on Sunday, under the auspices of the Natal Indian Association, to discuss the details of the provisional arrangement between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Smuts, and to take action thereon. Mr. Imam Abdul Cadir Bawazeer was elected Chairman, and amongst those present were: The rev. C. F. Andrews. Messrs. W. W. Pearson, H. Kallenbach, H. S. L. Polak, A. H. West and G. Isaac.

MR. GANDHI SPEAKS.

Mr. Gandhi, before proceeding to explain the terms of the provisional agreement, announced that Mr. Andrews had received a letter from England preparing him for the death of his beloved mother, whom he had expected to meet on his arrival in England. He also added that Mr. Andrews was suffering from fever due to the strain under which he had worked in Pretoria in connection with the agreement. Notwithstanding these facts, Mr. Andrews had insisted on attending the meeting.

Mr. Gandhi addressed the meeting at length, both in English and Hindustani, his remark being subsequently rendered into Tamil. Mr. Gandhi said that those to whom he was addressing his remarks in English would, he hoped, have read what had been published in the papers, but he would give them the purport of the agreement with the Government. At the first interview he had had with General Smuts, he had placed before him three propositions, the acceptance of any one of which would have enabled the community to lead evidence before the Commission without violating the solemn declaration made some time ago on that very ground. These alternatives were that either the Government should appoint another Commission and restrict the scope of the present Commission purely to a judicial inquiry into the allegations that had been made as to ill-treatment and cruelty, while the other should go into the question of grievances, when the community would be able to lead its evidence before both; or that a member should be co-opted to the Commission to represent Indian interests who would sit specially on the Commission hearing the statement of grievances as apart from the allegations of cruelty, so that the functions of this Commission could clearly be divided into judicial and political; or that the scope of the present Commission should be restricted purely to a judicial inquiry, and that before the community's appearance before it, the Government should grant the community's request in terms of Mr. Cachalia's letter, namely, the five points (1) the repeal of the £3 tax; (2) the restoration of the status of Indian wives as it existed before the Searle judgment; (3) the restoration of the right of South African-born Indians to enter the Cape: (4) the removal of the little difficulty that still exists with reference to the racial bar regarding the Orange Free State; and (5) the question of the just administration of existing laws with due regard to vested rights. The last three points could be dealt with administratively; the first two only by amending legislation, and he had ventured to submit to General Smuts the easiest and the quickest way in which the matter could be dealt with. General Smuts had said that he would consider the matter and after he had considered and conferred with the Cabinet, he said, in the presence of Mr. Andrews, that the Government were willing to grant these things, but wanted the Commission to sift them, and that they could not possibly, though they would gladly have met the Community, meet them at that stage with reference to its propositions regarding the Commission.

Of course, that would create a deadlock, and that meant either passive resistance and all that that meant, or it meant a suspension of passive resistance until the Government had had a chance, until the Commission had had a chance, of doing what they proposed to do, and he had had no difficulty in coming to the conclusion, after consultation always with Mr. Andrews, that the community could fairly suspend passive resistance, seeing that the Government had taken up what he considered, reasonable attitude, and seeing also that the Government were prepared to understand and appreciate that the community was bound by its solemn obligation not to take part in the Commission, and not to resent that attitude on the part of the community, and as against that, he had suggested to General Smuts that, if the community suspended passive resistance, it was only fair that the Government should release the passive resistance prisoners then undergoing imprisonment. There then remained the very serious questions of the allegations of cruelty. What was to be done with

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regard to those if the community was not to lead evidence even with regard to the judicial aspect of the Commission, and yet it seemed clear that in the present circumstances they could not lead evidence. It then meant that they should publish a book containing the whole of the evidence in their possession, and challenge anybody who wished to bring libel proceedings against the community, so that in defending the charge the community could prove its case. As a passive resister, it immediately occurred to him that there would be no difficulty in dropping those proceedings. That would avoid all irritation, and in the estimation of those who might think for themselves and who knew the history of Passive Resistance the community would stand justified. In any case, if the community could stand justified in the estimation of the Government, and if the community could ask the Government to appreciate its motive in not challenging libel proceedings, he felt that the community could ignore what the world might say as to its being afraid now of coming to a court of law because it had really no evidence, and that it had simply taken allegations to India in order to work on feeling there. They must tolerate such criticism from the world, for the world would have something to say against the best actions, but, if the Government appreciated the community's attitude he felt that, as passive resisters, it became them to act in that manner. They were not passive resisters of the purest type. They had for example, taken advantage of law and defended actions in law courts; pure passive resisters would not have done that. But they had not yet reached the purest stage of passive resistance. They must, however, keep such an ideal actively before them and, perhaps, one day, they would have made such an approach to that state that they would be considered perfect passive resisters. Till they had reached that stage, they could not call themselves perfect passive resisters, but they need not therefore remain stationary, and he had felt they might take that step in advance, and he had come to the conclusion that that was a proposition that might be submitted to the Government. The net effect of the letter written to him by the Government and their reply was, in his opinion, that they had accepted the principle of consultation, that they had recognised the motive of the community in dropping the question of the allegations altogether, that they recognised the community's motive in not leading evidence before the Commission, that they had given an assurance that they wished to settle the matter in accordance with the community's wishes and they wanted to do this through the Commission; for they felt that the community's demands were so reasonable and had been so sanctified and strengthened by the suffering that it had undergone during the past months, that there should be no difficulty in securing the recommendation from the Commission. They felt, he thought, also confident because of the presence of Sir Benjamin Robertson and because of the prestige that was behind Sir Benjamin Robertson, that he came not in his individual capacity but as the representative of the Viceroy, that as such his testimony before the Commission was bound to carry its due weight. And under those circumstances they need not worry themselves, thinking or fearing what might happen; and why need a passive resister ever fear so long as he had the purest weapon in the world at his disposal? The future lay entirely in their own hands, and holding that future as firmly as ever, he had no hesitation in recommending the adoption of the argeement, and he hoped that the meeting would approve the action they had taken. At the same time he had not bound the community. He had bound the community on occasions when he had gone with a clear mind and when he had known what the community had already asked for, but on this occasion a new situation had arisen, and for that situation he certainly required the ratification of the community. He could not possibly bind the community with reference to this matter which he had not himself contemplated. He had therefore stated to General Smuts that he was prepared to advise his countrymen in accordance with the tenor of his letter, but he had not bound the community, so that they were free agents entirely and might dismiss the agreement from their minds if they wished, but he believed that they might accept it—it was perfectly honourable, dignified, and would save an amount of misery. What was more, they wanted, if they possibly could to conciliate the Viceroy. He had said that, Viceroy or no Viceroy, Mr. Gokhale or no Mr. Gokhale, no matter what friend or the world said, if their consciences did not approve, if their oath did not approve, they could not accept their views, but when it was possible for them to keep their oath to satisfy their conscience, he thought that then they should go to the utmost length in meeting the wishes of their friends, and such a noble Viceroy, for whom, perhaps, there was no equal except perhaps Lord Ripon and Lord William Bentick; and he did not know what the Viceroy might still have in store for them. But that was the picture one formed of the Viceroy, and that had been strengthened by what Mr. Andrews had told them of his noble qualities. They ought to take into account the Viceroy's wishes at that stage, seeing that it was possible for them to do so without violating their oath. Their distinguished countryman, whom India had idolised, to whom they offered reverence, who, while lying on a sick bed, had yet worked for their cause and made it world-wide and had made India ring from end to end with that and nothing else—Mr. Gokhale—also desired it. Lord Ampthill also had been saying: 'They had a noble cause, they were bound to win; let them now stay their hand; they had made sufficient demonstration; they had aroused the conscience of the United Kingdom; let them now even give their evidence under protest before the Commission. That view they had been unable to accept, but they could accept the present arrangement. From every point of view, the agreement was good, dignified and worthy of acceptance.

Mr. Andrews.

Mr. Andrews said that he wished, first of all, to speak about the great sorrow which had come to him, but the love which he had for the people of India, his own people who were there, was so great that he could not stay away from them and wanted to be with them. In connection with the visit to Pretoria, there were two things he wished to speak about specially and assure them on. The one thing was that in that argeement and in all that had been done and in all the interviews they had had, one thing had been kept throughout, and that was the honour of the Indian community. That had never at any single point been sacrificed to expediency, but all through, from beginning to end, had ever been the first consideration. Otherwise, he would not be able to stand there before them, who had suffered so much, and speak to them. But because he knew that at Pretoria their honour had been kept throughout, he was ready to stand there before them and urge them and ask them to accept the agreement and to carry it out as it had been proposed before General Smuts, and he could assure them that in no point whatsoever in that agreement had there been any sacrifice of honour or self-respect to any Indian in the whole of South Africa. The second point was that, whatever might have happened in times past, on the present occasion there was the greatest consideration shown to their leader by every one who met him there. In spite of the general strike which was on, in spite of the immense difficulties of finding time, General Smuts and others did their very best to give every opportunity for the grievances of the Indian community to be brought before them, and again and again Mr. Gandhi met General Smuts, when he was invited to be present. It was for those two reasons—because their honour had been preserved and because such great earnestness had been shown by the Ministers at Pretoria—that he hoped that now a time had come when a settlement might be reached of the grievances which had so long been distressing the whole Indian community. He trusted that they would accept the proposed Commission freely and heartily, and that through accepting it something else might come, and that was a settlement of all their difficulties, and he trusted that that might come in a very short time.

Mr. Polak said that, as one of the signatories to the letter to General Smuts, a little while since, immediately after their last great meeting at that place, he strongly approved of the terms of the provisional agreement and strongly recommended it for their acceptance.

Mr. Kallenbach said that he had also been asked to give his opinion about the provisional agreement, and he wished to say that he fully agreed with it.

The Resolution.

Mr. Parsee Rustomjee moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Lazarus Gabriel, supported by Messrs. Omar H.A. Johari, P.K. Naidoo, C.K. Thumbi Naidoo, and Lalbahadur-Singh, and carried unanimously: 'This mass meeting of British Indians, held under the auspices of the Natal Indian Association, after having heard the terms of the provisional agreement arrived at between the Government and Mr. Gandhi, hereby endorses Mr. Gandhi's action, and earnestly and respectfully hopes that the prayer of the Indian community, as set forth in Mr. Gandhi's letter, will be granted.'

Next week we hope to give reports of several functions at Pretoria held in honour of Mr. Andrews, including an important speech at one of them. We also intend to reproduce a portrait of the poet-laureate of India—Babu Rabindranath Tagore.

The Martial Law Conditions.

The following were the conditions of Martial Law under which the Mass Meeting was held last Sunday:—

'No inflammatory language is to be used or language calculated to provoke to a breach of the peace.

'No criticism of the Government's past action is permitted.

'The discussion must be confined to the policy to be adopted arising out of the correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Smuts.'—*Indian Opinion.*

Books and Readers.

Lord Morley of Blackburn, Chancellor of Manchester University, was presented last week in the Whitworth Hall of the University with his portrait. The portrait is the work of Sir Hubert von Herkomer. After the ceremony Lord Morley declared the addition to the Christie Library open, and discoursed on books and readers.

'What Bacon says about our contemplations all being guided to the consideration of the business of the day must not be taken in too narrow a spirit. Literature can be as much of a social force as either science or scholarly learning. I think that critic was not wrong who said—I hope nobody here will be offended if I quote it—that Oliver Goldsmith with his 'Vicar' did more for what is best and kindest in human nature and in human life than a hundred preachers and a thousand sermons.

Books a Social Force.

'I do not enter into any quantitative comparisons, and I do not say anything against preachers or sermons. But you know what I mean. I mean that the stimulus to social feeling, to right feeling, that you get out of so delightful a book as 'The Vicar of Wakefield,' and a few like it is as good as direct exhortations, however backed. Christie overflowed with the spirit which we ought to have in this place—the spirit of the true scholar. He thought nothing of taking a journey from Manchester to Toulouse to verify a reference or from Manchester to Lyons to find out some new fact in the history of the subject that greatly interested him—sixteenth century printing.

All Sorts of Readers.

'Perhaps you will indulge me for a minute or two whilst I say a word about varieties of readers. There are half-a-dozen—it may be more than half-a-dozen—species of the *genus* reader. There is, of course, at the top the professional reader who seeks fresh knowledge and the fruits or stimulus of fresh research. There is the professional reader at the lower end of the scale who seeks in old books material for the mechanical manufacture of new. And then—this, at all events, you will recognise—there is the student arming himself for his duel with the examiner. Then there is the listless idle reader who takes a book as a sort of pleasant sedative, with no more intellectual concern than goes to the satisfactory smoking of tobacco. Then there are those men and women—and I hope that here at least they are most numerous—who read, if you go to the root of them, on the principle that your own mind is theatre enough for anybody. On that principle they read because books stimulate curiosity, feed, multiply, and enlarge the whole range and compass of your interests, and raise a man or woman to the high level—the highest level—in the general cultivation of their age.

What a Library Should Be.

'A great library is a warning, a rebuke, a lesson to those unlucky people whose minds are constantly unable to hold more than one idea at a time. A great library is, or ought to be, a check on that impulse which belongs to the old Adam in us, that frightful impulse to rush to take angry sides at five minutes' notice on the most important and delicate questions that may happen to be raised in the morning or evening newspapers. A library checks that impulse. A library is a place for learning, but let one hope that a library is also a place for unlearning. The sages say that the great difficulty of life is not to learn, but to unlearn.

'The very sight—this is my own feeling, and I dare say some of you share it—the very presence of one of these great collections of books, scrolls and manuscripts seems in itself to give a new significance to the books. It was Lord Acton, himself one of the most learned men of our time who said that 'the gifts of historical thinking were better than the gifts of historical learning.'

The Encyclopædic Mind.

Most truths of a general bearing are in danger of dying in the dull sanctity of truisms. It is a chief task of literature to save them from this fate by giving them fresh forms and original expressions. No man has contributed more to this work of salvage in our time than Lord Morley. For in his essays or addresses, whatever be the pressing topic or occasion, his mind always rises to the elevation of those wider principles and maxims which rightly govern conduct and guide thought. To many of these common thoughts he gives new life and distinction from his own rich private stores of expression. But no man's private store can equal in abundance and variety the reservoirs of history, and the scholar's great service to his time consists in his ability to draw freely and fittingly upon this intellectual commonalty. And in this matter, among living writers Lord Morley appears to us incomparable. Take, for example, that little known passage from Bacon which he quoted in his address last week on opening the new addition to the Christie Library at Manchester University. "To write at one's ease what other people may read at their ease comes to very little. What I want is the wholesome and well-bottomed contemplations that bring a better order into actual life and enter into men's business with all the turmoil of that business." We can well imagine with what keen regard for the present needs of England Lord Morley launched again this requisition for "wholesome and well-bottomed contemplations." The age, indeed, in which we live threatens to banish contemplation from our vocabulary. For the process of contemplation involves a security of soul and a fixity of vision hardly compatible with the outer or the inner world of to-day. Could Bacon himself have "contemplated" in the London of our time, with the postman at his door ten times a day, the telephone bell breaking in upon his thinking with its mechanical insistence, and a dozen new momentous "crises" bearing down upon him in his daily newspaper? No, we feel that contemplation is an excessive, almost a preposterous, demand upon us. If we can attain "reflection," "consideration" that were much for busy folk like ourselves; but contemplation, with only twenty-four hours in the day to do all we have to do! Again, "well-bottomed" seems another inconsiderate requirement. "What," we may ask ourselves, "has bottom to do with an age of quick changes in thought, in manners, in government, where evolution is always likely to take in its 'r' while we are proud upon the whole to have it so?" In the swirling currents of modern politics, science, business, domesticity, religion, sport, and art, which make up the life we live, we have much ado to keep our head above water by swimming with the tide. As for "Bottom," can we hope anywhere to hold it, though occasionally to our surprise and our dismay we may bump against it, as we are borne along?

Such are the familiar plaints of reflective minds to-day. That they contain much truth is undeniable. But none the less, the measure of our self-criticism, expressed through vivid metaphors, is likely to be excessive. If the pace of modern change has been subversive of old principles, while it makes the deposit of new principles slow and difficult, we need not exaggerate the danger. Even in politics, where at the moment not only Whigs, as in Johnson's famous phrase, but all other parties appear "bottomless" or devoid of clear fundamental principles, we have no ground for despair. There is at any rate, no reason to bewail the shedding of faded principles because the new buds that will displace them are not yet fully formed. Here is a shift of metaphor which may claim to temper the pessimism of the other by an appeal to the new faith in organic process, which is most characteristic of our modern thinking. For our admiration for Bacon's distinguished phrasing, "wholesome and well-bottomed contemplations" must not lead us to press too urgently the sensuous supports on which the phrasing rests. If this be not precisely the age for contemplation or for holding bottom, it may have other wholesome qualities and securities. The very rapidity and variety of modern happenings stir and stimulate the mind of men to novel and fruitful efforts in the achievement of understanding and the guidance of conduct. It is untrue that we are living in a time of mere dissipation, frivolity, and opportunism. Seldom in the history of the world has the volume of serious intellectual and moral effort after "a better order" been a tithe as great as it is now. Never has there been so much well directed, concentrated, and widely co-operative thought directed, not merely to the practical, but to the theoretical problems of life. If the fruits of this effort are tardy in appearance, this is due far less to the lack of skill or industry in our thinkers than to the magnitude and complexity of their intellectual tasks, set in the new forms of thought in which the evolutionary concept has envisaged them. Most scientific thinkers now claim for their "laws" neither "bottom" nor final persistence. They recognize that, in the constant flux of experience, novel phenomena occur, compelling continuous modifications and frequent supersessions even of well grounded theories and interpretations. This is not, of course, because Nature is nothing but mutable, but because its unity is always freshly qualified by diversity. It is the richer perception and experience of this unceasing creativeness of Nature that furnishes the valid answer to the charge of instability or unsettlement of principles so often brought against modern thought. The old conservative idea of intellectual order, incorporated in a restricted number of immutable and absolute laws, has to give place to the progressive idea of an ever-branching multitude of changing laws of restricted application, rooted in still wider generalizations which are themselves subjected to a slower but a constant process of change.

It is, we suspect, the recognition of this change in the spirit of modern intellectualism that makes Lord Morley urge in his "Notes on Politics and History" that "the temper of our present time is adverse to generalization," and that the encyclopædic mind—

Leonardo in 1500, Bacon in 1600, Leibnitz in 1700, Goethe in 1800—has no clear successor in 1900. Partly no doubt this aversion from generalization, or from the encyclopædic view, is a more natural result of the multiplication of knowledge which places its full contents far beyond the direct apprehension of any human brain. Indeed, "encyclopædic" in the older sense of direct close personal concern with the whole range of known facts and the thoughts relating to them, in some sense practicable for so capacious a mind as Goethe's, is now impossible. If, therefore, we were to look for any living person to whom the term "encyclopædic" should apply, we should have to seek him in regions of thought further removed from those of concrete fact in which the earlier encyclopædists moved. No man to-day could be in such intimate touch with so many fields of thought and action as was Leonardo da Vinci. If even in recent times we find a few instances of the general scientist or the general artist, no one combines these to majestic *roles*, though one or two have striven to do so. There are, of course, to be found here and there in every educated community, a fair sprinkling of scholars who, rejecting the dominant trend to specialization, have insisted in taking all knowledge for their province, and a few who, by dint of industry and capacious memory, have achieved a high measure of success so far as the collection of intellectual information is concerned. But this alone does not constitute what is meant by the encyclopædic mind. For the effort of such abnormal accumulation almost invariably impairs that faculty of digestion and assimilation essential to true knowledge. To envisage in a cyclic unity the immense multiplicity of representative facts in all departments of knowledge and of practice is a rash defiance of the limits of humanity, and can end, at most, in "sciolism." The truly encyclopædic mind of to-day must then content itself with a more distant and a slighter acquaintance with most departments of knowledge, if it is to make good in any sense its claim to survey the whole. The modern encyclopædist cannot properly be a scientist at all. We shall rather seek him in the narrower ranks of the philosophers. But it will be among those philosophers who consciously take science for their base, though not their goal, so endeavour to get "bottom" for their "contemplations," and thereby "to bring a clearer order into actual life."—*The Nation*.

The Limits of Government by Consent.

WHEN are men justified in opposing force to legality? That is a question which is often put at the present time, and may be worth considering from more than a party point of view. For all Liberals we must suppose, at least, if they found their creed upon history, believe in the justification of armed rebellion against legal power in certain circumstances. The Revolution, for example, was an event on which the Whig Party founded itself; most Whig writers lay it down as an article of faith that the armed movement by which James II was replaced by William III was one of the most righteous acts in history. For ourselves, we are troubled with doubts: but we do at least recognise that the attempt to rule a Protestant England by a Catholic Monarch was likely to end in disaster. As far as we can make out, James II was a good King: he was also an Englishman and a Stuart—our legitimate and lawful Monarch. Moreover, we have a great enthusiasm for the Dutch House of Orange—at least for the member of that House who ruled England. We are willing to leave that enthusiasm to the Liberals, who are now bent on persecuting the descendants of the Orange cause in Ulster. Strange, indeed, are the permutations of history! For at least, however, we may say: that the Revolution was inevitable. The attempt to keep James II King over such an England as we had at the end of the Seventeenth Century was attempting the impossible and courting armed resistance. The moral that we draw from it was not that armed resistance was justified—on the contrary, we should think it impossible to prove justification—but that it was inevitable. And we should put it like this: That there is a point beyond which legality cannot go against the sentiments or interests or prejudices or faith of a people. It is the task of all men to recognise that breaking-point and stop short of it—and the sinner is a fool or a fanatic who does not see the line of danger, or seeing it, steps across. It is the same in Russia as in England: the Emperor, although he might be thought an absolute monarch, rules within strict lines of consent; if he outraged public sentiment seriously—if, for example, he turned Mohamedan—nothing could keep him on the Throne of Russia. He would have crossed the line of consent, and there would be no power left in the country to keep him on the Throne. In the same way, if the British Government in India were to force the Hindus to eat beef, there would be an end of the British Raj—in spite of the British Army. In neither case need we go so far as to say that rebellion would be justified, but we need say of us that there would be rebellion, and that the Government would be swept away.

There is, then, a limit to the powers of any Government, and this limit is fixed not by legality nor by a written unwritten Constitution but by the consent of the people. The more fanatical and turbulent the people, the narrower and stricter the limits and the heavier the penalty of overstepping them. We have no doubt that James II, if he were to come to the Throne of England to-day, would have some little trouble with the Low Church Party and the Dissenters; but we doubt if Queen Wilhelmina would be called in to take his place. A country which tolerates the appointment of Lord Reading as Chief Justice of England would hardly object to King James the Second. We are nearly all moderate and reasonable people nowadays—and therefore astonishingly easy to govern. Still, it must be recognised that there are still limits to government by consent. The *Westminster Gazette*, for example, said the other day that if a law were passed to make everyone go to church on Sunday, it would consider rebellion justified. The example is not altogether felicitous: many Englishmen, no doubt, think that the nation would benefit by a course of compulsory church-going. But let us take an example beyond controversy, and say that if the present Government established Ju-Ju worship as the State religion or made Welsh the medium of instruction in English schools, or decreed that the family system should be abolished, or that football should be regarded as an illegal pastime—if any or all these changes were made even by a Government elected by the people, the result would inevitably be revolution. It follows, therefore, that there is a limit beyond which government cannot go. And this limit depends as much on the sentiments and prejudices of the people governed as on the nature of the legislation proposed. And it is also evident that legislation which might be received without a murmur in one part of the country might cause a revolution in another. Compulsory Welsh in Wales might be popular; in Yorkshire it would almost certainly lead to a revolt. So with this Home Rule Bill: England does not like it, but would, no doubt, submit to it rather than take up arms; but Ulster feels so keenly on the subject that she is forced to fight rather than surrender.

The Home Rule Bill, then, is an example of a democratic government overstepping the limits of government by consent. It is arguable that resistance to the Bill is justified; but what is certain is that there will be resistance. Justification, after all, depends on the point of view. An Irish Catholic, for example, might dislike the Bill; but he would hardly justify himself in resisting it. The Ulstermen are driven to resistance because they cannot do otherwise: it is their nature, their tradition, their whole life and history to fight rather than submit to an Irish Catholic domination. Let us remember that we as a nation put them there with that object. We put them into Ireland as a garrison; they had to fight for their lives for centuries, against a savage and fanatical majority. Such a history toughens the character of a race, but does not sweeten its temper or lead it to that attitude of complaisance and submission which makes almost any government possible. The Ulster people are, in fact, the toughest, strongest, and sternest community in these islands—the most fanatical if Liberals will have the offensive word. Of course they are fanatics: that is part of the problem. If an English official in India were to set the whole Mohamedan community against him by clearing away an old and useless mosque in order to make an up-to date slaughter-house for pigs, and if the Mohamedans thereupon rebelled, he would hardly justify his conduct to the Government of India by pleading that the abattoir was a good thing in itself, and that the opposition was fanatical. The reply would be that the fanaticism of the community was one of the forces on which he should have reckoned, and which it was folly to offend. So in Ulster: the Liberals are excusing themselves for the horrible mess into which they have dragged the country by saying the Home Rule Bill is a good Bill, and that they are fanatics who oppose it. But however that may be, the solid fact remains that whereas in 1905 the Unionists left Ireland in a state of profound peace and quiet, in eight years it has been brought to the very edge of civil war. Not only does Ulster men threaten civil war if the Bill goes through; but Mr. Redmond is now hinting at civil war if the Bill does not go through. The government of Ireland is to be made "impossibe" if Mr. Redmond does not get his way; it is also to be made impossible if Sir Edward Carson does not get his way. The difference, as far as we can see, is, that whereas Ulster has a hundred thousand men in an organised and armed force to make good its position, Mr. Redmond is not in a position to make good his scarcely veiled threat. No doubt if the situation continues much longer Mr. Redmond and his friends will be able to organise some sort of force to carry out this policy of making Dublin Castle government impossible; but whether the force would be adequate remains to be seen. What is certain, however, is that Ulster has a force quite adequate to the policy it has set before itself, and is also in the temper to make its policy good. That is the terrible situation into which Mr. Asquith and his colleagues have got the country, and they have done it by neglecting the simple rule of statesmanship, which is recognised by wise men in every part of the world—never over-

step the limit of government by consent. No matter what the temptation or the pretext, no matter if the policy can be justified upon abstract and ideal considerations—and we certainly do not think that Home Rule can be so justified—they who break this common-sense rule must of necessity find themselves up against such a situation as this unhappy country has now to face.—*The Morning Post.*

Militancy : the Moral

By G. K. Chesterton.

It is a very false and shameful defamation that calls the Suffragettes unsexed. The true and tremendous moral of their tale is that human beings cannot be unsexed. I have called them names in my time ; I think I compared them to the Bacchæ and the Witch's Sabbath; I may, for all I know, have called any of them Cleoparta or Clytemnæstra. But I never called any of them Claudius. I think Cæsar's wife is above suspicion—of being a man. I think of the Suffragist ladies what they think of the Anti-Suffragist ladies ; that they are the Foolish Virgins rather than the Wise Virgins : but I never doubted they had their lamps burning to guard the virginity of the secret of sex. I think, or rather I hope, I never called them unwomanly women. To a simple mind like my own, it seems to be a contradiction in terms. And the occasion of the split in the very citadel of the sisterhood, and the separation of two great sisters, seems to offer an opportunity for pointing out what the partial success and partial failure of this movement really does prove. With that splendid scorn of any sentiment about citizenship and equality which is so deep and womanly in her, Miss Christabel Pankhurst plainly tells the W.S.P.U. that its policy is and must be whatever she and her mother shall decide. I like that : seriously, I admire it. Our male politicians do it : but they daren't say it. But my opinion of Mrs. Pankhurst will be lowered if she does not instantly revolt against her daughter and form yet a third party of her own.

But there is one broad truth about the phase that seems to be closing that has not, I think, been noticed. It is not quite fair to say that the extreme forms of Feminist protest have been a failure. The truth is that most of them have been an utter failure ; and one of them was very nearly a success. And if we look at the solitary one that was potentially or conceivably a success we shall find a singular fact : that it is the one out of them all that does not belong to the New Woman, but very much indeed to the Old Woman (I do't use the word in any invidious sense, as Mr. Ben Allen said to Mrs. Raddle) ; it is the one out of them all that was exactly imitated from the "fire-side woman" whom the Suffragettes contemn—and copy.

Most of them, and all the ablest of them, set out with the ideal of what they called "comradeship" between the sexes ; men and women were strongly recommended to march "shoulder to shoulder." The notion is remote from reality ; from simplicity and the senses. A woman does not deal with a man with her shoulder—except when it is the cold shoulder. But the thing, though a sophistry, was a sincere sophistry : and from it was deduced all the doctrine that publicity, revolt, realism, bodily battle, should be treated by the two sexes alike. Women should do these things because men had found them good ; not because women had ever found them good. Therefore we had a sort of female riot, in imitation of the old male riots : and it utterly failed. It failed because of sex : because the fighters had no notion of the real nature of fighting. They thought fighting was a demonstration, like crying—that far more powerful weapon. They did not understand that in war if you cannot smash your enemy, you strengthen him : he is the firmer for being merely annoyed. A man might yield to some claim he thought absurd if threatened with a pistol. But he would only think it more absurd if he were shot at every day with a pea-shooter—especially if it always missed. A real battle must end in a rout, not in a riot. But these militants did not come to capture our cities, but to capture our attention. They did not fight to relieve fortresses, but to relieve feelings. Thus, on the negative side, the whole business has only proved one thing : the strength and immorality of that schism of sex that they attempted to deny. These women are not unwomanly. They are unmanly ; as they ought to be.

But the fact that has, I think, been very insufficiently noted is this. That in one case alone, by one method alone, they did put human government in a great difficulty. They did hold things up in some real sense, as things are held up by a bankruptcy or a seige. That case, of course, was the Hunger Strike. It was not at all self-evident what solution the Government should attempt ; and certainly the solutions the Government did attempt were wild enough to be called counsels of despair. Now the arresting fact is this : that this weapon was effective because it was a weapon of the old-fashioned woman. It was effective because it was not an appeal to general citizenship ; but to the specialism of sex. The refusal of physical pleasure, the endurance of physical pain, the use of coldness as a rebuke to the wrong sort of kindness, the art of being at once unsympathetic and unselfish, the stoicism that walks close to the cliff of suicide—these are things that have been shown by wives and mothers for unthinkable thousands of years ; at all the firesides where people have been hauled over the coals. In short, it was powerful in the prison because it is much more powerful in the home. "No, thank you, I don't want any breakfast." "Yes ; I am all right." "Oh, don't trouble about me ; there'll be dinner for you at eight." "Thank you, I have to see to the washing." Believe me, these were the ancient arrows of the Amazons. And if the traditional woman is indeed vanishing (which does not seem to be the case by any means) the Parthian shaft was the Hunger Strike ; and without question came from her quiver.

I will not deny that I think there was a certain element of tyranny in the unreasonableness of the Hunger Strike : but there is that also in the domestic tradition. "Go and see what Tommy is doing and tell him he mustn't" is a very ancient female formula. To the same philosophical school we may well ascribe the conception : "I will not eat. If you make me eat you are a torturer. If you do not make me eat you are a murderer. If you give me what I want you are a turncoat. If you let me go you are a coward." But it is an ancient and stately injustice ; not in the least a new and menacing anarchy. And the moral on the whole matter is merely what I have said. The Feminists have proved literally nothing except their feminity. They have been heroic as Dora and Little Nell would have been heroic ; hysterical as Dora and Little Nell would have been hysterical. We owe them one very real obligation for having helped us to find a fundamental fallacy.—*The New Witness.*

The Gifford Lectures.

Mr. Balfour on Probability, Causation and Cognition.

Speaking as usual from a few notes on the back of an envelope Mr. Balfour on January 23, performed the feat of making clear to an audience of more than 1,500 people his views on the external world. He made no reference to the disputes of conflicting philosophical systems, and gave only slight indications that he was treading on the perpetual battleground of philosophers. His point of view was that of common sense and of science.

Causal and Cognitive Series.

The lecturer applied to the scientific view of the external world his distinction between the causal series involved in belief and the rational, or, as he to-day preferred to call it, the cognitive, series—that is, a series having relation to knowledge. What, he asked is the commonsense view of the external world? It would be generally admitted that common sense never considers that external objects, pieces of matter, the solid globe, the heavens above, are mental states, and that it thinks of them as independent of the person who perceives them. These objects affect us when we perceive them and we do not affect them by perceiving them. Further, he thought—but of this he was not so certain—that when we look at a material object we do not think that its reality is exhausted by the aspects of it that we perceive. He summed up by saying that, according to common sense, the cognitive series which is our belief in external things is a direct and immediate perception of objects themselves, and he proceeded to make the point on which his whole argument depended.

The Foundation of Science.

This simple and direct perception of external objects is the foundation upon which the whole superstructure of science is built up, because the physicist and the physiologist look on the materials of their researches "exactly as you and I look upon chairs and tables." The causal series which combines with the cognitive series to produce the belief in the external world is the business of science, and there is nothing immediate or simple or direct about it. It is a very elaborate process, not yet throughly understood. Here Mr. Balfour indicated the various kinds of knowledge required to give a causal explanation of our perception of the sun, astronomy, solar physics, optics, physiology, and so forth. When all these elaborate investigations, were completed, one arrives at the threshold of the mind, only to be confronted with the chasm between brain and mind—a chasm not yet bridged over. One must also recollect that our perceptions of an object are profoundly modified by associations

memories and other psychological considerations. He took the analogy of a message sent by letter post from one town to another to illustrate how many processes had to be completed before a message, starting from reality, could reach mind.

Having thus described the contrast between the causal series and the cognitive series in our belief in the external world, Mr. Balfour pointed out that the distinction which modern science draws between matter and the perceiving mind is a distinction not fundamentally different from the old distinction between primary and secondary qualities of matter. That distinction has been carried further by science, which teaches that reality is hid from us behind the screen of its own effects. We cannot perceive an electron, ether, or the retinal image in our own retina. Science can never be content till it gets to the unperceivable, and the real world, as science pictures it, is more and more remote from the real world as we perceive it or are capable of perceiving it. It is science that insists on the separation between perceptions and the outside causes producing them. Science, then, is in a logical tangle.

The lecturer pointed out, again, that what the scientist sees in the common-sense perception of the plain man, but what is actually there is something quite different. The position of science is something like that of Locke, who has been justly criticized for developing a theory of the external world which never gives direct access to that world but only to sensations and feelings produced by it. Here Mr Balfour again insisted that science is entirely dependent upon the common-sense view of direct perception, and argued that it destroys its own foundation, and that it provides its own premises to be interfused with illusion. He quoted Hume's statement in the "Dialogues on Natural Theology" that we can only argue from an effect to a cause when we have seen a similar cause producing a similar effect. No body, he said, has ever seen electrons and ether-producing sensations. We have never seen the causes, and on Hume's principle we cannot found theories of the causes upon the effect.

External Reality.

All this does not diminish the faith which everyone has in the fact of reality. Can we, he asked, imitate Hume's serene acquiescence in having one set of doctrines for the study and another for the market place, doctrines about things of everyday life? It would be arrogant to speak of solving the difficulty, but he thought that it would be mitigated if we gave up the idea that we could get our notion of an independent external reality as a conclusion from immediate perception. We must start with external reality as an inevitable belief. We know that cause is there and that is independent of the perceiver, and if we are not to make nonsense of the whole process of learning by experience we must begin with the assumption of an external material mechanism acting upon us, and try to find out how it acts.

The Mathematical Calculus.

The "January blast" did not seriously diminish the size of the audience which gathered on January 26, to hear Mr. Balfour's seventh Gifford lecture at Glasgow.

He began by classifying beliefs into inevitable and probable, and in the interests of this classification he offered a criticism of the mathematical theory of probability. Traditional logical theory had confined itself to this particular kind of probability, and though the mathematical statement of chances had yielded results of the first importance both for science and for practical life, it did not cover the whole ground. It had not distinguished clearly different kinds of probabilities, and in particular it had failed to give any account of that large range of beliefs which were neither inevitable nor impossible but which were yet conterminus with over inevitable beliefs and were part of necessary basis of all our knowledge. These beliefs Mr Balfour called "probable," and it was in this sense that Butler used the term in his dictum that probability was the guide of life.

Probability and Knowledge.

Mr. Balfour's first task was to show precisely under what conditions the mathematical calculus was applicable. He began, to the amusement of his audience, by expressing the wish that he were a great mathematician or even a mathematician at all, for the mathematician enjoys great advantages in method and in terminology so that no flaw could occur in his expression or in his reasoning. But Mr. Balfour thought that mathematicians did not set forth their premises with the same rigour as they deduced their conclusions, and they did not emphasise the abstract character of their reasoning. He indicated the nature of the mathematical treatment of probability by considering an example from M. Poincare, to whose memory he paid a fitting and graceful tribute. M. Poincare had argued that chance could not be, as previous logic had taken it to be, merely the measure of our ignorance, for the statement of chances was often the basis of useful knowledge. Mr. Balfour developed this thesis by considering some typical cases in which knowledge was furnished by statement of chances.

There were, first of all, such cases as the tables of mortality or the laws of the explosiveness of radium. There we were dealing with groups of facts in a purely empirical fashion. A second set of cases was that in which the statement of chances was based on *a priori* considerations. Though experience confirmed the results of such theorizing it was possible to argue *a priori* that the chances were one in two that the tossing of a penny would result in heads, and it was equally possible to say on purely *a priori* grounds that the chances were much against a visitor's leaving Monte Carlo with as much money in his pocket as he had had on entering.

Probable Beliefs.

But Mr. Balfour argued that there was a definite limit to this kind of reasoning. There was the difference in feeling, if not in logic, between the argument from objective knowledge and the argument from subjective ignorance. But these arguments were usually in the same logical form, and logical theory did not distinguish them. The results of the confusion between these two became serious when the attempt was made to carry the argument from probability into more fundamental spheres.

For example, an agnostic might say that he could form no conclusion as to whether or not the world was created by an intelligent being. It might be replied to him that either it must have been so created or it must not, and he might be forced by that argument to agree that the chances of there being an intelligent Creator were even. To assert this, however, was to assert a great deal about the world—indeed, as Mr. Balfour put it, it implied that the chances of the existence of an intelligent Creator were rather more favourable than the chances of winning on the black or red at Monte Carlo.

But this argument Mr. Balfour believed to be manifestly unfair. It was a case which the calculation of probability could not cover, and it plainly rested on an imperfect analysis of the conditions under which mathematical calculation was valid. Mathematical probability, he considered, had meaning only within a system already determined, and the knowledge of that system must have been arrived at by other methods. For problems such as these he believed that another kind of probability was required different from that resting on the highly abstract mathematical calculation. So he was confirmed in his view that in addition to inevitable beliefs, there were probable beliefs to which we were inclined but not driven. They varied in degree coercive power, but were capable of being detected throughout the whole of scientific knowledge. These beliefs has not received sufficient treatment from philosophers, either of the critical school or of the empirical. Kant and Mill alike had thought more of the grounds of beliefs than of the actual content of belief, and Mr. Balfour pleaded for as impartial an investigation into what men of science had actually believed as had been given to outworn philosophical creeds. He proposed to undertake, in his next two lectures, a survey of some of these beliefs. They would go to support his general Theistic argument, but, apart from that, they were of the utmost significance for a sound philosophy of science.

On Mill.

Mr. Balfour delighted his huge audience on January 28th by a brilliant discussion on the law of universal causation and an entertaining criticism of the position held by John Stuart Mill. He shows our belief in the regularity of the universe as an illustration of probable belief in the sense in which he defined the word probable in his last lecture. He would not define the word regularity to-day because it is a characteristic of all fundamental probabilities that they have taken many various forms in the history of human thought, and that they vary to-day in accordance with varying degrees of knowledge.

The Idea of Regularity.

The belief in the regularity of succession among events can go far behind human consciousness and human reason; for, though the lower animals cannot be said to believe anything, they form habits which produce expectations in mankind. The expectation born of habit, or the power of habit to produce expectation, is the result of natural selection and has survival value; but mankind does more than believe that Nature is sufficiently regular to justify expectations born of habit. We carry further this notion of regularity until it embraces the whole universe. Philosophers and scientific men have embodied this idea of regularity in the law of universal causation—that every event has a cause or antecedent, and that the same antece-

dent always produces the same effect. The lecture was devoted two criticisms of this dictum, and especially to Mill's use of it. Mr. Balfour said that in his published writings he had already exposed Mill's delusion that each man by a process of logical inference can infer these wide generalities from his own individual experience. Is it, he asked, so very obvious that nature is regular? He found himself tormented by its irregularities, by the occurence of something unexpected. We often speak of the caprice of Nature. It is true that, when we recover our temper, we do not speak of Nature's capricious behaviour, but of our own faulty observation, or the intervention of events of which we have no knowledge; we at once put nature in the right and ourselves in the wrong. A cheer of approval gave the lecturer his opportunity of driving home his point. "Quite right," he said, "but observe that it means our belief in the regularity of Nature does not come from experience." Experience could only show that Nature is sometimes regular and sometimes irregular. He quoted the saying that if Kepler had possessed more perfect instruments he would never have made a great generalization about the elliptical character of the orbits round the sun which was at the root of Newton's immortal discovery; that if he could have observed the deviations from the elliptical form without having our modern knowledge of the cause of the deviations he would have discarded his theory. Mr. Balfour himself thought that, so ingrained in the mind of man is the idea that there must be something like a plan, Kepler's robust faith would have triumphed over his observations. It was at all events true that nothing we can discover ever upsets our faith in the regularity of Nature; but there are unexplained aberrations and it is an act of faith.

A Category of Negligibility.

The second criticism is that the law of universal causation is not sufficient for scientific purposes. Scientific experiment depend upon the admission that a great deal of Nature is for immediate and special purposes, practically neglegible, and he proposed to invent a new category—the category of negligibility. He pointed out that negligibility is a probable belief, is unprovable, and cannot be established by experience, and yet it is of vital importance for any crucial experiment. The category of negligibility is apparently inconsistent with the view that the world is an inter-related tissue of causes and effects; that if anything is different, everything is altered, perhaps invisibly, but yet really. This is the view expresed in Tennyson's poem about the flower in the crannied wall. He did not quarrel with it as an intellectual ideal, but it is because it is merely an ideal that science is possible. A world in which events of one instant could not be paired off with events of the preceding instant would be a world in which history was possible, but not sciences, for unless we can break up the world into practically seperate strands and threads, no inductive logic could draw any conclusion from any experiments.

A Science of Society Impossible.

He went on to say that this category of negligibility has different degrees of applicability to different areas of knowledge. Philosophers have assumed that we can use it in mentality, in history, and in biography and have attempted to construct a science of sociology in the same sense as a science of matter. As a believer in free will, he could not accept this, but, apart from free will, a science of society is impossible because you cannot neglect things outside your particular experiences as you can in a physical or chemical laboratory. Science depends on repetitions, but history never repeats itself, nor does the life of an individual. In mental experiences there never can be complete identity beyond the simplest and crudest stages of mental life. Bergson had expressed this idea more eloquently, and it was one of his great contributions to contemporary thought. Mill's idea th t you can transfer the methods of physical science to the complicated phenomena of society and mental life, and that the only difference lies in the larger number of complications is an illusion. You can get analogies, suggestive lessons, and interesting parallels, but you can never get an inevitable sequence in which a cause is attached to an effect and in which, by repeating the cause you can produce the effect. Human life cannot be resolved into such sequences. The moral is that the hope of progress lies in abandoning methods which require the law of universal causation, and in trying to see how our great body of knowledge has in fact been arrived at and what inevitable or probable beliefs lie at the root of all that we think and do in the whole of our cognitive lives.

Guiding Beliefs.

Mr. Balfour devoted his ninth Gifford lecture on February 4, in Glasgow, to showing that, in addition to such fundamental and inevitable postulates as the belief in an external world and the belief in the regularity of the universe, there are also tendencies, inclinations to believe, probabilities in his special sense of the word, which guide the course of human speculation. He said that the full importance of these inclinations and probabilities can be discovered only when we look back upon the history of thought; but he insisted that there are such tendencies, and that they have had, and are having, a most important effect upon the structure of our beliefs. The fact was generally admitted with regard to primitive beliefs and superstitions, but it was apt to be denied with regard to modern thought. It was one of his quarrels with Positivism that the Positivists argue that the fabric of scientific knowledge has been arrived at by different methods from all that was done in the earlier intellectual history of mankind.

Mr. Balfour then proceeded to show that the idea that mankind has accumulated its scientific knowledge as a child picks up shells by the sea-shore, moved only by the whim of the moment and without guiding influences or inclinations, is inconsistent with the history of scientific investigation. He selected two examples of scientific doctrine to illustrate the fallacy of the notion that there is no favouritism in science, no inclination towards one kind of thing rather than another.

Atomism.

The first of these illustrations was atomism—the theory which ascribes all the variety and splendour and interest of the material world to the movements and the relative positions of the very small particles of which the world consists. That theory may be found in early Oriental speculations; it was the theory of Democritus; it ran through the whole of antiquity; and though it was thrown into the shade in the Middle ages, it burst out again at the revival of learning and was the theory of Bacon and Gassendi and Hobbes and Boyle and Newton and Liebnitz, all of whom were in their respective fashions the heirs of Democritus. Modern physical science is atomic through and through, and modern theories of matter, of electricity, and of heat are based upon atomism.

When Tyndall, at the Belfast meeting of the British Association, gave his presidential address on the history of atomism, neither the lecturer nor his critics seemed to have thought of asking how it came about that through all these centuries this theory, which had originally no experimental or mathematical or scientific basis, came to prevail and never lost its hold, and how it turns out now to be true with a degree of accuracy truly astonishing. Mr. Balfour found the answer to this question in the fact that the belief had run before the evidence and that the evidence has justified the belief.

Theories of Conservation.

The second illustration was the group of theories concerned with conservation, which, he said, showed a fixed resolve on the part of scientific inquirers to find conservation wherever they can. He pointed out that matter, mass, weight, motion, force, heat and energy have all been regarded as unchangeable in quantity, conserved among all vicissitudes, unalterable in amount. He dealt with each of these in turn, and pointed out how the idea of conservation had been wrongly applied or had been applied in the wrong form, and yet scientific investigators, after the discovery of each error, pursued their search for conservation until they were rightly happy when the desire for conservation had found its legitimate exemplar.

The discussion of the changes in the idea of the conservation of energy led Mr. Balfour to an interesting speculation. He had, he said, often amused himself by wondering what would have happened if, in the early forties of the 19th century, the idea of the conservation of energy had been a theological dogma. He said that it might easily have been so, for James Prescott Joule, who discovered the conservation of energy in its modern form, distinctly asserted that he belived in it because he thought in it the method by which God had made the world. In an amusing passage Mr. Balfour described an imignary Positivist criticism upon this medieval theological theory; and he represented the critic as insisting upon the fact that Joule's results attained by modern methods did not bear out his *a priori* view that the grand agencies of nature are by the Creator's fiat indestructible. Joule's results in point of fact did vary enormously, and his critic would accuse him of the fallacy of assuming his conclusion and saying that the variations in his results were errors of observation. Subsequent experiments have shown that the variations were errors of observation, but Joule started with the clear belief that he was to find his rule, and this belief kept him right about the errors in his observations.

Mr. Balfour, having illustrated these scientific tendencies to believe certain things, went on to argue that such inclinations cannot be regarded as happy accidents. He could not himself describe them

by the word luck; he thought the word inspiration more to the purpose. They were, he said in conclusion, very much what M. Bergson has called vital impulse in the organic world. These tendencies of scientific belief press on definitely in one direction. They are defeated in one line of advance and victorious in another, but they always move onwards, and with them develops all that is valuable in our thought, alike about the material world and, as he himself believed, about religious themes. They have been and they are rich in fruit for human progress and for human knowledge. Experiment and observation are guided by these tendencies and inclinations.

Leg Muffs.

(By James Douglas.)

I sometimes feel disposed to agree with the Shakespearean gentleman who hinted that this is a mad world. This mood comes over me whenever I take up a paper, especially a picture paper, for the picture papers do not trouble to tell lies. They are satisfied with photographs taken somewhat hastily, and nearly all the people in these photographs are stark, staring mad. For instance, at the moment I am gazing at a picture of athletes running loose at Rheims. They are running loose in a snowscape, and they are as naked as savages. They have nothing on but a scanty loin cloth.

* * *

I turn from that insane picture to a telegram "From Our Own Correspondent" in Paris. It is headed: "Deeper Decolletage.—'Leg-muffs' in Use in Paris." Rubbing my astonished eyes I read that "the tendency is for morning dresses to be cut with increased decolletage. I have seen some remarkable models to-day. The effect at a casual glance is that of a dress which has accidentally slipped down to just above the waist, and is retained by a single thin slip of material negligently thrown over one shoulder." "Loose" dresses," it seems, are "particularly popular now with the smartest set of English society. The Englishwoman, being as a rule of a slighter figure than the Frenchwoman, is able to wear the dress lower cut."

* * *

When I pulled myself together I read on: "Muffs for the knee are a novel fashion accompanying the un-usually long spell of really cold weather still prevailing in Paris.—The mode of the short skirt and the fairy-like shoe led to many smart Parisian women taking severe colds even while only crossing the pavement from motor-car to the doors of a restaurant or theatre. The muff, which has been designed to remedy this, is a silk stocking lined with fur which can be drawn on over the light shoe and comes above the knee. It is taken off at the same time as the opera-cloak and left in the cloak-room." Lest you should suspect me of having invented this astounding story I swear that I read it in the *Daily Mail*.

* * *

You may not think that the madness of the "leg muffs" is quite as mad as the madness of martial law in Johanesburg, or the madness of the rebel army in Belfast. But these three kinds of madness raging together confirm my suspicion that this is a peculiar mad world. There may be no connection between these three instances, but, on the other hand, there may. And there is one thing that is madder than these three insanities. It is the insanity of a world which regards them all with indifference. I am, I hope, a fairly heartless person, but I declare that my heart bleeds for the poor dear ladies who are driven to wear leg muffs. I desire to protest against the callous attitude of mankind towards these suffering martyrs who are ruthlessly-sacrificed on the altar of a pitiless tyrant called Fashion.

* * *

There are brutal cynics who refuse to shed a tear over the privations of the rich, and who restrict their compassion to the privations of the poor. They groan over the sad plight of the ragged poor, but they cannot heave a sigh over the sad plight of the ragged rich. It is a monstrous and intolerable injustice. The rich have their feelings just as the poor have their feelings. The plutocracy shivers in the icy blast as violently as the proletariat. The rich woman catches cold as readily as the poor woman. The wife of the millionaire sneezes as convulsively as the wife of the pauper. The only difference is that the rags of the poor woman cost a great deal less than the rags of the rich woman.

* * *

I maintain that the shivering rich deserve more sympathy than the shivering poor. The poor are accustomed to the discomfort of being cold. The rich are not. A wealthy woman clothed in silken rags runs a far greater risk than a poor woman clad in shoddy rags. She is not so hardy. She lives in centrally-heated houses. She is like an orchid in a cosy hothouse. The poor woman, on the contrary, is trained to endure cold from her birth. Moreover, no poor woman is forced the horrors of the higher skirt and the deeper decolletage. Her station in life exempts her from the compulsory dangers of correct exposure. But the rich woman must go through the winter shuddering in expensively draughty garments and extravagantly thin shoes and stockings. There was a time when wealth was warmth, but now no rich woman dares to be warm. As the smart woman shivers on the threshold of the Carlton or the Ritz she casts an envious glance upon the rosy flower-seller muffled to the nose in her shawl.

* * *

If King Caphetua were to come back to life he would not throw his cloak over the shivering shoulders of a beggar girl. He would probably warp it round the blue ankles of a frozen duchess. He would not stop to ask whether the duchess has only herself to thank for her cold feet. He would recognise that wealth as well as poverty is helpless under the weight of an iron law. It does not matter whether the iron law is economic or uneconomic. Misery is misery whether it is rich or poor. A cough in a Rolls-Royce is as painful as a cough on a kerbstone. Chilblains in Belgravia are as sore as chilblains in Battersia. Pneumonia in Mayfair is as disagreeable as pneumonia in Mile End.

* * *

I am sick of the misdirected sentimentalism which we find in the Christmas tales of Charles Dickens. I am positive that if Dickens were alive he would write pathetic novels about the poor Marchioness who lives upstairs, and not about the healthy "Marchioness" of the area. He would rage against the anguish and agony endured with heroic fortitude by the poor rich unfortunates who go about in looped and windowed raggedness, and who tie their flimsy footwear to their tortured feet with ribbons that are a parody of the epidemic of varicose veins in high places. He would denounce the cruelty of the descent of tight lacing from the waist to the ankle. He would deliver the smart set from its masked tormentors.

* * *

There ought to be a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to the Rich. We pay much attention to the woes of the poor. We need a band of devoted philanthropists who will rescue the wealthy from the hardships of wealth. They might agitate for a Royal Commission to inquire into the nefarious conspiracy that exists to make the life of the upper classes not worth living. Who are these scoundrels who tear the clothes off the backs of the aristocracy, and chill the bluest blood in Burke and Debrett? Are they Socialists or Syndicalists? Are the rich being stripped naked in order to make wealth a burden too grievous to be borne? If so, I call upon the downtrodden rich to revolt against their oppressors and to organise a general strike against the ruthless wretches who are trying to drag the last rag off their beautiful backs.—*London Opinion.*

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

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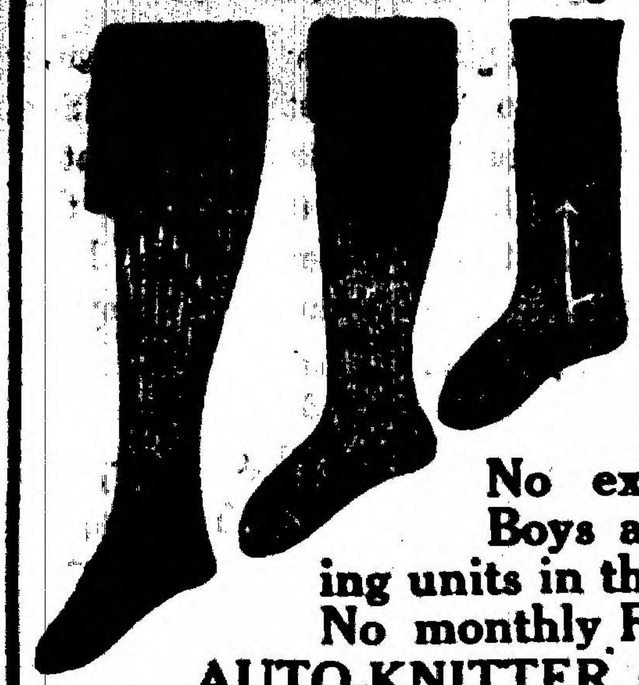
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