The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal. Edited by : Mohamed Ali.

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

—*Morris.*

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The Week.

The New King of Albania.

London, Mar. 5.

Prince William of Wied and his consort embark at Trieste to-day for Durazzo. They will be escorted by the 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 the Albanians.

A Cettinje telegram also reports that the Mohamedans of Skutari have decided not to send a deputation to meet the Prince.

Trieste, Mar. 5.

The Prince and Princess of Wied have embarked for Albania. Salutes were fired by the batteries of forts and warships, and the band played the Albanian National Anthem. The crowds, which gathered to see their Highnesses off, loudly cheered them. The Prince visited the Austrian squadron and British and French cruisers.

Durazzo, Mar. 7.

The Prince and Princess of Wied arrived to day. After the salute, they landed when they received an ovation.

Home Rule.

London, Mar. 9.

There was a rush from eight o'clock this morning onwards on the part of members of the Commons to appropriate seats in the House in order to hear Mr. Asquith's statement regarding Ulster.

The House of Commons was even more crowded to-day than when the Home Rule Bill itself was introduced. There was not vacant seat anywhere. The Archbishop of Canterbury and other prominent Peers including Lord Stamfordham, the King's Private Secretary, were in the Peers' Gallery. On entering the House Mr. Asquith received an ovation from Ministerialists, as did Mr. Bonar Law and Sir Edward Carson from the Opposition.

Premier's Speech.

Mr. Asquith, at the outset, emphasised that by making suggestions they were not departing from the original Bill, but were merely endeavouring to allow it to start with the greatest measure of success. There was a prospect of civil strife in Ulster, yet if the Bill were shipwrecked, the outlook throughout Ireland was equally formidable. He was as convinced as ever of the soundness of the machinery and principles of the Bill. He said that conversations in the autumn had not led to even an approach to an agreement. They made all realise their difficulties more than before. They had tried Home Rule within Home Rule, but it satisfied nobody. The second suggestion was that the whole of Ireland should be included in the present Bill, and after a lapse of time, the Ulster counties should have the power to exclude themselves. That had also proved unacceptable. He continued that the Government then proceeded to explore the road of exclusion. He pointed out the formidable difficulties, for, he said, exclusion would keep the controversy alive and involve serious administrative and financial difficulties. He believed that some form of provisional exclusion would be a *via media* between the surrender of their principles and the application of force. The best plan was to allow the Ulster counties to determine whether, in the first instance, they desired to be excluded. A poll was to be taken of the Parliamentary electors of each Ulster county before the Bill became operative whether there should be exclusion. The electors would be asked: "Are you in favour of the exclusion of the county for a period?" If the majority was in favour, the county would be automatically excluded. The Government thought that the term should be six years from the first meeting of the new Parliament.

Mr. Asquith concluded by saying that six years would ensure an ample test of the actual working of the new Parliament. Also before the end of the period of exclusion, the electors of the United Kingdom would have the opportunity to pronounce whether the exclusion should continue. The excluded counties would continue their representation in Imperial Parliament and the Irish Executive would have no control over them. An Imperial Minister would be answerable for the reserved services and every detail of the administration of Ulster. He declared that as to the rest of Ireland, adjustments would be necessary. The proposals were the price of peace, and he did not expect them to be received with enthusiasm in any quarter.

Mr. Bonar Law's Views.

Mr. Bonar Law said that he fully appreciated the spirit in which the proposals were made. If, however, the proposals represented the last word, the position was most grave. He emphasised that Unionists were opposed to Home Rule with or without exclusion. The Government had no right to make a change of this kind before the electors had been consulted. The Government could avert the danger by satisfying Ulster which, he thought, they could do without the sacrifice of principle. He emphasised that if the Government adhered to their conditions, they would only do so because they had made an offer which they knew could not be accepted.

Mr. Redmond's Demand.

Mr. Redmond said that his view was that the Premier had gone to the most extreme limits of concession. He was convinced that long before six years had passed, they would be able to make an exhibition of a moderate, tolerant government, which would completely disarm all fears and suspicions. If Ulster refused the proposals and Nationalists could not accept them, then it was the plain duty of the House to place the Bill as it stood on the Statute Book.

Mr. O'Brien's Opinion.

Mr. O'Brien characterised the Premier's suggestion as hateful and intolerable.

Sir Edward Carson's Suggestion.

Sir Edward Carson frankly admitted that some advance had been made. He asserted that if the Government would remove the time limit, he would call the Ulster Convention to consider the proposals but not otherwise.

"Indian Peril."

London, Mar. 9.

The *Times*, in an editorial, deprecates the minimising of anarchism in India: "Anglo-Indian journals derided the recent articles in the *Times* on the "Indian Peril," saying that the country was smooth enough on the surface, but we should have thought that the attempt to kill the Viceroy does not confirm the suggestion of placidity."

Advice to Young Britons.

Bombay, Mar. 8.

Referring to an article in the *Bombay Gazette* on the subject of lack of interest in Indian affairs shown by European young men who come out to this country, Lord Sydenham writes to that paper:—"I agree with you that never in the history of modern India was it more desirable that men of British birth who make their homes in this country should set themselves to acquire an acquaintance with its affairs. I fear it is true as you complain that among non-officials, and especially younger men, there is a lack of interest in public and even civic questions. Speaking at a gathering of the Royal Asiatic Society last year, I endeavoured to lay stress upon the need of bringing up our boys, whether their future lies in the East or not, to realise the responsibilities for the welfare of the Indian Empire in which as grown up men they must share. I believe that only by amending some palpable defects in our system of public school and college education at Home can we awaken a spirit of intelligent and sympathetic interest in Indian affairs, which is necessary for all who are called upon to embark upon commercial and industrial careers. Happily there are some signs of realisation of this need. Political evolution which will inevitably react with increasing effect upon the economic development of India ought to be studied and frankly discussed by non-official British residents. Educated men of all races and countries have common intellectual ground on which they can meet and mutual understanding would be encouraged if this ground were recognised and explored. Indians and Britons alike would benefit by a free interchange of ideas and the working lives of latter would acquire fresh interests and a deeper significance if they sought to play a part in the greater life of India."

End of an Anglo-Indian Paper.

Bombay, Mar. 9.

At a meeting of the Directors of the *Bombay Gazette* yesterday it was decided immediately to wind up the concern, including both the newspaper and the job press and there will be no further issue, yesterday's being thus the last issue of this historic paper. The staff were informed of the decision of the Directors this morning.

A strong effort was made to resuscitate the paper a few weeks ago when Mr. J. E. Woolacott came from Calcutta to assume charge. It is understood that Mr. Woolacott, Mr. Exley, Mr. Miles, and Mr. Partington, of the editorial staff will proceed home immediately. Mr. Armour, the Manager, will remain to wind up the business, having been appointed liquidator by the Directors.

Bombay, Mar. 10.

A bulletin of telegrams issued by the *Bombay Gazette* press this morning is prefaced with the following notice:—"The Directors of the *Bombay Gazette* having decided to stop publishing the paper in its old form have arranged to issue this sheet daily, pending other arrangements."

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Our London Letter.

London, 20. Feb. 1914.

India and Parliament.

The House of Commons has discussed every earthly subject with the exception of the "South African Indian problem." As I mentioned in my letter of last week, Mr. MacCallum Scott had definitely put down an amendment to the Address, dealing with this important question, but, for some reason or other, the matter has not been proceeded with. It is almost certain that this is due to the Colonial Secretary's gentle hint, in the course of his speech the other day on the Labour Party's Amendment to the Address with reference to the recent industrial crisis in South Africa and the deportation of the Labour leaders, when Mr. Harcourt expressed a hope that the Indian question would not be introduced in the House, since the matter was being investigated by a Commission of inquiry in South Africa.

So this matter, which is admittedly of vital improtance to the Empire, has been judiciously passed over and poor India, never popular in the House, has not on this occasion even received that casual hearing which she was accustomed to in previous years during the general discussion, which usually follows the Speech from the Throne. Such is the hard fate of the "brightest jewel in the British Crown" and such is the treatment meted out to Great Britain's "only empire" in the Imperial Parliament!

Turkey and the Powers.

Reuter, no doubt, has already informed you that, as expected, some definite demands have at last been formulated by the Great Powers with regard to the Ægean Islands. The Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at Constantinople, as doyen of the Diplomatic Corps, has presented a Collective Note to the Porte from the Powers in which certain proposals are laid down. According to the will of Europe, Turkey is to surrender Chios and Mitylene to Greece, retaining for herself the small islands, Imbros, Tenedos and Castellorizo, which lie at the mouth of the Dardanelles. Naturally enough, the Powers end by expressing confidence that their decisions will be respected and loyally executed by the Ottoman Government. It would seem from the Porte's reply—the only possible reply under the circumstances—that in some respects this confidence is misplaced.

The matter, it must be admitted, is by no means as simple as it looks. *The Daily Telegraph*, in a leading article deals with the subject with that impartiality and fairness of mind which have characterised its attitude on the question throughout the recent troubles in the Balkan Peninsula. "Plausible arguments on the Turkish side," the journal proceeds, "are readily forthcoming, and are at least as logical as those which have weighed with the Powers. The principle on which the Powers have acted is clearly that Greece should retain the territory which her arms have won, subject to the defensive necessities of the Turkish Empire. But if small islands like Imbros and Tenedos and Castellorizo are to be left in Ottoman hands because they are necessary for the protection of the Dardanelles, might it not be as easily argued that Chios and Mitylene are equally necessary for the protection of the coasts of Asia Minor? Such, at least, is the affirmation of the Turks themselves, and there is a good deal to be said for it. If Turkey is recommended to leave her European dominions alone, and to concentrate herself on the task of developing her Asiatic Empire, then it is a reasonable proposition that the western defences of that Empire—in other words, the coast line of Asia Minor—should be made absolutely secure. . . . . But will Turkey submit? From the tenor of her reply, apparently not. Lately there has been a great recrudescence of military spirit in Constantinople. The Young Turk Party have put themselves at the head of a national movement, which, as a matter of course, seeks to recover as much of the lost territory as is possible under the present conditions. Every one is aware that Turkey has recently purchased a ship of war, destined for Brazil, and there are many other signs suggesting not only restlessness in Constantinople, but a determination to take some offensive action. The influence of an energetic commander like Enver Pasha must necessarily be in the same direction, and, as we saw the other day, only too obvious opportunities exist for fomenting disturbance in Albania. . . . . If Athens has the support of Belgrade, and also of Bucharest, it is, unfortunately, by no means certain that Constantinople has not the support of Sofia. Bulgaria only dreams of revenge, and she may find a weapon ready to her hand in the machinations of the Young Turk Party, who, according to the text of their latest Note, view with regret the failure of Europe to consider the vital needs of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the situation, though in some senses it has become clearer, can hardly be described as free from menacing clouds."

The *Telegraph* has possibly attributed an excessive degree of aggressive zeal to the Young Turks, who have made it abundantly clear that in order to enjoy the full benefits of peace they must prepare themselves for war. Then and only then will Turkey be able to attend to her work of internal reform and put her "house in order" without any possibility of external interference. It is, however, plain that in this instance the Turks are fully determined not to allow their Empire to be used again as the playing field of crafty European diplomacy. The *Telegraph* leader, however, shows a very close and intimate knowledge of facts and is undoubtedly written on authoritative information upon the situation in Turkey.

The Newcastle Daily Journal dealing with the same question urges Sir Edward Grey to change his Turkish policy, which has extensively injured the British interests in the Near East. Referring to the resolutions passed by the Ottoman Association in the City last week, a brief account of which I have already sent you, the *Journal* adds: "Representations of the kind were certainly needed, for there is no doubt that, on our part, the system of

coercing Turkey is being carried too far, to the probable injury of our interests in the Near East. At the present moment, the Porte is engaged on an elaborate scheme of internal reform, which may be brought to success if the Powers adopt a sympathetic attitude, but will assuredly prove a failure if there is interference of the kind we often witnessed in recent years. . . . . In regard to Turkey, in particular, it is time that we returned to our traditional policy, and, by showing our friendliness at the present juncture, we shall be better able to accomplish a settlement of all questions in dispute, while at the same time we shall promote our commercial interests in the Near East."

It is evident that the business circles in England are viewing the situation with no little anxiety, and though their sympathy towards Turkey is obviously prompted by purely selfish motives, representations from such influential quarters could not be altogether ignored by the British Foreign Office.

LONDON CONFERENCE: THE PRESS LAWS IN INDIA AND EGYPT.

The Nationalities and Subject Races Committee, of which Mr. L. T. Hobhouse is Chairman, held a series of meetings (the Annual Conference of the Committee) at the Westminster Palace Hotel during this week to discuss, among other subjects, the question of the Press Laws in India and Egypt, and the influence of Russia on British Policy.

The session which dealt with the Press Laws in India and Egypt, was presided over by Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I. There was a numerous gathering present, which included several Indian and Egyptian gentlemen. Prominent on the platform were Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, the editor of the ill-fated *Zamindar* of Lahore, Ferid Bey, the Leader of the Egyptian Nationalist Party, and Khwaja Kamal-ud-din, the editor of the *Islamic Review* which is published in London. Letters of regret for unavoidable absence were received from Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., and Mr. John Dillon, M. P., and the President of the Egyptian Club at Geneva had wired his best wishes for the success of the Conference, while the International League of Paris was officially represented at the meeting.

Sir Henry Cotton moved the following Resolution from the Chair:—

> That this Conference, believing that the free expression of the people's mind through a responsible and independent Press is necessary for the healthy development of a civilised State, demands the repeal of the Indian Press Act of 1910, and the remission of the harsh sentences which have been carried out under its operation.
>
> Furthermore this Conference proposes that a memorial be drawn up appealing to H. H. the Khedive and the Legislative Assembly of Egypt to consider the abolition of the Press Laws of 1881, which have been revived in all their rigour since 1909, and the amnesty of the poets and journalists who have been condemned to imprisonment under these laws.

The Chairman, who was received with a great ovation, on rising to speak, said that he specially welcomed Ferid Bey at their Conference as he has suffered in a good cause. The Press Law of 1910 was undoubtedly passed in India when the authorities were in a state of panic, and it was placed on the Statute Book in spite of active protest on the part of the Indian Members of the Viceroy's Council. It authorises the Executive on their own initiative to take security from the Indian newspapers. The authorities have been taking a more vigorous action during the past two years and last year there was a memorable case, in which Mr. Mohamed Ali, the editor of the Delhi *Comrade*, carried an appeal to the High Court of Bengal. The Act is so craftily worded and elaborately phrased in legal expressions that even the High Court decided it was powerless to interfere (cries of "Shame"). There was thus no control whatsoever over the Executive authorities, so that the so-called safeguards did not in reality exist. The most prominent victim of this Anti-Press Crusade was Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, the able editor of the Lahore Daily *Zamindar*, against whom the Punjab Government had recently proceeded in an unparalleled manner. Remarked the audience that this paper, which had a daily circulation of 27,000 copies, was the most widely-read journal in Urdu throughout India and had indeed proved itself an institution in the Moslem world of that country (cheers). This journal had in November last published three articles, which in the mind of the Secretary to the Punjab Government, one of the most acutely sensitive minds in the world (laughter), were of a seditious character. He then quoted a few passages from a recent speech of the Hon. Mr. Mazharul Haque, an eminent ex-Member of the Supreme Council and a man who is held in universal esteem and regard amongst the Hindus and the Mohamedans alike, in which the latter had said that, in his opinion, the only fault of the *Zamindar* was that it was independent and that it expressed its opinion honestly and fearlessly (cheers). The paper also criticised some of the Moslem leaders, which perhaps was another inexcusable fault (cries of "Served them right"). Mr. Mazharul Haque thought that the *Zamindar* had become an absolute necessity for the Indian Moslems. He challenged any one to say that the articles were in any way disloyal or seditious. Mr. Mazharul Haque had said how deeply he regretted having been a Member of the Council which passed the Press Act.

The Government of India, continued Sir Henry Cotton, had even lately refused to introduce the necessary safeguards in the Act, notwithstanding Sir Lawrence Jenkin's now-famous judgment. We must have a repeal of the Act (prolonged cheers). No one could honestly say there was any necessity for its retention on the Statute Book. Anarchy in India had nothing to do with the Press. If Indian papers, which were naturally the ordinary channel of communication between the Government and the public, were suppressed and thus no outlet was allowed for the feelings of subject races and nationalities, their utterances would be only driven underground and thus would give rise to such manifestations which we would all deplore (cheers). He could not speak of Egypt from personal knowledge but had no doubt that that country was suffering equally under the existing conditions (cheers).

Mr. Maurice seconded the resolution in a brief but eloquent speech, during which he was visibly overcome with great emotion. His last sentence—"I feel that we have been waiting ever since 1858 for the realisation of the spirit of Queen Victoria's Proclamation"—was cheered to the echo.

Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, in supporting the resolution, said that the whole continent of India was brought under a law which had admittedly failed to differentiate between the guilty and the innocent. The Conference followed with intense interest his sad narrative of "imprisonments and forfeitures." He concluded his speech by suggesting the creation of an "Indian Press Defence League" in London.

The Leader of the Egyptian Nationalist Party, Ferid Bey, who spoke in French, declared that the situation in Egypt had not changed since 1910, when he had last attended the Conference. Since then he had himself undergone long terms of imprisonment (cries of "Shame"). No Nationalist journal was in existence to-day in Egypt as a result of the repressive Press measures. Papers could now only exist by flattery. A mere stroke of the pen from the Minister of the Interior would at once kill a paper ("Shame, shame").

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

Dr. H. Rutherford then moved the next Resolution, which was as follows:—

> That this Conference welcomes the proposal to form an Indian Press Defence League, having both British and Indian support, to keep before the Parliament and Public of this country the position of the Indian Press, and to agitate for the repeal of the Press Act of 1910.

In the course of a powerful speech, he declared he had been that afternoon listening with great disgust and humiliation to the moving account of what has been going on in India as regards the horrible treatment meted out to the representative Press of the country. "I feel," said the ex M. P. with characteristic force, "that the law has been undone by legislation and that the Executive is put above the law." Dr. Rutherford's speech, which made a very deep impression on the Conference, was full of sincerity and stirred the audience to extraordinary enthusiasm. His comparison of the policy of the Government of India with the "methods of General Smuts" roused hearty cheers of approval, which were renewed when shortly afterwards he said "I should like to hear Sir Edward Carson define 'sedition.'"

It was plain that Dr. Rutherford had carried the whole audience with him. "Coercion" he proceeded quietly "has been tried in Ireland and at last the British Government has come to the conclusion that freedom is the best thing for Ireland." The tone of his speech then changed and the speaker's feelings became intense when he continued in all earnestness and with great enthusiasm: "and so it is for India." The audience was spell-bound for the moment but almost immediately the silence was broken by a roar of deafening cheers. The gathering was, of course, cosmopolitan and even the most bitter anti-Home Ruler was heartily cheering these significant words of the speaker: "The Irishman, the Indian and the Egyptian love freedom as much as the Englishman." Mr. W. H. Seed seconded the resolution. He was explaining why it was necessary at present to establish an "Indian Press Defence League," when he was interrupted by the large body of Egyptian gentlemen present, who were anxious to know the reason for thus excluding the Egyptian Press. They were obviously and rightly dissatisfied and demanded an explanation. Murmurs of discontent were audible over the Egyptian benches.

But the speaker was prepared with an excellent answer. This exclusion of Egypt was deliberate and intended, and the reason was not far to seek. Stillness reigned supreme as he proceeded in measured tones: "Because, politically and legally, Egypt is not a Colony of England." His words acted like magic over his interrupters, who received the remark with prolonged cheers. They renewed their applause when he said: "We require totally different weapons to fight the two battles." Everybody appreciated and thoroughly realised the cogency of his reasoning. Mr. Seed proceeded to quote a sentence from the weighty judgment of the Chief Justice of Calcutta—"Mr. Mohamed Ali has lost his book but has retained his character." That is the kind of certificate given to an Indian Editor by the highest tribunal in the country and yet, he went on, the High Court was powerless to interfere in the case. He thought an "Indian Press Defence League" in London was essential, by which means they could keep their case constantly before the British Public and in that way only could they secure the repeal of the Press Act, as the British Press, he was sorry to notice, was giving a deaf ear to all their appeals. In due course of time, perhaps, they may be able to publish a paper in England under the auspices of the proposed League.

The meeting passed the Resolution unanimously.

"Russian Influence on British Policy."

The evening Session of the Conference, which met on the 16th February, under the Chairmanship of Mr. J. A. Hobson, dealt with the question of "Russian influence on British Policy." Professor E. G. Browne's unavoidable absence, owing to an important engagement at Cambridge, was a matter of general regret.

The Chairman, in his opening address, said that we as Britons offer sympathy to the subject races who are to-day suffering under the high heel of the Russian Government, such as Poland, Finland, Georgia and Persia, though the latter is nominally a free country as yet. Nationality still survives in these oppressed people. He dwelt upon the crushing of Finland by Russia and the strangling of free Persia at the very birth of her freedom. The Government of Russia has power to do more evil in the world than any other single Government. He proceeded to explain why people in England and in any other free country, for the matter of that, could not view the fate of these struggling nationalities with indifference. Nations do not live alone and the absorption of these small States by Russia diminishes the area of freedom for the world, which every free man and woman would deplore. The murder of Persia, for instance, would make it harder for India to rise to independence and self Government (cheers). In his opinion, England was to a very great extent responsible for the "Russian methods." We shook hands with Russia when her fingers were dripping with the blood of innocent victims. The enthusiastic interchange of visits between England and Russia—of fleets, parliaments and financiers—had encouraged the latter in her bloody campaign of Russification. He felt sure the evil association with Russia would be injurious to ourselves. We would be forced to pay for their liberty in terms of liberty. The cause of nations pressed by Russia is our cause—it is the cause of humanity (cheers). The sooner we got rid of Russian influence on our policy the better.

Mr. S. H. Swinny proposed the following Resolution:—

> That this Conference demands that the influence of the Foreign Office be more definitely used to further the cause of humanity on behalf of Persia, and also for those nations within the Russian Empire whose treaty or national rights are being violated by the dominant Power, as in the case of Finland, Georgia, Poland and Ukrania.

The speaker was anxious to make it clear at the outset that the resolution implied no hostility to the Russian people but was directed against the Government of Russia only. He said that, after having pledged ourselves to retain the independence of Persia as a Sovereign State, it is our urgent and solemn business to protect her integrity (cheers). England, let it be said to her shame, had been a silent partner in all the havoc that Russia had introduced in Persia with such terror and barbarity ("Shame") and he proceeded to give some of the details of the ghastly crimes and wholesale slaughters that had been committed by the Russian Government in Northern Persia. Innocent men, women and children had been done to death and thousands of Persians had been mercilessly butchered in Tauriz. When would Sir Edward Grey move? We have been not only false to Persians but traitors to our own conscience (cheers). The whole world had produced a verdict of "guilty" on England in our dealings with Persia.

Mr. G. H. Perris seconded the Resolution, which was supported by Mr. W. Tcherkesoff and Mr. V. Fedorkoutch.

The Resolution, on being put to the vote, was carried with enthusiasm.

TETE À TETE



Our Supporters.

We daresay it will take some time for our supporters to grasp fully the situation which we have to face on account of the reduced circulation of *The Comrade* during the last year. A decrease of about 500 subscribers in 1913 instead of an increase which was the rule before is not a small matter, nor indeed is the still unpaid arrears of Rs. 9,000 in two years a matter which should cause us no anxiety. We have no doubt whatever that our supporters will respond most generously to our appeal, but naturally a few days are not sufficient wherein to judge either justice or generosity. Had it been so their response to our appeal would have been quite unique in character, for during the week ending on the 12th instant only nine fresh subscribers were enlisted and we had to remove the names of no less than fifteen. The net result is *a decrease of six*! A skillful mathematician is required to compute the sums and ages in which we shall secure an increase of 2000 in our circulation at the rate of a *decrease* of six per week. We hope none of our subscribers will attempt this tremendous task, but that all would undertake the lighter duty of adding a new subscriber within the next few days. We shall also thank them to write to us volunteering their services as our bailiffs so that we may send them lists of defaulters in their neighbourhood. In this litigious country the fact is very well known that to secure a decree may be all the ten points in law but is not even one in fact. A world separates the execution from the decree and "law's delays" are nothing to those of "fact." But our *Qurq Ameens* are made of sterner stuff and we look forward to their making the recovery of nine thousand rupees a nine days' wonder. We trust they will apply to us soon for enlistment, for our rule is going to be "first come, first serve." Need we add the needless proviso, "No defaulter need apply"?

Jewels of Women.

The account which we have given of the enlistments and removals of subscribers for the current week was in type when to-day on the 14th instant we received two letters, one from a subscriber who has expressed great sympathy with us in our difficulties and has sent us the name of a new subscriber, and another from a still more enthusiastic supporter who has sent us *four* names from a very unpromising district as "some grist to our mill", promising that "more will follow." But what fills us with still greater hope is the offer of his wife to send us, if need be, her jewelry. Much has altered in our Motherland, and not a little for the better. But, good or bad, the spirit of *suttee* still survives, and although the blazing pyre no more adds a glow to the Indian twilight by rivers' banks, what household is there in India, Hindu or Moslem, in which a *suttee* or two does not smoulder through life? Glory be to the name of Bentinck and our own countryman, Ram Mohan Roy, but a hundred Bentincks and Ram Mohan Roys could not abolish this form of *suttee*. "Young India," which means chiefly the male of the species, does not show merely signs of a healthy discontent about the condition of Indian womanhood, but also occasionally a disgust which is unmanly and born of self-conceit combined with sloth. But if only "Young India," which bases its own superiority over the older generation of Indians on greater self-sacrifice, applied that standard to Indian womanhood, it would stand ashamed before the silent and, as it were, matter-of-course daily sacrifices of Indian women. Take the case of those "jewels" which are held ready as a sacrifice for us. How often has not "Young India," sneered at the barbaric display of jewelry by Indian women and condemned the absorbing love of jewels in them? And yet, how often have not these same jewels, so dearly loved by one sex and so greatly despised by the other, been quietly and uncomplainingly sub

cheerfully, been placed in the hands of a husband, a father or a brother to be sent to the pawn-broker's or to the melting pot of the goldsmith, to save the one loved still more dearly in a difficulty or to be squandered away on ceremony or even vice? We thank the dear sister that has volunteered so touchingly to come to our rescue, but such thanks as we can offer is a hopelessly weak expression of what we feel. We, however, trust we shall in some measure succeed in making our aggressively progressive "Young India" realise what jewels of women India possesses, and what a high standard of self-sacrifice Indian womanhood, with all its barbaric display of jewelry and its absorbing love of jewels, has set up for the manhood of India. Indian women have, we fear, such a great deal to learn. But, thank God, they have not to unlearn a quarter yet of what the men of India have learnt not wisely but too well in these days of egotism and advertisement.

We have received from Mirza Abbas Ali Baig Saheb, Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India the following important and interesting communication and we trust it will set some unfortunate controversies at rest. "It appears "that the comments of some of the Urdu "papers in India on Khwaja Kamal-ud-din's "activities in this country are based on an erroneous conception "of their true scope. The enclosed extract from today's issue of the "London *Times* may interest his critics and incline them to adopt "a more generous attitude towards him. They will be glad to "find on enquiry that the Khwaja's work here is fundamentaly "non-sectarian and characterized by so transparent a spirit of "Islamic catholicity as to attract to the congregations he addresses "in London and Woking both Moslems and Christians of all "shades of religions and philosophic thought. Had Khwaja Kamal-ud-din's views disclosed any schismatic taint and narrowness or "intolerance of outlook, detrimental in the slightest degree to the "solidarity of Islam, the Trustees of the Woking Mosque, the "Committee of the London Mosque Fund and the Islamic Society, "would not have extended to him their confidence and support. It "is to be hoped that a progressive and unifying movement against "disruptive tendencies, which in the past have done incalculable "harm to the moral and intellectual advancement of Moslems, will "receive the encouragement it deserves from all well-wishers and "all sections of the community." From our personal knowledge of the Khwaja Saheb and of his work we can support this statement whole-heartedly. We trust he will be generously assisted by all Mussalmans irrespective of their sects. As we go to press we learn with pleasure that two more ladies have embraced Islam. Miss Florence Pell and Mrs. Dutta. The Khwaja Saheb has commenced a series of lectures at Woking itself on Sunday afternoons which are attracting large audiences. It is not out of mere curiosity that more than half the number attend week after week. We rejoice at this and congratulate the Khwaja Saheb.

Khwaja Kamal-ud-din and his work in England.

Under the heading of "Aligarh Ideals" the *Pioneer* publishes a letter from an anonymous contributor. We confess we quake and tremble whenever we find even the name of Aligarh mentioned in the papers nowadays, for it is so frequently mentioned in the course of some foul libel on the Mussalmans of India and particularly on the so-called "Young Moslems." There was a time not so long ago when any mention of Aligarh affairs in these columns revived in the breasts of a particular set of people the desire to deport the editor or kill the paper, and now that we desire nothing else that the Mussalmans should be left in peace and their educational College should not be dragged into controversies that have nothing to do with education, we find "Aligarh," like Alice's Cheshire "Smile without the Cat" in *Alice in Wonderland*, everywhere. It is, however, some relief to have to record that the present contribution on "Aligarh Ideals" is of a different character from the loud and thunder libel of Mr. Lovat Fr—, we mean "Fraser," in the *National Review*. But the anonymous author is so reticent as if we say that his opinions are exceedingly tantalising. However we begin to think that he will pursue a theme to some conclusion when he sets out on the trail of another and equally interesting subject, which, in its turn, left in an impenetrable covert while the writer follows another scent. For instance, he makes the following observation that "a great Frenchman once said that he did not like to see the Monarchy made the prize of a race, but it is almost as sad to see the control of a great institution made the reward of a somewhat ignoble struggle." This made us stand on the tiptoe of expectation and look out for some revelation about the "ignoble struggle." But the theme is pursued no further and we are left to guess whether the writer really knows something of the reality of the parties and cliques of Aligarh or has merely heard in the Club some ill-informed oracle repeating hearsay and laying down the law after the manner of self-sufficient bureaucrats. Later on we are told that "a University especially "in its early days wants wise direction, united effort and peace." We do not know who would disagree with such an axiomatic observation; but we are told in the very next sentence that "the leaders of the Moslem world of India perhaps do not realise "the difficulties. They pay hurried visits to Europe—some of "them do not even think that process necessary—and then they are "sure that given necessary rupees everything will follow." This excites our curiosity but keeps it unsatisfied; for it is difficult to guess what Moslem leaders set such a great store by the "necessary rupees" and either "pay hurried visits to Europe" or "do not even think that process necessary." That does not, however, prevent our agreeing whole-heartedly with the observation that "men of "a kind can always be got for a certain sum of money, but the "right men are not always on the market, and they may not "want to come." If this refers, as we think it does, to European tutors, the writer only says that to which we have repeatedly drawn attention. We can never ignore the economic aspect of the question, but money by itself is not a sufficient, nor indeed the main attraction of educational work. Education is notoriously the worst paid profession all the world over; but it is the most highly honoured profession, and while learning attracts learning, ignorance only attracts ignorance.

"Aligarh Ideals."

"Their Own Way."

Another observation of the writer will be read with interest. "Wherever," he writes, "you get English "men together in an institution, they "will try to run it; and in nine cases out of "ten they well run it well in their own way. But this does not suit "Young Islam. They also want to manage what is their own affair, "and it is a good sign that they have such a desire and have it strongly." We shall not question the competence of Englishmen to run an institution well in nine cases out of ten, and even Englishmen will not question their desire to run it wherever ten of them happen to get together. But what is so important to remember is that whether they run it well or ill, they will run it "in their own way." Now, it is not only "Young Islam" that wants to manage what is its own, but every progressive section of the people all the world over. In this "Young Islam" is guilty of nothing that is not a universal crime among progressive people. And if "Young India" wants seats in Executive Councils, mixed Committees of officials and non-officials to recommend changes in administration and initiate legislation, and more appointments in the highest grades of the Public Services in India, is "Young Islam" to be denounced for its desire to manage what is peculiarly its own? But that is not all. Whether it is permitted to share in the work of teaching at Aligarh or not, it insists on having the institution run in its own way and not in the way of the almost invariably competent Decimvirs of the English race. For if an essentially Moslem institution is not run in an essentially Moslem way, it is better to sell the place to Government or to some Missionary Society as a going concern and assist Moslem scholars with the funds thus set free. Why will the numerous authorities on Aligarh ideals always forget the main fact about Aligarh that it was the product of an educational revolt of Indian Mussalmans against the educational ideals and methods of a Government openly committed to a policy which has been so inappropriately designated as "undenominational" and of Missionary Societies equally openly committed to Christian "denominationalism." This is not a case of "might have been" nor of memories being mistaken for hopes. The writer need offer no sympathy to the "Young" party and recognise that "Sir Syed's "policy made its own continuance very difficult." This was the policy of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who would place none but Mussalmans on the Board of Trustees. Now, unless we are assured that the Trustees are only a "Committee of Ways and Means" that must provide the "necessary rupees" and have no other work to do, we should like to be told what is the function of a Board of one hundred and twenty Mussalmans chosen from every Province of India except the laying down of the policy on which Aligarh is to be conducted. So long as Indian Mussalmans are not in the position of the Japanese who sent out their best men to Europe and America to qualify themselves for the work of teaching their countrymen and employed them for the purpose on their return to the exclusion of men of all other nationalities, Aligarh would have to rely on the co-operation of English experts. Naturally, it is essential for a cordial co-operation that such experts must be attracted to Aligarh by the offer of good salaries, the companionship of ripe scholars and the honour due to one of the noblest professions in the world. If Mussalmans, whether "Young" or "Old," fail in this, they will fail to get the experts

of requisite qualifications. We have always said that an institution which requires martyrs to run it will soon end in being run by cheats. Therefore, the punishment of niggardliness and unfriendly behaviour on the part of Indian Musselmans would be a total stoppage of the recruitment as tutors of the kind of men without whose assistance Aligarh cannot be run satisfactorily to-day. But here we must add that Government too should not cast greedy eyes on the staffs of private Colleges nor allow an impression to be created that every man who can pick up a quarrel with the managers of such institutions becomes a first charge on the Education Department of the Government in the sacred name of Prestige.

Aligarh and Politics.

THERE is only one more observation of writer of the letter to the *Pioneer* to which we shall refer. We fully agree with what H. H. the Begam Saheba of Bhopal said about students and politics and we are sure that Aligarh students even now follow her advice. With Her Highness's excellent and characteristic speeches we propose to deal at length in our next. But the author of the *Pioneer* letter has evidently failed to grasp both the meaning of Her Highness' advice and the significance of the interest taken by "Young Islam" in Aligarh. He writes "the warning "of H. H. the Begam of Bhopal, that politics should be left outside, is "significant. But can they be left outside? The fact is that "Mohamedans are strongly and rightly political now. The most "important public they have, so far as influence and decision go, "is the student public; just as it is in the case of the Hindus. "He who leads the students leads either community, tomorrow if "not to-day. And while the educated body is so small this must "be so and it is folly to shut our eyes to the fact. The politicians "appeal to the students and the student—well he doesn't mind being "appealed to." Now, Aligarh is and has always been the nursery of the future leaders of the Moslem community. It is and has always been, like Oxford, a microcosm of national life. It thinks to-day what Moslem India must inevitably think a year or two later, and it thinks with all the energy and intensity of youth. Whensoever the leaven may come, it is bound to ferment readily, and Aligarh must always distribute the forces, social, religious and political, throughout Moslem India. But it is not the happy hunting ground of would-be political leaders in quest of a following. It is the duty of the leaders of Moslem thought, social, religious and political, to see that the forces which it is the function of Aligarh to distribute must be beneficent and not otherwise, and that the leaven which makes Aligarh ferment so readily must be the very best. But, whether it is social, religious or political, it must be of an academic character, and an Aligarh undergraduate should no more be encouraged to leave his work as a student in order to swell the audience at political meetings or lengthen out political processions than to preach at street corners on temperance or wrangle with missionaries in the market-place on the doctrine of Atonement or the Transmigration of Souls. The best men in Moslem India must address their appeals to the student, in order to improve him and furnish him with right ideals, and he, well, he must not only not mind but must welcome such appeals. But he who appeals to the student as a prospective disciple in religion or follower in politics abuses a trust and should not be allowed anywhere within a four-mile radius of the College. And if the politician is wise he will himself refrain from such tactics. He who plucks the unripe fruit must expect to find it sour. No one outside a still powerful set at Aligarh has tried to "capture" the student, but the result even in that case has been a dismal failure. The Aligarh undergraduate is shrewd enough to fight shy of artificial affection and knows only too well what some people older than he is have not yet realized.

نہ تبسم کی ضرورت نہ نگہ کی حاجت

نہیں جز دل کی توسل کوئی دل آنی میں

(There is neither need of smiles nor of bewitching glances. A heart needs no intermediary to capture a heart.) Aligarh, as the writer of the *Pioneer* letter says, is after all the most interesting educational institution in India, and if only—and we supply the words left out by the writer—it is left in peace by officialdom, it would go on as well as its *true* well-wishers ever thought and hoped. It is the heart of Moslem India, and he who would capture the heart of Moslem India must capture the heart of Aligarh. The rest is only too easy.

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The Comrade.

Rewards and their Results.

IT is seldom that we comment on the proceedings or results of criminal trials of any sort, even though they be connected with allegations of sedition. Such of our readers as have a taste for sensations can always satisfy their appetite by feeding on the accounts published at great length by our daily contemporaries. On one or two occasions when we have departed from this rule it has been because of special features in the cases, and no one will deny that the McCormick case, of which we are still hearing the echo, and the Cawnpore Mosque case were out of the ordinary run of criminal cases.

We must confess we lacked even the ordinary curiosity of the "man in the street" in the case which had for some time been going on in the Presidency Magistrate's court and subsequently in the High Court of Calcutta in which Nirmal Kanto Roy was charged with the murder of Inspector Nripendra Nath Ghose, abetment of that charge, murder of Ananta Teli, and culpable homicide not amounting to murder in respect of Ananta Teli.

It is very unlikely that we would have been roused from our stupor even by the result of the High Court trial were it not for the circumstance that an extraordinary incident took place some six weeks ago in connection with this case on which our esteemed contemporary the *Pioneer* commented as follows:—"Every one," wrote the *Pioneer*, "who likes to see Government do the right thing will be pleased to read the account "of the police parade on the Calcutta Maidan on Monday at which "Lord and Lady Carmichael being present, Sir Frederick Halliday "distributed rewards to those who had been instrumental in the "*capture of the murderer of Inspector Nripendra Nath Ghose.* Four "Constables and two townspeople who seized the man and wrested "away his revolver received a present of Rs. 750, and three others "who assisted smaller sums. The rewards are not only liberal in "themselves but they will gain enormously in value by the prompt "titude and the impressive manner of their bestowal. In a re-"markable speech the Commissioner of Police drove home the "significance of the occasion to his audience. . . . Nothing could "be better calculated to encourage the Police at this trying season "than such a speech."

The italics, we hasten to point out, are ours, but the trial by journalism is entirely the *Pioneer's*. Fortunately for the accused, unlike the United Provinces, they have a trial by jury in Bengal instead of a trial by journalism, and the result of this other trial was that the jury returned on the 11th March a unanimous verdict on the two charges of the murder of Inspector Nripendra Nath Ghose and of Ananta Teli, on which a verdict of acquittal would be recorded.

It is true that on the minor counts of abetment of murder and of culpable homicide not amounting to murder the verdict of the jury was not unanimous, the disagreement being in the proportion of 5 to 4.

A reference to the proceedings shows that according to the case for the defence, argued with characteristic brilliance and eloquence by Mr. Eardly Norton, not one of the three bullets alleged by the Crown to have been fired at Inspector Ghose and found in his body was fired from the pistol alleged to have been so gallantly wrested away from the accused by those whom the Commissioner of Police had rewarded, for the simple reason that the bullets extracted from the Inspector's body were ·360 bullets which weigh 134 grains, while the weight of a bullet in a ·450 calibre pistol such as was, we presume, alleged to have been wrested away from the accused is 225 grains. That evidently was conclusive evidence as regards the charge of murder of Inspector Nripendra Nath Ghose on which the *Pioneer* had given its deliberate verdict of guilty as early as on the 28th January last.

As regards the charge of shooting Ananta Teli, Mr. Norton based the defence, among other things, on the facts that the pistol alleged to have been wrested from the accused contained two exploded cartridges, that as three and only three shots were positively alleged by the witnesses for the Crown to have been fired at Inspector Ghose for each of which there was a ·360 bullet—such as could not have been fired from a 450 pistol—in the deceased Inspector's body, and as only one exploded cartridge could be accounted for by the shooting of the boy Ananta Teli, the Crown could not explain the second exploded cartridge in the pistol. Moreover, the jury were told, according to Mr. Norton with the "insuperable difficulty that if the accused fired the first exploded cartridge, he could not have

fired the second exploded cartridge, because between the two there was a cartridge still loaded." He also argued at great length about the doctrine of chances about the wresting away of the revolver from the accused in the earlier stages of the police inquiry.

Mr. Norton submitted to the jury that "this revolver was put into my client's hands." "That followed logically," said Mr. Norton, "as night followed day. The case for the prosecution was that the accused had this revolver in his hand at the Sova Bazar crossing, the Chitpore Road and all the devious lanes and streets through which he was alleged to have run, and that he was caught red-handed with this revolver in his hand in Musjid Bari Street. The story, however, has been contradicted and demolished by the evidence of the revolver itself. It had been suggested by the prosecution that this revolver jumped frightfully, ... and all that I would say in connection with that was that the Oxford and Cambridge sports were not in it with this revolver." Mr. Norton said that his client complained that he was robbed in Musjid Bari Street of his watch a ring and his money. It was impossible, he said, under the circumstance for his client to call evidence to prove what he was doing there. The accused was in the hands of the police. His case was that he was seized and robbed by *goondas* in Musjid Bari Street and the crowd reached with the police after he had been caught. "In this country," said Mr, Norton, "the accused could not go into the box and testify in his own favour. In England it was different ; but here the law would not allow the accused to give evidence. The accused was the sole man who could speak in his own defence, but the law said "' You cannot,' and the Crown said, ' Hang him.' "

We do not know what the jury thought of each argument on the side of the defence, but it is certain that it unanimously declared the accused not guilty of the murders of Inspector Ghose and Ananta Lal, and even on the minor charges disagreed in the proportion of 5 to 4. The discussion of forty minutes had resulted in such a difference of opinion, which according to the Foreman of the jury, was "on a vital point which seems to affect the whole case," so that a second retirement for ten minutes showed that the jurors were still divided on the minor charges in the same proportion.

A fresh trial on these charges has, therefore, been ordered; but it is worth asking whether this result has justified the rewards which, according to the Allahabad Oracle, were not only liberal in themselves but which had gained enormously in value "by the promptitude and the impressive manner of their bestowal." Surely the results of such "promptitude" seem now to be far from "impressive."

We were told by the *Pioneer* that the Police Commissioner's speech on the occasion of the reward-giving parade was "remarkable" and that it "drove home the significance of the occasion to his audience." It was also stated that "nothing could be better calculated to encourage the police at this trying season." Well, a hardly less remarkable speech was made by Mr. Norton a few days ago in the course of his defence of the accused, and we hope we may trust that the result of the trial will drive home the "significance of the occasion" to the world at large, including the Calcutta Police Commissioner. Nothing could be better calculated to discourage the police in certain regrettable tendencies, but we hope the result of Mr. Norton's brilliant defence would offer at least some slight hope to the accused "at this trying season." We offer no apology for giving a very long extract from Mr. Norton's speech, for it is its own justification. Mr. Norton said :—

> Mr. Mitter has done great injustice to me by saying that I hinted or insinuated or wished to hint or insinuate, that these rewards were given by the government or the Commissioner of Police as bribes. I never said so and I never intended to say so, and I did not even think so. If I even thought so I would not have hesitated for a minute to make a remark, even with regard to the Commissioner of Police, and nothing would have made me shrink from my duty if there was any evidence. I am quite willing to admit that this was done with an honest intention by the Government. I am quite willing to admit that the Commissioner Police, being an English gentleman, would not stoop to bribe a witness. It never was my intention to suggest that in cross-examination. I cross-examined for a different purpose. It was for the purpose of showing that all the witnesses had received their rewards as having captured the murderer of the Inspector at a time when my client was lying under committal in the Police Court and had publicly proclaimed his innocence. I say the whole of the transaction was a gross travesty of justice. I say that never within living memory has there ever been a greater contempt of court. Here was a man protesting his innocence and he was entitled by all the laws of England to a fair, open and impartial trial. What was the idea of calling a public meeting over which His Excellency the Governor to preside, when the whole object was to declare to the world, as was done that day, that police officers and others were being rewarded because they had captured the murderer of the Inspector. That is the case you have been called upon to try to-day. I do not think a case uglier or more infamous than it is against the man who stands. I say this, and I will maintain this to the end, that a more injudicious exhibition of official zeal was never displayed before inside the four corners of a Court House and while this man, my client, was proclaiming his innocence and was entitled to be treated as an innocent person. I do not say that it was done intentionally, but to attend that parade, to take this photograph, and to proclaim that this boy was a murderer, and that these men were being rewarded because they had captured him was to trespass upon one of the greatest and most essential principles of English law. This is how far I intended to carry, but it has another further consequence of an equally lamentable character because the accused was under trial. Who knows what effect it has had on the minds of some of you, and if it has had some effect on you, who knows what difficulties I shall have to contend against to remove any impression that might have been caused by such an unwarrantable practice as this. I suggest that the commonest chivalry should have made the Commissioner of Police wait till the termination of this case before he rewarded these men in public on the plea that they had captured the murderer of the Inspector. There was no need for haste. Their bravery would have waited to be rewarded afterwards, till the conclusion of this case. At any rate, my client would not have been prejudiced in this manner. The accused would have been free from the stigma which has been thrown upon him and the suspicion of the Commissioner of Police and the Government must prevent him having a fair trial as he was in the eyes of the Government a murderer. It has also another effect. Here you are going to pay large sums of money to witnesses of the class of those who have given evidence in this case, and to policemen who are illiterate and who owe all that they have to the generosity of the Government for the services they offer to the Crown. Do you think you will make it less difficult for these men to speak the truth? I do not wish to suggest that the Government bribed these men to tell lies, but do you think you would make it easier for them to speak the truth by paying them large sums of money? Do you not bind them to yourself by a strong bond of misplaced loyalty and gratitude? I say that you do. Look at it from whatever standpoint you like ; the whole proceeding was illegitimate and unjust and improper and I was surprised to hear my learned friend Mr. Mitter justifying it from first to last. Now it has had a twofold consequence upon this unhappy boy, and I am entitled to put it to you that in the first place it has raised a mass of prejudice against him which my poor efforts may be absolutely unavailing to break down, and secondly it has stiffened up these witnesses, who with the payment in their pockets would give evidence for the Crown and try to defeat justice by denying everything in cross-examination that is put to them. These are serious embarrassments and I am bound to say that it has created a prejudice between my client and his safety, and I am entitled to comment upon it. I ask you to recollect that every police officer Ram Bhujan, Debi Goala, Radha Shyam Singh, Abdul Gaffur and all of those who have received a reward of Rs. 750, are to that extent labouring under a disqualification which it would be difficult to remove.

This is not the first time that the Police has been publicly commended and even rewarded in a manner which appeared to prejudice the defence in a case *sub judice* at the time, but we hope that, having availed himself of the opportunity that at last offered itself in this case, Mr. Norton has succeeded in making it the last bad precedent. If so, not only will the public owe much to him, but, to use the words of our Allahabad contemporary, nothing could be better calculated to encourage the police to rely on their own honest and strenuous efforts for acquiring a better reputation for detective work. It is no use for the Police to depend on reward-giving parades for its reputation and to neglect for some days such obvious matters as the difference in bores between the revolvers alleged to have been used in a case of double murder. As for Government, surely its credit is not so low with its Police Force that the price of honest and gallant service must be tendered before honesty and gallantry could even be tested. The Indian Army is paid none too lavishly, and yet far more honest and gallant service is rendered by it—and long may it continue to be rendered—while everybody must have heard of war medals being awarded to the troops long after some of the men had passed out of this world un-"honoured" though not unwept. That proves that there are enough honest and gallant men in India, but the way to discover them and to preserve their honesty and gallantry is not to appeal to less lofty motives by parading rewards before having an opportunity to parade the results.

The Price of Peace.

Mr. Asquith's remarkable speech in introducing the Second Reading of the Home Rule Bill marks a new stage in the efforts of the Liberal Government towards the settlement of the historic Irish question. It is a clear, frank and impressive statement of the policy which the Government has been forced to adopt as a very grudging concession to Carsonism and militant Ulsteria. Mr. Asquith does not disguise it from himself that he has been driven into a course which is opposed alike to his political faith and his judgment. But the grim and gaunt ghosts which the Ulster fanatics had summoned from the vasty deeps of religious hate and secular pride and intolerance threatened Ireland with chaos and had to be laid to rest. The exclusion of the Ulster counties from the scope of the Home Rule measure, ostensibly for a period of six years, which the Liberal Government is now willing to concede, is, as Mr. Asquith said, the price of peace. The threat of civil war has succeeded in its aim. The compromise, the eternal curse—or—glory of British politics has triumphed over logic and principle and paved the way for a final settlement. The danger of civil strife has virtually passed. And

though the taste for mock-heroics which the Ulsterites have acquired in the course of a year may yet continue to show itself through tall and lusty phrases for a while, the martial hordes of "General" Carson seem already flitting off the stage to take up their old, peaceful, though less showy roles and the right of rebellion no longer needs to go through the extreme physical test.

The settlement of the old Irish question is now definitely within sight. There may be a few more alarums and excursions through which the Tories may vent their wrath and chagrin, but Carsonism has ceased to be an incalculable terror now. Whether the provisional features of the settlement will grow permanent, and Ulster remain a separate administrative unit is not a question of vital importance at this stage. The main thing is that Ireland's dream of Home Rule is about to be realised after the travail of effort of centuries. What this effort has signified in British history we need not pause to consider. It is enough to remember that the bulk of the Irish people have in all stages of their connection with Great Britain been keenly alive to a sense of their national individuality. Their language, old history, religion, and culture have always combined to keep their national spirit indestructible. Their united efforts had always been directed towards the attainment of self-government, and they have submitted to sacrifices in their tenacious loyalty to the ideal which in the aggregate are little short of the heroic. Their struggle as a race has few parallels in history. Through conflicts, reverses and utter defeats, through periods of intense suffering, agony and moral exhaustion, their courage has never failed and their intense national sentiment has cried resolutely aloud for self-realisation. One of the most powerful parties in British politics had early branded their demand as rank treason. But British Liberalism has throughout been a faithful champion of Irish nationalism and cheerfully shared the misfortunes which the latter had uniformly had to suffer before the present Liberal Government came into power. Gladstone's herculean efforts to embody the natural Irish Nationalist aspirations in some form of Home Rule were wrecked twice after fierce struggles, and when his second Home Rule Bill was rejected it seemed as if the deep-seated and obstinate suspicions of Toryism would always prove too devastating a force for the success of the Irish cause. The shattered ranks of Liberalism, however, recovered their strength after many years, and in the meantime Irish Nationalism had gained still more in force and cogency. When the Liberals came into office after ploughing the sands of Opposition for upwards of a decade, the settlement of the Irish question was announced to be one of their foremost tasks. They had not, however, forgotten their one great handicap in the shape of the Lords' veto to all effective Liberal legislation. After a long and fierce struggle the House of Lords was first shorn of its powers and thus the way was cleared for important Liberal measures. The Home Rule Bill came to be introduced in due course.

It became manifest soon after the debate over the first reading of the Bill that the Tory opposition, though it roared with all the ferocity of time-honoured invective and abuse, had in reality lost its old fire and energy of conviction. But the campaign had to be undertaken with every brave show of passion and outraged feelings in the interest of the party game. The Tories were in sad need of a rallying cry. The Tariff Reform propaganda had fallen flat, and no other cry seemed to be available that could whip up enough enthusiasm in the Tory rank and file. And Home Rule cries had done splendid service in the past. Passionate memories thickly clustered round them and they were replete with accents that could be trusted to rekindle the old pugnacity if iterated with sufficient force. Accordingly the Tory leaders set to work. It is, however, a curious fact that the challenge of Unionism found every feeble echoes in Great Britain. The masses in England and Scotland could no longer endure the boredom of having to discuss perpetually how Ireland was to be governed. But Ulster was still in Ireland herself, with its powerful Protestant minority and its landlords and it could be trusted to save the situation. So Ulster became the centre of the fight, the cry of despairing Unionism and the manœuvring ground of its infuriated champions. Ulster was set up to defy Great Britain and the rest of Ireland. Carsonism came to birth with its solemn covenants and its volunteers who declared themselves ready to fight against His Majesty's forces if Paliament passed and enforced the Home Rule measure. The whole thing seemed at first a joke and a farce as it actually was. We are sure even Sir Edward Carson did not in his early drills and parades take himself seriously. He was simply organising a vast threat to disconcert the Liberals and more particularly to stick out a peg by which the disintegrated Tory forces could hang together. But the joke soon grew into something earnest and grim. A defiant Ulster with a resolutely set purpose rose out of the artificial agitation. We do not know with what feelings the Tory firebrands looked on this terrible weapon which would certainly smash them if they hesitated to use it against the King, the Parliament and the nation as a whole. It was in this dread situation that the most reverent upholders of established authority and the Constitution lighted on "the-right-of-rebellion" argument. This desperate doctrine with all its implications has travelled and been studied far beyond the British Isles, and we should like to hear what Sir Edward Carson and his Tory henchmen will have to say when it comes home to roost.

The threat of Ulster soon grew into a real danger, and the Liberal Government slowly but inevitably began to feel that it will have to modify its original Home Rule measure if the calamity of a civil war was to be averted. Serious and reponsible men on both sides began to talk of the virtues of settlement by consent. Proposals for a conference of Liberal and Tory leaders became general, but Mr. Asquith was rightly opposed to the idea, for in the absence of a common basis for discussion any such conference must have been abortive. The Tory opposition to the Irish Home Rule Bill was not simply based on its organic features and form; it was based on the principle itself. According to the Tory attitude Ireland not only did not want Home Rule, but also it should never be granted Home Rule even if it cried for it with one united voice. The Ulster agitation was primarily directed to wreck the measure; "the rights and interests of minority" were tacked on to it only to make it look legitimate and respectable. The idea of a conference was naturally derided in responsible Liberal quarters. There were "informal conversations" among the Party leaders, but they led to no tangible results. The Government saw the danger and decided to formulate its own proposals which while intended to conciliate Ulster would not interfere with the basic principle of the measure. At the opening of Parliament Mr. Asquith announced that he would soon lay the Government proposals before the House. These proposals have now been definitely submitted, and it is difficult to conceive that the Government could go further in its desire to meet the Opposition in a conciliatory spirit without destroying the principle of the Bill. Mr. Asquiths proposals amount to the offer of a free choice to the Ulster counties between an exclusion from or incorporation in the area to be administered according to the Bill by an Irish Executive responsible to an Irish Legislature. The exclusion period will last for six years, the excluded counties "would come in after six years, unless the Imperial Government determined otherwise." According to Reuter, an impression prevails in the Lobby that a great advance has been made towards a settlement of the Home Rule question and that the menace of civil war has certainly disappeared. The discussion in the Commons "is not accepted as conclusive, and the position is admittedly difficult, "but it is hoped that a further debate will lead to a compromise." The Opposition is now trying to fasten on some point which might serve to prolong the struggle, but in their failure to find such a point they are driven to take up such broken reeds as "the period of exclusion, which they say is too short." The fact is that the Tory leaders have been completely nonplussed. The wind has been taken out of their sails. The Home Rule battle is practically over. Ulster wanted separation, union with Great Britain and "clean cut" from the rest of Ireland. It has been taken at its own words and given the option to accept either alternative. We await further developments on the Tory side with some curiosity. The Liberal Government has so far handled the situation with great adroitness and resource and they are now within a measurable distance of their goal. They have piloted a difficult measure through the House of Commons and it will be to their lasting glory when it is permanently placed on the Statute Book. A great historic wrong would be righted. Nationalisms in every country would derive wholesome inspiration from the Irish example, although the ideals of Ireland have taken may toiling generations to fructify.

♣ Verse.

The Path to Heaven.

Disowning claims of kindred and of clime,
My errant thoughts did wander far from home
And in all lands beneath heaven's starry dome
I saw my country; oft on wings sublime
Of Fancy borne, which neither space nor time
Could stay, my daring spirit sought to roam
Beyond the earth. But when the mystic tome
Of nature showed her record since the prime
Of Man's creation, and I paused to scan
That baffling mystery—the soul of man,
I learnt that of the immortal yearnigs given,
To realise the promise of her birth,
The path lies oft through th' humblest things on earth,
Through commonest duties, reaching up to Heaven!

NIZAMAT JA-

The King's Real Speech.

What his Majesty Would Like to have Said.

At the time of going to Press, we have not seen the King's Speech, with which Parliament will have been officially opened on Tuesday; but we print below what his Majesty would have asked his Ministers to let him say, Here it is:—

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,—

My relations with all foreign powers continue to be of the most friendly and cordial character; but notwithstanding this satisfactory state of affairs, I require several more battleships of the latest and most formidable type, and a much larger Fleet for Home Defence, being satisfied that the friendship of my continental neighbours will ripen in proportion to the strength of my armaments.

I am sorry that my Canadian Dominion did not ratify the personal promise made by its Prime Minister of the gift of two 'Dreadnoughts' to my Navy. In view, however, of the cosmopolitan character of the Canadian population the defeat of the suggestion is not a matter for surprise, there having been evidences amongst it, for some time past, of a growing spirit of independence towards the Mother Country, and of a tendency to closer alliance with the neighbouring States of the American Republic. In these circumstances, my Ministers are to be congratulated upon their foresight in not having acceded to the suggestion by the Leader of the Oppositon of a vote of thanks to the Dominion for the two ships. Whilst on the subject of Canada, I desire to express sympathy with the large number of my poorer subjects who have been inveigled by specious misrepresentations of Canadian Emigration Agents into leaving my shores, only to find themselves in a worse plight on arrival in the already overcrowded labour market of the Dominion.

I regret the Industrial disturbances which have recently occurred in South Africa, and that they should have led to the necessity, in the opinion of the Union Government, to deport a body of British subjects from the Colony. Such a step should, in the opinion of my Ministers, have been taken only as a last resource, and then not until after consultation with my Governor-General, and, through him, with the Home Government, which in any case should have been consulted before the individuals in question were shipped to England. Whilst fully recognising the autonomy of the South African Union, its Government must ever bear in mind the fact that it rests upon the unstable foundation of military conquest, and that for many years to come its policy should be dictated by a vigilant regard to the susceptibilities to the British race.

The condition of affairs in my Indian Empire gives cause for some uneasiness, and I regret that certain of my faithful Commons, when visiting its shores, at times display a lack of appreciation of the delicacy of the thread which binds many millions of the coloured races to my sway and which may at any time snap as the result of injudicious utterances on the part of public men. It is my earnest desire to extend to all the races as far as is practicable the blessings of freedom, but I am convinced that before they are fit to enjoy the rights and privileges of Western civilisation, they must pass through a natural process of human evolution.

I deplore the present conditions of affairs in Ireland. Whilst satisfied that my Ministers are genuinely desirous of removing the fundamental cause of the long standing dissatisfaction on the part of the majority of the Irish people with the existing system of government, I regret that in formulating their measures with that object in view they did not take sufficiently into account the sentiments of the Protestant population of North-East Ulster, and that it has been only as the result of armed demonstration by that section of my people that the true situation has been revealed. I cannot believe that, menaced as my Empire is by so many outside dangers, you will fail me in finding an amicable and honourable solution of the present deadlock. If a substantial portion of the Irish people are satisfied to remain under my present rule, it would appear both unfair and impolitic to force any change upon them; whilst on the other hand the time has undoubtedly arrived when a great effort should be made to recognise that unsatisfied sentiment of nationality—on the part mainly of the Catholic population—which has so long been a source of discord in the internal politics of the United Kingdom. Between these two extremes I am convinced the resources of wise and patriotic statesmanship will not fail to find a compromise. If necessary, a period of further delay must be allowed, during which my best effort for a settlement, and, to that end, I shall not hesitate to suspend my assent to the measure now before Parliament should it be sent to me at an early date. My first duty is to avoid civil war within my own dominions.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,—

Estimates will be laid before you in due course for the expenses of the various public services. I regret that the provocative and unjustifiable naval ambition of certain foreign Powers renders necessary a large addition to the naval strength of the Empire. The only alternative to this course would appear to be for my Government to intimate at once to such Powers that in the view of Great Britain their legitimate requirements do not demand any expansion of their naval resources, and to request that in the interests of international peace no further augmentation should occur. I am satisfied that such a representation, supported as it would be by whatever personal influence my own House is capable of exercising with other reigning dynasties, would have the effect of ending the present disastrous race in naval armaments and of liberating for profitable employment vast sums of money now employed on wasteful and unproductive purposes.

The Army, too, will entail heavy demands upon the public purse. My vast possessions render necessary a perpetual drain upon the regular forces, and if Great Britain is to be immune from danger it is of urgent importance that the Home Defence should be strengthened.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—

The following Bills will be submitted to you:—

A Bill to compel every boy who receives free education to join the Territorial Force, thus repaying the State for the benefits he has received.

A Bill to compel Bankers to disclose all dormant balances and unclaimed securities in their possession and to hand the same over to the Public Trustee.

A Bill to tax Betting, Stock and Share Speculations, Advertisements, theatre tickets and bachelors.

A Bill for the re-organisation of the Board of Trade, the removal of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the speaker of the Irish Parliament from its membership, and the setting up of a Tariff Committee to prevent the abuse of the freedom of British ports.

A Bill to provide that in future the President of the Board of Trade shall be a person of commercial training and experience; the President of the Board of Agriculture, an Agriculturist; The Chancellor of the Exchequer, a Financier; the First Lord of the Admiralty, a Sailor; and the Minister for War, a Soldier.

In conclusion, I rejoice to observe signs of a saner conception of government on the part of my people. It is gradually becoming recognised that Parliament should be the Business Committee of the Empire.

Now Get to Work.—*John Bull.*

The India Office and Mr. Montague.

MR. RICHARD BURBIDGE, the head of Harrods mamoth stores in Brompton, has been writing to the *Daily Mail* to protest against the constant changes of Postmaster-General, of which the latest has just been announced. He observes that the office, "which involves the control of an industry bringing in receipts of over thirty-two millions and the management of some 300,000 employees, is a highly technical business demanding great knowledge and experience."

It is a pity that Mr. Burbidge has no time to look outside the circumference of his immediate business circle. For every word he writes about the Postmaster-General can be applied with still greater force to the Under-Secretary of State for India. This office, even more than the other, "is regarded as a mere trial ground for young and promising politicians." Since the Liberal party came into office in December, 1905, there have been five Under-Secretaries for India:—

Mr. John E. Ellis (December, 1905-December, 1906).
Mr. C. E. H. Hobhouse (January, 1907-April, 1908).
Mr. T. R. Buchanan (April, 1908-June, 1909).
The Master of Elibank (June, 1909-February, 1910).
Hon. E. S. Montague (February, 1910-February, 1914).

It will be said that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Asquith have done nothing worse than act in accordance with precedent: and, indeed, that is true. For here is the record of the previous Conservative administration:—

The Earl Onslow (1895-1900).
The Earl of Hardwicke (1900-1902).
Earl Percy (1902-1903).
The Earl of Hardwicke (1903-1904).
The Marquess of Bath (January-December, 1905).

Two wrongs do not, however, make a right: and, if we are to apportion blame, there is at least this to be said for Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour, that their two Secretaries for State, Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Brodrick, sat throughout in the House of Commons. Lord Morley, on the other hand, took the earliest opportunity of removing the office to the House of Lords, where it has

remained ever since : and it is this fact which renders the personality of the Under-Secretary with such importance under present circumstances. Before Mr. Montague came upon the scene in February, 1910, his four predecessors averaged just about a year in office apiece. Sultan after Sultan abode his destined hour and went his way.

Mr. Montague has succeeded in establishing a different record. He has on four separate occasions "explained" the Indian Budget statement to the House of Commons : and beginning badly in July, 1910, with a violent and wholly misconceived onslaught on Mr. Mackarnese, has steadily improved until it has become no exaggeration to say that he has won the confidence both of the House of Commons and of the Indian reformer. It is true that there has always been a tendency to be didactic. There was too much of the pontifex maximus about him, and he was inclined to be unduly patronising. But these faults may readily be forgiven in view of the breath of fresh air which he has brought into the official handling of Indian questions in Parliament. We fancy he was immensely relieved when the advent of Lord Crewe gave him a wider scope for his ability than the mere alternation of Liberal commonplaces with a defence of illiberal methods of repression. When he was given his head he took it. No Under-Secretary, we venture to say, has ever infused so much of the fresh air of Liberalism into the stuffy-bureaucratic atmosphere of the India Office. Year by year he has committed them beyond hope of recall to a growing breadth of outlook and a sympathetic appreciation of the ambition of the educated Indian to have a real share in the government of the country. His visit to India had, it was hoped, placed the seal upon his labours : for he would now be able to confront the Struldbrugs of the India Council with the results of an examination of modern Indian conditions freshly made on the spot.

Dis aliter visum. He has been caught up in the Ministerial merry-go-round : and has been chosen to succeed Mr. Masterman as Financial Secretary to the Treasury. In fullness of time he will, no doubt, enter the Cabinet : for his new office is the recognised waiting-room : and that is the only consolation that can be extracted from his promotion. We think he will make an excellent Secretary of State for India : and we hope that he will eventually be found in that post, and that for once in a way previous knowledge and experience will not be held to constitute a bar insuperable.

The New Under Secretary.

To the new Under-Secretary, Mr. C. H. Roberts, who has been Liberal member for Lincoln since 1906, we offer a cordial welcome. His interest in India has almost entirely manifested itself hitherto in temperance matters. He was a member of the deputation which waited upon Lord Crewe in July, 1912, in connexion with the question of Excise administration in India : and moved an amendment on the Indian Budget statement in August of the same year, which dealt both with that subject and with the opium traffic. He is married to a daughter of Lady Carlisle, and is the brother-in-law of Professor Gilbert Murray, the Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, whose sympathy with Indian reformers is well known. In his early days he was a don at Exeter College, Oxford, and both then and as an undergraduate at Balliol, made no secret of his uncompromising Radicalism. We hope that he will carry some of it into the performance of his new duties. He has not previously held office as a Minister, but when presiding over the Parliamentary Committee last year which enquired into the Putumayo rubber scandals, he exhibited a businesslike capacity and a determination to get at the facts which augurs well for the future.

Press Laws in India and Egypt.

Conference at the Westminster Palace Hotel.

(Special Report for "India.")

A Conference called by the Nationalities and Subject Races Committee was opened at the Westminster Palace Hotel on Monday afternoon last (February 16), when the Press Laws in India and Egypt were discussed. There was a good attendance.

Sir Henry Cotton presided, and in the absence of Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., who, with Mr. John Dillon, M.P., was detained at the House of Commons, moved the following resolution :—

That this conference, believing that the free expression of the people's mind through a responsible and independent Press is necessary for the healthy development of a civilised State, demands the repeal of the Indian Press Act of 1910 and the remission of the harsh sentences which have been carried out under its operation. This conference, furthermore, proposes that a memorial be drawn up appealing to H. H. the Khedive and the Legislative Assembly of Egypt to consider the abolition of the Press Laws of 1881, which have been revived in all their rigour since 1909, and the amnesty of the poets and journalists who have been condemned to imprisonment under those laws.

Speech by Sir Henry Cotton.

In the course of his speech, Sir Henry Cotton, while welcoming Ferid Bey as one who had rendered signal service to the cause of free speech in Egypt, said that he should address himself principally to the Indian aspect of the question. The Press Act in India was passed in 1910, at a time of considerable panic, and it was a law of most drastic character. It authorised the executive to take security from newspapers and to forfeit that security, and then again to raise the security and forfeit it once more, and ultimately to seize and confiscate the press itself. He need hardly say that if any newspaper were to stimulate the community to acts of violence, whether against any section of the community or against the Government, it would be reasonable for the Government to take measures to punish the offending editor. That, however, was not the kind of case with which they were dealing at the present moment, and he only mentioned the matter to guard themselves against any such misapprehension of their attitude that afternoon. What they protested against was promiscuous interference with the liberty of the Press—(applause)—in its freedom of utterance, and its criticism of public measures. There had been one remarkable case during the past year in which the editor of a newspaper, Mr. Mohamed Ali, whom many of them must have met during his recent visit to England, carried an appeal against the action of the Executive Government to the High Court at Calcutta. The result had been the delivery of a memorable judgment by Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the Chief Justice of Bengal. Notwithstanding the provisions of the Act, which they were assured at the time were deliberately and intentionally inserted in order to afford safeguards and protection to newspaper interests, that judgment had established that the Act had been so craftily worded, so elaborately and minutely expressed, as to obliterate these safeguards and protections, so that the High Court was powerless to interfere. Since then the Government had acted very freely in suppressing newspapers, and the latest victim was present that afternoon on the platform. (Cheers.) Mr. Zafar Ali Khan was the editor of the *Zamindar*, a weekly newspaper published at Lahore. The Government of the Punjab had taken action against him by forfeiting the security of Rs. 10,000 which they had demanded from him, and had also confiscated his press. The *Zamindar* was printed in the Persian character and would not be widely read among Europeans, but it was very popular with the Mohamedans of the Punjab. He (Sir Henry Cotton) had no doubt that the articles which had appeared in that paper might have offended the mind of a Secretary to Government—one of the most acutely sensitive minds in the world—(laughter)—because it had ventured to criticise and comment upon the action of a Lieutenant-Governor and even to doubt the wisdom of the Secretary of State and the Prime Minister. (Laughter.) A paper which did that would do anything, and so executive action must be taken to suppress it and to destroy the livelihood of the editor. He had not read the offending articles himself, but they thought it would be of interest if he quoted the opinions expressed with regard to them by an Indian gentleman of distinction in a speech lately made at Patna. Mr. Mazhar-ul Haque, the gentleman in question, was a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council when the Press Act was passed into law. He told his audience that he knew something about the *Zamindar* and its editor, and had been to the office of the paper and seen the press. The only fault of the *Zamindar*, he said, was that it was an independent paper which expressed its opinion honestly and fearlessly on public questions. He went on :—

The *Zamindar* was a paper which not only boldly criticised Government measures but similarly the actions and views of Mohamedan leaders themselves. This latter fact, which is an open secret, brought for it the displeasure and enmity of some of the leading men of the community. This has been a great factor to its downfall. The *Zamindar* had a circulation of about 27,000 copies daily. There was not a single Mohamedan household, and for the matter of that numerous Hindu households as well, where the paper was not read. I have seen with my own eyes in Patna, Cawnpore, and other places where coolies used to purchase a copy, squat on the ground in a circle and ask some one to read the paper aloud for them. It was the only paper which had created a taste for newspaper reading in the masses and with the Mohamedan community it had become an absolute necessity. Such a paper has been stopped for writing three leading articles in the issues of November 19, 20 and 21. I have very carefully read these articles over and over again, and I challenge anyone to say that these articles are either disloyal or seditious. They are ordinary articles as you would find in numerous newspapers in India. Of course, I do not mean to say that I agree with all that was written in these articles nor that I approve of the taste of some of the passages, but I do say most emphatically that sedition and disloyalty are as far away from them as they are from the writings of some of the English Press either in England or in India.

That was the opinion of a highly distinguished and competent witness. Yet there was no appeal, for the High Court had ruled that they had no power to interfere. He would like also to point out that this Act had a general application which went far beyond even

...ular newspapers and embraced the entire Press in India. But it had ...never been brought into force against any paper owned or edited ...by an Englishman, although it was a regrettable fact that one of ...the gravest sources of anxiety in India was to be found in the articles ...which appeared in Anglo-India newspapers of a certain type and which ...was deliberately intended to provoke and exasperate the Indian com...munity. No action was ever taken against such papers. The rigours ...of the law were reserved for vernacular papers or papers published in ...English and edited by Indians. This differentiation added to the ...grievance already felt with regard to the Act. An appeal for amend...ment of the measure had been lately made in the Viceroy's Legislative ...Council, in which seventeen Indian members had joined, but the ...Government set their face against any modification, and had even ...refused to restore the safeguards which were guaranteed in 1910 and ...were now found to be illusory. The time had come, therefore, to ...demand not only the modification but the repeal of this measure. ...(Loud applause.) India was now in many ways a very different ...country from what it was four years ago. Although there were occa...sional manifestations of an anarchical kind which resulted in murders ...of police officers and others that could not be sufficiently ...deplored, the Press could not be blamed for these incidents, for they ...were due to other causes below the surface with which it was exceedingly ...difficult for a Government such as the British Government in India ...to deal. It was an obvious reflection that if they suppressed news...papers which formed the ordinary channel for the expression of public ...opinion and allowed no outlet for the feelings of races and nationalities ...the result must be to drive discontent underground and render it far ...more grave and serious. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. C. E. Maurice.

Mr C. E. Maurice, in seconding the resolution, drew attention to a passage in Sir Lawrence Jenkins' judgment in the Delhi Conspiracy case in which it was said that the Act could be construed to cover words of which everyone might approve. Surely that was sufficient in itself to condemn the Act. (Cheers.) He felt bound also to refer to the extraordinary licence permitted to Anglo-Indian newspapers as compared with the treatment suffered by the editor of the *Zamindar*. Indians had been waiting since 1858 for the realisation of the promise of equal treatment held out in the Queen's Proclamation. It concerned not only them, but the honour of England that promise should be redeemed. The indifference to Indian affairs in England had become a great scandal.

Mr. Zafar Ali Khan.

Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, editor of the Lahore *Zamindar*, read a long statement in which he discussed the Press Act and the various cases in which it had been put into operation. It was clear that no one could possibly conduct a newspaper and deal with the events of the day without publishing "words, signs, or visible writings" which might inevitably have a "tendency to bring into hatred or contempt" either the Government of the day or somebody else. (Applause.) By Section 22 the victim could be condemned without even the presence of an appeal. No editor could escape unless it was believed that his object was to support everything that was done in the name of the Government and subscribed to universal official infallibility. The provisions of Section 4, according to the Chief Justice of Bengal, were as wide as human ingenuity could make them, yet in not one case had the machinery of the law been put into motion against any seditious literature. In the course of three years the Act had been used to extinguish no less than 17 Moslem newspapers and presses. A number of purely theological papers had been interfered with. In his opinion, there never was a better case for the repeal of any piece of legislation, and he hoped an Indian Press Defence League would be started in England. (Applause.)

Ferid Bey.

Ferid Bey, who spoke in French, gave an account of the manner in which the Press Law was being administered in Egypt. He had, himself, incurred six months' imprisonment for writing a preface to a book of some one else's poems. The Press in Egypt was now completely muzzled, and even folk-songs had come under the censorship. Every Nationalist journal but one had been suppressed, and the survivor had been permitted to live on the understanding that it did not speak in the name of the National Party. Press "criminals" were tried by the Criminal Court, which condemned without jury and without appeal. Letters and postal packets were opened in transit and usually confiscated.

The resolution was then put and carried.

Dr. Rutherford.

Dr. W. H. Rutherford (prospective Liberal candidate for the ...division of Durham) moved a further resolution welcoming the formation of an Indian Press Defence League to ...secure the repeal of the Press Act of 10. He had, he said, listened ...with great interest to what had been stated that afternoon as to the condition of the Press in India and in Egypt. ...There was no satisfaction or contentment in either country or in ...England until these laws were repealed and ordinary fair play given to the Press. (Hear, hear.) The object, of course, was to crush the national spirit: but that would be found to be impossible. (Cheers.)

Mr. W. H. Seed seconded the resolution, which was put and carried.

A vote of thanks to the chair was moved by Mr. S. H. Swinny.

The sin of indifference.

England's neglected duty to India.

The *Graphic* prints in its issue of February 14 an article on "Our Interest in the East," which is stated to be written by a "Young Man in India." We subjoin a number of remarkable passages which it contains :—

No one can deny that the Englishman at home is unbecomingly ignorant of his Empire in the East, and sadly wanting in a sense of imperial responsibility. Gradual realisation of the fact is one of the most depressing features of a return to the homeland after long sojourn in the East. . . . .

Throughout our Eastern possessions we take the "native" naked from the mud of his rice-field; we teach him to read and write; we tell him to eat, clothe himself, sit at table and converse like ourselves; to imitate and emulate us in every way. We let him adopt our manners and customs: we speak to him of justice and freedom, of Christianity and equality in the sight of God, and when the product of this forced civilisation turns to us and says: "I have done all you have told me to do; I am now a civilised being; I know political economy and I have taken the same degrees as you; let me dine with you and let me have a share in the Government of my country," we cannot satisfy him. It is well for the East that we cannot; but the murmur rises against us, and ill-feeling grows and descends to the masses of the people, and in the end the sum of their acquirements is hatred and scorn of their benefactors.

Not only in India, but in every one of our Eastern Dependencies, hatred of the white man is becoming synonymous with education, and yet we have to govern not by the sword, but by making the ruled rule. It is folly to suggest solutions for problems such as confront us with regard to education in the East. . . . There is one thing left for the Englishman to do. At home and in the East he must allow himself to see and understand the point of view and the outlook of the educated "native," and teach him to understand the problems that confront his rulers. Although East and West may never meet, there is much unnecessary misunderstanding in what divides them. How often have a few words of confidential talk and a little friendly interest in the careers of young "natives" saved them from the ranks of the seditionists? And how often has thoughtless arrogance at a critical moment originated life-long bitterness and hostility? The secret of British power is individual personality, and on this alone depends the weathering of the storm and the secure laying of a foundation to the future happiness of millions.

The Passing of Empire in India.

Mr. Herbert Burrows at South Place.

Mr. Herbert Burrows gave an interesting address at South Place Ethical Institute, Finsbury, on Sunday morning last (February 15) on Mr. Fielding Hall's recently-published book, "The Passing of Empire."

He observed that few phrases had suffered more from ignorance and distortion than the word Empire. In its proper dictionary signification, it appeared harmless enough, but tyrannies and despotisms had clustered around it without number. With regard to the British Empire the remarkable fact was that there was no such thing except in India and the Crown Colonies. With regard to India there were two main schools of thought. There was the "Imperial school," represented in India by the hard-and-fast Anglo-Indian and in England by the governing classes in Parliament and at the India Office. Their views had been very crudely, but most truthfully, put by Mr. Joynson-Hicks, who, when he was member for North-West Manchester, blurted out that it was utter nonsense to say that the British were in India for India's good; that they were there for their own good, and intended to remain there for the same reason. Then there were the other school which held that India should have complete self-government, and that Britain should see about giving it to her at the earliest possible moment, publicly declaring this to be her object. Between these two extremes there were, of course, many gradations, even among Indians themselves. Some said that Britain should remain in India, simply as suzerain, others desired to see her retain her grip of national administration: others, again, would turn India into a Colony on the model of Australia and Canada: and there were also those who were content with the wide extension of local municipal government. He did not propose to discuss those various shades of opinions. It was his belief that British rule in India had fallen far short of the ideal professed in 1858, when the Company's government came to an end. But he would leave that to discuss Mr. Fielding Hall's thesis that much of the so-called "unrest" was largely

the Englishman's own fault. He would pre-suppose that the English were going to remain in India, and for more years than some of his Indian friends might believe. He was prepared to find he was mistaken: for India of all countries in the world was perhaps the most difficult to understand. Although he had not been to India, it had been his good fortune to come into daily contact with Indians—men of different castes, races, habits, thought, ideas, aspirations, and religions—and the more he saw of them, the more he realised the infinite patience which it needed for a European even to scratch the surface of the problem. He did not believe in much that Kipling had written, but he did feel the truth of the hackneyed quotation as to the gulf between East and West. In the mass there could be little *rapprochment* between two races which for centuries had differed so essentially in general evolution and training and in every sort of characteristic. Indians had exactly the same feeling towards the negro. The first thing, then, was to try to understand. It was because the English had not understood, and mostly had not tried to understand, that their so called Empire in India was slowly passing away. They had always been except in rare instances, and still were an alien race in a strange land, counting the hours until they were released to spend in their own country the money they had made. No assimilation was possible under such circumstances. He was putting on one side the anarchists and terrorists. His thought was of the general type. The Government might pass Press Laws as bad as those of Russia, but 315 millions of people could not be permanently ruled by such means, however stringent they might be.

The *Daily Mail* had on December 16 published a letter from an "Anglo-Indian," which revealed a condition of affairs that stay-at-home Englishmen could not possibly imagine, namely, that a whole people could be barred because of their colour by a so-called superior race. As this Anglo-Indian put it, the arrogance and snobbishness of the Anglo-Indian was a festering sore to the body politic of India. Much was heard of the Jim Crow car in the United States. But let an Indian enter a carriage in which an Englishman was seated, and he ran the risk of being bundled out. The effect upon a proud and highly sensitive people could be appreciated by Englishmen, if they would only set to work to imagine India mistress of England, and Indians treating Englishmen in that manner. The iron would enter into their souls. Was it worth while to arouse such passions in India. Frankly, however, he did not believe any general disturbance was coming. There was as yet no real coherence in India. Her town life was sparse, her villages widely separated by jungle. Her races, languages, religions were of different types. Hindus and Mohamedans were coming together in a manner which was most hopeful: but the movement was slow, and many of the old prejudices and jealousies remained. Differences in India were very deep and very far-reaching. He was very strongly inclined to think also that the chief opponents for a long time to come of any real changes in India would be the Indian women. As for the caste system, the social salvation of the country would never be accomplished until Indians ate together, lived together, and intermixed without restriction. The same observation applied to England, where in some respects, the class system was as bad as carried the same social results.

The Primary Duty of England.

But because a general rising was neither possible nor probable, the heavy responsibility of England was not thereby diminished. It was for her to do the utmost to assist India to her self-realisation, she must publicly declare that she was in India for the single purpose of helping India to attain complete self-government: and must shape her policy to that end. In the meantime, all who had studied the matter would agree with Mr. Fielding Hall that the present bureaucratic government of India must be reformed root and branch. But, curiously enough, Mr. Hall was against throwing open the higher positions in the Indian Civil Service to Indians: and the race-arrogance of the Europeans was assigned by him as the obstacle. Leaving that aside, there was education to be pushed among the masses of the people. But it must be done wisely and well. The defects of education as they knew it in England must be avoided, and nothing but the virtues copied: so that it might be made a lever for self-government. There should be as much district, local, and municipal government as possible. The provincial councils should be thoroughly reconstituted, and the Viceroy's Legislative Council made properly representative of the real interests of the people. The tendency now on all hand was to keep India bound hand and foot to the care of Anglo-Indian officialism.

The objection was always raised that Indians were unfit for self-government. It was as old as the hills, and done duty in every civilised country as the one stock argument of the quidnuncs who stood out against any change or against the surrender of social and political privileges. There was, of course, millions of Indians who were unfit in the ordinary sense of the party politician, but they could be matched by thousands in England in town and country. After all, the poor had to live like every one else, and had, therefore, the human right to order their own lives, even though they might make mistakes. However this might be, there were enough educated Indians now to justify the experiment of much more extended local self-government if only the authorities would consent to it. England must seek her strength not in dominance but in kindly help.

The Public Services Commission.

Agricultural Education.

The Public Services Commission concluded its sittings at Calcutta on January 22 and 23.

On January 22, before Lord Islington's Section.

Mr. E. J. Woodhouse, Principal of the Sabour Agricultural College, Behar and Orissa, said that the present system at the College was not necessary for existing requirements. He would go so far as to close it altogether, but if it were retained, he would keep it for the training of Indians recruited for the Agricultural Service. There was too much science in the technical course now prescribed. What was needed was two years' practical training in agriculture for the recruits. Educated Indians did not possess that training from the agricultural point of view which was required. The surest way of getting superior officers was to draw from the agricultural family. So far as the Scientific branch was concerned, he would advocate the taking of science graduates from the University. The Director of Agriculture should be a member of that Service, because a member of the Indian Civil Service was not quite alive to the recent progress made in scientific agriculture.

Mr. J. N. Chakravarty, representing the Bengal Provincial Agricultural Department, said that he entered the Service in 1908, and was in charge of the Government Dairy Farm at Rangpur. It was very difficult to get the class of men who would do agricultural work themselves, and at the same time, would have agricultural education. The education imparted at Sabour was satisfactory, but those who wanted higher agricultural education should have a course of training at Pusa. The difference of pay between the Imperial and Provincial Services was very great. As a matter of fact, the members of the Provincial Agricultural Service received much smaller pay than any other Provincial Services.

The Veterinary Department.

Major A. Smith, Principal of the Bengal Veterinary College, was of opinion that the present system of recruitment for his Department was not satisfactory. The best method of recruitment of the Indians in the Imperial Service would be by recruitment from persons who had English qualifications. They were feeling the absence of an expert official adviser.

Mr. Brand, of the Provincial Veterinary Service, Bengal, said that capable Provincial officers should have the change of promotion to the Imperial branch. The prospects in the subordinate Service were very poor.

Factory Inspection in Bengal.

The second Section, under the presidency of Lord Ronaldshay, heard evidence from the Factory Inspection Department and also the Bengal Police Service.

Mr. R. P. Adams, officiating Chief Inspector of Factories in Bengal, Behar and Orissa and Assam, said that his present staff was inadequate. It consisted of three inspecting officers, and a number of certifying surgeons. The major portion of the work lay in Calcutta. Factories in Bengal were increasing annually, and, at the present time, there were a number of them which had not yet been brought on the register. A good colloquial knowledge of the vernacular was essential, if an officer was to do his work efficiently. For the Indian factories he would not advocate the employment of Indian inspectors, and in the case of European factories it was extremely difficult for an Indian inspector to get on with the European managers of the factories.

To Sir Theodore Morison: He was conscious that with his present inadequate staff there were evasions of the Factory Act. They had to do the best they could, and managers of factories did the best they could, but they had extreme difficulty to manage their labour entirely free of irregularity.

To Mr. Rahim: He knew that there were Indian inspectors in Bombay, but that system would not work well in Bengal, because there were a large number of factories here owned and managed by Europeans. There were factories in almost every district in Bengal.

To Mr. Chaubal: There was no objection to Indians being certifying surgeons.

Indians and the Bengal Police.

Mr R. B. Hughes Buller, I. C. S., C. I. E., Inspector-General of Police, Bengal, said that the present system of recruitment was satisfactory, and gave a better class of men than formerly. He saw no reason why the Police Service should be thrown open to the Indians. The Force required a large number of British officers. If the examination was thrown open, there would be the danger of a number—a large number—of Indians entering the Service. The preferable way was to promote Indians into the Deputy Superintendent's grade. It was laid down by the Police Commission that the

proportion of Indians to be District Superintendents should be up to fifty per cent. In Bengal at present, there were three Indian Superintendents, one Mohamedan and two Hindus. One man had entered as Inspector and worked up to a Deputy Superintendent's grade, and the two others were recruited as Deputy Superintendents for other Departments. Deputy Superintendents are put in charge of sub-divisions. They did excellent work there. The policy was to develop along these lines.

To Mr. Rahim: Indian police officers had, some of them, exhibited great pluck and done good service during the present conditions of things in the country. Out of twenty-three Deputy Superintendents three were Indians.

Mr. R. Clark, Deputy Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, pointed out that the Calcutta Police was a different force from the Bengal Police. They had six Deputy Commissioners. Not one was an Indian. He advised giving one of the posts to an Indian.

To Mr. Rahim: Without Bengali officers they could not carry on the work efficiently. It was very necessary that their aspiration should be realised. He did not think Indians were quite capable of maintaining discipline. The knowledge that an Indian officer had the whole force of the Government behind him is not sufficient to enable him to do this. The Indian inspectors had a great deal to do in enforcing discipline: but they did not always do it. The Bengali was not a good disciplinarian. Wherever work has been carried on in the districts by Indian officers, his experience was that discipline had become loose. It was the European officer who tightened it up wherever there was slackness.

To Sir Theodore Morison: Indians had not sufficient scope. He would appoint them as Sub Inspectors and promote them to District Superintendents. A small percentage should be reserved for direct appointment as Inspectors, and a small number for appointment direct to District Superintendent. Those Indians who had been appointed District Superintendents came into the Service before to give them a good show.

Mr. S. Sen Gupta, Deputy Superintendent of Police, First Grade, said that he was first appointed as Inspector. The memorandum sent in by him represented the unanimous view of the Provincial Police officers of Bengal. There should be simultaneous examinations in England and in India, and twenty-five per cent. of Indians should for the present be taken from among those who passed in England and in India. The Deputy Superintendents wanted to be put on one list with the Assistant Superintendents.

To Mr. Chaubal: They did not want higher pay but they wanted promotion to District Superintendentships.

Police Evidence from Behar.

Mr. R. T. Dundas, officiating Inspector-General in Behar and Orissa, who was examined by the second section on January 23, expressed himself as well satisfied with the prevailing method of recruitment by examination in England. If the competitive examination in England were thrown open to the Indians, he anticipated that a large number of undesirable class of men would come in. Under no circumstances did he wish the five per cent. now fixed of Indians in the Imperial Service to be in any way increased. If it was decided to recruit Indians into the higher Service, he would take them from the Deputy Superintendent's cadre. The Inspector-Generalship should be held by a police officer.

A "Sweeping" Proposition Examined.

To Mr. Rahim: He belonged to the Domiciled European Community. He had found from his experience in Bengal that Indians could not challenge as much respect from his subordinates as the Europeans. Hence he was not in favour of increasing the five per cent. limit in the case of Indians in the Imperial Service. He would not say that Indian officers lost their self-respect by holding higher appointments in the Police Service. He was not in a position to substantiate his proposition by facts. It might be a sweeping proposition to make that Indians were unable to command respect from members of their own community; but that was his experience.

Q. Is it not absolutely unsound as a general proposition?—It may be so.

Q. If your proposition is logically followed, Indians should not be appointed as Civil Servants, because they cannot command the respect of the people that will be entrusted to their care?—The circumstances of the two Services are quite different. Civilians do not require so much of personal influence as they do in the Police.

Continuing, Mr. Dundas said that he made no distinction between Anglo-Indians domiciled in India, Eurasians and Europeans, but went by a man's capability and qualifications alone. It did not matter whether he was white in complexion or not. He regarded Indians in the same way: but Indian officers, however much influence they might have, would not be at all as efficient as European officers.

Mr. H. St. John Morrison, Provincial Police officer of Behar and Orissa, said he had been Deputy Superintendent for over three years. An increase in the number of Deputy Superintendents was the best method of recruiting Indians for the Upper Service.

Mr. M. L. N. Luffman, Superintendent, representing the Imperial officers of Assam, was satisfied with the present method of recruitment. He recommended a period of probation in England unless there was an improvement in the training in India. The "Colour-bar" should be retained so far as the examination in England was concerned, but promotion to the Imperial Service might be made from the Provincial Service. He objected to the fusion of the Bengal and Assam cadres. In Assam there was a force of military police in addition to an armed civil police. He could not give any instance in Assam of an Indian officer who was found wanting when performing the same duties as a European officer.

Moulvi Mohamed Sadir, representing the Provincial Police Officers of Assam, said that he was a Deputy Magistrate before he joined the Police. He personally favoured the amalgamation of the Assam and the Bengal cadres, and recommended the abolition of the Provincial service. Thirty-three per cent. of the superior posts should be reserved for the members of the Provincial Service: and no man over fifty should be promoted.

To Mr. Chaubal: There were no local conditions which made it necessary to exclude Indians from some places. He was stationed among planters and no difficulty arose.

The Survey of India.

Colonel S. G. Burrard, C. S. I., R. E., Surveyor-General of India, who was examined on January 23 before the first Section, said that he was generally satisfied with the conditions of the Survey Department. For the purposes of efficiency the Department should be wholly military. The present discontent in the Provincial Service was due to envy of Imperial Service.

Mr. J. O. Griff, representing Provincial officers of the Survey of India Department, maintained, on the other hand, that there was a superfluity of military officers in the Department. He would reserve all appointments in the Provincial Service for members of the domiciled community, because they were specially fitted for it.

The "Colour bar" in Madras also.

The Commission resumed its sitting at Madras on January 26 in two sections.

Before the second Section, which is presided over by Lord Ronaldshay, the Hon. Mr. H. F. W. Gillman, I.C.S., Inspector-General of Police, Madras, gave evidence. In his opinion, the present system of recruiting for the police was satisfactory, judged by the results. He would retain the colour bar for the examination in London. The whole Madras police force was trained to the use of arms. The fifty-five years' rule for retirement ought to be enforced throughout the Service. There was need for the appointment of an extra Deputy Inspector-General of Police. Selection by a Board was preferable to competition as a means to recruitment for the Provincial Service. Promotions to superintendentships should go by merit.

To Mr. Chaubal: There was apprehension on the part of European officers of the force that if the colour bar was removed from the London examination too many Indians might get in. A great majority of the force must remain European.

To Mr. Abdur Rahim: He was not in favour of an Indian being appointed a Deputy Inspector-General.

Mr. F. B. M. Cardozo, District Superintendent of Police, stated that the majority of Imperial Service officers of the Department favoured a continuance of the present system of recruitment. The department should be manned almost entirely by Europeans. Selected Provincial officers might be promoted to the higher Service, but the colour bar should be retained for the London examination. He would confine a certain number of superior posts to promoted Indians, say, ten per cent. for the present. The Inspector-General should be a Police officer: but a Madras civilian in the post was preferable to a police officer from another Province.

To Mr. Rahim: Indian police officers themselves thought that the Imperial Department should be almost entirely manned by European officers.

Rao Bahadur P. Parankusam Naidu, Assistant Commissioner of Police for Madras City, asked that five superintendentships should be allotted to officers of the Provincial Service. If this were done, he would be content that the London examination for the Imperial Department, should be reserved for Europeans.

The East and the Empire.

We doubt very much if the leaders of printed opinion in this country are always right in thinking that the British public could not be got to take an interest in the acts and words of the leading personages of eminence in our Indian Empire. It seems a pity that distinguished Indian noblemen and gentlemen, who concentrate

in themselves the respect and confidence of such vast masses of our Indian fellow subjects, and whose policy is a great deal more important to the Empire than a great many of our local luminaries whom we could name, are nevertheless either entirely unknown, or possessed of the most shadowy existence, so far as the British public is concerned. Yet there are all sorts of French and German personages, totally indifferent to the usual tenor of our national life, about whom the Press on occasion contrives to create quite an orgie of popularity. Foreign novelists and dramatists, whose productions are certainly caviare to the general, sometimes appear in a perfect blaze of leader writing on the occasion of some banquet of presentation. If the biographies of distinguished Indians were better known in the Editor's room, it might be found that the great public also took an interest in their life and work. The ignorance with regard to individuals extends of course to societies and social movements. Although a hundred portents admonish us that the time is past when we could look upon India as if it were inhabited by sets of chessmen or counters, were still supplied with miserably inadequate information upon men and events which may be shaping the future of our Empire. The meetings within the past few weeks of the representative assemblies of the All-India Moslem League on the one hand, and the Indian National Congress, which is mainly a mirror of Hindu politics, afford additional arguments for a better acquaintance with the native leaders of India. In itself a circumstance which deserves no ordinary notice that these assemblies received this year into their presidential address, in both cases alike, members of the Moslem community. The sentiment of Indian unity is clearly on the march. The Nawab Syed Mohamed, representing the oldest Moslem race, took the chair of the Congress, which is mainly composed of delegates belonging to representative bodies professing the Hindu religion. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla in the All-India Moslem League has been knighted by the British Crown. It is a gratifying indication that native Indian gentlemen who deserve the confidence of their own people have also deserved the distinctions of the British Administration. When we read the addresses of these two Presidents we find them dealing with the largest and gravest matters of Indian and Imperial interest; and it must be admitted that the utterance of such chosen leaders of the Indian community are well-informed, judicious, statesman-like, and full of that reasonable and sober loyalty to the British Crown which is the best guarantee both for the ability and the sincerity of the speaker. We feel that we are in the presence of Indian gentlemen capable of appreciating the events and duties of public life in a manner no way inferior, we can assure our readers, to very distinguished members and leaders of political parties here in England, engaged in discussing the affairs of England. How closely these Indian statesmen have followed the course of politics and have noted the statements of English political leaders, can be more fully appreciated the more closely we study their careful and elaborate addresses.

We may mention that the President of the National Congress did not fail to quote Lord Lansdowne's declaration in 1899 on the subject of the ill-treatment of our Indian settlers in the Transvaal by the Boer Government of the day. It is piquantly painful to follow that quotation fourteen years afterwards and to be asked to repeat that declaration of the eminent Conservative leader that "Among the many misdeeds of the South African Republic I do not know that any fills me with more indignation than its treatment of the Indian settlers." The Honorable Nawab produced a natural sensation among his audience when he asked, as Lord Lansdown asked in 1899. "Is the Government of the Empire, so mighty and irresistible in India, with its population of three hundred millions, quite powerless to secure redress at the hands of a small State in South Africa?" It must certainly lead to curious reflections when we realise that a few hundred thousands of white settlers in South Africa should believe that they are able to inflict any indignity they please upon the members of a vast empire of three hundred millions of Indians, including many millions of most warlike races, and that this vast Indian Empire appears to derive no power—rather than the contrary—from its British Government to protect its own ill-treated people. It is significant to note that among the suggestions at these great Indian Assemblies there was one for largely increasing the participation of native Indians to the British Force in India. A demand to throw upon the rank of British officer the military natives of India is in itself a remarkable illustration of the new developments of Indian thought and activity. It must be admitted that when England can see its way to calling on the immense reserves of military power now latent in so vast a population, something will have happened in Asia which must make out of the most aggressive of European Powers take time for cautious meditation.

The warmth of the declarations of loyalty expressed at the All India National Congress, especially as set forth in the address of the President, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, is all the more weighty and remarkable in consequence of the reasons by which they were supported. India, it is said, is entitled to look forward to greater and greater achievements of national development. India ought to be fully capable of self-government. But it is an undoubted fact that the progress which has been already made in this direction is due to the guardianship and leadership of England. Without England there could have been none of the Indian progress which we see. It is the duty, accordingly, of every patriotic Indian, whether Hindu or Mussalman, to support that English supremacy and guidance which are indispensable to make a community, to do nothing to weaken it, but to endeavour to fit India for an ever-increasing share in the power and benefit of British rule. These are perfectly legitimate ambitions. When united with devotion to British rule, as necessary to India's safety and progress, they are of healthy and ennobling inspiration. The statesment of England are bound to take notice of such a virile and promising development. It is only deplorable to reflect that, while the Mussalmans of India were showing this friendly and loyal attitude towards England, the profoundly mistaken portion of our Liberal Cabinet has taken fresh steps to place itself on the side of the enemies of the Ottoman Empire, and even to propose armed co-operation in order to secure Greek aggression in the Asiatic islands which are indispensable to the security of Turkey in peace and war.—*The Outlook.*

England and Egypt.

Mr. Charles Rosher in the course of a letter to the Near East says :—

Mr. Ali Fahmy Mohamed's article in the *Near East* (January 16) drew a remarkable letter from Sir Harry Johnston (January 23). So promising an opening of debate on this important subject raised hopes that it would have led to increased ventilation through your columns.

Both of these able writers hold strong and definite views. But while A. F. Mohamed merely tendered suggestions, Sir H. Johnston entered the lists with all the heavy armaments of authoritativeness, and with a confident air of finality cunningly designed to crush at a single blow all opposition. Here, for instance, is the Johnstonian sledge-hammer. Having stated "the only alternatives" to the present form of British control and protection—and indicated that either of these would carry with it the break-up of the British Empire in East Africa, the Sudan, and Southern Asia—he very cogently remarks that "it is waste of time for an Englishman to discuss them." In these words the necessity of the British position in Egypt is accurately brought into focus. No amount of sentiment or sympathy can override such a clear practical statement of "things as they are".

It is quite obvious that no Britisher worth the name could seriously put the integrity of the British Empire into the scale against Egyptian National Independence. Therefore, let all intelligent Egyptians admit this inevitable conclusion and try to be rationalist as well as nationalist. And on the other hand let the British, in their obligatory position as controllers and protectors, employ such methods as may tend to foster and not discourage the national consciousness of their protegés. Then would mutual suspicions and divergent aims give place to firm friendship and honest co-operation, leading ultimately to genuine Egyptian Nationalism on a stable basis, and so to the permanent safeguarding of Britain's highway to her Eastern Empire—viâ a strong and friendly Egypt.

Apart from this stern logic, I submit that Sir H. Johnston is too severe on the *Mohamedan* Egyptian, and too bursting with the sense of superiority which characterises so many opponents and champions, of what is known as "*Christian* Civilisation," and in his contempt of Islamism he avails himself in his letter of the opportunity to raise a false issue and draw a false conclusion, which I take upon myself to combat. This issue and conclusion he consummates in the following paragraph:—

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

Omitting the four last words, which I have purposely italicised, we find a proposition with which no expert, Moslem or Christian could cavil. But those four simple words convey tremendously false inferences, such as (1) that Mohamedan peoples are backward in the race of human development because of their faith; (2) that their "more intelligent fellow-citizens" (nominally Christians) are of *more enlightened faiths*; (3) that the latter, by reason of their greater intelligence and more enlightened faiths, have a right to govern not only themselves, but

also, their *inferiors*—the Mohamedans; (4) that they (the nominal Christians) have attained to this superiority over Mohamedans *by reason of holding a more enlightened faith.*

No doubt Sir Harry Johnston, as one well versed in the science of governing, is fully aware of the value of religious faith, especially in an organised form, as a most powerful instrument: and he cannot fail to be aware of the dead-set made upon Moslem countries in recent times by the nominally Christian countries with a view to the elimination of Islam as an external political factor in world politics. And he ought to know that Islam is not only a religion, but also that it embodies a marvellous democratic political system, much akin to the British political ideal. He—and those who follow him or think with him—*must* know that Islam is a concrete force in the world which has proved inconvenient in the past and may do so in the future—hence the policy of driving Islam beneath the surface so that it no longer appears *as a political factor.*

I see no harm in this if at the same time Sir Harry, and the rest of them, will consent to treat the "more enlightened faiths" in precisely the same manner, and be candid enough to admit the truth that modren civilisation is not the result of the Christian or any other religion— that its superiority and strength depend not on religion, but on science and discovery, which have brought in the modern financial and economic systems and provided lethal weapons which supersede individual courage. It has been the faith of the free-thinker and scientist who broke away from the fetters of religious faith—often at the cost of life or liberty—which has led us forth from the days of blind superstition to the "enlightened faiths" which nowadays make us fit to govern the Mohamedans.

The truth is that whereas the Christians have dropped their faith and the Bible, the Moslems have stuck to their Book and the formulæ of their faith, and thus have been encumbered—fallen in the race because *their* faith (as a faith) was so effective—too effective!

In conclusion I will furnish a quotation from an article in a morning paper of this date by Sir H. Johnston:—

"It is right, in my opinion, that the ridiculous side of all religions should be displayed, so that the dross may be chased off of them and only the pure gold remain."

Bismillah! So mote it be! But let it be understood that "the pure gold" is a metaphor, and has no reference to the yellow metal so ardently worshipped by the "intelligent fellow-citizens of more enlightened faiths."

Let us all strive for the *pure gold* to which Sir Harry refers, and be not too respectful towards the mass of dross which tries to hide it from our vision.

The Man of the hour in Egypt.

Interview with Zaghlul Pasha.

(FROM THE "NEW EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Cairo, Feb. 5.

Since the inauguration of the Legislative Assembly so many rumours have been current as to a disagreement between the Select Committee which has been drafting the rules of procedure and the Government, and there has been so much talk of late with regard to the attitude the Assembly and certain of its prominent members would adopt towards the Government measures, that it seemed to be advisable to seek enlightenment on the subject from the man in whom both sides, *i.e.*, the Assembly and those who look upon its activities with disapproval, unanimously assign the role of leader. Accordingly I telephoned to Saad Pasha Zaghlul, and he very kindly gave me an interview of over an hour and a-half on Friday last.

We did not take long to get to the point. Evidently the Pasha was as keen on discussing it as I was anxious to hear his views thereon. He admitted that there had been a disagreement, but said that the matter had been amicably settled by a frank recognition on both sides of the different points of view. The bone of contention had been the powers that were to be given to the President. Were the latter elected by the Assembly there could not possibly be any objection to giving him the fullest possible powers, for, by its choice, the Assembly would have plainly shown that it desired to be ruled by its nominee. But under the Organic Law the Assembly had no voice in the nomination of its President. The Government had full powers in the matter, and, naturally, the Assembly objected to putting itself unreservedly in the hands of a man, however worthy he might be whose mandate emanated from elsewhere. In the settlement of this question a further objection arose as to the holding of sittings *for disciplinary decision in camera*, and the Pasha proceeded to explain to me the motives that had actuated him in advising the Assembly to give way, as recorded in my letter.

In the course of conversation Saad Pasha referred to the fact that it was said that he hoped to be a Minister once again, and that his attitude would be shaped with that end in view. "My ideas are far from that," said he. "Of course, it may be said that I should naturally disclaim being open to such influence. But, surely, on the face of it my present position is preferable to that of a Minister? I may only draw half a Minister's pay, but at present I am free to state my opinions, and in addition I am a representative of the nation, and have its voice at my back, and can work whole-heartedly for its good. Surely such a position is far more desirable than that of a Minister whose attitude is dictated by policy and whose views are very often kept in restraint." As the Pasha added, he of all people is aware how circumscribed the position of Minister is; and those who remember the incidents attendant on his retirement from office will undoubtedly agree that his to-day is the better part.

I congratulated Saad Pasha on his election as Vice-President, but added that it was to be feared that in certain circumstances it would interfere with his active intervention in the debates. (This, in fact, has been one of the points made by his enemies and those who have schemed to muzzle him.) "Not all," said he. "If, perchance, it so happens that the President and the senior Vice-President are absent, and I have to act as President during an important debate, wherein I wish to participate, I shall vacate the chair, to which I shall nominate the senior delegate, and still make my speech." It will be interesting to see whether this will be permitted.

Saad Pasha referred to the opinion expressed that the Assembly would set up a systematic opposition to the Government into which he would of necessity be drawn. He stated that this was a most unfortunate and mistaken idea. He repeated a great deal of what he had told me in his previous interview, and stated that the recent visits he had paid, and which had aroused comment, in no wise showed that he had at all changed his views. "My policy," said he, "will be for the good of the country." He would, he added, lend himself to no intrigue. He did not think that the Nationalists would have any influence in the Assembly, and he certainly would not support them in their tactics.

He looked upon the British Occupation as a necessary evil, and therefore, it was incumbent on them all to work harmoniously with it, but that did not prevent them from stating their views when they honestly thought the Occupation was taking a step detrimental to their country, and in that case of offering reasonable opposition. "Such an attitude," said he, "cannot be considered as one of systematic opposition."

With regard to the question of parties, the ex-Minister of Justice said that in an institution like the Legislative Assembly groups would naturally form themselves, and in time what in Europe are called parties would come into being. Quite possibly a party would form round him, but whilst he would welcome support, from no matter what quarter, for any policy to which he might wish to persuade the Government, that did not at all mean that he would endorse the views or the policy of his supporters. (I was quite aware that Saad Pasha was referring to the forecasts that have been made with regard to his connection with the Nationalist Party, with whom it was feared he might be led to compromise himself.)

At our parting the People's Vice-President said: "Come again, and we will talk more about these things," and to my thanks for his frank statements he rejoined: "I have spoken to you in this manner because I want you and your fellow-countrymen, especially those in England, to realise what my ideas are— that I am servant to no one except my country, in whose service I rejoice to find myself once more, and that I am as independent as of yore."

I, personally, am convinced of the sincerity of the attitude and intentions of Saad Pasha Zaghlul, and of the genuiness of his declarations with regard to the statements made concerning his connection with parties and persons who in the past have held views at variance with, and have acted, though not always openly, against the Egyptian Government and its British advisers. In this opinion I have found support in quarters that are reputed to have a shrewd insight into Egyptian politics, and also in quarters that have not always seen eye to eye with Saad Pasha. I have been present at every meeting of the Assembly, and this much I can say: no matter what the future may hold in store for us, he is the only man who commands the respect and obtains the ready ear of the entire Assembly. Let me add that his influence so far has exerted itself on the side of moderation and restraint. I cannot help thinking

that Saad Pasha's presence in the Legislative Assembly will prove to be for the good of Egypt in every way.

The Future of Turkey.

The aim of the meeting of recently formed Ottoman Association held in the Cannon Street Hotel, on January 11, was "to call attention to the disturbing effect of the policy of the Powers in the Near East on the financial and commercial markets of the world and on the permanence of international peace," says the *Manchester Guardian*. The Association recently sent a memorial to Sir Edward Grey on the situation in Eastern Anatolia and the Ægean Islands, urging that attempts are being made "to frustrate the sincere endeavour of the Ottoman Government to establish a just and orderly administration in the American provinces." The necessity of a settlement of the question of the islands "on lines satisfactory and fair to Turkey" was emphasised. To this Sir Eyre Crowe replied on Sir Edward Grey's behalf that "he is in full accord with the desire to see peace and good government in the Turkish Empire, and that the considerations urged by the 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."

All the speakers spoke of the importance to our commercial interests of a sound understanding with Turkey. The chairman, Sir Thomas Barclay, moved a resolution to the effect that the continued interference of the Powers in the internal affairs of Turkey is a dangerous and disturbing factor in the world's markets, and must, as in the case of the Balkan War, prove detrimental to the permanence of international peace. Business men in the meeting shouted, "Quite true" when the chairman spoke of the stagnation of business in the City since the begining of the Balkan troubles. Every attempt to enlist the support of the public for new enterprises had failed, and this was true also of New York, Berlin, and Paris. Unless, the Powers abstained from constant interference with the Turkish Government, a new set of difficulties would arise which would be accentuated by any attempt at introducing European control. New Turkey had not had a chance of dealing with her internal problems. We had showed an impatience towards her unworthy of an experienced Parliamentary country. It was in many important ways to the interests of Great Britain that we should remain close friends with Turkey, and help her to maintain her integrity. We must not allow ourselves to be dragged into dictating terms to Turkey which she could not accept, because they would have been fatal to her development and independence.

"A Gang of Shady Financiers."

Sir J. D. Rees, M. P., seconded the resolution, and Mr. Tristram Harper and other representatives of City interest spoke, and an eloquent appeal for Turkey was made by Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, the author, who read a letter from a friend in the Turkish Ministry of Finance. The writer said: "We are at the mercy of a gang of shady and unscrupulous financiers, who may make us daily sign agreements which in the aggregate will form the heaviest burden which this unlucky Empire has ever had to bear." Turkey, said Mr. Pickthall, was shut out from the decent money markets of the world because she showed a fierce determination to resist any further depredation of her territories, and was preparing to do for herself the work which England was by treaty bound to do for her —namely, to preserve the integrity of Turkey in Asia, "The independence of Turkey is a necessary safety value of Moslem feeling."

Mr. Harold Cox.

Mr. Harold Cox moved a resolution regretting that the recent policy of Great Britain "has the appearance of having been persistently directed against Turkey." Mr. Cox was cheered when he expressed the opinion that Sir Edward Grey's foreign policy has been marked by a long series of disastrous blunders. Our policy since Sir Edward Grey went to the Foreign Office had been distinguished by deliberate subservience to Russia, and its aim had been to keep Turkey weak so that she would be helpless when Russia wanted to swallow her. Mr. Cox regretted the persistent failure of the Opposition in the House of Commons to criticise the policy of Sir Edward Grey, which was not, as the Opposition appeared to think, a continuance of our traditional foreign policy, but a complete departure from it. Mohamedans, not only in India, but all over the world were bitterly disappointed because England had failed them in their emergency. Our traditional policy was the defence of weak nationalities, but we were now allowing the small nationalities, one after another to be crushed by the greatest military despotism in the world, and we saw England, still the greatest Mohamedan Power, unable to move hand or foot until Sir Edward Grey received instructions from St. Petersburg.

Professor E. G. Browne.

Professor E. G. Browne, referring to Sir John Rees's praise of Sir E. Grey's policy, said that if the Conservative party would revert to the foreign policy of Lord Beaconsfield and abandon that of Sir Edward Grey, they would have a much better chance of coming back to office. Giving a sketch of recent Persian history, Professor Browne said that what had happened in Persia as the result of Russain policy was now happening in Asiatic Turkey—the frustration of loans, etc. Recently Russia had attempted to stop the parcel post to Persia, but had abandoned that after the strong protests made in Manchester and in Germany. "If we must have 'ententes,'" he added, "we might better to have one with Germany, because she has the same object as we have in trade development, as against the restrictive and selfish policy of Russia."

The Future of Turkey in Asia.

It has just been announced that an agreement has been reached between the French (and Russian) railway interests in Asiatic Turkey, represented by the Ottoman Bank, and the German, represented by the Deutsche Bank. The negotiations have been conducted under the auspices of the two, or, rather, three Governments and with the knowledge of the other Governments interested. To make the agreement effective the railway companies concerned have still to come to terms with Turkey; but as Turkey is suing, both in Paris and Berlin, for money of which she is badly in need, it is not likely that there will be any great difficulty in getting her sanction to the arrangement just concluded in Berlin. Like the Anglo-German-Turkish agreement, which is practically complete, the Franco-German agreement is an essential part in a whole series of understandings which are being negotiated to promote the economic development of Asiatic Turkey, to protect the existing interests, both economic and political, of the various countries engaged in that work, and to forestall, as far as possible, the danger of international friction. Now that the most important competitors have come to a friendly arrangement it should not be long before the whole network of agreements is complete. When they are complete it is understood that they will be published, and we shall then know exactly where we are. In the meantime, it is already clear that the understanding takes the form of a delimitation of spheres of interest, combined with the protection of interests already acquired; and it is obvious how the main lines of the delimitation will run. Germany, whose enterprise and persistence have secured for her the lion's share, will be free to develop the Anatolian and Baghdad systems, and will enjoy a practical monopoly in the development of the plateau of Asia Minor and, perhaps, a preponderating share in that of Mesopotamia. France will occupy a similar privileged position in Syria, and, with the political support of Russia, French capital will be employed in the development of the Black Sea basin, from which German railway enterprise will be excluded. Italy will probably secure a sphere inland from Adalia. Great Britian appears to abandon any claim to participate in future railway construction, though it is understood that the rights of existing British enterprise will be carefully safeguarded. Just as the French Government has concentrated its attention on its Syrian interests, and the German on Asia Minor, so Great Britain has been mainly occupied with the defence of her vital interests round the Persian Gulf, and of her right to an adequate share in the economic development of Mesopotamia.

The developments which these agreements foreshadow cannot be regarded with unmixed satisfaction. When European Powers map out spheres of interest in an Oriental empire it not unnaturally causes foreboding among those who desire to see the independence and integrity of that empire maintained. The fact that all the Powers concerned loudly—and no doubt sincerely—proclaim their anxiety to safeguard that independence and that integrity by no means lessens the foreboding. In spite of all such declarations we shall see Syria becoming more and more French, Anatolia more and more German, Armenia and the Black Sea basin more and more Russian. We shall see a constant growth of the interests which the Powers will feel called upon to defend and to promote in their respective spheres, with a consequent increase in occasions and opportunities for outside interference. It is not even if these interests would, in all cases, be only economic. In France an influential school of politicians and publicists is constantly speaking of Syria as if it were already morally a protectorate of the French Republic. Only the other day the French Prime Minister publicly defined French policy in Syria in terms which seemed to imply that he was aiming at the detachment from the Ottoman Empire of the Syrian provinces, now to be [illegible]

as a French preserve. The strong objection which Russia made, and made with success, to the proposed appointment by the Ottoman Government of an Englishman of high standing, already in the Turkish service, to an administrative post in the Armenian provinces is an equally plain reminder of what Russian policy may become. Hitherto Turkey has had a bulwark against the ambition of individual Powers in the existence of conflicting interests. Powers which were tempted to move were checked by the fear that other Powers might regard any forward movement as detrimental to their own rival interests and ambitions. These conflicting interests are now to be reconciled, and the Powers are to agree to a mutual recognition of spheres within which their rival ambitions are to be restrained. The agreement diminishes the danger of European conflict; but, as a direct consequence, it increases the danger to which Turkey is exposed from European ambitions.

No Power, except Turkey herself, is more interested in the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in Asia than is Great Britain. The difficulties in which Great Britain would be involved by its dissolution leap to the eye. Egypt would march with a French province on the East, as it already marches with an Italian Cyrenaica on the West. Whatever territory we found it necessary to hold on the Persian Gulf—and some we should have to hold if we were not to abandon interests which successive Governments have recognised to be vital to our Indian Empire—would be threatened by Germany from the North-west and by Russia from the North and North east. With our notorious military weakness no statesman could contemplate without alarm such an extension of our land frontiers. From the British, as well as from the Ottoman, point of view the agreements we are discussing are bound to be a cause for anxiety. Whether their advantages outweigh this grave drawback cannot be usefully discussed until we know their details. To whichever side the balance may incline, it must in frankness be admitted that some such arrangement had become inevitable. European capital and European enterprise had to be attracted to Turkey in Asia if it were not to remain derelict and the Ottoman State were not to become bankrupt. In the present condition of the Turkish Empire European capital and enterprise were not to be secured except under the ægis of the European Governments, who were bound to prefer a friendly understanding with one another to a scramble for concessions opening the door to all manner of dangers, both to the interests they were bound to defend and to the peace of Europe. It is true that by defining and recording their interests they weaken the position of Turkey; but the natural jealousy of possible aggressors is, at best, but a temporary bulwark for a weak State. It is bound, sooner or later, to be broken through, when some Power decides that it is worth while to take what it wants and to leave the others to do as they please. The only way of safety for a State in the position of Turkey is to husband and to develop its resources, both moral and material, and to become strong enough to stand on its own feet in repelling aggression. That way still lies open to Turkey. If her statesmen have the wisdom and self-restraint to guide her along it, she can safely disregard the menace lurking in the partition of her territory into foreign spheres of interest. If they lack those qualities, if they neglect the arduous though unexciting tasks to which duty calls them in Asia, if they squander their strength on romantic but disastrous adventures in the Balkans, the future of Turkey in Asia would be endangered even were these agreements no to be concluded. The agreements may, they inevitably will, make the danger more urgent and more menacing; but with them, as without them, the future of Turkey is in the hands of Turkey herself, and not of the Powers.—*The Near East.*

Mr. Balfour on Theism.

His Last Gifford Lecture.

Mr. Balfour has held his great audience together to the end. In replying to some well-chosen words in which Professor Smart conveyed to him the thanks of his listeners, the Gifford Lecturer spoke gratefully of a sympathy the existence of which he had felt from the first lecture to the last, and he added that he did not believe that in any other country such an audience would have assembled on ten occasions to hear the discussion of metaphysical topics, says the *Times*: The large gathering in the Bute Hall responded as it has never failed to do and went home happy with a good conscience and the pleasant memory of the successful efforts of a great Scotsman to tell his fellow-countrymen his thought on these high themes.

The tenth and last lecture was partly a summary and partly an appeal to the audience. Mr. Balfour began by saying that his object had been to show that the values of our beliefs are dependent upon a Theistic setting. Beliefs, he insisted, could be and must be considered as natural products, and their values as natural products must depend upon their origin. We must find in their pedigree a source higher than our poor efforts at reason and not a source lower and more contemptible. It was no answer to say that certain fundamental truths make the world, and the world is what it is because of fundamental truths, for he had shown that among the unproved and unprovable assumptions which are required to justify common sense and scientific knowledge. There are assumptions neither necessary nor universal nor inevitable, yet assumed through the whole course of knowledge. He had also shown that there are probabilities, tendencies to believe, organising inclinations, which can be seen in the history of science.

Natural Selection and Religion.

Having thus dealt with a possible objection from the point of view of critical idealism, Mr. Balfour summarized his argument that natural selection is incapable of accounting directly for any of the great values he had dealt with. He was aware of the controversies raging among biologists about natural selection; but he had chosen it because it is the only substitute that we know of for what is commonly called design. Selection does imitate design up to a certain point, but even if it could, as it certainly cannot, be proved that the higher values of æsthetics of ethics, and of thought have a survival value, it would not help us to maintain these values. But in fact the higher a value the further it is removed from the primitive consequences for which selection is responsible.

His own argument about the necessity of a Theistic setting for our beliefs was not attached to any great metaphysical system of thought, nor to any intuitive sense of religious values. He did not under-estimate the direct argument from religious beliefs which rests religious value on religion itself. But religious values were for him the conclusion, not the premises of his argument, and he could only rest the value of religion upon other values which are universally acknowledged. He did not appeal to those who are satisfied with any of the great constructive metaphysical systems, but he urged the necessity for a philosophy of science and of common sense. He did so, not in the interests of common sense, but in the interests of philosophy itself.

The Gifford Lecturer's Public.

With this hint to philosophical experts, Mr. Balfour proceeded to ask himself to whom his argument was addressed. He thought that a Gifford lecturer should speak to the general public; but to what public?

Fortunately, he remarked, there are many to whom God is as immediate and as certain as anything of which they have immediate experience—to whom the existence of God is a daily and hourly certainty. They were above his argument and to them it would be superfluous. There are others immersed in the daily task, in the toil that cannot be put off, who have no interest in speculative questions, and who are satisfied to acquiesce in the common beliefs of science and in the religious beliefs of those among whom they live. On them depends the work of the world, and he did not think it was every man's duty to acquaint himself with all the arguments on all important issues. 'God,' he said, 'has not so made the world that its ordinary business is to be carried on by dialectic.'

Turning to the classes of men who are interested in such inquiries, Mr. Balfour contrasted the shallow and infinitely tiresome sceptics who base an intellectual reputation upon a few materialistic tags with the great doubters from whose ranks have come pillars of orthodoxy, leaders of heresies, framers of systems of speculation, makers of new modes of thought and of new pictures of the universe. Between these two extremes there are many educated persons greatly perplexed about the problems which science, philosophy, and criticism were forcing upon them. Such thinkers would agree with him that a world without God is a world in which æsthetic and ethical values are greatly diminished, but they might argue that their intellectual integrity required them to make the sacrifice. He hoped that his line of argument might suggest to these men some valuable forms of consolation. Their attitude was honourable, but it was mistaken, for it was based upon an entirely false contrast between intellectual and other values. Let them not be misled by the pernicious fallacy that speculative difficulties only begin when we go into supersensible regions under the guidance of hair-splitting metaphysicians. The real speculative difficulties touch our daily life, the very nature of the things on which our daily life depends. Let them remember, too, that the Theistic setting is not required merely for the values of religion and morality; it is an essential condition of all intellectual values, including those of the belief of science.

Belief in God.

The real moral of his lectures is, he concluded, that a belief in Theism is not an accidental ornament which can be added or not added to the house in which you live. It cannot be superadded or not superadded to other beliefs, those other beliefs remaining unaffected and unchanged. A Theistic belief is essential on whatever values we cast our eyes; and for the retention of these values alike in beauty, in morality, and in science there is if we want to retain these values undiminished, but one setting. The setting is a belief in God.

Mr. Balfour's second series of Gifford lectures will probably be delivered in January, 1915.

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SUMMONS FOR DISPOSAL OF SUIT.

(*Order V, rules 1 and 5, of Act V of 1908.*)

REGULAR SUIT No. 36 OF 1914.

IN THE COURT OF THE MUNSIF, FYZABAD.

Baboo Ram Pandey, son of Sarabjit of Mauza Rano Pali, Pargana Haveli, Oudh, District Fyzabad ... *Plaintiff,*

versus

Sumer Pandey ... ... *Defendant.*

To Sumer Pandey, son of Bachoo Lal of Mauza Rano Pali, Pargana Haveli, Oudh, District Fyzabad.

WHEREAS, the above-named Plaintiff has instituted a suit against you for Rs. 64-10-0, you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person, or by a pleader, duly instructed and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied by some person able to answer all such questions on the 6th day of April 1914, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim ; and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to produce on that day all the witnesses, upon whose evidence and all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence. Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this 10th day of March 1914.

NOTICE.

(1)—Should you apprehend your witnesses will not attend of their own accord, you can have a summons from this Court to compel the attendance of any witness, and the production of any document that you have a right to call upon the witness to produce, on applying to the Court and on depositing the necessary expenses.

(2)—If you admit the claim, you should pay the money into Court, together with the costs of the suit, to avoid execution of the decree, which may be against your person or property, or both.

(3)—A* accompanies this summons.

NOTES.—*If written statements are required, say,*—You are (or such a party is, as the case may be) required to put in a written statement by the.....day of.....

* Fill in "copy of the plaint" *or* "concise statement of the nature of the claim," as the case may be *vide* order V, rule 2, Code of Civil Procedure.

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Puri, 16th August 1913.

DEAR SIRS,—I beg to inform you that I have sent you two paid parcels, one on the 14th instant and the other to-day, containing half a dozen pair of Gent's Socks each and request that you will be kind enough to return me the quantity of wool consumed in them and pay my usual wages at an early date. Thanks very much for the nice little machine you sent me, and it runs so smoothly that I can be able to knit daily half-a-dozen pairs of Gent's Socks and when speeds comes a few more pairs can easily be knitted. Wishing you every success.

I am, Dear Sirs,
Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) MRS. N. PEDDING.

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