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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CONTENTS.

	Page.
Week	... 289
Our London Letter	... 290
Tete A Tete—	
Mosques and Burial Places	... 293
Indian Exclusion and America	293
The Muslim Deputation to the Viceroy ...	... 293
A Remarkable Petition	... 293
Hindu-Moslem Entente	... 294
The Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy	... 294
Diplomatists and History	... 294
Truth in History	... 295
Politics and History	... 295
Leading Articles—	
Ulster and the Army. II	... 296
The Honours.—I.	... 298
Correspondence—	
Indian Exclusion and America	299
Honours—	
Lord Willoughgiby de Broke's Speech ...	... 300
Lord Ribblesdale's Speech	... 300
The Muslim Deputation to the Viceroy	... 301
Lord Morley's Latter-day Thoughts ...	... 301
The Colour Question	... 302
Advertisements ...	206—208

MANAGER'S NOTICE.

Subscribers are requested to quote the Subscriber's Number in every communication to the Manager otherwise the office will not be responsible for any delay in replying to such communication.

The Week.

British Subjects.

London, April 1.

After a debate on the South African deportations the House of Commons adopted a Resolution accepted by Mr. Harcourt, that the rights of British citizens, contained in the Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights, and the Habeas Corpus Act as presenting freedom of the subject, are those which the House desires to see applied to British subjects throughout the Empire.

Home Expenditure for India.

London, April 1.

Replying to Mr. Rupert Gwynne in the House of Commons today, Mr. Roberts said that £1,415,700, which he mentioned last week as representing Home expenditure for India in 1913 and 1914 for capital account was made up as follows:—Discharge of guaranteed debentures of the Nagpur Railway £280,000; additional expenditure on Railways, £1,090,700; additional expenditure on Delhi, £50,000. Deduct Shortage of expenditure on Irrigation, £13,300. A sum of £150,00 had been remitted from India in 1913-14 in respect of profit from coinage on rupees and had been added to the gold standard reserve in sovereigns. The sale of Council Drafts 1914-15 would be conducted in accordance with the policy, recommended by the Royal Commission, which made it impossible to say what the total would be.

Frontier Expeditions And Indian Army.

London, April 1.

In reply to a question from Mr. Morrell as to whether officers and men of the Indian Army had not been informed on the occasion of frontier operations that they might disappear if they had conscientious objections to engaging in Military operations against men of their own race and religion Mr. Roberts said that in case of the Tirah Expedition the Afridis had been excused.

Persia.

Teheran, April 2.

A force of about 1,200 gendarmes was recently sent to Burujiro to protect the region from Luri raiders. It has advanced southward, and after twelve hours' engagement, secured the passes and drove the raiders back to snow-clad hills.

Turkey.

Constantinople, April 3.

Combined forces of Kurdish Sheikhs, Molla Selim and Molla-Shah-Ben-Din are attacking Bitlis, which is being defended by troops and the gendarmery. Reinforcements are hastening thither. It is alleged that the Kurdish movement is due to hostility to projected reforms.

Albania.

London, April 5.

The *Neue Freie Presse* learns that the Powers do not contemplate intervention in Albania.

While reports from Vienna intimate that the attack on Korytza has failed, from Athens and Salonika comes intelligence of the capture of the town by the Epirotes with heavy losses on both sides, and of further successes by the Epirotes, including the capture of a number of gendarmes at Hoti Kista. It is significant that the Durazzo despatch, received from Rome, says that Prince William, in consequence of grave news from Korytza, summoned his Ministers and proposed to march out at head of his troops. After long discussion, the Ministers decided on a general mobilisation.

The *Albanische Korrespondenz*, too, admits that the news from Epirus has caused great excitement in Durazzo.

Durazzo, April 6.

In consequence of the anarchical situation in South Albania Government has ordered a list to be made out of the forces available and the eventual formation of a Militia. Proclamations have been posted throughout the county ordering the muster of all ex-Redifs between the ages of 29 and 39. Rumours of mobilisation are premature at present.

Bombay Corporation.

Bombay, April 6.

The Hon'ble Sir Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy has been elected President of the Corporation for the ensuing year this afternoon. Highly complimentary speeches in reference to him and to Mr. M. Tod, the retiring President were made and the election was unanimous.

Home Rule.

London, April 6.

The House of Commons this evening passed the Home Rule Bill on the second reading by 356 votes to 276. The O'Brienites abstained from voting. Thirty-six Labour members voted with Government. Two Liberals, Mr. Agar Roberts and Sir Clifford Cory voted with the Opposition. Hundreds of Irishmen, cheering and waving green flags, saluted the announcement of the figures in the Palace yard at the entrance to the House of Commons, and gave Mr. Redmond and other supporters of Home Rule a great ovation as they came out.

Indians in South Africa.

London, April 7.

Sir Benjamin Robertson arrived this morning from South Africa by the British Indian steamer "Palamcotta." On landing at the Apollo Bunder, Sir Benjamin was received by his Private Secretary, and the Inspector General of Police in the Central Provinces. A large number of Indian merchants were also present at the Bunder who profusely garlanded Sir Benjamin; who after talking to them for some time drove to the Taj Mahal where he is staying at present. Sir Benjamin will leave this evening for Delhi to meet the Viceroy. Sir Benjamin is unwilling to express any opinion regarding the South African situation and hopes for a settlement satisfactory to all.

The Persian Gulf.

London, April 1.

Replying to Sir George Robertson, Mr. Churchill said that no reduction of Naval strength in the Persian Gulf was at present contemplated as the result of an agreement with France concerning gun traffic; but the position was being closley watched with a view to such modification as the altered conditions might require or justify.

Our London Letter.

London, Mar. 20.

The Home Rule Deadlock.

Since my letter of last week, the political situation has undergone no material change. Mr. Asquith's offer to temporarily exclude Ulster was not enthusiastically received by the advanced wing of his own party and they would have certainly revolted if the Prime Minister had shown the least sign of surrender last Monday, when he made a brief statement in the House of Commons in reply to the numerous questions on the Home Rule Bill that had been put down on the paper. The first Lord's speech at Bradford on Saturday night—a masterpiece of statesmanship, reasonableness, courage and eloquence—in which, while making it quite clear that the government was ready to consider any honest attempt on the part of the Opposition towards the peaceful solution of the Irish problem, he none the less emphatically declared the Ministry's decision to proceed with their Bill if the Unionists reject the offers of Mr. Asquith, irrespective of consequences, has encouraged the Coalition very much. The ovation which Mr. Churchill met with on his entry in the House on Monday last bore ample testimony to the universal approval of his speech, two days previously at Bradford, on the part of the entire Coalition. The Prime Minister's firmness in the House on Monday and his nod of approval of Mr. Churchill's speech, when challenged by the Unionist Leader, has further rendered the whole question more clear, at least as far as the Government's position is concerned. It now rests with the Irish Unionists to definitely reject or accept the new terms and though Mr. Bonar Law's and Sir Edward Carson's speeches last night in the House of Commons, on the vote of censure against the Government, did certainly contain traces of anxiety for some form of settlement by which civil war may be averted, still no definite change in the situation has so far become noticeable. Mr. Bonar Law has suggested a Referendum and when the Prime Minister deliberately asked him whether, granting that the majority of the electorates in this country thus showed their approval of the Government's Irish policy, as embodied in their Home Rule Bill, the Unionist Party would then consent to the coercion of Ulster, the Conservative Leader nodded his head in assent. That is the true obstacle to the whole question. The Unionist Party in England may decide to abide by the results of a General Election or of a Referendum, but they cannot speak for the Irish Unionists in this affair. That is why it is perfectly obvious that there is a greater chance of arriving at a peaceful solution through Sir Edward Carson than through Mr. Bonar Law and his Colleagues on the Front Bench. Sir Edward has impressed his hearers in the country as well as in the House of Commons with the absolute honesty of his purpose, and whenever he speaks in Parliament his remarkable personality seems to dominate over the whole assembly. Not even Mr. Redmond has ever accused him of hypocrisy or dishonesty and it is to him only that the nation looks up to-day for the maintenance of peace and order in Ireland. The Home Rule question is of vital importance to Sir Edward Carson and his opposition to that measure is perfectly genuine and sincere; whereas Mr. Bonar Law's hatred for Home Rule is based not so much on the merits or demerits of the Bill itself as out of considerations for the prosperity of his own party. He insists on demanding a General Election immediately not so much out of regard for the opinion of the country but merely to wreck the Parliament Act in order to restore the lost veto of the House of Lords. That is the whole case in a nutshell and the Liberal Party is fully alive to the motives of the Opposition. Mr. Asquith is not likely to surrender, when he is almost on the point of victory. He is determined to proceed with the Home Rule Bill under the Parliament Act by peaceful means if possible; if not, the responsibility for Civil War in Ireland will be on the shoulders of the Opposition, who have so far not even attempted to consider the concessions that have been offered to them by Mr. Asquith with a view to prevent bloodshed in Ulster. If Ulster wants peace, she can certainly have it, if the Opposition wants a settlement the road is clear. But if the determination is to prevent a settlement and to exploit an Ulster mob in order to destroy the Parliamentary institutions and to restore the House of Lords to supreme power in the State, then there must be an end to a situation which would be grotesque if it were not so mischievous. As the *Daily News* says, the impunity which this treasonable conspiracy has enjoyed has already done incalculable harm. The drillings in Ulster, the open repudiation of law and order by men like Lord Londondery, Lord Roberts, Lord Milner and the rest, the raising of the flag of rebellion in the House of Commons, not by a solitary Anarchist, but by the leader of what still calls itself the constitutional Party—all this has sown seeds of which there will be abundant fruit in the future. The doctrine of violent resistance, to which Mr. Bonar Law has committed himself, cannot be limited to the Conservative Party. It is a doctrine which will serve the purpose of the Syndicalists very well. Not long ago Mr. Tom Maun was sent to prison for advising the common soldier to refuse to shoot down the working man on strike. At the same time Sir Edward Carson was reviewing a rebel army in Ulster organised to overawe Parliament, and at this moment a Field-Marshal, who is still receiving a handsome pension from the State, is engineering a scheme to prevent the Government from employing the Army in any way they may deem necessary in the interests of law and order. The meaning of all this is penetrating deep into the mind of the country. Nor will the effect be limited to these spheres. In the very issues in which the Unionist Press is justifying Civil War in Ulster, it is carrying on a mischievous campaign for more stringent measures in India. Against what? Not against open rebellion, not against civil war; but against the small element of popular liberty at present enjoyed. Scores of newspapers have been confiscated in India for the most ordinary criticism of the Government, while the very newspapers here which are supporting these attacks on the liberty of the Press are preaching civil war in order to destroy the Government. Do these people suppose that they can advocate violence here without the Indians knowing anything about it? And who is to explain to the Indians that resistance which is a holy and loyal thing in Ulster, where they have votes, is an unholy and disloyal thing in India, where they have no votes? It is these larger considerations, as well as those immediately involved, which make it incumbent upon the Government to have no more trifling with treason. They have made their offer. Liberals dislike it and Nationalists dislike it, because it gravely imperils the unity of Ireland. But it has been made in the interest of peace. If, as seems likely, it is rejected on the second reading the duty of the Government is clear. It is to revert to the Bill as it stands, to press it through with all the resources at their disposal, and at the same time to deal with the rebel Privy Councillors and Knights of the Garter as they would, in similar circumstances, deal with working men who conspired against the State. It is gratifying to have Mr. Churchill's assurance that "the Government have had just about enough of this sort of thing." The country has had far more than enough. It looks to the Government to protect its Parliamentary liberties against any further outrage and it will welcome the Chief Whip's renewed declaration that there will be no General Election until the Home Rule Bill is passed into law as final and irrevocable.

The Study of the Empire.

The announcement that the Senate of the London University have appointed a Committee to advise them on the best method of providing in this great metropolis for the study of matters of Imperial interest will be heartily welcomed. The regrettable ignorance of the average Englishman of almost all matters touching the laws, history, geography, and temper of the overseas Dominions, not to mention India, is a matter of common knowledge and admission. It is also a fruitful and most dangerous source of strife and misunder-

standing. The scheme deserves the best wishes of all those who have the true interest of the Empire at heart and the London University Senate are to be congratulated on the wise step they have taken, which will no doubt be in time productive of excellent results.

The Calcutta Mosque Incident.

The *Times* of the 17th inst. contains a brief message from Calcutta saying that trouble has arisen there between the Port Commissioners and local Moslems in connection with the demolition of part of a mosque and the alleged desecration of grave-yards in order to make room for an extension of the Kidderpur docks. We are also told that feeling has been running so high that an order for the cessation of the demolition work has been issued by the district magistrate. It is earnestly hoped by all Indian Moslems in London that there will be no repetition of the Cawnpore tragedy. We trust Lord Carmichael will not permit this undoubtedly grave question to develop any further and show the same degree of statesmanship on this occasion which was so strongly exhibited by the Viceroy at Cawnpore in an almost identical situation. Nothing succeeds so well as nipping an evil move in the bud and it will admittedly be to the advantage of both the authorities and the Moslem community if His Excellency the Governor would forthwith adopt suitable measures for the prevention of the subsequent disaster rather than to have eventually to proceed with remedial processes, howsoever benign and reasonable they may be. The awful recollections of Cawnpore are much too recent to enable one to afford ignoring this fresh mosque incident, even at this great distance, and we are praying to be spared the repetition of that dreadful history.

Indian Golfer at Oxford.

The final of the inter-college golf competition at Oxford University was decided this week over the course at Radley, when Trinity beat Balliol by 17 holes to 2. In the top-match H. S. Malik, an Indian undergraduate, defeated W. F. C. McClure, the Oxford Captain, by 2 holes. Malik who played splendid golf, finished the round in 73. He has taken to the game fairly recently and is already an accomplished player. Before playing golf, he had made a reputation as a cricketer. His friends both at the 'Varsity and in London will follow his future career with very keen interest.

The Indian Union Society.

This Society, which had lately suspended its activities, has become fully alive again and every fortnight draws numerous gatherings to its meetings at the Emerson Club in Charing Cross. In the past it has had the distinction of entertaining some illustrious Indian personages like His Highness the Gækwar, the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, Sir Pherozshah Mehta, the late Mr. R. C. Dutt, etc., while eminent people like Sir Valentine Chirol, Mr. Edwyn Bevan, and the Berlin Correspondent of the *Times*, amongst others, have delivered addresses before its members from time to time, Mr. Bevan having also held the office of Hon. Treasurer to the Society. It owes its origin to the efforts of Mrs. P. L. Roy, whose personality is always a guarantee for the successful career of any undertaking with which she may associate herself. I believe she was its first president and her daughters have likewise held that office in the by-gone days. It is worked on thoroughly democratic and non-sectarian principles and extends its hospitality to distinguished Indians visiting this country, irrespective of creed or politics. The members of the Society had the unique honour of being invited by the Gækwar to a princely reception at the Piccadilly Hotel in the Coronation year, when, apart from His Highness himself, the Maharanee and their daughter, the Maharajahs of Bikaneer and Gwalior and Mr. Justice Nair of Madras were amongst those present. Mr. K. C. Tayabjee, who is now a solicitor in Bombay, was one of the most popular presidents the Society has had. As I have already mentioned, the Indian Union Society has had some lady presidents as well and so it can claim to have not only extended universal suffrage to all its members for voting purposes but to have also raised women to "Cabinet" rank and in fact to the high dignity of the "Woolsack." Surely this "equal" tratment of women by an Indian Society in the heart of London—inspite of the volumes written in English as to the treatment, that of a mere slave, meted out to Indian women by their wicked menfolk—cannot but claim the envy of poor Mrs. Pankhurst and her friends. Mrs. Roy and her daughters have secured the vote for the Indian women here and that too without smashing our windows or else adopting the hunger strike!

The Indian Union Society is certainly doing very useful work in London, but I am sure the Indian cause could be served more faithfully if the pioneers of the numerous Indian associations in London could manage to concentrate their energy, their interest and their attention upon one single institution, instead of dividing their labour, as they do now, in so many directions. Those responsible for the management of the various existing Bodies would be well advised to amalgamate the different Societies with the sole object of establishing a common and central organisation, which should receive the co-operation and support of every Indian in this metropolis. Apart from the division of labour—which is unavoidable under the existing conditions—the present system is not fair either to the average Indian student, who, though perfectly willing to support any movement that concerns his country, is very often prevented, from the financial point of view, from associating himself with all the institutions that are being run to-day, and their number is very large indeed. The natural consequence is that on the whole the excellent cause underlying all these movements is bound to suffer. If, however, the numerous existing associations could be submerged into a single powerful organisation, the Indian interest and co-operation—at present widely scattered—could and would concentrate towards the proper establishment of such an institution on a solid foundation and its popularity and influence would be thus assured. The Indian Union Society, the London Indian Association and the Indian Social Club (to say nothing of the smaller sectarian or rather regional organisations, such as the Punjabee Society, the Beharee Association, the Burmese Society etc.) are at present, for instance, the leading Indian institutions in London, which have practically the same aims and objects in view, viz., the promotion of harmony and social intercourse between the Indians. It is obvious that those objects could be more easily attained if we had instead one common central body, which every Indian in London could join and which could really give him the opportunity for Social intercourse with his fellow-countrymen. Gradually such an institution would develop into a powerful orgainsation. It could serve as the nucleus of a great scheme, by means of which, when fully matured, every Indian here would become strongly saturated and infused with that unifying spirit —whether he be a Hindu or a Moslem; a Bengali or a Maratha; a Sikh or a Rajput; a Punjabee or a Madrassee—which is so essential for the social, moral and political advancement of our great and ancient country. Here is a splendid opportunity for Indian "statesmanship" in London. The matter undoubtedly deserves their most careful consideration.

Sir Edward Grey on the Turkish Problem.

Mr. Aubrey Herbert in moving his resolution in the House of Commons last Wednesday, concerning the British position in the Mediterranean, succeeded in introducing the Turkish question in the debate. In the course of an admirable speech, on which he was justly complimented by the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Herbert said that there had been a great deal of resentment among the Moslem subjects of the Crown in India because of injudicious utterances in this country, and because of the humiliation to which Indian Moslems had been treated in South Africa, and that feeling would be confirmed because England was associated in their minds with Europe's treatment of the Turkish islands in the Mediterranean. The islands that dominated the Dardanelles, through which a great portion of their food supply come, were to be left to Turkey and not given to Greece the obvious inference being that Europe had assumed that position because she did not want to run any risk in regard to her food supply. On the other hand, the islands that dominated Smyrna and Asia Minor, were to be taken from Turkey and given to Greece, the inference being that the risk which they repudiated for themselves they were ready to inflict upon Turkey. It could not be maintained that geographically these were Greek islands any more than it could be said that the Isle of Wight was a French island. In all this Balkan settlement Europe had taken practically our basis, and it had not been ethnological, but strategical and based on propinquity.

Sir Mark Sykes, who seconded the resolution, said there were two factors of intense importance as bearing upon the position in the Mediterranean. The first was the Entente with France and the second was the precarious position of the Ottoman Empire at the present time. The disappearance of Turkey must entail the disappearance even of the shadow of the Persian Empire. European frontier might then be established, in the face of which he could not see how this Empire would continue the Entente which was real and deep, but if it could be endangered, it was by the policy of the French financier in the Near East. That policy was to produce eventually the collapse of the Ottoman Empire which would be a frightful disaster to themselves. He entreated the Foreign Secretary to consider the financial position which was developing in the Ottoman Empire, and to strive to secure that the Triple Entente, sinking all territorial ambitions and all ideas of exploitation should adopt a policy of co-operation for the regeneration of that Empire.

Sir Edward Grey, after dealing with the question of the British position in the Mediterranean, said—"Now, to go into the questions of foreign policy, which were raised, there are one or two of them I must put aside, because I cannot very well bring them within the terms of the motion. It is a little difficult to get Persia into the four corners of the motion. (A laugh.)

China is still more remote, and I do not think I could establish the connexion of Sweden with the Mediterranean. I must, then, put them on one side, and concentrate on the one point, our policy in regard to the Mediterranean. Our policy with regard to Turkey now that the war is over is to use our diplomatic influence to see the

integrity of the Turkish dominions preserved. There is no financial boycott at present, and, of course, there has never been a financial boycott as far as we are concerned. The Government cannot financially boycott another country, for we do not control finances as they are controlled in some other countries. But the seconder of the resolution spoke of a very large loan to Turkey and undesirable conditions attached to it, and that is another matter. As far as we are concerned we cannot press financiers to lend money to Turkey. We never press them to lend money, because they would decide for themselves whether it was a good financial operation, and because we should incur responsibility if we did press them. If Turkey wants to borrow money among British financiers they must decide for themselves whether it is a financial operation in its commercial aspects in which they desire to engage.

Turkish Assurances.

But this I will say. We have had the most explicit assurances from the Turkish Government that they desire to put their own house in order, that they have no aggressive designs in the sense of ripping up the peace and engaging in a war of *revanche* in Europe. We believe that these assurances represent the real meaning and intention of the present Turkish Government, and therefore I will say at once that so far as we are concerned we see no political objection why people who wish to lend money to the Turkish Government at the present moment for commercial reasons should not do so. That, I think, disposes of the idea of a financial boycott.

Mr. Aubrey Herbert.—I never intended to suggest that England had boycotted Turkish finance.

Sir E Grey.—I understood that, but the hon. member who seconded the motion referred to a very big loan which was not a British loan and that really did apply to the same quarter which the hon. member was speaking of when he used the words "financial boycott"

A Reform Scheme.

The Turkish Government are aware that reforms are necessary to preserve the integrity of Asiatic finance. I cannot go into details in regard to Armenia, but a reform scheme for Armenia has advanced to a stage at which I believe it has the consent of the European Powers, which is essential, as well as that of the Turkish Government. I trust that very soon it would take concrete shape, and when it takes concrete shape and I state to the House exactly what the reforms consist of, and which are the result of agreement between Turkey and the other Powers, I hope it will be borne in mind that it is much more important to have a scheme of reforms under which, say, the Turkish Government takes two European inspectors and employs them in the Armenian *vilayets*, and which has the goodwill of the Turkish Government, than it is to have a reform scheme which on paper looks much better, but has not got the goodwill of the Turkish Government.

A reform scheme which has not the goodwill of the Turkish Government is one which is only going to be operative in proportion to the force which is behind it, and the continuous pressure which is behind it not on the part of one or two Powers, but of all the Powers of Europe. The reform scheme which has been arranged between the Powers of Europe and the Turkish Government is a scheme which is really going to operate, and in this case I believe the scheme when it is produced will be found to be not only more satisfactory on paper than was expected, but that it will be one which has the good will of the Turkish Government. It is in that sense their scheme as well as the scheme of the European Powers, and it will be found that the present Turkish Government have realized how much they have lost in Europe by bad Government in Macedonia and in the territory which they have lost, and how essential it is that they should apply to their future government the lessons which have resulted from the adversity which has overtaken them. Therefore the scheme of reform will start with Turkish goodwill in the sense that it has not had before. I am glad to have an opportunity of explaining what has taken place in regard to the Aegean. There is nothing which Mohamedan feeling ought to take offence at in regard to the part we have played in the settlement which has taken place. The hon. member who moved the motion called attention very truly, and I am glad he did, to one or two things we have done to show that we are sensitive to Mohamedan feeling and have the natural sympathy which every one ought to have in this House with the legitimate sentiments and feelings of the vast number of Mohamedans who are the subjects of the Crown. The hon. member who moved the motion said that we alone protested, and made representations in regard to the treatment of the Mohamedan minorities. We certainly have done so, but I am not sure whether we are the only country which has done so on more than one occasion while the war was in progress. He also referred to the fact that we alone had made a grant of money to Albania for the relief of distress there. In that case I believe it is true that we alone have done so. (Hear, hear.)

The Question of the Ægean Islands.

Then we come to the question of the Islands. I think the hon. member who moved the motion overlooked one point which we have had to bear in mind—the strategical effect which changes with regard to the Aegean Islands might have on the Mediterranean. It is very germane to the terms of his motion to consider the strategical effect which changes in the Aegean Islands might have on the Mediterranean. We have borne that strategical effect in mind because all our influence has been used—and other Powers have agreed. and I think willingly—to get an agreement amongst the Powers that, whatever else may happen with regard to the Aegean Islands, none of those islands should be permanently occupied and maintained by the Powers. We did that precisely because we were alive to the strategical position in the Mediterranean and did not wish to see changes take place to affect that position adversely. But when we come to consider the settlement of the Islands, I think the settlement ought to be considered as a whole. The hon. member spoke as though the only thing involved was the giving of the island of Mitylene to Greece. That is not the only thing involved, nor is that the right way of stating what has taken place. It was not a question of handing these islands to Greece. It was a question of whether they should be taken away from Greece after she had taken the islands, of which the population was largely Christian. Certain districts of Epirus have been taken away from Greece and are in course of being given to Albania, which to a very large extent will be a Mohamedan State. I think Mohamedan feeling ought to be consulted, and what we have done has not shown any anti-Mohamedan bias. I am speaking, of course, of the settlement for which all the Powers are jointly responsible, and for which we have no more responsiblity than any other Powers. In the case of the islands now in Italian occupation, which will be restored to Turkey under the conditions of the treaty between Italy and Turkey, the decision of the Powers was that they were to decide what the destination of those islands was to be, and they decided that they were to go to Turkey. That was not an anti-Mohamedan decision, but an essential part of the settlement. It has been decided that the Island of Tenedos, because of its strategical importance to Turkey, is not to remain with Greece, but to revert to Turkey again. That shows consideration for Turkish feeling. If, after all that, it has been decided that the islands of Mitylene and Chios are not to be taken from Greece, it is not fair to quote that as an instance of an anti-Mohamedan decision by the Powers without remembering that it is merely part of a decision which I have divided into four parts, of which two are positively favourable to Turkey and the third is in favour of Albania, where Mohamedan interests have notably to be considered. That ought to be taken into account.

Mitylene and Chios.

It is a great mistake to look at the question of these islands as though they were the only thing in the settlement and not to bear in mind that they are part of the settlement and should be considered in relation to other parts. The settlement as a whole does not show an anti-Mohamedan or anti-Turkish bias. The hon. member who moved the motion admitted that the islands of Mitylene and Chios are in the main Greek with regard to their inhabitants. That is a strong *prima facie* case for their being under Greek rule. But why did he urge that they should not be? He said they were strategically important to Turkey. They are strategically important to Turkey, and the Powers have laid down that the islands are to be neutralized and not fortified, that Greece is not to make use of them in a sense hostile to Turkey and is to take precautions to see that a nuisance is not caused to Turkey by smuggling. We have taken as much interest as anybody in seeing that these conditions should be imposed. It has been suggested that all sorts of trouble would ensue from the possession of these islands by Greece, and that they would involve a real menace and risk to Turkey. Positive stipulations were introduced which Greece has willingly accepted which ought to safeguard Turkey against any such use being made of these particular islands. If in future it turns out that the unfavourable prophecies which have been made with regard to the possession of these islands are likely to be realized, that they are being used as a centre of smuggling and political agitation, that they are being fortified and are likely to become a base hostile to Turkey, that they are being administered in a sense offensive to Turkish interests—not only is that foreign to our intention in being a party to this settlement, but stipulations have been introduced into the settlement to guard against it. I believe not only with regard to this Government but any future British Government, if these fears turn out to be true, our sympathy will be all on the side of whatever measures may be suggested to secure that the possession of these islands by Greece shall be one which not only ensures the welfare of the population, but which also ensures that they are not used in a sense offensive to Turkey. I trust that the parties to this settlement will see that the ill effects to Turkey which are prophesied are not realized, but that Turkey shall be protected against the consequences which the Powers did not intend to flow from the settlement at which they have arrived and against which they have taken precautions by stipulation. (Cheers.)

Mr. Herbert, in view of the statement of the Foreign Secretary, asked leave to withdraw his motion.

TETE À TETE



A few weeks ago we drew the attention of the Bengal Government to the growing anxiety amongst the Calcutta Mussalmans owing to the acquisition by the Calcutta Port authorities, with a view to extend the Kidderpore Docks, of a considerable plot of land on which 15 mosques and 12 grave-yards are situated. These mosques and grave-yards are in an imminent danger of being wiped out, unless the Government intervenes. We have refrained from publishing the numerous communications that we have been receiving on the subject, for we have naturally no desire to embarrass the authorities in a matter so intimately affecting the religious feelings of the Moslem community. We still hope that the Bengal Government would remove all causes of anxiety by settling the question without further delay. It should not, we think, be necessary to repeat too often that the preservation of mosques is to Mussalmans a supreme religious obligation. Wherever this question comes to be raised, be it at Cawnpore or elsewhere, Moslem feelings are bound to be deeply stirred. It is natural—no vicissitude of temper or outer circumstance can affect this one way or the other. It is time the force of this sentiment were fully recognised. We understand the Calcutta Mussalmans intend to wait on Lord Carmichæl in deputation to lay the matter before him. We trust His Excellency will sympathetically consider the representation of the Mussalmans. We are surprised, by the way, at the silence of the Bengal Presidency Moslem League which appears to have done nothing in so important a matter, inspite of the loud patriotic pretentions of some of its members.

Mosques and Burial Places.

We publish elsewhere a letter sent to us from America, which invites prompt attention to the underlying policy of the Asiatic Exclusion Bill that was introduced in the United States Legislature sometime ago. Of all the Asiatics resident in the States, the Indians would assuredly be most adversely affected by this policy. They are weak in numbers; they lack active and powerful support of the British Government; and the humiliation to which they are subjected in the Colonies of their own Empire is bound to be taken up as the most crushing weapon against them. Indeed, the letter we publish to-day amply shows how the position assigned to Indians in Australia, Canada and South Africa is reacting on the position of Indians in the United States. The British Ambassador declined to help them unless he received instructions from the Foreign Office. We do not see what hope the Indian residents can have of protecting their rights and the honour of their country in such a situation. Has the British Imperialism no sense of duty in this respect? Is not the Empire powerful enough to protect its own citizens from insults and humiliation in foreign countries? It is a very anxious situation, yet British statesmanship seems hardly awake to the conservences of dallying with it.

Indian Exclusion and America.

In the organisers of the important Moslem Deputation that recently waited on Lord Hardinge had desired, among other things, to shut the mouths of their slanderers in a section of the Anglo-Indian Press, they have been remarkably successful. Their old and never-failing "friends," whose "advice" was lavished on them on the slightest provocation, seem to have received their plain and unvarnished talk in a chastened spirit, and, whether these "friends" have liked it or not, they have preferred to chew the cud of remorse in silence. The Moslem Deputation has been studiously ignored by the Anglo-Indian papers, with one striking exception. Perhaps the event has given thoughts that are too deep and searching for complacent editorial paragraphs. Or it may be, that the pens that were only yesterday dripping gall could not forthwith begin to overflow with milk and haney. But whether it is a shock of surprise, or the pang of remorse, or only a mild chagrin at the passing of a coveted opportunity to play the old game that is responsible for the conspiracy of silence, we would rather not inquire. The psychology of the Anglo-Indian Press is not easy to analyse—it is as shifty as the political weather of which it is so fine a barometer. But as we have already said, there is one great "friend" of the Mussalmans to whom the straight challenge of the representatives of the community has gone fearfully home. We have been rather amused to see the *Times of India*, which is so fond of lecturing the Mussalmans on sanity, trying madly to fit the cap on its head. It bitterly resents that the Mussalmans should have gone to the Viceroy to vindicate their loyalty, and in their reply to their calumniators it sees an "impassioned protestation" which was slightly suggestive of the refrain "we are all honourable men." It ascribes certain wild sayings to some Moslem journal and says that "other Mohamedan "journals have also acquired a reputation for ill-balanced opinions "and screaming denunciations which cannot easily be lived down, or "ignored on account of any number of protesting deputations." Our contemporary is evidently too vain to forget itself and too haughtily sensitive to "ignore" things that it does not like, but it forgets that the huge bundle of memories that it may be carrying to nurse its hate or revenge is already upsetting its mental balance. The Mussalmans know well enough what their needs are and they are quite competent to provide for those needs, if only their "friends" would leave them in peace. They have only one feeling for the presumption of those who discover postulates for their conduct or solemnly hold forth on the virtue of sanity. It is realy a curious logic that the *Times of India* and others of the same kidney have evolved in their campaign of malice and vilification against the Mussalmans. If the feelings of the Mussalmans of India are stirred by overwhelming misfortunes to Islam abroad or by some deep shock to their religious sentiments at home, they are dubbed sedition-mongers. If they desire to clear their character of the aspersions cast by their calumniators, they are said to be protesting their loyalty too much. Perhaps the *Times of India* and others of the tribe desire the Mussalmans to remain only as a perpetual text from which they might preach high political sermons according to the needs of the hour. All we wish to say is that the Mussalmans will hold on to the course that lies before them, undeterred by the threats and uninfluenced by the cajoleries of interested on-lookers, and we trust even the *Times of India* will live to learn it.

The Moslem Deputation to the Viceroy.

We have received a copy of the sad petition which was submitted some days ago to the district magistrate of Basti by 344 Mussalman residents of Mehndupur, Bargadwa, Sawaipar and some other villages situated within the jurisdiction of the police station Uska in the district. The petitioners state that since October, 1913, they have been molested and maltreated by a number of their Hindu fellow-subjects in every conceivable way "simply because we did not consent to give up the *qurbani* of cows "wholly and definitely on the occasion of the last Baqr'-Eed." They further state that their individual cries have not been successful in attracting the attention of the minor local authorities; and they have been driven in consequence to "approach you in a body with "the hope that you will be pleased to make a thorough and searching "inquiry, if need be, into our real and legitimate grievances with the "result that our future interests will be safeguarded and we will be "safe and free to return to our homes without any further danger to "our lives and property." The facts stated in the petition are as follows. Some days before the last Baqr'-Eed some of the Hindu residents of the villages named above sent for some of the petitioners and ordered them to abstain from sacrificing cows and buffalos and to substitute goats and sheep in their place. As the petitioners were unable to give any pledge to that effect, they were threatened with hints of damage to their lives and property. This aggressive attitude on the part of the Hindus is stated to have been the result of the preachings of some *bairagis* from Ajudhya. It was proclaimed by the Hindus by beat of drum that no one shall sacrifice cows and buffalos. "Subscription lists were opened to carry on "the propaganda of open hostility to the established laws and custom "of the country. Upon the heels of this war-cry followed some stray "acts of incendiarism the same evening, crops were destroyed in "some of the fields the morning following and the reign of terrorism "began in right earnest." The petitioners made a number of reports at the police station, but no serious notice was taken of them, "because no "lives had been lost and no very great damage to the crops could be "pointed out at one single spot." "We admit," say the petitioners, "that every effort would have been made to bring the culprit to "justice had we but lost a single life. But we proved cowards and "at this stage we prefer remaining so." The Hindus were in the meantime carrying on "an organised warfare" and were too astute

A Remarkable Petition.

to commit acts that might lead to bloodshed or a serious breach of the peace. The petitioners filed a number of complaints in the court of the sub-divisional officer of Bansi, but they failed to get any effectual remedy. They state that one of the officers, who inspected the locality, "after gauging the feelings of the opposite faction, "only thought of pacifying them by trying to prevail upon one of us "to definitely give up the *qurbani* of cows and in lieu to accept Rs. 50 "from the Hindu zamindars, which offer was very respectfully re-"jected." The petitioners then respectfully call the attention of the district magistrate to their helpless condition, the fear of organised persecution and violence that drove them out of their homes and has been keeping them in a frightful state of misery and suspense for many months past. Failing to get a redress of their grievances elsewhere they now turn to the district magistrate to help them and afford them safety and protection from the aggressive hostility of their determined and powerful neighbours. They state that the serious *impasse* seems to have been reached "through the attitude of some of the petty "officials responsible for order and good government." The petitioners assure the district magistrate that they have done all they could to settle the matter amicably and return quietly to their homes, but their efforts have sadly failed. They would not be allowed, it would seem, to settle down to their work in peace, unless they give up their rights and pledge themselves to abstain from performing a religious duty. The custom of sacrificing cows and buffalos has obtained in these villages for some generations. The petitioners are poor and cannot afford to sacrifice goats or sheep. Being staunch Mussalmans they naturally consider *qurbani* as a sacred rite which they are bound to observe. They cannot renounce this right the free exercise of which has been guaranteed to them by the British rule. Should they, therefore, be allowed to suffer so long at the hands of fanatical cliques, when they have done nothing and mean to do nothing to offend the susceptibilities of the Hindus? They crave "the benevolent "help and sympathy" of the district magistrate. "Our condition" they say, "speaks loudly of our necessity. We have left our homes "with our women and children and are camping out in the open, out "of the Uska police jurisdiction. This speaks for itself and we need "not be more plain in language." They pray that (*a*) a committee consisting of an equal number of Hindus and Mussalmans and one European member be appinted to consider their grievances and make a report thereon and that (*b*) a thorough departmental inquiry be made into the affairs of the Uska police station and, if any officer is found undesirable, he should be transferred. We prefer to say nothing at this stage in regard to the sad and amazing story that this petition discloses. We wonder nothing should have been done to look into the condition of things even after hundreds of Mussalmans with their wives and children had left their homes long ago and have since been living out in the open. They are evidently afraid of coming to live within the Uska police jurisdiction? Do they fear being harrassed by some police official or underlings? All these matters require a thorough, prompt and impartial inquiry. We have just received a communication from a correspondent who says that the district magistrate has rejected the petition. It is almost incredible to us to believe that the district magistrate would thus spurn away hundreds of poor, persecuted, hapless persons, whose distress is so great and who went to knock at his door for justice. We would await further details and information before we make our comments at length. But if it is true that the district magistrate has refused to ensure for the petitioners some tolerable conditions for their safety, we trust the local Government will promptly look into the matter and see that the poor Mussalmans of the villages, now wandering about in utter helplessness, get the official protection they seek and return to their homes without any risk to their lives and property.

Hindu-Moslem Entente.

The Hindu-Moslem conference which Sir James Meston had called with a view to consider the best means of promoting harmony and goodwill between the two communities, met at Lucknow last week. Our special correspondent sends us the following telegraphic summary of its proceedings:—"Twelve "Mussalmans and eleven Hindus attended. His Honour and the "Chief Secretary were present. Pundit Bishan Narain Dar was absent. "The following subjects were discussed: (1) Processions in religious "festivals; (2) appointments in the public service; (3) the language "question; (4) separate representation on local bodies; (5) cow-killing. "There was a good deal of plain speaking on both sides. The meet-"ing lasted from 11 a. m. to 7-30 p. m. It was suggested that joint-"boards be appointed under collectors and commissioners. Objection "was taken to boards being formed under official control. The non-"official members present at the conference formed into a committee, "with the Raja of Mahmudabad as chairman, to promote friendly "relations between the two communities. The committee has power "to add to its members. It is premature to judge of the results at "this stage. All depends on the spirit and the manner in which the "committee works. It is encouraging that the committee will not be "under official control." It is satisfactory to note that the conference did not rush to hasty resolutions which would have been repudiated afterwards by the general Hindu or the Mussalman public. The appointment of an independent non-official committee is a wise step, and if it sets to work earnestly and in the right spirit no one need despair of good results. The questions discussed at the conference form the crux of the matter, and they can only be settled amicably if the point of view of either side is examined impartially and receives its due weight. We trust both the Hindu and the Mussalman gentlemen on the committee realise that their business is not to wring concessions from each other, but to find a settlement that would be fair to both. Opinions should be freely invited and the work of the committee should proceed in a manner that would inspire general confidence. If the will is not wanting it should not be difficult to find the way. If the committee succeeds in its delicate and difficult task Sir James Meston would deserve the gratitude of both the communities in the Province for his initiative.

The Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy.

The news of the unanimous election of the Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy as President of the Bombay Corporation for the current year would be received with genuine pleasure by the large circle of his friends and admirers outside Bombay. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, in proposing Sir Fazulbhoy for the highest civic honour that it is in the gift of the most efficient, progressive and independent municipal corporation in India to bestow on any one of its members, paid a warm tribute to the ability and services of Sir Fazulbhoy and pointed out that "there was our gratifying feature, which he had just discovered "about this office and it was that Sir Fazulbhoy became President "at the same age at which he (Sir Pherozeshah) was first appointed "to that post." We earnestly hope that Sir Fazulbhoy's future career will realise the splendid promise of his early manhood. In reply to a recent address presented to him by the Mussalmans of Bombay in appreciation of his manifold services to the cause of communal education, Sir Fazulbhoy said: "You have overlooked my faults "and exaggerated the importance of what I have been able to achieve. "I am sure much yet remains to be done, and, with your kindness and "co-operation, I hope to dedicate my services to the welfare and advance-"ment of my community for the rest of my life." This is a noble resolve, and for a man of Sir Fazulbhoy's talents, leisure and position it is not difficult to realise. His community expects great things from him, and he would surely fulfil the promise of his manhood as well as the hopes of his friends, if his resolution is fixed and unshakable and his purpose is not suffered, through inevitable obstacles, difficulties and disappointments, to grow dim.

Diplomatists and History.

Lord Haldane, in recently delivering the annual Crieghton lecture at University College, London, took as his theme "The Meaning of Truth in History." Sir Edward Grey, who presided, introduced the subject in a speech of great suggestiveness and lucidity. He himself fills an active and important role to-day in the sphere of international politics. Much of the raw material of a very engrossing department of contemporary history has in recent years borne more or less the impress, among others, of Sir Edward's personality. It had been suggested to him that he might explain how diplomatists by their inveterate habit of telling the truth in their own day, were doing all they could do to make the work of the future historian easier. In his opinion, however, the difficulty, so far as the diplomatist was concerned, "was not to "tell the truth, but to get it believed when one had told it." It is an edifying commentry on the reputation of Diplomacy for a plain, straightforward habit of disburdening itself to the uninitiated. Any diplomatist worthy of his craft would, in fact, despise all free indulgence in this habit as professional incompetence. When a veil is partially withdrawn on rare occasions, it is often intended as a "blind" to send the pack of curiosity-hunters off their track. Whether the historian would find it easy to disentangle "truth" from the calculated "indiscretions" of Diplomacy as well as from its discreet reticences it is hard to tell. There can be no doubt, however, that the diplomatist is in a very special sense making history. The historian that comes later to piece together the bewildering multitude of accomplished "facts" into some sort of organic relation, reads into them ideas, tendencies, and broad significance and makes the dry bones live again after his own inner-image of the period and the epoch. The inner atmosphere in which the diplomatist plies his craft rarely reveals itself to the historian. He frequently misses the tone and the gesture of the age; no inward illumination can successfully light his path to the hidden springs of motives and character of the diplomatist; no effort can bring him into close and intimate touch with the real sources of the diplomatist's power and the tools with which he worked. The most successful historian—successful in the popular sense—is in reality an artist, *i.e.*, he pursues his *motif* through the recorded deeds and thoughts and hopes of men and selects his materials to give it a complete expression. The figures that crowd his canvas are his own creation. It is wholly beside the point to inquire if they reflect the past faithfully as in a mirror. The essential point is that both the mirror and the faculty of vision are the artist's own.

Truth in History.

But even if the entire historical literature of the world were a merely richly-embroidered vesture, fashioned out of the records of the past, through which individuals gifted with strong literary instincts have tried to find self-expression, it would be difficult to dismiss it as a mass of unreality. For one thing, it has moulded our conception of the past and has thus become a living force in our estimate of the tendencies of the present and in our forecasts of the future. And the picture that it gives of the past is not wholly valueless. Even in a caricature one can visualise the real features by some effort of the imagination. And historical literature is not all a caricature. At its worst it is unmitigated falsehood, but in the hands of the best masters it has given several valuable glimpses of "the truth." The defect of the bias of personality, which even the best specimen of historical literature bears, is a human limitation that it is impossible to remove. History has its massage, and it is not all profitless. According to Sir Edward Grey, two things should be sought in the study of history. One is some help in understanding the time in which we live ourselves. In our own age it is very difficult to see the wood from the trees. The historian can show us a past age stripped of all that was trivial, irrelevant or transitory in it and can bring out what the life of the period really was, what people thought really mattered, their point of view, their lasting and permanent work, the tendency of their age. This could help to save us from confusion and muddle and to make our own efforts some permanent contribution to the pattern and work which our own generation is doing and which would be recognised by future historians as distinctive. The other thing we get from history is the lesson to be learnt from the conduct of prominent and great individuals, the limitation in public work of character which was not supported by sufficient intellect, the failure even of the greatest intellect when it was not accompanied by sufficient qualities of character. Lord Haldane mainly discoursed on the standard of truth for the historian. He advanced the analogy of the artist who painted a portrait. Art in the highest sense has to disentangle the significance of the whole from its details and to reproduce it. The truth of the art is a truth that must be borne again of the artist's mind. No mere narration of details would give the whole that at once dominated those details, and yet did not exist apart from them. The work of the historian and the artist seems to be so far analogous; both are directed to finding the true expression of their subjects and neither is concerned with accidents of details that are fortuitous. But the former does not possess the freedom of the latter. If he uses as complete liberty as the artist claims, he is reckoned as belonging to quite a different profession—that of a writer of historical romance. The true historian must be exact and yet a lord over his details. He must not let his views on the whole be distorted by *a priori* conceptions that are abstract and inadequate to the riches of the facts of life. Lord Haldane thinks that the historian must be a man of art as well as of science. It may be possible to a certain degree to combine art and science in writing history, but a perfect combination is out of the question. Science cries for exactitude and generalisation at every step, and it would be the height of absurdity to imagine that any theory or principle can for a moment be framed to comprehend such an incommensurable thing as life. Social sciences are not simply imperfect, they can never be sure of their ground. As Lord Haldane himself observes, it is a mistake to suppose that statesmen are always conscious of the ends which they are accomplishing. It is not by the piecing together of mechanical fragments but by a process more akin to the development of life that societies grow and are changed. There is thus an inevitable element of what seems at first sight to be unreality in even the best work of historians.

Politics and History.

Lord Morley's range and power of thought in a bold, philosophical survey of history have been some of the most illuminating sources of wisdom to his generation. In his recent short volume, entitled *Notes on Politics and History*, he inquires in his own inimitable way if history can afford any valuable guidance in the conduct of politics. As an able reviewer says, he has in these *Notes* delivered himself of a searching criticism of contemporary civilisation. He is suggestive as well as elusive in propounding a number of questions with which he confronts the reader. The aspect of contemporary civilisation that has most strongly impressed itself on Lord Morley is its turbulent change. The student of public affairs cannot fail to remark to-day an enormous impetus to legislative innovation coupled with an impatience of legal restraint. "The whole trend "of modern legislation," says Professor G. H. Morgan, "marks a "progress from contract to status—the legal relations of parent "and child, of husband and wife, of employer and workman, of "doctor and patient, of landlord and tenant, are all undergoing a "change in the direction of legislative regulation. Whether these "changes keep pace with or outpace the development of individual "character is an anxious and urgent question. Inspite of this "tendency to increase the functions of the State—perhaps because "of it—there is everywhere what Lord Morley aptly calls a 'latter-"day antinomianism,' an increasing disrespect for constituted "authority—civil commotion in Ulster, 'sympathetic' strikes in "one or more of our great industrial towns, hints at revolution by "our Conservative Party, and threats, and more than threats, of "'sex war' by the champions of Women's suffrage. Men are at "one and the same time eagar for legislation and impatient "of law." Where, it may well be asked, are people to look for persuation, if not for authority, in all this ferment of change? Lord Morley has faith and hope in the influence of educated opinion. The habit of loose-thinking and slipshod-reasoning has grown amid the conditions of life that have contributed to the general instability of mind, but he thinks the chief corrective for this is a re-examination by the universities of the foundations of political belief. And this leads us to the central question: What guidance can history give to the student of contemporary affairs and more particularly to the politician and the statesman? Nothing was more characteristic of the period about the middle of the nineteenth century than the zeal with which men set themselves to make history the handmaid of politics. As Professor Morgan says, "different "historians at different times discovered an inexorable movement "from status to contract, communism to individualism, aristocracy "to democracy, authority to liberty, custom to law, myth to religion, "religion to morality. Others again have seen in history the divine "hegemony of a race or the apotheosis of a creed...It is of this "appropriation of history to politics that Stubbs must surely have "been thinking when he satirised the attempt of men to prove "that 'all things would have been exactly as they are if everything "'had been diametrically opposite to what it was.'" What then do we mean by truth in history? If it means veracity, it is surely the primary business of the historian. But veracity is not the same thing as value which the philosopher has to find out and estimate. As a law of life history has its limits. The rules of conduct must be sought and found in the investigation of the content of one's own experience. "These are things" says Professor Morgan, "which each generation of men must work out for themselves; it "may be with fear and trembling. History cannot perform for us "the office of philosophy. It is not a criticism of life, though "it may occasionally supply the materials for one. Even when we "have advanced from the conception of the historian's object as "'*What* happened' to '*How* or why it actually happened,' from "the descriptive to the causal, we are still a long way from the "imperious contemporary problem 'What *ought* to happen?'" Generalisations of history are not commands. If they are accepted as the "laws" of life social will and purpose will be paralysed and the human spirit would lose all energy and enterprise.

> Man is his own star, and the soul that can
> Render an honest and a perfect man
> Commands all time, all influence, all fate;
> Nothing to him comes early or too late.

But if history is not a very reliable guide in the solution of contemporary problems, its value as an instrument of intellectual training and culture can not be ignored. It may not yield laws of life, but if wisely studied it can impart breadth of outlook, tolerance, sense of proportion to the mind of the student and may endow him with that steadiness of nerve which is so necessary in dealing with men and affairs. Lord Morley thinks that history "is very convenient "to the politician—a plausible parallel makes him feel surer of his "ground." And this is its greatest snare—it can not contradict us when we read our opinions into it. Stubbs was doubtful if history would make men wise, but he was sure it would make them sad. Some of its most profound students think that it can throw little light on the doubts and controversies of the hour and that man can never hope to divine the future by reading the past. It would perhaps be nearer the truth to say that man can never read the past fully and therefore correctly. And this is the real limitation that besets history as, indeed, all human knowledge. The horizons shut mercilessly behind us and before us, and the mind's eye can only range over a brief space through the intermittent light of fragmentary human experience, and cannot penetrate the immense darkness around. The light itself changes colours, and the eye is but a creature of the age. It is the sense of these stupendous fixities which brings Lord Morley to a pause and forces on him the question: Is there Progress? As Professor Morgan says, we all believe in Progress to-day, but do we achieve it? Have we any clear conception of what it means? "We are, as Anatole France reminds "us, working upon the roaring loom of time even as the weavers "who produce the Gobelin tapestry—we work without seeing the "pictures which we weave." There is much that can be said to show that the present age is an age of progress in the real sense of the word. There is a quickened social consciousness and a deeper appreciation of our mutual obligations. Education is growing liberal, speculation is becoming freer every day. Lord Morley, though expressing no definite opinion, seems to think that the achievements and efforts of contemporary civilisation are not all a delusion and a mistake. He sees around him "equity, candour, "diligence, application, charity, disinterestedness for public ends, "courage without presumption." He recites the tribute of Sophocles to the unconquerable mind of man. His message is one of hope to the younger generation.

The Comrade.

Ulster and the Army.

II.

We concluded our first article on the subject published in the last issue by stating that the crisis of the officers' resignations with reference to the question, whether the Army could be forced to coerce Ulster, was averted, but it was averted only at the cost of a still greater crisis with reference to the question, whether the Army could ask for and obtain assurances from Government about the manner in which it would be employed by the Civil power. This question is indeed of the utmost importance, and the historian of the British Constitution would have to include this second Ulster crisis in his account of the position of the Army towards Parliamentary Government. It has involved the resignation of the Secretary of State for War and of two military officers holding important posts, such as Field-Marshal Sir John French, the Chief of the General Staff, and Lieutenant-General Sir John Ewart. It all but involved the resignation of a statesman like Lord Morley and of General Sir Arthur Paget commanding the troops in Ireland. Even more significant is the direct assumption of the charge of the Army as the Secretary of State for War by the Prime Minister himself. In fact it is only by taking these grave and unusual steps that the Government has escaped a general resignation of the Cabinet following on the revolt of the Liberal back benches.

Before we can enter upon a discussion of essential the points in the controversy, it is necessary to ascertain what it was that the Government instructed Sir Arthur Paget to do and what he did, what it was that General Gough demanded and what he secured, how far the entire Cabinet was responsible for the action of Colonel Seely and Generals French and Ewart, and how much further these responsible authorities of the Army had gone. It is noteworthy that Sir Arthur Paget's instructions to officers were not included in the White Paper issued by the Government on the 25th of March, and Mr. Bonar Law in the Commons' debate insisted that everything turned on what General Paget said to the officers, and yet this Colonel Seely had refused to tell the house. However, now that Sir Arthur Paget has called at Downing Street and Mr. McKenna has communicated to the House of Commons the statement of Sir Arthur Paget to the Ministry, it is possible to see, even though it be dimly, what instructions Sir Arthur Paget had received from the Government and what communication he in his turn had made to the Irish officers. Mr. Winston Churchill told the House that regarding the new reinforcements sent to guard the depots, General Paget was consulted and was of opinion that it would cause intense excitement and a crisis. The Government did not view the matter so seriously, but consulted Mr. Birrell and acted on his advice. These movements and none other were approved by the Cabinet in principle, and the details were approved at a conference of Mr. Asquith, members of the Government, heads of the Army Council and Sir Arthur Paget. None of the Ministers believed that would lead to bloodshed, but General Paget took a most serious view. He was told that, if necessary, reinforcements should be sent from England. Regarding the possibility of disaffection among officers, General Paget was given two rules: *firstly*, officers ordered to support the civil power were not to be allowed to resign, but if they did not obey they were to be dismissed; *secondly*, indulgence might be shown to officers domiciled in Ulster. Mr. Churchill added that it was never intended that these rules, given to General Paget for guidance in case of emergency, should be put to the officers in the form of questions and that there was a misunderstanding on that point. According to Mr. McKenna's statement, Sir Arthur Paget had informed Mr. Asquith that the only question put to the Generals was, whether they were prepared to do their duty before any other consideration. It was not his intention that the Generals should put questions to the subordinates. He had also informed the Generals that officers whose homes were in Ulster might temporarily withdraw if operations became necessary. He requested the Generals to ascertain the number of officers thus withdrawing. Sir Arthur Paget was asked whether other officers would be allowed to resign. He replied that refusals of duty would result in dismissing.

There was evidently a bungling of the thing and, howsoever the misunderstanding arose, neither the Government nor Sir Arthur Paget can be congratulated on their management of the situation. But even if Sir Arthur Paget was responsible for this misunderstanding, the Government and the Army Council alone were responsible for the still more serious bungling when General Gough was called to the War Office and returned with written assurances in his pocket. In this connection too it is with the utmost difficulty that one is able to piece together the story of the transaction. We have already indicated in the article in our last issue that even the Liberal papers were far from certain that General Gough had rejoined unconditionally, and that the *Times* had clearly asserted that General Gough had received a written assurance from the Government that the troops would not be used to coerce Ulster. It is true that when on the 23rd of March Mr. Asquith's statement was interrupted by a Unionist who asked: "Is General Gough "reinstated?." Mr. Asquith had replied: "there is no question of "reinstatement. He was never dismissed" and that when Mr. Bonar Law interposed: "his successor was actually mentioned," Mr. Asquith had replied "that was pending General Gough's explanation. He "and all the officers concerned have now returned to their Brigade," and finally when the Unionists asked: "Unconditionally?" Mr. Asquith has replied: "Certainly." Nevertheless when Mr. Morrell had pointed out that the question whether or not General Gough had returned to Ireland on terms had not been answered and he asked Colonel Seely for an answer, Colonel Seely did not reply. Again, on the following day Mr. Amery, a Unionist, moved the reduction of the Army Estimates and declared that General Gough had refused to accept Colonel Seely's verbal assurances that neither he nor his troops would be used to coerce Ulster, and had got written assurance. Inspite of this Colonel Seely deferred his statement until the following day much to the dissatisfaction of the Liberals, who expected an immediate explanation of the nature of the assurances given to Brigadier-General Gough and his comrades. The opinion in the Lobby was reported to be that the Government was threatened with a widespread revolt and that the Liberals were very angry at the Government's supposed yielding to the officers. On the 25th of March a White Paper was issued containing correspondence in relation to the events, but the summary cabled to this country did not explain the pointed issue whether General Gough had rejoined unconditionally or otherwise. On the same day Reuter's telegram informed us on the authority of reports in the papers that the officers' interview at the War Office, evidently on the 22nd of March, was most stormy. Sir John French had criticised their action as meriting the severest punishment, but it is not without interest to know that it was a former Commander-in-Chief of the Army, in India, Lord Roberts, whose intervention is reported to have restored a better feeling. Finally, a voluminous document, replete with legal technicalities was presented to them setting forth the conditions under which they would undertake to serve in Ulster. General Gough's reply, however inconsistent it may have been with his conduct at the Curragh camp, was very ingenious and showed him to be resourceful at least in diplomacy. He said we are plain soldiers and do not understand legal terms. So to the gentleman fully familiar with military discipline, but not worst in legal technicalities, a document of a less complicated nature was supplied which he signed. This is the first mention of something in writing, but as this document was signed by the officers and purported to set forth the conditions under which the officers would undertake to serve in Ulster, it could not have been the Cabinet document with the War Office additions which has formed the subject of so much controversy. To this Colonel Seely referred when announcing his resignation and said that it was signed by himself, Field-Marshal French and Lieutenant General Sir John Ewart and that it was a Cabinet document, but the signatories had inadvertently added the concluding paragraphs which gave the appearance that the officers had secured terms. The papers had subsequently published that Field-Marshal French and Lieutenant-General Sir John Ewart had reluctantly signed the paragraphs which were subsequently repudiated by the Government. Now we have the following Ministerial statement before us about this controversial document. We have already quoted what Colonel Seely had said about it. Mr. Asquith explained on the same date that the Cabinet had considered the letter to General Gough as contained in the White Paper with the exception of last two paragraphs. These, he said, were inadvertently added by Colonel Seely without the knowledge of the Cabinet. The Government, he declared, would never assent to the claims of officers to demand assurances from the Government. Sir Edward Grey said that when the Cabinet authorized the communication to General Gough the General's letter of the 23rd March was not before them. The paragraphs Colonel Seely had added were harmless enough in themselves, but the Cabinet was unable to endorse them because they appeared as an answer to General Gough, making conditions. The Government, said Sir Edward Grey, still maintained that General Gough had returned unconditionally. They stood by the first portion of their communication and were responsible for nothing else. Mr. Austin Chamberlain characterized Colonel Seely's resignation as a put-up job, and said that Colonel Seely had prepared the paragraphs, which the Government now repudiated, in consultation with Lord Morley and added that, if these Ministers remained, then the paper they had approved was binding on their colleagues. Mr. Churchill repudiated the statement and said that Lord Morley has never revised or examined the two paragraphs. Five days later Mr. Churchill asserted that when Colonel Seely's assurances were given the Cabinet knew nothing of General Gough's demand. The document drafted by Lieutenant-General Ewart came to the Cabinet too late to be read, but Mr. Asquith knowing the mind

of the Cabinet "cut it down accordingly, handed it to Colonel Seely "and left the Cabinet." On the next day, however, Mr. Churchill stated that he had been betrayed into a mis-statement on the previous day and that the memorandum containing Brigadier-General Gough's demand was read to the Cabinet which declined to agree to them. From this it would appear that even Sir Edward Grey "was betrayed into a mis-statement" on the 25th of March, when he said that when the Cabinet authorized the communication to General Gough, the General's letter of 23rd was not before them. This is indeed an extraordinary betrayal, and one would very much like to know how it came about. As regards Lord Morley's share in the transaction, his lordship himself stated that Colonel Seely had shown him the famous two paragraphs which did not appear to him to differ in substance from the views expressed by the Cabinet, and in answer to Lord Curzon's characteristic interjection, asking why, as Colonel Seely has resigned, Lord Morley was still Minister, he explained on the following day that he had not resigned, but that if Colonel Seely's first resignation had been accepted his would have followed. He has further explained that Colonel Seely's second resignation was on the entirely different point, that it might not appear that the Minister had made a bargain. Lord Morley himself never saw General Gough's letter. We confess these timid and haulting explanations, which require the repeated publication of *errata*, are more confusing than explanatory. The *Pioneer's* special correspondent has informed us that Genera Gough, after seeing Colonel Seely's added paragraphs and remarking that soldiers did not understand legal subtleties, asked in writing whether the document meant that he could tell the officers that they would not be used to force Home Rule on Ulster. Sir John French, he adds, attended and signed some form of assent. Versions vary from "this is so" to "I should read it so," the latter being the version Colonel Seely gave to the House of Commons. General Gough alone has the authentic copy. This is the record of a remarkably confused and complicated transaction that we have been able to piece together, and we cannot see how the conclusion can be avoided that the Cabinet and the War Office between them bungled the situation just as the Cabinet and the War Office and Sir Arthur Paget had bungled another situation a few days before.

The net result of this medley of instructions, resignations, misunderstandings, explanations, and corrections, is that the Liberal Government has shown firmness in the end and has laid it down by means of a new Army Order issued by the Army Council, including Sir John French and Sir John Ewart, that in the first place no officer should in future be questioned regarding his attitude in hypothetical contingencies; secondly, asking for assurances about orders which he might be required to obey was forbidden; and thirdly, he must obey lawful commands to safeguard public property, or support the civil power in the ordinary execution of its duty or in case of disturbances. But while we have given all the details of this bungling and the final result of the controversy, we have written to no purpose if we fail to impress our readers that, in the words of Mr. Lloyd George, the gravest issue had arisen since the days of Stuarts. Representative Government was indeed at stake, and if Liberalism had flinched it would have declared that it was no longer fit to control a great Empire. Democracy is on its trial and on the courage and resolution of the friends of liberty depends the question whether the country shall remain free or be enslaved by military despotism. Mr. Asquith speaking at Newcastle Station used similar language when he said that they were living in searching times when fundamental principles were called in question and fortunes and great causes were at stake.

Let us examine a little how the "Party of Law and Order," the Party of the Constitution looks upon the matter. We have already quoted in our article in the last issue the opinions of some of the Tory papers and the tone and temper of them all. But if anything, the Tory statesmen are worse than the Tory Press. Mr. Bonar Law exulted over the discomfiture of the Government, because through the effort of his party "the Army was being destroyed before their eyes." He said nothing would save the Army now except a clear declaration that officers of the Navy and the Army would not be compelled to engage in civil war against their wish. Mr. Balfour, freed from the responsibility of the Leadership of the Opposition and enjoying the consolations of philosophy, golf and tennis, was even more irresponsible than Mr. Bonar Law. He was evidently pleased that General Gough had been dismissed because he did not want to fight against Ulster, and had been reinstated after still saying that he would not fight against Ulster. Speaking on another occasion he preached the doctrine of the optional obedience of the soldier. Some Tories even went so far as to suggest that the Army Annual Bill should be rejected by the House of Lords or so amended that the House of Commons could not possibly pass it as amended. If this were to come about, the entire Army would be disestablished, enlistment would cease, the Mutiny Act would be suspended and the payment of officers and soldiers would become ill-legal. The purpose of the Army Annual Act was, as every student of English History knows, to prevent the King from keeping a standing Army without the sanction of the Commons. It carries on to this day the inherited instinct that a standing Army unsanctioned by Parliament is a menace to the liberties of the nation. The Editor of the *Westminister Gazette* has therefore appositely said that it would be the last stroke of irony that this provision should be twisted by the Lords into a means of restraining the Commons from using the forces of the Crown against a particular group of people who threatened a rebellion against Parliament. It appears that some members of the Constitutional Party, more hopeful than others, were somewhat puzzled by the possibility of a Nationalist's riot in Belfast if a General Election should come off in May and the Unionists should come back into power. So it was suggested that the Army Annual Bill be so amended that only one party, namely, the Party of Law and Order, should be able to play at the game of rebellion with impunity and not both the Liberals and the Unionists. Other still more fantastic suggestions were made and Mr. J. A. Spender is not very wide of the mark in saying that such a project could only be hatched in Bedlam at full noon. The fact is, the Tories occupied in their contest against the Liberals the vantage ground of the House of Lords, so that when they were in power all the Tory Bills moved on oiled casters, but when the Liberals were in power the Tory House of Lords could be effectively used for the purpose of Slaughter of Innocents in the case of Liberal Bills. The Tories far out-numbering Liberals in the Army and the Navy and the Civil Service, formed the party of lavish expenditure on the Services, while the Liberals had to push forward a programme of retrenchment when they came back into power. Mr. Lloyd George, however, hoisted them with their own petard by taxing the very classes that were perpetually clamouring for more money. But the Constitutional Party attempted to drive a coach-and-six through the Constitution by encroaching on the sole right of the Commons to make provisions for the British Exchequer. That attempt, however, failed, and the passage of the Parliament Bill into law pulled out the teeth and paired the claws of the Lords. Several appeals were made to the nation, but every General Election left power in the hands of a coalition of Liberals, Labourites and Nationalists. Beaten at the polls, the Party of Law and Order now seeks salvation in an open, unshamed rebellion, and after drilling volunteers for nearly a year it has now tried to seduce the Army from its loyalty to the Crown and to His Majsty's Government. It wants the Army to take up the battle which it has lost in Parliament and, although the Government pretends to believe that no officers had disobeyed orders and the solidarity of the Army had not been impaired, it is clear that the Tories had not counted in vain on the Tory tendencies of the officers belonging to what are now being called "the governing classes." The result is that the class war, which we fear cannot be averted for very long in Europe including England, appears less distant in that country now than it ever did before. Mr. John Ward, a Labour member, was lustily cheered by the Liberal back benches when he seconded a Unionist motion for the reduction of the Army Estimates, and particularly when he remarked that the question at issue was whether the people were to make laws absolutely without interference from either the King or the Army. Mr. Thomas, another Labour member, pointed out that if the new Unionist doctrine with reference to the Army were to stand, it would be the duty of the Railwaymen's Union to use £5,000 of their funds for the purchase of arms and ammunitions. "If you want to force my class to fight you "to-morrow, we, Trade Unionists, will now consider establishing "military organisations." The above passage, addressed to the Opposition, occurred in Mr. John Wards' speech in the House of Commons on the 24th March and was given prominence the next day by the Liberal papers, which described the speeches of Mr. Ward and Mr. Thomas as a turning-point in social history. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has not always been able recently to please his Party, but he was evidently in full accord with them on this occasion. He said that officers have prepared to shoot Trade Unionists, but they would not shoot in Ulster because of class bias. He advocated the granting of higher pay to officers which would allow democrats to take Commissions. The doctrine appears to Lord Haldane to be impracticable, and he said on the 30th of March that an attempt to democratise the Army would be attended with enormous difficulties. It would take probably fifteen years and entail enormous expenditure. But, added the Lord Chancellor, it would not even then equal the present splendid Service. These are remarks quite in keeping with the place in which they were uttered, namely, the House of Lords, and with the time when they were uttered, namely, when the Army needed a lot of patting on the back to keep it within the terms of fealty it had sworn. But a philosopher and military expert like Viscount Haldane could not have ignored the remarkable and rapid success achieved by the allied Island of Japan in democratising her army, and after all the fixing of a period of 15 years for the growth and development of a rival army is none too complimentary to "the present splendid Service." Be that as it may, it is noteworthy that, addressing a meeting of colliers in Cumberland, a

miner's agent said the time was ripe for the formation of a Trade Union Defence League ready to take up arms and fight to resist oppression from any source. At any rate, it is certain that in the face of what has happened it will be difficult for a Tory magistrate to imprison with any show of conscience another Tom Maun for asking the soldiers not to shoot workmen. We already hear that a syndicalist's "Dont shoot" demonstration was held in Trafalgar square to exhort soldiers not to fire on workers. We are told that there was no disturbance anywhere and we may safely presume that there were also no arrests.

Mr. Asquith in his great speech at Ladybank vindicated Parliamentary Government with firmness and dignity. He said that the Army had no place and no voice in framing their policy or moulding their own laws, and in his new post of the Secretary of State for War the Army would not hear of politics from him, and he expected in return to hear nothing of politics from the Army. Contrast this with Mr. Bonar Law's observation that "the least we in the 20th Cen- "tury had right to ask was that when we were threatened with civil "commotion, officers conscientiously objecting to that service should "be permitted to resign retaining their pensions." Is not Mr. Asquith right in saying that these doctrines furnish a complete grammer of anarchy? He repeated that these new dogmas countersigned by Tory leaders would be invoked whenever the spirit of lawlessness claimed to block the ordered machinery of self-governing society. We do not know whether this would be the case in self-governing societies alone, and we do not think Mr. Asquith would like thus to limit his remarks. For he said in the course of the same speech that the Tory doctrines set a precedent which was of an infinite number of applications, each more disastrous in its consequences than the one which went before it. It is true that Lord Hardinge has declared the rumours, alleged by the *Daily Telegraph* to be current in the Lobby of the House of Commons, to have no truth whatever in them, and we may take this negative evidence to indicate that at least His Excellency the Viceroy has not found it necessary to warn the Prime Minister that many officers of the Indian Army would resign, unless the Government made peace with the Army. But a Simla telegram says that it was well known last year that General Richardson, while he was organising the Ulster Volunteers, had assurances of sympathy and support from a number of officers in this county. It is indeed an excellent comment upon Tory tactics and Tory loyalty that, at the very moment when Indian Mussalmans should be indignantly repudiating the monstrous invention that attempts were made by them to tamper with the loyalty of Muslim troops, the Viceroy should have to issue such a press *Communique* and its force should be minimised by the publication of such a Simla telegram. However, there is no ill wind that blows nobody any good, and Indians must console themselves in these critical times with the admission of the British War Minister contained in a State document published in a White Paper that "the "law clearly laid down that a soldier was entitled to obey an order to "shoot only if it was reasonable under the circumstances," and that "if "officers and men believed that they were called upon to take some "outrageous action. . . . . they would, in fact and in law, be "justified in contemplating refusing to obey, bad as might be the "effect upon the discipline of the Army." We do not think we have many readers among the military, and for obvious reasons we give the Army in India a very wide birth. But we hope our contemporary, the *Fauji Akhbar*, is keeping its clientele well posted up in these matters.

The Honours.

I

We have reproduced in our last issue and in this the proceedings of the debate that took place some weeks ago in the House of Lords on the motion of the Earl of Selborne on the subject of honours, not because it is any concern of ours whether knighthoods, baronetcies, baronies and other varieties of the British peerage are conferred on deserving persons or otherwise, but because many remarks of the speakers in the Lord's debate have a no inconsiderable application to Indian conditions, and we trust that those of our readers, who have come to regard us as the enemy of titles and title-holders, would now understand that our banter is after all not so original as they thought and that our ideas on the subject of honours are shared by a good many titled persons in Great Britain as well.

In the well-known phrase of Macaulay, every schoolboy knows that unlike Great Britain there is no chance here of turning out the Government in power. Although from the very nature of the case Indian politicians may very often criticise the measures of the Government, they cannot hope to replace the Government and drive it out of power, leaving it to plough the sands of Opposition. In other words, there is no party system in India like that in Great Britain. That been so, there are no party funds in the British sense of the term, though the critics of Government here also need money for the purpose of public agitation and have to raise subscriptions. The Government, relying upon a permanent settlement of power upon itself and being composed of paid officals with the entire resources of the State at its disposal, has no need of public agitation, but there are many indirect ways in which officals of Government use certain sections of the people as their instruments in pushing on a counter-agitation. Under these circumstances honours are not divided between the Indian Government and—if the term can be strained so far—the Indian Opposition. The Government is a fountain of all honour and, although there are no party funds in India, Government officals see to it that by hook or by crook those who act as their auxiliaries in countering popular agitation have honours easy.

Dealing with the traffic in honours, Lord Selborne said that it was a grievous scandal that a man whom no one would otherwise think of recommending for an honour is able to buy it just as he would a picture, and he feared that, unless the present tendency received a salutary check, the day would come when some one would offer to buy a Victoria Cross. He pointed out that every playgoer knows that this matter of the sale of honours is now openly scoffed at in the theatre and it is even flung across the floor of the House of Commons as a taunt from one member to another. Lord Milner, however, pointed out that in the literal sense of the word, of course, honours are not sold like butter or cheese. It may even be said that there is no honour, however flagrantly bestowed, which cannot often, or in fact always, be accounted for by some plausible reason besides the true one, and care is always taken to avoid suspicious juxtaposition of cause and effect. Nevertheless, as Lord Selborne said, it is believed that persons who have social ambitions, or whose wives have social ambitions, who have really no claim at all to receive an houonr, believe that they can purchase if they go to the right place. In some cases it is believed that even where social ambition has never entered into the soul of the individual, temptation is thrown in his way and an honour is hawked to him. Lord Milner further pointed out that the bestowal of honours has a habit of synchronizing with periods when the Government of the day is in special need of funds. He invited attention to what he called there periodicity, the cyclical movements that seemed to affect them. There was a really imposing shower only when there were critical moments in the life of the Government. "The occurrence of these great "showers of honours," said Lord Milner, "is almost always in the "year before, or year of, or year after a General Election; and one is almost forced to the conclusion that there is some kind of mis- "terious relation between the two phenomena."

To do Lord Selborne justice, he did not exculpate his own party from the charge of bargaining in honours. He said, "both the "great political parties have held office, the evil is a growth of our "Party system, and both political parties are responsible for it." Lord Milner also frankly acknowledged it and said: "Both parties "have something to atone for in their past conduct." Lord Crewe agreed with Lord Selbourne that no question of party advantage, or party feeling ought to be involved in the matter. While denying that any of them wished to adopt a priggish or Pharisaic attitude, he assured the House on behalf of his party that none of them was disposed to minimise the gravity of the subject. Lord Selborne seemed to be deeply conscious of some of his most cynical friends who shrugged their shoulders and who said that it was prudery or pedantry to make a fuss over a matter which they did not regard as a serious evil. He himself considered it a scandal and an evil which among other things injuriously affected the prestige of the Crown and lowered the standard of public morality. He himself was fully convinced of the great value of a Constitutional Monarchy as a public institution. Any influence, therefore, which adversely affected the prestige of the Monarchy, the Crown, must be a great public evil. "Is it possible," Lord Selborne asked, "that this "belief that honours which proceed from the Crown can be acquired "by wealth, by whomsoever sold or howsoever got, can be prevalent "and the prestige of the Crown not be affected?" As regards public morality, he was sure it did matter whether the hall-mark of honour was to be genius or noble life or position or public service, or whether it was to be simply wealth by whomsoever owned and however begotten. Lord Milner added that there was an even worse consequence of this "traffic in honours." By offering to party managers the opportunity of collecting enormous secret funds it helped to rivet the yoke of party upon the public men, to undermine independence alike in candidates and in members of Parliament and to submit Parliament and the nation to the uncontrolled and growing despotism of party machinery.

It is interesting incidentally to take note of the immense secret influence that wealth is acquiring in the conduct of public affairs. Lord Selborne, referring to the condition of some other countries, pointed out that those who have found the money for a party have eventually dictated its policy. "Men will dispute," said Lord Selborne, "to the crack of doom as to the respective merits of different "forms of Governments, but I say without hesitation that the very "worst fate that could befall a country is to be governed by an "alliance of the caucus and the plutocrat." There is danger, he reminded the Liberal peers, lest the real residuary legatee of that influence of which they were trying to deprive the hereditary peerage should be not the people, but the plutocracy.



Indian Exclusion and America.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE COMRADE.

SIR,—The Asiatic Exclusion Bill is pending before the U. S. Congress at the present time. It aims at the permanent exclusion of all Asiatic labourers from the United States. As soon as our countrymen were apprised of the imminent danger, the California Chapter of the Hindustan Association of America appointed a committe to agitate the question. On February 1st, the Committee convened a meeting of the Hindus resident in and near San Francisco, at which it was decided that a delegation should proceed to Washington to make representations to the U. S. Government and Legislature. Saint Tara Singh, Honorary Secretary of the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society, Stockton (California), intimated that the Khalsa Diwan Society would be willing to defray the expenses. The Khalsa Diwan Society at a meeting held on February 3rd, appointed the following gentlemen as its delegates with full powers to act in the best interests of the country: Professor Sudhindra Bose, M.A., Ph. D., Lecturer on Political Science in the State University of Iowa, Dr. Bishen Singh, and Mr. Har Dayal.

The delegates arrived in Washington on Monday, February 9th. In the meantime, the passing of the Asiatic Exclusion Bill had been delayed chiefly on account of diplomatic negotiations with the Government of Japan.

The delegates were favourably received by the Press representatives of Washington. The leading morning and evening papers, the *Post*, the *Herald*, the *Star*, and the *Times*, published adequate and appreciative notices of the delegation and its mission. Professor Bose and Dr. Bishen Singh interviewed Hon. W. J. Bryan, Secretary of State, and Hon. W. B. Wilson, Secretary of Labour. They also called on the British Ambassador, Sir Arthur Cecil Spring-Rice, and asked him if he had taken any action with regard to this question, which affected the welfare of a large number of British subjects. Sir Arthur Cecil Spring-Rice replied that he had not done anything, as he had no instructions from the British Government. The delegates asked him to present their case to the U. S. Government. He promised to communicate with the authorities in London, but declared himself unable to enter into further discussion of the matter with the delegates. Next morning his public reply to the delegation appeared in the Washington *Post* to the effect that the issues involved in the immigration of Hindus to other countries were too grave to admit of an attempt being made to settle them through the British Embassy in Washington. This evasive answer defined the attitude of the British Embassy at the outset. Through the courtesy of Representative Towner of Iowa, the delegates were introduced to Hon. J. L. Burnett, Chairman of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, who allowed them a hearing before the Committee at its open meeting on Friday, February 13th. Professor Bose and Dr. Bishen Singh appeared before the Committee and formally presented a memorial on behalf of the Hindus resident in the United States. The sitting was opened by Professor Bose with an address, which lasted for one hour. He was subjected to a heavy fire of questions and objections, chiefly by the Congressman hailing from California, but he aswered them all with persuasive skill and well-informed judgment, as he had mastered the facts and figures relative to the problem with much care and assiduity. An American lady also appeared before the Committee to testify in favour of the Hindus. The hearing was continued for nearly four hours on account of the numerous questions asked and answered. Such an unusually long session indicated the importance that public opinion attached to the mission of the delegation, as even important bodies seldom get a hearing of more than one hour. The proceedings of the Committee will be published in the Congressional Record and thus made accessible to all the publicists and legislators of the United States. Even our opponents expressed their admiration for the skill with which the delegates presented and defended arguments against the alert critics and experts who support the Exclusion Bill. The *Evening Star* published the following summary of the proceedings:—

> Arguments against immigration legislation to exclude Hindus from the United States were made before the House Immigration Committee to-day by Dr. Sudhindra Bose, a Hindu professor in the State University of Iowa. Dr. Bose urged that if the Hindu was to be excluded, a "gentlemen's agreement" be entered into between the United States and the British Indian Government to restrict the immigration. "There is no special legislation against Japanese immigration," said Dr. Bose. "Following the Chinese exclusion law, the Japanese Government was allowed to save its face by making a gentlemen's agreement to restrict immigration. A special law excluding Hindus would humiliate us in the eyes of the world. It is not necessary." Questioned by members of the committee, Dr. Bose said that several British colonies were making efforts to exclude the Hindu and declared that this question was one of the most important confronting the British Government. He said that Canada, Australia, New Zealand and other colonies were endeavouring to exclude Hindus. We are a great class of British subjects," said Dr. Bose, "and are entitled to the rights of such a class. International complications may follow an attempt to exclude us."
>
> "But the other colonies of Great Britian are already excluding the Hindus," said Chairman Burnett. "Yes, they are trying to," said Dr. Bose, "but the central government in England has not endorsed such action. If is does it will precipitate the fiercest revolution the world has ever known. The people of India are awakening, and if they are to remain a part of the British empire something must be done, some solution of this problem arrived at, which is more reasonable than any yet suggested." Dr. Bose contended that the Hindus are an Aryan people, entitled to naturalization in this country. In an interview with Hon. A. Caminetti, Commissioner General of Immigration, it was represented that the wording of the Bill should at least be altered in order to avoid the juxtaposition of the "Hindu labourers" with "idiots, imbeciles," etc. As it stands, the Bill enumerates the classes of excluded persons in this fashion: "All Hindu labourers, idiots, imbeciles, paupers etc."

The delegates, Professor Bose and Mr. Bishen Singh, had the honor of an appointment for an interview with President Woodrow Wilson at 10-35 on Monday, February 16th, but the President's illness prevented him from receiving any visitors that morning. This unforseen circumstance caused much disappointment to the delegates. The appointment was an honor for the entire Hindu nation.

The champions of Hindu exclusion point to the policy of British colonies as an unanswerable argument in their favour. On account of negotiations with the Japanese Government, the general Asiatic Exclusion Bill will probably not be brought in again at this session of Congress. But some representatives from the Pacific Coast are so impatient that it is proposed to pass a Hindu Exclusion Bill without delay, while the question of Asiatic immigration in general is being discussed with the government of Japan. The delegates are fully conscious of their helplessness under the circumstances, as they cannot rely on the support of a powerful Government. Whatever the issue may be, the delegates have done their duty in making a formal and public protest against the Exclusion Bill on behalf of India even without the co-operation of the British Embassy and directly approaching the Government and Legislature of the United States as representatives of the Indian nation.

This brief report is issued for publication in the Home Press.

The Metropolitan Hotel, SUDHINDRA BOSE
Washington, D. C. BISHEN SINGH.
February, 17th 1914.

Honours.

We give below some other speeches made in the House of Lords on Lord Selborne's motion :—

Lord Willoughby de Broke's Speech.

Dabbling in the Sale of Honours.

Lord Willoughby de Broke did not know that a Royal Commission on this subject could result in much good because the only people who could be examined would be the party Whips on both sides and he imagined they would have at their disposal information which even a Royal Commission would have a difficulty in extracting. But let nobody think Lord Selborne had brought forward charges which were vague and could not be substantiated. Nobody knew that better than he did, for he had dabbled in the sale of honours himself. (Laughter.) He did not mean that he bought his own title. (Laughter.) That was conferred on his ancestor for the part he took in placing the Tudor dynasty on the Throne—a dynasty which furnished a line of monarchs who would have treated noble lords opposite in a very different way from that in which they were being treated by his present Majesty. (Laughter.) He would tell the circumstances of his attempt, and was not going to implicate anybody on his own side, although, even if he did, they had been out of office for so long that the Statute of Limitations ought to apply. (Laughter.) He wanted a large sum of money for an enterprise that could not entirely be dissociated from politics, but which he assured noble lords was entirely patriotic in its design. (Laughter.) He called on a gentleman and suggested that if he would give him the money he would use his influence with his party to secure for him not a peerage, but a baronetcy only. (Laughter.) He was not quite sure what the price of a baronetcy was—perhaps some noble lords opposite could inform him—but the price he asked was not excessive. (Laughter.) The very natural question was: "That is all very well, Lord Willoughby, but when are you going to deliver the goods?" (Laughter.) He certainly could not tell when the Unionist Party would get back to office, and said that he did not know, and he was not surprised when he was very politely shown to the door. (Laughter.)

The Object of Honours.

With regard to the grounds on which a title or an honour should be given he had never been quite sure whether they ought to look on it as a reward for service done either to country or to party. Would it not be better to agree with Francis Bacon that it should be regarded as a vantage ground for rendering further service, and that particularly applied to the granting of a seat in that House. An honour was given to a man in order that he might have that distinction and authority among his fellow-men that enabled him better to perform his duties in the future. For that reason Mr. Curzon went to India and was made Lord Curzon, and Mr. Gladstone went to South Africa and was made Lord Gladstone. It was not the slightest use giving an honour to anybody unless it brought with it the enjoyment of power, the exercise of responsibility, and the discharge of duty, and that particularly applied to the hereditary peerage. They might think that they had brought it to the ground, but he did not believe that they would ever hear the last of it in this country. He was prepared for the present to go very far in the direction of getting a Second Chamber of some kind based on sufficient authority to correct and, if necessary, disagree effectively with the House of Commons. Whatever shape the reform might take, it would never have the same authority that was enjoyed till recently by the hereditary peerage, which would one day be recovered. Oliver Cromwell got rid of the hereditary peerage for a few short years, and reformers on both sides might try as much as they liked, but they would not be able to beat Oliver Cromwell at that game. (Laughter.) Any Constitution that they might agree to in the future was bound to be in the nature of an interim Constitution. How long was the Parliament Act going to last? Had it not very nearly tumbled to the ground already? Did it not stink?

Considerations of Eugenics.

If he were a Radical organizer he would try to select his peers from among those who, like Jorrocks, had no legitimate offspring (laughter), because not only did conversation frequently come to them after a few years or months, and sometimes in their minds even hours, but the son was almost a certainty, while the Radical grandson of a Radical peer was a phenomenon that they could not conceive. (Laughter.) To use the hereditary peerage, not from the point of view of the caucus, but of the nation, it should be selected on what were called eugenic principles. (Laughter.) He had seriously hoped that their lordships would not have laughed at that. A peer should be chosen on account of coming from a sound stock and being himself sound. He did not care whether he was rich or poor, but he should come of a family that was patriotic and likely to continue in their posterity the same qualities that distinguished their ancestors. He would be a bold man who denied that the present grounds for granting a title were dictated more by the necessities of the caucus than the need of the nation. He was glad to hear the noble earl condemning so eloquently the terrible alliance between the caucus and plutocracy. The thing called democracy, of which they had had such an orgy in England for some years past, had one never-failing vice. It threw up a race of exploiters who were well described by Mr. Price Collier in his penetrating book, "England and the English," as politicians who lived by the people on the people for themselves. (Cheers.) That was the government from which they were suffering to-day, and would suffer from in a greater or less degree whichever party was in office.

Lord Reading's Appointment.

It was just as corrupt to extract a consideration out of a man by means of a direct vote as by means of the direct payment of a sum of money. If a great many of them had tried to get money in the same way that they tried to get votes they would have been sent to prison long ago. (Laughter.) He had meant to say this whether Lord Reading was in his place or not. He did not know him personally, but would Lord Crewe or anybody who was going to speak deny that when Lord Reading was placed at the head of the judicial system in the country and his Majesty was advised to make him a peer the recommendations were principally based on what they thought the convenience and credit of the party rather than what they thought was best for the credit of the nation? The one power which stood between the working classes and the plutocrat employers with whom they were engaged in what, in many cases was a righteous warfare was the hereditary peerage as represented in that House. His advice to those engaged in this industrial struggle was that the best chance they had of defeating the plutocrats was to uphold the hereditary peerage and to see that it was recruited from those who had got some instinct, some tradition and who had been brought up in those honourable relations between employers and employed which had always prevailed in this country in the past.

Lord Ribblesdale's Speech.

Lord Ribblesdale said he did not mean to go into the question of party funds. He had had very little to do with them and had always expressed a profound reluctance to subscribe largely to them. (Laughter.) But, like the noble lord opposite, although he had not exactly dabbled in getting honours for people, he had been, he believed "approached" was the right word (laughter) from time to time when he was a Whip in that House. Only the other day he was called upon by a very honest foxhunter, who sent up a message to him with so much mystry that he thought he wanted to sell him a horse. (Laughter.) His visitor was not a man who kept in touch with current politics and he seemed to be under the impression that he was still Whip. He went down to see him, and it turned out that he had come on behalf of a friend of his.

The gentleman looked pregnant with thought, and, when he pressed him, he put the matter in a very blunt way—his friend would like to have a certain sort of honour. "What," he asked, "is the inducement?" "Oh," his visitor replied, "I think he would give a good deal of money." He asked, "What sort of figure? (Laughter.) He indicated a figure, and he replied, "I don't know about that." After walking about the room a good deal he came back, tapped him on the shoulder, and said, "I think he will go a bit better." (Laughter.) He then said to him. "That might be all right, but what about his political views?" He did not seem to have thought about that. "I don't know much about that," he said, "but I think it would be all right." With that he went away. (Laughter.)

A Personal Opinion.

He was not in agreement with either the resolution or the amendment. Both Lord Selborne and Lord Charnwood touched what the papers called a "high" note (laughter) in the argument which they put before the House, and at the end their accents reached a solemnity which reminded him of the lines,

> Religion, blushing, veils her sacred fires,
>
> And, unawares, Morality expires.

(Laughter.) He was afraid he belonged to the class of people which Lord Charnwood very pleasantly alluded to as people who

seemed to think that the thing complained of must be, that it did not very much matter, that it had always gone on, and was very likely to go on, and that if it did not go on in one form it would go on in another. That was precisely his opinion. (Laughter.) He did not care very much about the resolution in the form Lord Selborne moved it, because, as far as he could make out, the effect of it would be absolutely nil. Even if they moved to resolve what Lord Selborne asked them to resolve, and even if they asked the House of Commons to move to resolve the same thing, he thought the effect of the transactions of both Houses would only be the expression of a pious and almost—he did not wish to say anything offensive—a slightly Pharisaical opinion.

Lord Charnwood was very enamoured of that well-known engine, a Royal Commission. His objection to a Royal Commission was that they either reported so much that it was impossible for a Government to do anything, or so little that it was not worth doing anything. (Laughter.) He had no doubt that a reference drawn on certain lines would be an extremely popular thing with the public, but he was reminded of what Mr. Justic Darling said the other day in another connexion when he told a jury that they ought to remember that public interest was not the same as public curiosity. There was very little doubt that if they had a Royal Commission, and if they had the Whips up, if any thing could be extracted from them it would very likely be of a kind which would be stimulating to their reading of the newspapers on that particular day. But he dared say that even under the guile of a Royal Commission very little would be extracted, and he thought there was very little to be gained by having a Royal Commission.

An Interesting Syllogism.

Was the giving of honours in this way such a terrible evil as all that? He would put it in this way. He had never been able to construct a syllogism, but he believed a syllogism could easily be constructed out of the following:—That, for good or evil, we in this country have for a long time lived under party government; that party government, of whichever side, requires large sums of money; that the more money there is the better the party government will be—that is, the machinery of party government will be more perfect. To that extent, therefore, he thought it was a good thing, as they must have party government, that it should be well endowed with funds.

The noble lord opposite was very angry with the caucus, but he was still more angry with plutocrats. Why was he so angry with plutocrats? He was not one of them himself, but he believed they were a very nice body of men. (Laughter.) At all events, he was reminded of Dr. Johnson's line:—

"Slow rises worth by poverty depressed."

After all, if a man wanted to get on in this world, he was none the worse for having a little money, and, perhaps, able to persuade the party Whips that that money might be useful to the party chests. So, their lordships would see, he took the view that they were to some extent tilting at a windmill on which they would not make very much impression, and that there was a very great danger in any inquiry of this sort that their minds might be a littte deflected by feelings which verged on those they associated with Mr. Pecksniff. They had heard that everything depended on enormous party funds, and that the great difficulty of the day was that every body wanted money. That, after all, had been the difficulty of every day. (Laughter.) And, as to things having become more expensive, everything had become more expensive, from their washing bill to a seat in Parliament. (Laughter.) He concluded with repeating that he did not care for either the resolution or the amendment, and that personally he thought the thing better left very much as it was.

The Trend of the Debate.

Earl Beauchamp said that, while the Government offered no opposition to the motion, it seemed at present almost to call on the House of Commons to take effectual measures, whereas Lord Lansdowne thought that at present it would be sufficient if measures were taken by his Majesty's Government. He suggested the omission of the words "effectual measures should be taken."

The Marquess of Salisbury said that there was nothing in the terms of the motion that threw the duty especially on the House of Commons or prescribed any particular measures. Steps must be taken by the Government or the Prime Minister or any other authority. It seemed significant that the suggestion should be made that they should pass a resolution but cut out the words that implied that effectual measures should be taken to carry it out.

The Marquess of Crewe said that the whole trend of the debate had been that they were unable to say that effectual measures could be taken.

The Muslim Deputation to the Viceroy.

Although at first sight it might appear that there were no pressing reasons for the Moslem Deputation to the Viceroy on Wednesday, the important pronouncement made by Lord Hardinge with regard to the "unswerving loyalty" of the community towards the British Government fully justifies the action taken by the Moslem leaders. It cannot be denied that since the Balkan war the loyalty of the Indian Mohamedans has lain, so to speak, under a cloud among a section of people in England, owing chiefly to persistent misrepresentations of certain papers who saw, or pretended to see, something ominous in the openly expressed sympathy of the Indian Moslems for their co-religionists in Turkey. Some of the papers even went so far as to declare that the Indian leaders had deliberately set themselves to the task of inflaming religious passions, promoting racial antagonism, and vilifying the Christian religion with the view of expelling the British from India. But the deadliest traducer of all, the *National Review*, gave publicity to a statement from its writer on Indian affairs,—whose identity is well-known,—that attempts were made by Moslem politicians to tamper with the loyalty of Moslem troops,—a statement the outrageous falsehood of which we exposed at the time. But however such statements might be, there is no doubt that the campaign of calumny in England had its inevitable effect,—with the result that the work, ideas and aims of a great community of seventy million people, always noted for their affectionate regard for British rule have been for some time widely misrepresented to the British reading public. It was with this feeling uppermost in their minds that the Mohamedan representatives approached His Excellency. They told the Viceroy that they had no grievance to point out nor requests to make but they appealed to the head of the Indian Government for an expression of opinion that their loyalty and friendly feelings had in no sense been impaired by their equally genuine sympathy with the troubles of Moslem races in other parts of the world. And Lord Hardinge's response to this appeal was characteristic of His Excellency's statesmanlike breadth of vision. After referring to the aspersions cast on the Indian Mohamedans by certain English and foreign writers, His Excellency declared: "I can well sympathise with your feelings of resentment at the aspersions that have been cast upon you and your people as a whole, but I can only assure you that I and my Government have never doubted the unswerving loyalty which we know quite well to be one of the noblest and most sacred traditions of your community. Thus, once more has Lord Hardinge cast oil on the troubled waters of Indian life, therby earning the gratitude of seventy millions of His Majesty's Indian subjects, who give indications in the new spirit which animates them of a great and fruitful future.

The address of the Moslem delegates and the Viceroy's reply raise an important question which it is necessary to examine briefly. What foundation is there for Indian Moslem criticisms of British Foreign policy and what may be their claims with regard to that? As to this, Indian Moslems have always been careful to repudiate any claim to dictate the foreign policy of the Empire, as it affects Moslem States. Indeed, they must recognise that such a claim would be preposterous. It would be an insult to their intelligence to assume that they expect British to undertake the impossible task of a protectorate of all Moslem nations, but it may well be a cause of pain to the Indian Mohamedans to find how often the influence of England has been used against the independence of Moslem States. How far she could have used her influence usefully, or even safely, to protect Tripoli or Morocco may be questioned; but it would be idle to assert that in other parts of the world British influence always assisted in a thoroughly sympathetic policy. In Turkey England did her utmost to prevent the Balkan War, but it certainly seemed at its close as if she were ready to intervene in order that Adrianople, against the wishes of the vast majority of its inhabitants, should be again taken from Turkey. Happily we have been spared that injustice; but, in judging the words of Indian Mohamedans, it should not be forgotten that in England there have been those who have not been ashamed to preach a crusade against the Turk and clamour for his spoliation; nor, on the other hand, must our Moslem fellow-subjects forget that, terrible as have been the sufferings in the Balkans, a general conflagration would have been far worse, and a European war would most probably have been in the end as little productive of a just settlement as has been the recent war in the Near East—*The Bombay Chronicle.*

Lord Morley's Latter-day Thoughts.

It may seem an impertinence to seek for a single central or connective thought in a discourse whose very title, "Notes on Politics

and History" (Macmillan), carries a disclaimer of singleness of purpose. There is, indeed, hardly one of the great secular issues regarding the meaning and method of history in its relation to human happenings that is not freshly re-set within the covers of this slender volume. What is the real part played by politics or the art of government in the wider stream of national life? How far can the Historic Method carry us towards a Science of History, and how far can such a science be a profitable feeder to practical statecraft? In the critical events of history how much does the reason or will of some "hero" or strong man prevail, and how far are these men the creatures or instruments of the spirit of the age? So with great thinkers and their books. How many of them rank with Grotius, Calvin, Rousseau, Adam Smith, and Paine, as actors in history, not mere commentators? Again, how profitably Lord Morley discourses of the general spirit of history as *Weltanschauung*, and the revolution wrought in man's entire outlook upon the universe by the acceptance of the evolutionary standpoint! Yet how slow is the world to reapthe true fruits of the growing sense of inter-relation and of unity which should be the greatest contribution of historical science to the progress of humanity! For there has cut across this great cosmopolitan movement of the scientific spirit, with its manifold enlargements of human, world-wide intercourse, a new turbulent stream of Nationalism which for our time has actually weakened the wider "allegiance to humanity." What is, and shall be, the rightful place of the nation in the federal civilization of the future? Or turning once more to the substance of human history, how far can we find in it progress as a spontaneous force or a fixed historic law? Once more Lord Morley points out how recent and novel has been the idea of "progress," and what slight direct testimony history affords for the firm confidence which modern Western thought reposes in it. By what right, indeed, do or can we assign to the actual course of events the meritorious values conveyed in the term progress? The standard for such valuation cannot be got out of the study of history itself. Still less can "politics" be found submissive to any clear accepted ideal or standard of the good or humanely valuable. The spirit of Machiavel still powerfully pervades, if it does not dominate, the art of politics, and we find to-day a South African statesman repeating with absolute conviction the very language of the great Italian absolutist, "the State is Force." Lord Morley cites indeed Cavour's famous saying about "people like me who have more faith in ideas than in cannon for mending the lot of humanity," but he does not care to dogmatize upon the exact extent to which even the most enlightened State can dispense with Force. He prefers to leave the issue in the shape of the qualitative questions, "What sort of State, what sort of Force?" realizing that the dilemma for humanity ultimately springs from a too abrupt and finally unphilosophic severance of physical and moral motives.

But throughout the discussion of all these matters there seems to run what is perhaps not so much a single thread of argument as a single attitude or temper. It is the mature criticism of the practical politician upon the theory of politics, of one who has helped to make history upon the making process. To some readers, the sceptical and opportunist notes will sound overstressed. All the great questions he raises and leaves open. He owns no strict allegiance to the science of history or to a reasoned art of politics. Though quite polite to the historical method, he sets far stricter limits upon its powers and achievements than arm-chair historians would easily admit. "Political science suffers from the same defect as political economy in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. There is a strange rarefaction in its atmosphere. The abstract political man wears the same artificial character as the abstract man of the economist." It is by such false abstraction that history is made to seem to repeat itself, a process essential to the strictly scientific method. Historical parallels are commonly appraised too high; they are more often misleading than illuminating. "In truth, say what we will of the unity of history and the identity in the elements of human nature, the general body of two political cases is never exactly the same. Nations are not the same, their ideals are widely apart, their standing aims and preoccupations are different." Hence it is the case that "History's direct lessons are few, its specific morals rare." Nor is the weakness of scientific history confined to the tendency to "fake" laws and principles by unwarranted abstraction. The study of history can never be assimilated to that of the natural sciences. For the subject-matter is too recalcitrant. Modern historians have, indeed, sternly set their faces against the partisanship and the sentimentalism of the older style of history. "To-day, taste and fashion have for a season turned away from the imposing tapestries of the literary historian, in favour of the drab serge of research among diplomatic archives, parish registers, private muniments, and everything else so long as it is not in print." Certain sorts of truth are doubtless attainable in this way, but can we get "the truth" about a character or an episode? "Bismarck, reading a book of superior calibre, once came upon a portrait of an eminent person he had known well. Such a man as is described here, he cried, never existed; and he went on in graphic strokes to paint the sitter as he had actually found him. 'It is not in diplomatic, materials, but in their life of every-day that you come to know men.' So does a singularly good judge warn us of the perils of archivial research." And, indeed, it is evident that in the selection, rejection, and utilization of the most reliable of first-hand materials, there is infinite scope for the personal bias of the historian. In a word, the reconstruction of the past, even to the simplest of its scenes or actions, must always be an art in which the personal tastes and proclivities of the artist play an immeasurable part. By conscientious self-restraint and patient balancing of evidences, the scientific historian may do much to release himself from the sophistication of a Macaulay or a Froude, but, if he is to interpret or make intelligible the past, he can only do so by imposing an order and a valuation which spring ultimately from the depths of his own personality.

If this is true of written history, still more is it true of living politics. The notion that even the most thoughtful statesman works out his policies or forms his judgment by nice balancing of "pros" and "cons" or cold calculations, cannot be seriously maintained. "Improvisation has far more to do in politics than historians or other people think." "Both contemporaries and historians, more often than they suppose, miss a vital point because they do not know the intuitive instinct that often goes farther in the statesman's mind than deliberate analysis or argument." This of course, does not signify that historical information and reasoning from facts count for little, but that such knowledge and the scientific principles it may yield are only handmaids to the art of politics. In other words, genius for politics consists more in a fine tact or feeling than in an exact weighing of the evidence. "For myself at least," Lord Morley again quotes Bismarck, "I have often noticed that my will had decided before my thinking was finished."

If this is applicable to the political actions which are submitted most clearly to the judgment of individual statesmen, how much more will it hold of the part contributed by public opinion, popular movements, or party projects to the work of making history! Lord Morley pleads for patience with those who express such bitter disappointment with the working of democracy.

"Popular government, or any other for that matter, is no chronometer, with delicate apparatus of springs, wheels, balances, and escapements. It is a rough, heavy bulk of machinery that we must get to work as we best can. It goes by rude force and weight of needs, greedy interests, and stubborn prejudice; it cannot be adjusted in an instant, or it may be a generation, to spin and weave new material into a well-finished cloth."

We think that here Lord Morley does somewhat scanty justice to the capacities of popular Government. No writer has commented more incisively upon the uses and abuses of metaphor in politics. Political discussion cannot, indeed, be conducted without frequent recourse to metaphor. But a great deal depends upon whether metaphors are drawn from the organic or the inorganic world. When Burke was the advocate of constitutional freedom and reform, the constitution was a tree; when he became the fanatical enemy of change, it was an edifice or a machine. The issue is a truly vital one, the difference between a structure containing no inner energy of growth and no power of self-adjustment and one that is, however slowly and imperfectly, responsive to the new needs of the time and the larger and more complex work it is required to do. No doubt there is an element of the merely mechanical in the instruments of popular Government, as in every institution. But the hope and efficacy of democracy depend upon the vital energies which can direct and improve these instruments so as to secure more of an organic and a spiritual character from the structure and the operations of a "body politic."—*The Nation.*

The Colour Question.

THE following address was delivered by Mr. Jelal Shah before the National Union of Clerks in London :—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Before I proceed with my address, I feel that I owe you an explanation for my appearance before you to-night. Owing to the inability of Mr. East to deliver his address on the "Colour Question," as had been previously arranged—which I am sure is

a matter of very great regret to all of us—your energetic Secretary, Mr. Goldwater, came to me the other day on what, to all intents and purposes, appeared to me at least to be a perfectly peaceful mission. I was certainly aware that this subject was down for your deliberations this evening and at a moment of thoughtlessness on my part Mr. Goldwater had already extracted a solemn pledge from me to take my humble part in your proceedings of to-night and that piece of business had been transacted, if my memory serves me right, as long ago as last summer, almost directly after my return from my holidays in the country. I am not going to give you the details of the exact procedure adopted by your Secretary in gently breaking the sad news of Mr. East's inability to keep his engagement to-night, as well as the the soft yet strongly persuasive manner in which he desired me instead to accept the responsibility of delivering an address on this undoubtedly important question myself. Suffice it to say that Mr. Goldwater on the occasion of his recent visit to me came, talked and conquered, and in brief I could not help falling a miserable victim to his magnetic personal influence ; and here I am.

Under the circumstances, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I make no apology in counting upon the indulgence of the meeting in attempting to place before you the salient points arising from the subject under discussion, a subject, I need hardly remind you, not determined upon by myself, but all the same, a subject which is obviously of vital interest to me and my fellow countrymen. The lack of time before me, under the unavoidable circumstances with which you are now familiar, has certainly prevented me from devoting the necessary attention and study to the subject, which it undoubtedly deserved ; but my task this evening will no doubt be made easy if you, ladies and gentlemen, with your usual courtesy, would bear in mind, as I earnestly trust you will, that I am to-night only acting the poor substitute's part and not by any means discharging the duties of a lecturer, who has the subject his own.

Turning now, ladies and gentlemen, to the subject of my address, I must frankly admit that, by including the "Colour-Question" in the list of your sessional programme, your Union has shown that lofty and thorough grasp of high ideals, that insight of affairs in general, and that broad-minded awakening to facts concerning the community at large, that are of absolute necessity, if you are going to look beyond your immediate environments and if you are going to attach any importance to the educational aspect of your work. The "Colour-Question"—to me personally the very term is revolting, for which perhaps my religous and professional training, which happily recognises no colour, creed or caste, is mainly responsible—the "Colour-Question," I am giving it the name it has received in ordinary usage, is as you will readily understand, a very wide and elastic expression, if we are going to divide the entire population of the globe into the two sections as is usually done; persons of colour and I suppose persons of no colour or anæmic individuals, (laughter) European and non-European races ; orientals and occidentals ; Easterns and Westerns ; though, of course, it must be remembered that the term—Colour Question—deals with a much larger area than that indicated by some of these geographical designations.

Now the question we are about to discuss has been gradually though steadily becoming prominent amongst the public of this and other countries. It has been engaging the serious attention of what is usually called the white peoples. On the whole very divergent but none the less strong views are held by different schools of thought concerning the relations of the white races with those who are conventionally called coloured races. Some people in Europe and America are unfortunately so heavily saturated with their inborn prejudice against us that they would never miss an opportunity for showing their condemnation and hatred towards their coloured fellow creatures. They are utterly devoid of reasoning and commonsense. They have been brought up in the school of colour-prejudice and nothing in the world would for one moment induce them to consider the subject from a higher plane and to approach it in a purely unprejudiced and disinterested spirit. With this class of people, of course, it is perfectly useless to discuss, as nothing, howsoever sound and reasonable, would succeed in shaking off their hereditary and traditional views on the matter. Another section of the so-called white population will "tolerate" us, but will not conceal the fact that they are all the same, fully conscious of their superiority over the whole coloured population. These are the more sentimental class of the community and though they are prepared to go to the narrow length of toleration in their relation with us, they are certainly not ready to proceed a single step further in that direction. Even their sentimentality, which has created a certain amount of fellowship and fellow-feeling in their conscience, has a well-defined limit. On coming down a step further we meet with a school of thought, which on humanitarian grounds considers all men as equal and which is therefore ready to treat the coloured races on the same level as the whites, showing no distinction whatsoever in its conception of humanity at large. This doctrine, however, so noble and so great in theory, I am sorry to say, is not always followed in practice and consequently a considerable number of this "humanitarian" Society are really so theoretically, though it is only fair to admit that an overwhelming majority of them do certainly observe not only the letter but the very spirit of their fundamental doctrine. Yet another portion of the white races is guided in its behaviour towards us entirely by political considerations. If diplomacy dictates a more sympathetic policy, they are immediately changed into "friends" and "well-wishers," but their true colours are alas ! only too transparently veiled by their political garb of apparent friendship, which deceives nobody but themselves. There is still another creed which as a class is favourably disposed towards their coloured colleagues. I refer to the professional, literary and scientific bodies. Any individual of whatever caste, colour or creed, distinguished in any branch of science, arts or literature, is honoured by them and respected and though, generally speaking, such is the case, we certainly from time to time meet with cases in which even in this enlightened circle, the golden rule has not been followed.

So ladies and gentlemen, you will at once realise the difficulty one has to face in dealing with the abstract problem embodied in the term, Colour-Question. As I have tried to remind you, there are numerous channels through which we could tackle this problem, everyone of them from a different point of view. I cannot possibly handle the subject with anything like justice, were I to enter minutely into a detailed discussion under all those various headings, which I have placed before you, as the time before us will not permit. But, If you would allow me, I intend to treat the subject mainly from the two standpoints of, firstly, what I may call "education" and secondly, of "politics." As regards the other aspects of the question, perhaps, I may be pardoned if I were to dwell upon the subject in general terms.

Now let us consider the situation with "education" as our basis. Let education, civilisation and intellectual attainment be the bed-rock of our discussion for the moment. It is the very key-note of the whole problem and it undoubtedly is our strongest case. Comparing the two artificial divisions of mankind—divisions, let it not be lost sight of, as I have always held, merely and solely for the sake of argument—I frankly admit we have not reached that pinnade of civilisation that has been arrived at in the West, if we are to attribute to "civilisation" the Conventional Significance with which it is associated in Europe. I need not again remind you that I am speaking of the entire white race as a whole, as contrasted with the entire body of coloured races. The critic who travels all over the huge Continents of Asia and Africa and for purposes of criticism just selects some of the savage races in those parts of the world to help him in his arguments against us, is guilty of bad sportsmanship. To judge the entire coloured race for instance, by the low degree of civilisation and education that undoubtedly prevails amongst the aboriginies of India or the pagan races in the heart of Africa would be similar to presenting the barbarous inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula or even the rebel tribes of the United States as typical representatives of the Continent of Europe and the New World. That would be an absurd and an impossible position to adopt, though even in that case, I am not sure if our "representatives" would not hold their own against such "representatives" of the white races, as I have just mentioned. No, let not the critic forget that if the white population contains in its ranks such great nations as the Anglo-Saxon, the Teutonic, the Russians and the Latin races, we can also boast, and I think rightly boast of our Indian, Persian, Egyptian, Japanese and Chinese elements, who, if unfortunately have by force of circumstances fallen back to-day from the front rank of education and civilisation have, as is only a matter of history, in the past played a great and noble part in the field of Science and Learning. It is not my duty on this occasion to inflict upon you a lecture on ancient history but, you will pardon me. I hope if, in passing, I may just draw your attention to the deep debt of gratitude Europe aims to-day to some of the great nations of the East. Is it not a well-known fact of history that the Moorish occupation of Spain was immediately followed by the Universal extension of various branches of Arts, Science, and Learning in which the Arabs excelled and which was not excelled without its influence towards the moral, Social and intellectual uplifting of Europe as a whole?

Need I similarly remind you of the extraordinary impetus that was afforded to the assimilation of knowledge in the Continent of Europe by the great works that had already been accomplished in Egypt? Do you not associate the fundamental origin of the Science of Astronomy and Mathematics, and particularly that of Algebra, with the ancient Egyptians? And are you not aware of the immense Share the ancient Arabs could claim in the advancement of Science in general and Chemistry and Medicine in particular? I am not making these statements without authority. They are recognised and established facts.

China could boast of an age of civilisation and progress, when nothing but darkness reigned in the West. India was a land of

intellectual and industrial activity at a time when Europe was labouring under a deep spell of ignorance and barbarism. Hindustan was leading the way in philosophy, when the rest of the world was undergoing an extraordinary transformation in the struggle for her very existence.

Let me now briefly deal with Persia. Can we possibly forget the heroic role this ancient kingdom has taken in the educational and political history of the world? The Persian Empire of old had spread a network of civilisation within its boundaries, which, even during those primitive days, was indeed remarkable. Persian literature and Persian poetry have always been awarded the place of honour in the code of the world's literature and I am sure our famous poet, Oomar Khayyam whose "Rubaiyats" have been made immortal by Fitzgerald's excellent English translation of them, is not altogether unfamiliar with most of you in this hall to night. The Oomar Khayyam Society of London to day is a living monument to his extraordinary intellect and philosophical genius. The critic may again tell us that he is fully aware of all these qualities that have been attributed to the various Asiatic nations and that he admits their respective shares towards the civilisation of the world at large; but that all what I have stated are things of the past. Can the so-called coloured races show us to-day the same standard of educational attainment and intellectual achievements? Or are they now also gifted with the same degree of civilisation as compared to the white races, that has been their distinguishing feature in the past? I confess that would be a reasonable attitude for our opponents to take up. It is unfortunately true that taking us as a whole, we have certainly failed to keep up the brilliant record of our forefathers. I shall attempt in a few minutes to explain to you the reasons for our descent in the ever-changing ladder of intellectual and educational superiority, though I am not prepared to admit that we have for a single moment ceased to be what you may perhaps call a "civilised community." But in the meantime, I shall be failing in my duty if I were not to place before you, what I think significant fact, that even in accordance with Western ideals and Western sentiments, individually we have not moved even a hair's breadth backwards from the progressive path of education and culture in the various fields of learning. Even to-day in India we can rightly boast of a Rabindranath Tagore, whose literary fame has travelled all over the world, and whose eminence in the field of literature was only the other day acknowledged by the award of the coveted Nobel Prize. (Cheers.) The student of literature will come across numerous writers of both prose and poetry at this very moment in India, whose talent and worth will favourably stand the most critical comparison with their contemporaries in the West. Modern India has not been backward in holding her own even at the English Universities. The Chancellors' Medal at Cambridge in English literature was only last year awarded to an Indian, which speaks for itself, and the Senior Wranglership has likewise repeatedly fallen to Indian Mathematicians of renown, to say nothing of the numerous scholarships and exhibitions that are being daily won by Indian undergraduates, in competitive examinations, at both Oxford and Cambridge, as well as in the various provincial Universities in Great Britain. In legal and medical education, we have shown the same proficiency in this country, as is well-known to those who are in close touch with these two learned professions. There is no honours list in any British University which members of the so-called coloured race have not adorned, and I feel a natural pride in making that statement. The science of medicine even to-day claims several Asiatics amongst its most brilliant workers. A distinguished Indian physician from Bombay occupied the honoured position of Vice-President at the annual meeting of the British Medical Association, held in London a few years ago, and the International Congress of Medecine, which sat in this great Metropolis last summer, was attended by several Asiatic delegates of Europen reputation, who took no mean part in the deliberations of that august assembly. Medical literature abounds to-day in the valuable researches of Japanese, Indian and other Oriental scientists who have left their mark in the history of tropical medicine. Even the celebrated Erlich, whose name well go down to posterity as the discoverer of "606" or Salvarsan, the present day remedy for one of the most dreadful ailments we know of, had a Japannese physician, Hatar as his right hand man in his research laboratory in Germany, and has with characteristic courtesy prevaling in this noble profession associated the latter's name with his own as a co-benefactor to the suffering humanity.

The Land of the Rising Sun in the far East has likewise contributed its share to the world's literature and poetry, and the superb poetry of Yone Noguchi has rendered his name a household word in England. Similarly we find Utamars, the celebrated painter of Japan, holding a position unique even in the famous rank of the great masters of the present age.

I have, as no doubt you will understand, been obliged to just refer to a few cases only, in my attempt to remind the meeting that even to-day we are not by any means wanting in men, whose culture and intellect would certainly entitle them to respect and admiration, not only in the East, but in Europe and America as well. I trust I have succeeded in driving home to you the fact that judging us individually and personally, there is certainly no widespread intellectual decay and educational degeneration amongst us in the East—as is held in certain quarters in this country—and that, comparing the Orientals with people of the Occident, there is still as much individual knowledge and as much intellectual refinement amongst the inhabitants of Asia and Africa as we find amongst those of the Western world. (Hear, hear.)

Now let me turn back for a moment to the comparatively lower grade of national education that exists amongst the States, inhabited by the so-called coloured races. I think you will find my reasons for this condition of affairs satisfactory, if you are in any way acquainted with the contemporary history of those dealing with lands. Again I find it necessary to make it clear that we are the coloured races as a whole : and as a matter of fact, with the time at our disposal, it would be impossible to discuss the matter in detail. Now I need not remind you that the various nationalities in the huge continents of Asia and Africa, for purposes of discussion, must be sub-divided into two main groups : those who are independent and those who are directly or indirectly under foreign control. Let us take, in the first instance, the case of the independent Asiatic States, which, alas ! are only too few. In this group, at the present moment Japan is pre-eminent amongst others, not only in the material progress of the country but also as regards her freedom from European influence. It is true this ancient country, as a result of the misgovernment and despotism of her rulers, had sunk very low in the scale of national education and national culture, but the extraordinary changes, almost miraculous it seems to me, that have been brought about in that marvellous island kingdom in the Pacific during the last 40 years have been instrumental in at once placing the Japanese amongst the leading nations of the world. (Hear, hear.) During those 40 years, which after all is not a very long period for a national movement of reform to be undertaken with adequate success, the Japanese determined to safeguard their national interests and passionately bent on seeing their house put in order, have, as you will and must admit, achieved what might perhaps go down in history as its most brilliant chapter of the past century, I am the last person to deny that almost equally remarkable events have occured in Europe during the 19th century, *e.g.*, in France, Germany and elsewhere ; but the exceptional conditions that exist in Asia, which make it so hard, if not actually impossible, for Oriental nations to progress, surrounded, as they are, by the ever-vigilant eyes of crafty European diplomacy, that is traditionally hostile to Asiatic progress and territorial expansion, you will at once realise the true greatness of this stupendous wave of Japanese reformation. So, I am sure you will bear me out in my statement that national advancement and national education in a really independent Asiatic country are on the same level as they exist in most, if not all, the Western countries.

Now let me deal with the second group, mainly those states in Asia which are directly or indirectly under foreign control and foreign supervision. I am not going here to discuss the merits or disadvantages of European annexation of Asiatic States, on which I certainly hold very strong views, but which must not influence us when we are considering the existing conditions in the East as they are at present actually situated. In other words, we must approach the question calmly and dispassionately, if we are going to endeavour to reach the solution of the problem. Now, when we carefully survey this group of cases, we are driven to the only conclusion that we can possibly arrive at. It is a mere question of cause and effect. Foreign control and alien rule have always exercised a restraining influence over national evolution and national advancement. Even with the best intentions, they naturally retard the progress of education best suited for the foreign-governed country. The spread of education, under each conditions, mainly proceeds through the medium of the foreign language, and in consequence the national language, the mother tongue of the people, gradually loses its original significance and its reality. Public business is necessarily carried on in the foreign language, if not immediately on annexation or conquest, not very long afterwards. Could there be a more forcible check on the national progress of subdued communities imagined ? Is it then surprising that national education in such cases becomes arrested ? This state of affairs is not explainable only in Asia but is, as you know, equally noticeable in some of the smaller States of Europe under foreign yoke, such as Finland, Poland, etc. So I maintain that what we find in such Asiatic countries, where unhappily the freedom, independence and integrity of the States are either completely lost or to a great extent interfered with, is the effect of those causes which I have, I hope and trust, in no obscure language tried to place before you.

If the standard of education and the degree of civilisation amongst various nationalities are to be the lines upon which we

are to judge such communities, after what I have ventured to explain to you, I hold that you cannot condemn the so-called coloured races as in any way inferior to the white population. An educated and a civilised man, whether he is of the East or of the West, must be treated and dealt with as such in any enlightened community. On the other hand, it is obvious that lack of education and want of culture or refinement, whether in an Oriental or Occidental, for, believe me, one is only too frequently brought in contact with such individuals in Europe as well, should certainly be the governing factors in our estimation of people. So, if this is to be the law of communion between man and man, I am sure you will agree with me when I say that we must once and for all do away with that disgraceful relic of past barbarity, which is involved in the term "Colour-Question," itself symbolic of an uncivilised age. The "Colour-Question", I am now speaking to the English members of the audience, is of vital importance to you, as great Britain's wide interests in Asia and Africa render the subject of what I may term momentous consequences, if this delicate matter is handled carelessly and wantonly. You will, I hope, forgive me if I candidly tell you to-night that during my now, somewhat long stay in this country, nothing has surprised or indeed pained me more than the wide and universal ignorance, which unhappily prevails in England, even amongst those who ought to be better informed, concerning the conditions and the destinies of millions of Asiatic and African peoples, who owe allegiance to the king. The average Englishman, and even the average politician for the matter of that, is only too ready, I admit, through want of information to show his indifference towards the great problems in the East, which are daily presenting themselves for solution. He can unfortunately seldom shake off his prejudices and his sinister views and look upon this truly Imperial question in a truly Imperial fashion. He seems to forget that the sacred heritage which has been handed down to him by his forefathers is too serious a problem to be ridiculed and played with. The varied constituents who go to form this mighty Empire, he overlooks, are with him fellow-subjects of the same king, and as such, fellow-citizens of the same realm. I am not an alarmist by nature, but I must warn you of the great disasters which must necessarily follow if people of Great Britain would not open their eyes to these facts. With them, at any rate, there is no earthly excuse for the retention of the term "Colour-Question." May I, with deference, remind them that the British Empire does not consist of the 40 million souls in these islands only? There are no less than 315 millions of His Majesty's subjects in India itself, who are as self-respecting and as enlightened a community as any that is this day contributing to the glory, good name and honour of the British Empire. They are, need I draw your attention to it, originally of the same stock of mankind from which the British race itself has sprung, *viz.*, the Aryans. They are fellow-citizens and fellow-subjects of the same Empire and as such they rightly and justly demand the same freedom and the same privileges that are the birth-right of every British subject—privileges that have been definitely and clearly promised to them by Her late Majesty Queen Victoria in her memorable Proclamation of 1858 and twice since confirmed with equal preciseness by similar proclamations of the late King and His present Majesty. Can a stronger case be conceived or a more cogent reasoning imagined, when your fellow-citizens in that great Dependency of the Crown desire, and I think do so with justice, that the ridiculous colour bar, which has unhappily so sharply divided them from their fellow-subjects in other parts of the Empire, should be forthwith abolished? If England takes pride in her Indian Empire, and if the British Crown boasts of its millions of Indian subjects, is it not only fair that India should take its proper part in the vast family, that has helped to make the Empire what it is to-day? Nelson's famous words—England expects every man to do his duty—were not merely meant for Trafalgar. They are applicable to-day with even greater force. Every Englishman, who has an atom of patriotism still in him, must do his duty to his fellow-subjects, to say nothing of sentimental and humanitarian grounds, which likewise warrant his sympathy, good-will and confidence towards his fellow-creatures. We are often told that India is the brightest jewel of the British Crown. If that is so, why then all this turmoil and fury about the Colour-Question? It is simply monstrous to think that, inspite of the long and intimate association that has existed between this country and India, we still find such strong colour prejudice amongst the people of Great Britain. They are over-anxious to reap the fruits of their Indian Dependency but they are reluctant to acknowledge the stirling worth of their Indian fellow-subjects. They are ready to enjoy the full benefits of their Indian investments but, no, they are unwilling to open their heart and conscience towards their Indian benefactors. They are always prepared to sing the praise of their Indian fellow-citizens, but they are both to convince them of the reality and honesty of their purpose. In theory, we find them fully conscious of the common tie that so strongly binds them together with their Indian compatriots, but in actual practice they are guilty of the most wicked disregard for the great and sacred laws of fellow-citizenship.

It is a deplorable scene indeed. The results and the consequences of this extraordinary attitude of mind may be still more deplorable. The reaction bound to follow, which heaven forbid, will be the outcome of their own folly. The responsibility will lay on their own shoulders. Even now it is not too late to prevent that awful catastrophe. Let every Englishman rise to the occasion and let him follow the traditional ideals of his race. Let the past be forgiven and forgotten and let them set themselves seriously to the task that lies before them. If he extends his hand of genuine fellowship to his fellow-subjects—and I assure you, that would be the only possible solution of the problem—he is bound to meet with that generous and hearty response, characteristic of the East. I make bold to say that the Englishman with any colour prejudice is a danger to the safety and well-being of this mighty Empire.

The Empire, so jealous of her own honour, cannot afford to let such an unpardonable offence be meted out to a great section of her citizens. Colour-prejudice cannot and must not prevail in England. The sooner the so-called Colour-Question evaporates, the better for every one of you, for England and for the whole Empire. (Cheers.) The era of peace and tranquility and the dawn of brightness and progress will gleam over the over-sea possessions of the Empire only if and when this root-evil is completely and thoroughly eradicated. When colour-prejudice is dead and buried, then and only then could the Empire be embodied under the common flag as a strong crystallised mass of living territory, over which one could truly say the Sun would never set. Until then, it is divided and scattered into a multitude of discontented units, which would do no credit to the Empire itself nor to the great and varied parts of which it is composed. Apart from this consideration, so vital in itself, you must not lose sight of the fact that England is to-day in political alliance with a great Asiatic country, which is as keenly sensitive and as justly proud of her own racial traditions as you are of your own in this country, and that significant fact must certainly weigh in your general out-look, when you proceed to seriously consider the subject under discussion.

You will, I hope, forgive me in having taken so much of your precious time, but I trust I have succeeded in showing that all what we see in the East to-day is nothing but the essential effects of all those causes that I have just enumerated. But apart from our political lethargy, brought about, as I have already said, entirely by the force of circumstances, I emphatically maintain that morally, intellectually and socially we are to-day, as individuals, situated on the same level as the people of Europe.

I have yet to come across a European who has had the occasion to closely study the character, temperament and characteristics of Asiatics—whether individually or as a whole—and who, mind you, has judged us impartially and fairly, who would not confess the truth of that statement. I am the first to admit there are numerous examples amongst us, who would bring nothing but disgrace on their own community, just as there are similar instances amongst yourselves who would equally dishonour the good name of your own community. Do not judge the so-called coloured races by a handful of individuals that you may have possibly known yourselves, or of whom you may have heard. Neither do we deceive ourselves by judging, say the people of this country, by Tom, Dick, Harry and Jones.

Compare our best men with the best amongst yourselves and you could then realise how little there is to choose between them. On the other hand you may contrast the worst amongst us with the most detestable section of your own community and I assure you the difference will not be very great, indeed. (Cheers.)

If we are going to sit in judgment on the merits or drawbacks of any community, that will be the only possible method before us for collecting reliable and trustworthy evidence.

Approaching the question with an unbiased mind, I submit, you will not thus fail to immediately and definitely discard this wicked doctrine, which underlies the term Colour-Question, and which has been the root-cause of so much unpleasantness and hatred in the past. You will thereby feel the satisfaction of having contributed your own share towards the promotion of that universal peace, harmony and concord, which should be the earnest aim and object of every thinking man and thinking woman. This emancipation of the human spirit in the West from the thraldom of the rusting traditions of old would be secured only if you are prepared to recognise your duties and your obligations between man and man, irrespective of colour, caste or creed.

If you are ready to take that noble sacred cause of humanity at large, the

Stand upright, speak thy thought,
The truth thou hast, that all

Be bold, proclaim it everywhere;
They only live who dare!

THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF

AL-BAYAN FI-ULUM-UL-QURAN

HELD AS AN

INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMENTARY

OF THE

HOLY QURAN

CALLED TAFSIR-I-HAQQANI.

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

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

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

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

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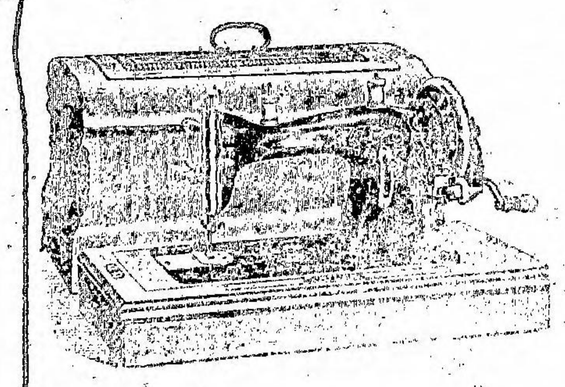
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