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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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 communications.

The Week.

Ulster.

London, April 24.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain has given notice of a Resolution, moving that in view of the seriousness of Government's contemplated naval and military movements in Ulster, the incompleteness and inaccuracy of the Ministers' statements and the failure of the Government to deal frankly with the situation there should be a full and impartial enquiry into all circumstances.

London, April 25.

Volunteers were mobilised throughout Ulster yesterday evening with the utmost secrecy. It is estimated that 27,000 turned out.

London, April 25.

Seventy thousand rifles were landed in Ulster last night for volunteers. They were conveyed inland in two hundred motor cars. Mobilisation last night was in Belfast district only. This diverted the attention while the steamer "Fanny" transferred rifles to a small craft.

Later.

Most of the rifles were landed at Larne and the remainder at Bangor and Donaghuadee. Many volunteers were on duty at Larne and police were helpless being unable even to communicate with Belfast. The first consignment reached Tyrone at four o'clock in the morning and others were distributed in nearer counties. The plan succeeded without a hitch.

London, April 27.

Estimates as to the number of arms imported into Ireland now vary between 24,600 and 40,000 with from one million to three and half a million cartridges.

London, April 27.

Newspapers state that troop trains have been ordered for conveyance northwards of West Kent Regiment and Yorkshire Regiment from Dublin and Manchester Regiment from Currah. It is believed that proclamation of martial law is imminent.

London, April 27.

The *Daily Mail* says that the above named Regiments arrived in Dublin to-day.

The *Daily News* states that Friday night's crimes are no longer preparations for rebellion. They were rebellion with every circumstance of rebellion. The paper demand an immediate change in the Government's policy towards Ulster and the punishment of every participant in Friday night's incident.

The *Daily Chronicle* demands that Sir Edward Carson and his colleagues shall no longer be allowed to play with fire. It says Government's immediate duty is to punish Friday's crimes and to draft in troops to confiscate imported arms. It says that a resolute policy may meet the trouble but otherwise worse trouble will meet us.

London, April 27.

Mr. Asquith, Mr. Churchill and Sir John Simon to-day conferred at 10 Downing Street with regard to the Ulster question. Hitherto there have been no movements of troops in Ireland. Volunteers are watching the Police in case they attempt to seize arms.

London, April 27.

Last night there was renewed activity in Ulster between Bangor and Newtonards. Fifty motor cars were engaged in transporting rifles and ammunition. Special volunteers worked unimpeded, the Police expecting warrants which did not arrive.

London, April 27.

Some ninety questions regarding Ulster were asked at question time in the House of Commons to-day. They were answered in silence, the position being regarded as too grave for the continuance of recent angry retorts. Sir Edward Carson and Captain Craig sat among the Opposition benches. Replying to Mr. Lough on the subject of recent importation of arms into Ulster Mr. Asquith said that in view of this grave and unprecedented outrage the House may rest assured that Government will take without delay proper steps to vindicate the authority of law and to protect officers and servants of the King (loud cheers) and His Majesty's subjects in the exercise of their duties and enjoyment of their legal right.

London, April 28.

Unionist papers continue to publish columns of description regarding gunrunning in Ulster. They declare that not another rifle is now required by volunteers. The work of distribution in the province is nearly accomplished and arms have been securely hidden in small lots. Hundreds of motors were employed. As an instance of secrecy observed, it is stated that in a procession of sixty-four cars, the only man aware of the destination was the leading driver.

London, April 28.

The steamer "Roma" has been detained at Ayr, on a charge of illegal carriage of arms. It is alleged that the "Roma" was about to sail for Ayr on Friday night when she was seized by Ulster volunteers. Volunteers employed her in taking arms from the gunrunner to Belfast. The crew were powerless.

London, April 28.

Thrilling description is given of the adventures of the gunrunner Norwegain hooker "Fanny." She tramped the seas for three weeks in gales without papers. She was three times repainted and re-christened. She eventually anchored in Yarmouth Roads to provision and repair. A man went thence to London got in touch with Ulster and then went to Lundy Island where he met "Mountjoy" which was chartered and manned by the Volunteers. Arms were transhipped in the first place one hundred miles South of Tuskar Rack and in the second place to Cardigan Bay whence "Mountjoy," in the guise of a collier leisurely proceeded to Ulster, a member of the Ulster Unionist Council boarding her at sunset on Friday and directing the run to Larne.

London, April 28.

Telegrams from Belfast state that it is rumoured that certain troops, ordered north during the week-end, asked for conditions of service. They were prepared to mobilise, but refused to wage war against Ulster and to shoot those under the flag. Consequently the orders were cancelled.

London, April 28.

In the House of Commons to-day, Mr. Austen Chamberlain submitted his motion for an impartial inquiry into the movement of troops in Ulster. He emphasised that Government had refused information and had refused to publish the instructions given to Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Paget or what Sir Arthur Paget had told the Officers. He proceeded to accuse Ministers of making grossly and flagrantly inaccurate statements. They seemed as regards the Naval movement to be unable to distinguish between truth and untruth. Indeed the whole story of the Government was incredible while the talk about stories was a mere pretence to cover the movement of an overwhelming force with a view to coercing Ulster. He demanded a full and impartial inquiry amid cheers.

MR. CHURCHILL'S REPLY

Mr. Churchill said this was a most audacious vote of censure and a most impudent demand for a judicial inquiry on record. Complainant should come to a court with clean hands; but there were Sir Edward Carson and Captain Craig fresh from gun-running exploits. He asserted that subsequent events had proved fatal to the motion. It looked like criminal classes moving a vote of censure on the Police. (Opposition:—"You have not arrested the criminals") Mr. Churchill declared that the Conservatives were committed to tampering with the Army and the Navy and smugling arms by moon-light. He asked them to think how these doctrines would apply in India and Egypt.

Mr. Churchill prefaced the peroration to his speech by appealing to Sir Edward Carson who was running risk in the strife to run risk for peace, adding:—"I am running some little risk in what I now say." He accused those who were preparing for a civil war of having other purposes than that of wanting to subvert the regular system of parliamentary Government. Government would not use force till force was used against the representatives of law and order. He defended the right of Government to throw troops into Ulster to arrest leaders and to take other drastic measures, but considered them inadvisable in the circumstances with which they had to deal. He asked the House even in that last period to seek a better solution than a civil war and alluded to the anxiety felt by every friendly country owing to the belief that the balance of power would presently be changed. Foreign countries did not realise that external difficulties would dispel internal dissensions. If that was feasible at a higher call of patriotism, why not at a call of internal amity.

Great importance is attached in the lobby to Mr. Churchill's peroration. It is considered that the suggestion, however vague is a great advance on Government's original proposals and indicates that Government is feeling its way towards a Federal solution.

Berlin, April 29.

The *National Zeitung* says that "Fanny's" consignment of arms for Ulster consisted of 30,000 American small-calibre rifles and three million cartridges.

The Ulster Crisis.

London, 30th April.

The majority in the censure motion included 70 Nationalists and 30 Labourites.

The Commons was deeply moved by Mr. Balfour's peroration in which he eloquently described his whole life's work to make the United Kingdom one nation under one Parliament and to make Ireland content under that Parliament by removing all her grievances. This life work had been shattered by the establishment of a Parliament in Dublin. Even if Ulster were excluded therefrom, so far from that being a triumph, the passage of Home Rule with exclusion would be regarded by Mr. Balfour as a disaster.

Mr. Asquith made a speech thereafter in which he said that the debate would be remembered not so much for the exposure of the myth of a plot which never existed as for the speeches of Sir Edward Carson and Mr. Balfour, which might prove to be landmarks in the history of this controversy. It was impossible to listen to Mr. Balfour's speech without lively emotion. He had never heard in the Commons a more remarkable, more touching, more appealing avowal, but it amounted to this that Mr. Balfour was constrained to admit that uncontrolable forces had been too strong for him, making him recognise that Home Rule in some shape was inevitable.

The opinion is strengthening that the time limit for the exclusion of Ulster will be abandoned. It is expected that Sir Edward Carson and Mr. Redmond will take part in the next conferences between the party leaders. Yesterday's debate was also remarkable for its varying tone. It opened in warlike manner but ended pacifically. Mr. Churchill's offer of an olive branch proved to be the text of the pacific utterances of Mr. Balfour, Sir E. Carson and Mr. Bonar Law. The last named invited Mr. Asquith to renew conversations and offered to stand aside and let Lord Lansdowne or Sir E. Carson negotiate. Mr. Asquith expressed his opinion that the road to settlement was not through bargaining on the floor of the Commons. He said there must be no settlement behind the backs of Ulstermen or other Irishmen.

The fifth Cabinet of this week met to-day. It was also the most prolonged of the five. It is understood that time was devoted to considering the Irish settlement. The brighter outlook of yesterday evening was maintained to-day, and there are great hopes that a round table conference will be arranged.

Advices from Belfast report that a general optimistic tone prevails there since the latest events at Westminister, but distrust of the Government's *bana fides* is sporadically expressed.

Three cruisers were observed patrolling off Lough Foyle this morning. It was believed in Londonderry that their presence was due to the report which has since proved unfounded of the landing of arms at Innishowen from America for the Nationalist.

The Greek Church.

The Oecumenical Patriarch has appealed to the Czar for the protection of members of the Orthodox Church. It is stated in Athens that the Czar has given £1,000 towards the fund to assist refugees and has instructed the Russian Minister to confer with his British and French colleagues with a view to securing a cessation of the ill-treatment of members of the Orthodox Church.

Austria and the Balkans.

The statement of Count Berchtold, Austro Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Delegations affirmed Austria-Hungary's desire to see Turkey, who despite the losses of the war remained a strong element in the East, consolidate her possessions. He declared that Austria Hungary attached great importance to a continuance of the Ottoman factor in undiminished strength on both political and economic grounds. He praised Great Britain's conciliatoriness in the Balkan crisis, which he declared largely contributed to the peaceful settlement, and emphasised the friendship binding the Dual Monarchy and Great Britain.

The Minister announced that so many thousands of Christian refugees continued to arrive in Salonika that it was difficult to provide shelter for them.

The Turkish Navy.

Constantinople May 1st.

The Committee which has been entrusted with the expenditure of the public subscription to increase the Navy, which now amounts to £450,000, announces that the Porte has ordered another Dreadnought from Messrs. Armstrong, making three. Six destroyers and two submarines have also been ordered in France. The Porte deems these measures necessary owing to the Greek orders of last March.

University of Cambridge.

London, April 25.

In a few weeks, the University of Cambridge will publish documents consisting, of important variants of the text of the Koran contained in Palimpsest purchased from Mrs. Agnes Lewis in 1895 Doctor Mingana of Syro-Chaldean Seminary House, only deciphered the Koranic text under the upper patriotic text in November. Some of the pages were apparently written before Mohamed's amanuansis Zaid Ibu Thaibt compiled of the Textus Receptus of Koran.

Anti-Greek Outburst.

Athens, April 25.

The police at Smyrna have ordered all Greek subjects to leave at once. The Greek Consul called on the Vali in connection with the order, but was not received. He was told that the Vali had gone to the country.

Our London Letter.

London, April 10.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

THE second reading of the Home Rule Bill has been carried in the House of Commons with the handsome majority of 80. The Parliamentary debate on Monday last, before the division took place, was not of any particular significance. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was unfortunately unable to be present, owing to indisposition, but Mr. Birrell, who wound up for the Government, impressed the House with a speech that was full of lucid expressions and convincing arguments. The Chief Secretary for Ireland made it abundantly clear that Mr. Asquith's offer of temporary exclusion for Ulster is still open, but the Conservative Leader's attitude, which was hardly conciliatory, does not at present render the situation very hopeful, though it is only fair to mention that Sir Edward Carson has at last thoroughly realised the gravity of the problem and his speech on Monday night plainly indicated that he would be willing to negotiate with a view to a peaceful solution. There is also a distinct sign of willingness for reconciliation and peace visible amongst the back benches on both sides and, for the present at any rate, the House has adjourned for the brief Easter recess full of hopes. Everybody, from the serious politician to the man in the street, seems for the moment infected with the holiday mood and, unless any particularly vital developments occur, which are not likely, the prospects for the subsequent progress of the Home Rule Bill and its eventual enactment are very favourable indeed.

The Prime Minister, as Reuter has, of course already informed you, has been returned for East Fife unopposed on his acceptance of the Secretaryship of State for War. His triumphal progress overland to Scotland last week was the highest tribute the country has ever paid to Liberalism. Mr. Asquith's speech to his constituents at Ladybank, in which he mainly dealt with the questions of Home Rule and the Army, has found an echo throughout the Kingdom. His singnificant words in reference to the Army's participation in politics—"the Army will hear nothing of politics from me and I in turn expect to hear nothing of politics from the Army"—have put the whole case in a nutshell and people of all shades of opinion are in full agreement with him on that important point. It is the sacred duty of the Army to unhesitatingly obey the orders of its legally constituted authorities. The Conservative party has tried its utmost to use the Army as a pawn in the political game but has signally failed in this trick, the meanest possible trick that could ever be imagined. The Opposition had an excellent opportunity before them in East Fife to vindicate their honour and to justify their recent action both inside and outside Parliament. Even a substantial fall in Mr. Asquith's majority would have certainly been rightly interpreted by the country as a strong condemnation of the Government's policy. There were no side issues before the electorate in East Fife and nobody was more anxious than Mr. Asquith himself to put the question of the Army to the forefront in the constituency. As a matter of fact he did so in no unmistakable language at Ladybank and yet the Conservatives, who are never tired of declaring that the country has lost its confidence in the present Government, have refused to avail themselves of such a splendid chance. They knew that it would be suicidal to appeal to the East Fife electors on the vital issue that has been so recklessly raised by them in the House of Commons. They were perfectly aware that no sane constituency is prepared to proclaim that in future the regimental mess-house is to be the legislative chamber of the nation. They were absolutely convinced of the fact that no elector could or would vote for the party that has done its best to convert the people's army into that of the Conservative party. Hence their decision not to oppose Mr. Asquith's candidature. All their talk about their "patriotism," etc., which, they say, has prompted them to adopt this course, must, of course, be at once dismissed as useless and ridiculous. It is nothing of the kind. Only certain knowledge of a crushing defeat at the polls has prevented them from putting their candidate in the field and their refusal to have anything to do with the "sour grapes" deceives no one but themselves. The sum and substance of all this rather farcical drama on the part of the Opposition is the fact that the hands of the Government have been enormously strengthened and the Liberal party's position in the House of Commons with the aid of the Irish Nationalists and the Labour Party has never been more secure than it is to-day.

MR. BALFOUR AS A HYDE PARK AGITATOR.

"Sub Rosa" writes a most interesting article in the *Daily News* and *Leader* on the rather unexpected appearance of Mr. Balfour in Hyde Park last Saturday on the occasion of the Unionist demonstration against Home Rule. The "gentlemanly" party has always treated public demonstrations by the Labour and Liberal parties and other associations with contempt and has hitherto considered such movements as "infra dig" for themselves to undertake. Eight long and weary years, during which they have been ploughing the sands of Opposition, have at last rendered the Conservative party desperate and on Saturday last London was freely treated to a most extraordinary sight of witnessing noble lords, ex-Cabinet Ministers and even an ex-Prime Minister in the unique role of Hyde Park agitators. The present wicked Government is solely responsible for the deep depth of humility to which the "aristocratic" party has sunk or rather been forcibly reduced to. "I may say," proceeds the writer, "that if I had been asked a week ago if the appearance of Mr. Balfour as an agitator in Hyde Park could be regarded as a probability, I should have said at once that the answer was in the negative. I should have given that answer as a result of the study of his habits derived from looking at the past. He has hitherto regarded Hyde Park demonstrations with serene contempt. Some years ago there was a tremendous meeting there to oppose his Church Education Bill, and when he was asked some question in the House about the demonstration he turned to those sitting near him and said in his well-known style of polite bewilderment, 'Let me see—where did this gathering take place?' Hyde Park demonstrations then appeared to be beneath his notice—but he has now discovered that if a man would avoid being forgotten he must keep 'in the movement.' Of course, we all know that Mr. Balfour has on occasion announced that he is a democrat—but this has been regarded as 'only his fun.' Times, however, change, and men have to change with them, and so the Rt. Hon. gentleman no longer dismisses tub-thumping in Hyde Park as belonging to his newly-discovered 'category of negligibility.' I wonder whether, owing to the seriousness of the political situation, he will take to smoking a short clay pipe, and addressing his fellow men as 'old mateys.' And I should like to know what Mr. Bonar Law thinks about this amusing incident. Mr. Balfour may next appear on a perch in Trafalgar square, or speak a few words of encouragement to a crowd of strikers on Tower Hill. If so, the official Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons will find his predecessor quite a dangerous rival. Mr. Balfour has shown by his prowess at golf, and tennis, at theology, and, I am told, at the grand piano, what can be done by pluck and persistence, so that if he is now about to come out as a street-corner orator he may be called back to the leadership after all. Up to now that recall, which was confidently expected by some, has not been heard. But this Hyde Park experiment is a bold one. It shows that Mr. Balfour means business, and he must have taken great trouble over the affair, as it is said that he asked several people 'Where is Hyde Park?' in order to get there in time to do his turn. Did he stand on an upturned tub, or was he in the cart, or up a tree? It is to be hoped that someone has noted down all details and particulars for the sake of historians in the future, and in order that one of the most picturesque incidents in the history of the Park may be fittingly preserved. Some say that he took his coat off, and others contradict this. What is wanted is an official and authoritative version or record of the whole affair.

"And where was Lord Lansdowne—that other sturdy non-party democrat? It seems to me that he missed the chance of his life, and in consequence the public missed a treat. To have seen Mr. Balfour and Lord Lansdowne appealing to the great heart of the people, and bawling to a record gathering of nurse-girls from the suburbs, would have given the crowd an unrivalled opportunity of enjoying some competitive and genteel tub-thumping. Mr. Balfour has long since proved his versatility, and last Saturday's show gave him an opportunity of at last playing the part of an open-air agitator. Is it true, I wonder, that he carried his umbrella 'at the trial'—to use Mr. Garvin's phrase, meaning, perhaps, 'trial' that he waved a little flag and saluted Sir Edward Carson in the best military style? All this is being proudly related by his admirers. It is whispered that he has enlisted in the Ulster Volunteers, and will shortly appear in uniform, having already been given high rank in the band. When such a man takes up the business of an agitator there is no holding him back. He has lost much time to redeem, and so he is now prepared to rival the British Army in going

anywhere and doing anything. Having resolved to undertake this democratic new departure, and seeing the necessity of doing the thing well, as becomes a belated convert, what was Mr. Balfour's main theme in the Park? It was an honest, manly, heart-to-heart appeal against anything of the nature of Coercion in Ireland! I am told that at first some of his hearers thought that he was joking, and that he had come to provide a little comic relief in the midst of dour and stern oratory. But no!—Mr. Balfour has become a 'very different man,' and he who covered Non-Conformists with ridicule when they offered passive resistance to his Education Act now pleads for the sacred rights of the Curragh conscience, and he who employed troops to help the landlords in evicting peasants in Ireland, troops who were told not to hesitate to shoot, is now shocked at the bare notion of coercion. He is one of the most interesting converts known to history.

"But his appearance as an open-air agitator in Hyde Park shows how quickly we have travelled and how far we have moved within a very few years. It seems but yesterday that when he wanted to strip up Liberal legislation, all he had to do was to call round at Lansdowne House, and there, in company with the noble Marquis, the trick could be played without any fuss or fluster. It is a long way, in one sense though not in another, from that famous house in a famous square to a perch in Hyde Park. He has managed to travel that journey—perhaps he could say with truth, 'I didn't want to do it'—but necessity hath no law. And he has had his reward, for has not Mr. Garvin likened him to Achilles (who is also represented in Hyde Park) returning to the fight before Troy? The simile may not be quite encouraging to some gentlemen on the Tory front bench, for Achilles come back only when myrmidons and others on his own side were in a hopeless mess. And directly he did come back he took the lead at once and beyond all question. Is this what is going to happen in regard to this later Achilles? I cannot say, but if the eloquent classical allusion has any appropriateness it may turn out that the Hyde Park perch was but a stepping-stone to the post of leader."

Dismissal of Mr. Arnold's Case.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, at which there were present on Monday Lord Shaw, Lord Moulton, Sir John Edge and Mr. Ameer Ali, as you are already aware, has dismissed the appeal of Mr. Channing Arnold, the editor and proprietor of the "Burma Critic," from a conviction of defamation and a sentence of one year's imprisonment by the Chief Court of Lower Burma. The proceedings were taken under the Indian Penal Code by a district magistrate, who alleged that Mr. Arnold defamed him in two articles headed "A Mockery of British Justice."

There is universal sympathy felt here for Mr. Arnold among the entire Indian colony on the failure of his appeal. Commenting on the result of his case, the *Westminster Gazette* proceeds as follows:—"At the same time it is only fair to Mr. Arnold to point out that he was moved to action by an honest view that there had been a miscarriage of justice. As to that, it is to be noted that the Privy Council expressly declares that 'they find themselves in entire agreement with the learned judge,' who (in the Burmese Court) said 'It is not surprising that there should be indignation and hot feeling on the part of the sympathisers with the mother of the child Aina, and good reason for feelings of indignation at some of the conduct—the admitted conduct—of Mr. McCormick. However strong his inclination for amateur doctoring may have been, there was no justification for that. It was a thing that no man with a proper sense of decency should have done."

Again a little later the Privy Council says :—"After investigating the facts and declining to commit, he (Mr. Andrew) went on to say that in his opinion Mr. McCormick's conduct was pure and philanthropic. Their Lordships cannot agree with such an opinion, and their views coincide with those of the Chief Justice on that subject."

It is only bare justice to Mr. Arnold that these passages should be borne in mind in connection with his appeal that has failed.

The Islamic Society.

At to-day's *Juma Namaz* at Lindsay Hall, held under the auspices of the Islamic Society, a Young Turkish lady, Miss Ataullah, was amongst the worshippers. This lady's brother, who was undergoing a course of instruction in aviation at Hendon about two years ago, had served the Society faithfully on the Committee for some time and consequently his sister's genial presence amongst us this morning at Lindsey Hall was particularly welcome and appreciated by the members of the Society present. Miss Ataullah's sister is a medical student at the Royal Free Hospital for Women in London, she is to be heartily congratulated on her enlistment as a worker in this noble branch of science and she will carry our good wishes for her success in her future medical work in Turkey. Yet another piece of evidence as to the advancement of Turkish women!

The Hospitality Committee.

This Committee, of whose aims and objects I have briefly acquainted your readers in my letter of last week, held their first reception last Saturday afternoon at 25, Park Lane, the palatial residence of Sir Phillip Sassoon, M. P. A very large gathering of Indian and English people was present and Lord Haldane delivered an informal address on the occasion. The Lord Chancellor referred to the fact that his interest in India, and particularly Indian philosophy, had been roused as long back as his student days at the Edinburgh University, when he happened to have had a very formidable rival in an Indian fellow student in almost all the examinations for which he had sat. Sometimes, according to Lord Haldane, the Indian beat him "hands down," while on other occasions, Lord Haldane, or Mr. R. B. Haldane as he then was, succeeded in bowling his Indian rival over. The keen competition and the healthy rivalry that had evidently existed between the two, we were told, had only cemented their friendship still closer and had created an unusual degree of mutual regard and admiration between them. After knowing all this, one wonders whether the present occupant of the Woolsack would not have really done better at the India Office.

Soon after the guests had assembled, we were unexpectedly afforded the unique experience of witnessing the hurried entry of Sir Edward Carson into the building, not as a guest but as a "deserter" from the adjoining Unionist demonstration in Hyde Park. Sir Edward had been "mobbed" by his sympathetic supporters, who were determined to "chair" him, after the demonstration was over. The Irish Unionist Leader was too exhausted to accept this further recognition of his services to the "cause" on the part of his followers and he literally ran away from them and sought shelter under the ever-hospitable roof of Sir Phillip Sassoon. We saw him enter the house gasping for breath and looking as pale as sheet. Even then the enthusiastic demonstrators did not give in. Crowds collected outside the mansion and Sir Edward was finally compelled to address them again from the balcony.

As to the ultimate success of the scheme that has been taken up by the Hospitality Committee, as I have said before, everything depends on themselves. It is much too premature to judge their work at this stage but they can succeed only if and when they could convince the Indian student of the honesty of their purpose. The least trace of Anglo-Indianisation in their plan is bound to bring nothing but ruination and disaster to the whole scheme.

The London Moslem League.

I had mentioned, I think, in one of my previous weekly letters to the *Comrade* that the London Moslem League, with a view to rendering the organization more popular here among the young Indian Moslems, had decided to hold informal committee dinners from time to time. I am glad to say that the first function of the kind was held on Saturday last, the 4th inst. at the Westminster Palace Hotel and proved a complete success. The gathering was not large and was never intended to be, since the occasion was in no sense a public function. It was held almost exclusively for the benefit of the members of the League in London and the objects for which the dinner had been arranged, *viz.*, the promotion of social intercourse, and the encouragement of informal exchange of views, between the members, were amply fulfilled. Practically all the members of the London League attended. The Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, the President, was in the chair, but, owing to indisposition, the vice-President, Mr. C. A. Latif, was unfortunately prevented from being present; while Mr. A. S. M. Anik, the Hon. Treasurer, who had been laid up with Bronchitis for the past three weeks, had heroically left his sick-bed to attend the dinner, though he was prevented by his doctor's orders from freely indulging into the luxuries of the table and had to merely contend himself with sparingly partaking of only the "digestible" courses on the menu.

The occasion being an informal one, there was, of course, no official toast-list. After the loyal toast was duly honoured, however, Colonel Yate, M. P., briefly proposed the toast of the London League. He is an honorary member of the Association. In responding to the toast, Mr. Ameer Ali expressed his gratification at the presence of the representative gathering that evening and hoped that the members present would realise their individual responsibility and that they would all work for the advancement of the aims and objects of the London League. Mr. Asaf Ali, in a short but eloquent speech, proposed the President's health, for which Mr. Ameer Ali briefly returned thanks.

The arrangements for the dinner, which left nothing to be desired, reflected very great credit on the organising abilities of Mr. Ghulam Rasul, the Acting Hon. Secretary.

TETE À TETE



As we go to press we learn by wire that the Aligarh College Hockey team won the Beighton Cup after at Calcutta a hard contest. We do not know the details of the recent tour of the team, but congratulate it most heartily on a success which promises to be the earnest of better things to come. Dr. Fyzee referred in his recent letter to us to the bad luck which attended the hockey team in its Bombay visit some years ago, and in 1911 the team's Calcutta tour was not as successful as it had been expected to be. The present success is, therefore, all the more welcome, and we have every hope that the College hockey team would now build up a reputation no whit less great than that which many generations of Aligarh men have built up for Aligarh cricket. We congratulate the captain on the success of his endeavours, and look forward to his establishing a record as brilliant as that of Prince Hamidullah Khan in cricket this year.

Aligarh Hockey.

We referred some weeks ago to a remark made by Mr. Asquith in the course of his Ladybank speech that the Tory doctrines about the Army "set a "precedent which was of an infinite number of "applications, each more disastrous in its consequences than the one which went before it" Our contemporary, the *Pioneer*, evidently had discovered a way out of the difficulty and went on publishing its London letters exulting over the discomfiture of the Government and backing them up with editorial comments which were uttered in a still more triumphant tone. This led the Editor of the *Comrade* to write to the *Pioneer* and ask for the solution of some military conundrums in India. On a certain well-known occasion a gentleman who is now an esteemed Muslim member of the U. P. Legislative Council wrote to the *Pioneer* and sought its advice with regard to the future policy of the Indian Mussalmans. We confess we were somewhat surprised at the time at this procedure and had commented on it with some severity. Time, however, brings its own revenges, and the Hon. Syed Riza Ali can well exult over the editor of this journal for having been compelled to seek advice from the *Pioneer*. His exultation must be all the greater because, whereas the *Pioneer* readily offered to him the advice that he had sought, it has not condescended to assist the editor of the *Comrade*. The only reply it has vouchsafed to him is: "Returned with many thanks."

"Returned with Thanks!"

The letter addressed by the Editor of the *Comrade* to the *Pioneer* runs as follows:—

"Sir,—Not so long ago you were constantly thrusting me on the attention of your readers and it was a great strain on my eyes to stand the fierce light that beats on him who is pilloried in your columns. If to-day I venture to thrust myself on the attention of your readers it is because I desire to turn on that dazzling light not so much on myself as on a somewhat obscure problem of general interest to my countrymen.

"A year and a half ago the Hindu residents of Ajuddhiya objected to the sacrifice of cows by Mussalmans on the occasion of the *Eid-i-Adha*, or Bakr 'Id, in that sacred and historic locality. The Mussalmans, however, insisted on the exercise of a well-established right and the Local Government upheld their claim. However apprehending that there may be a breach of the peace, the civil authorities, I believe, asked for and obtained the promise of the assistance of troops which were thereupon quartered in the neighbourhood of the locality. More recently, a Mosque in Machhli Bazar at Cawnpore was surrounded one morning by the Armed Police, and a portion of it demolished in the presence of the District Magistrate at the instance, I believe, of the official Chairman of the Cawnpore Municipality. A month later the Mussalmans of the City held a mass meeting to protest against the sacrilege, and when it was over, some of them went and commenced to heap up the debris of loose bricks on the demolished site. On being asked by some policemen to desist and disperse, they are alleged to have handled the trespassers somewhat roughly. On this the District Magistrate is stated to have brought a force of Mounted and Armed Police and to have ordered it to open fire on the mob. I have been told, though I cannot vouch for it, that the District Magistrate telephoned to the highest military authority in the local garrison to send some troops also for assisting the Police, but that this officer treated the request as the result of the Magistrate excessive excitement, besides being not in proper legal form.

"Whatever the facts of the matter, I am anxious to know your view of the law and the equity in the following hypothetical cases. If the troops at Ajuddhiya had been ordered by the civil authorities to fire on a Hindu mob that forcibly resisted the sacrifice of cows by Mussalmans on the occasion of Bakr 'Id, and if the troops at Cawnpore had been similarly ordered to fire on the Mussalmans who resisted trespassers on the site of the demolished portion of their mosque, would the Hindu soldier at Ajuddhiya and the Mussalman soldiers at Cawnpore have been justified, either by law or by equity, to have refused to comply with the order to fire on their co-religionists on the ground that they were conscientiously satisfied that the civil authorities were in the wrong and those on whom they were ordered to fire were in the right?

"It is reported that in the course of a speech in the House of Commons, Mr. Bonar Law, the leader of the Unionist Party, with which you are generally in agreement, claimed that 'the least we in the 'twentieth century had a 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 pen-'sions.' In your issue of the 29th April you say: 'Talk as 'one will about Constitutional theory and Army orders, the history 'both of our own and of other lands teaches us that on the outbreak 'of civil war all theories and legalisms fall to the ground and every 'citizen feels constrained to take sides according to his conscience. 'It is this which has always differentiated civil strife from a foreign 'war.'

"May I ask if in the two hypothetical cases, my Hindu and Moslem fellow-countrymen respectively would have been justified in claiming, with Mr. Bonar Law, the right to resign and retain their pensions on the ground of conscientiously objecting to such service as was demanded of them, and if, with you, they could claim the additional right of shooting down the District Magistrates by taking side against the civil authorities according to their conscience?

"It may also be that some more than usually enterprising fellow-countrymen of mine may organise a Samiti in Calcutta the members of which may take an oath to resist by force of arms a second Partition of Bengal when the Unionists come into power next July, and Lord Curzon, as His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, orders his agents in India, namely, the Governor-General in Council, to revert to the arrangements made by him in 1905, appointing Sir Bamfylde Fuller as the Lieutenant-Governor at Dacca. In that case, would my fellow-countrymen, the Bengal Covenanters, be liable to arrest and imprisonment for conspiracy and waging war against His Majesty if they organised a "Volunteer Coup" and "outwitted the authorities" by landing a cargo of a million Automatic Browning Pistols and a few hundred million cartridges after surrounding the coastguards on the Hoogli with members of *akharas* armed with *lathis*?

"These are contingencies which may or may not happen; but you will agree, Sir, that it is best 'in these democratic days' to be armed with the sanctions of law—and fact."

Ulster and India.

Now, this is really very unkind of our Allahabad cotemporary. Unasked it has given more advice to the Indians in general and the Mussalmans in particular than they could properly digest and many a leader of the Mussalmans has consequently suffered from a sort of political diarrhœa. On public platforms, in the Legislative Councils, and even in the columns of newspapers they have had a morbidly frequent evacuation of unsubstantial and loose views.

Bankrupt!

But when for once the editor of this journal was starving for want of advice this great almoner has thrown him nothing better than the crumb of "many thanks." We ask the world to judge whether good manners can be a substitute for good advice. One would not have thought that the *Pioneer* would so soon become bankrupt even in advice to Mussalmans. Not that we are ourselves wholly unacquainted with ordinary law as applicable to soldiers; but we were anxious to know the "Bonar Law" and the "*Pioneer* law." We wonder whether the Hon. Syed Riza Ali would meet with better luck than the editor of this jounral, and we would humbly suggest to him to try.

کیا فرض ہے کہ سب کو ملی ایک سا جواب
آو نا ہم بھی سیر کریں کوہ طور کی

(Why need it be supposed that all would receive similar answers? Come, let us also climb Mount Sinai).

A Warning to The "Zamindar."

The District Magistrate of Lahore sent for the publisher of the *Zamindar* on the 8th April and in the presence of the Hon. Mian Mohamed Shafi, Khan Sahib Bashir Ali Khan, Nawab Mohamed Ali Khan Qazilbash and Sardar Abdur Rahman Khan handed him a letter dealing with a number of articles which had appeared in some of the recent issues of the paper and which Government considered objectionable. This letter which was published in our last issue points out by a detailed reference to those articles that, in the opinion of Government, the editor is doing his best "to stir up agitation among the ignorant "masses by misrepresentation and misquotation which might have "mischievous results." Apart from the question whether the warning was at all justified, we take strong exception to the manner in which the warning was communicated to the publisher. This District Magistrate is not authorised by law to warn the editor of a newspaper the tone and spirit of which he considers to be mischievous or which in his opinion is trying to incite the ignorant masses by misrepresentation and misquotation. But if, instead of exercising the authority vested in a Local Government, it chooses to be lenient and gives such warning, we do not at all understand why the Magistrate should think it proper or necessary to call to his side a number of non-official gentlemen some of whom are regarded by the editor as his most determined opponents. Such men are not surely needed to stand sponsor to an act of grace and to bear witness to it afterwards if the warning goes unheeded. They are not the men who can influence the views and policy of the editor by persuasion or advice. What their presence is most likely to achieve is to give an added sting of humiliation to the warning conveyed. The Deputy Commissioner of Lahore could not probably be unaware of this, and his procedure would be resented as an insult by every journalist who is jealous of the honour and dignity of his profession. When a journalist is supposed to have offended against the law, he has to deal with those alone whose duty it is to see that the law is respected and obeyed. But he is not expected to expose himself to the mockery and ridicule of his enemies, or be treated to an official rebuke in the presence of men for whose public life and conduct he may have neither sympathy nor respect. We do not know how our Lahore contemporary regards this matter, but for our part we frankly say that if a Magistrate dared to subject us to such a humiliation, he would find that we might have a good deal to say to him on the subject of his own shortcomings and probably the public humiliation would be just the other way about. As we have said, there is no section of the Press Act or any other law in force in British India which can compel an editor to call at the house of a Magistrate and hear whatever he may please to say any more than it can compel a Magistrate to call at the house of an editor and hear whatever the latter may please to say. If, however, Government desire to give an editor a warning before punishing him under the law, the only justification of such a course would be the desire to convince the journalist of the error of his ways, and this can only be done in the course of a private conversation in which the official should forget that he is anything more than a fellow-subject. The conversation, to be effective, must be frank, and ample opportunity should be afforded to the journalist to explain his point of view. There should be no dodging round corners, and good manners should be used as auxiliaries of good arguments. It may in certain cases be desirable to invoke the aid of others also; but these must naturally be those whom the person to be warned must regard as his well-wishers and for whom he must at least entertain respect. Otherwise the poet's complaint would be only too true:

جمع کرتي ہو کیوں رقیبوں کو ایک تماشہ ہوا گلہ نہوا

(Why do you gather together my enemies? That would be an exhibition, not a grievance.)

The Agent Provocateur.

In circumstances such as those attending Mr. Tollinton's warning to the publisher of the *Zamindar*, a high spirited person may be induced to do exactly that which the warning is designed to prevent. In such cases the person who warns only becomes an *agent provocateur* who, according to Sir Edward Carson, is a person despised even by the criminal classes. We are prepared to believe that Sir Michael O'Dwyer has no intention of provoking the *Zamindar* to incur the penalties of official displeasure under the Press Act. But His Honour has not chosen the best method of disproving the rumours current throughout Northern India that his aversion to the proprietor of the *Zamindar* does not date only from the commencement of his administration of the Panjab, but goes back to the days when, at his instance, as the British Resident at Hyderabad, Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's services were dispensed with by the late Nizam, on the suspicion of having lampooned Mr. Walker, the Finance Minister of Hyderabad, in the columns of the "loyal" and staid *Paisa Akhbar*. At any rate, the *Zamindar* is not likely to thank His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor for his leniency any more than it thanked him for his unjustifiable order of last January which mulcted the *Zamindar* in a loss of some Rs. 20,000. If it was meant as an exhibition of His Honour's leniency it has failed to convince. It is nothing more or less than an indication that the *Zamindar* must be prepared for the worst so long as the Press Act is in force, Sir Michael O'Dwyer is the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and the *Zamindar* continues its present policy. The Press Act is by this time notorious for the all-comprehensiveness of its scope and application, and until and unless the *Zamindar* ceases to be an independent critic of official acts and measures, it will provide every day a hundred excuses for the Panjab Government to punish it under that Act. The result would be the kind of impotent rage and despair which drives even those who appreciate to the full the blessings of British Rule inspite of its occasional shortcomings into the attitude of irreconcilable hostility. This is the genesis of three-fourths of the anarchy one hears of in India, and when we read of a bomb being thrown or a pistol being fired at some official of Government, while we denounce the outrage we also curse the crass stupdity of those who drove an otherwise well-intentioned youth into an inhuman anarchist.

A *Rechauffe* of Criticism.

We have very carefully read the offending articles of the *Zamindar*, and before we say anything else, let us confess we frankly dislike them. This would have been a gratuitous insult to our contemporary if we were dealing with its opinions in the ordinary way. There are a hundred articles appearing in the Indian press every week which we do not like, and we are sure there must be many of our own articles which the *Zamindar* and our other contemporaries equally frankly dislike. Every paper has its own views, tone and taste, and frequently the tone and taste of one article differ from those of another in the same newspaper. In the articles of the *Zamindar* which have drawn upon our contemporary's head the warning of Mr. Tollinton, we find no clear argument, no sustained reasoning, no information systematically given, but a wild wilderness where tit-bits of facts and fancies run riot, and where the chief beauty lies in certain purple patches which are quotations from famous men and seem to have been stored away for journalistic use on the first available opportunity. These are all dished up with the garnish of a rhetoric, which, we are sorry to have to say, is becoming particularly associated with our Lahore contemporary, and which is repelling from it the sympathies of many men, who rightly admired it as the first Muslim paper in Urdu that created popular taste for newspaper reading, but who are now beginning to accuse it of vitiating that taste. However, when all this has been said and done, let us hasten to add that we have searched high and low in all these articles for anything which is seditious, and we have failed to chance upon anything suggestive of treason. In fact, it is a part of our complaint against the *Zamindar* that it has only warmed up the leavings of well-known Indian and European writers like Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji, Mr. R. C. Dutt and Mr. William Digby. For every sentence objected to in these articles we can quote a dozen from the writings and the speeches of these celebrities whom no one prosecuted and punished for sedition even in those days when the Congress was regarded by many officials as a seditious body and had not been honoured with receptions by Viceroys and encomia from provincial satraps. To-day there are scores of papers conducted by men of other communities which use the same arguments and clothe them in language no less forcible which no official has yet had the courage to warn. We do not mean to cast any aspersions on the numerous Bengalee papers when we say that they subject official policies, measures and acts to a merciless fire of daily criticism, and yet altogether escape the attentions of officials clothed with the same authority as Mr. Tollinton. Are we then to understand that Government have come to recognise that they would be putting their hand into a hornets' nest if they worried the journalists of non-Muslim communities, and that the Local Government of Bengal is not made of as stern a stuff as the Local Government of the Punjab

Agitation and Sedition.

It may be that here and there language has been used by the *Zamindar* which is likely to inflame the passions of immature people. But no grievance can be clothed in language which is absolutely safe in the case of all such persons. The grievance is generally addressed to Government, but is overheard by the people. Every grievance must provoke dissatisfaction, and he who airs the grievance must use language sufficiently forcible to create the necessary amount of dissatisfaction. We have no doubt that the most well-meaning complaint is occasionally the cause of creating even disaffection against Government in people of a certain temperament. Take, for instance, the recently published opinion of Mr. Justice Beaman of the Bombay High Court in the matter of admitting confessions as evidence. Government have not acted on Mr. Beaman's advice, and it is quite possible that this may have led some people to entertain hatred against a Government that does not adopt what they consider, probably with Mr. Beaman, to be the only effective preventive of torture. But can Mr. Justice Beaman be reasonably saddled with the responsibility for inflaming the minds of such people? No more can we fasten on the *Zamindar* the guilt of inflaming the people against Government when the obvious desire of the paper seems to be refom in the directions which it suggests, and when we find everywhere expressions of good-will towards Government and acknowledgements of its essential beneficence.

Administrators as Editors and *Vice Versa*.

All that the warning amounts to is that the articles in question have not been written as M. Tollinton, or rather as Sir Michael O'Dwyer would have written them had he been the editor of the *Zamindar*. This is precisely our complaint also. The editor of the *Comrade* would, we have no doubt, have also written them differently. But then the editor of the *Zamindar* can extend this argument, and take the battle into the enemy's own quarter. He may think that he could conduct the *Comrade* better than we do, and that he could administer the Punjab with less reliance on such tyrannical devices as the Press Act than Sir Michael O'Dwyer. On the whole, therefore, it would be just as well for all of us to keep in our proper stations, and not punish bad logic, bad rhetoric and bad taste in newspapers as high treason. These are no doubt grave defects in newspapers, but they can well be left to the competition of other newspapers that have better logic, better rhetoric and better taste. What is happening now is that a Lieutenant-Governor is stepping down from a high pedestal in order to show the way to a peccant journalist how he should conduct his paper, forgetful of the fact that some day a peccant journalist may also be tempted to make a bid for the vacant pedestal and teach some Lieutenant-Governor how to subordinate personal pique and personal caprice to the good of the country placed under his charge and the demands of a law to which Lieutenant-Governors and journalists are alike subject. To cut a long story short, if the recent warning to the *Zamindar* is not a special favour reserved for our contemporary, but an indication of the Panjab Government's attitude towards all independent journals, then Sir Michael O'Dwyer had better hold a Durbar and ask all independent journalists to shut up shop and organise a corps of volunteers on the lines of Sir Edward Carson wherewith to seek the repeal of the Press Act. He will certainly not kill anarchy in the Panjab with such tactics. He may, however, create it.

The Last Month.

The Government of India rushed through their arduous labours of the Legislative Session before the end of March and with commendable haste the Hon. Members shook the dust of Delhi off their feet. They sped in various directions to recover their equanimity and self-assurance by breathing the freer air after it had been somewhat seriously ruffled by the deluge of non-official oratory in the Legislative Council. A long itinerary would seem to provide a sort of mental and physical bath to the perturbed and jaded Executive Councillor before he goes up to the Olympic heights at Simla. Immediately after the Government of India left Delhi to recuperate, various political, and social bodies, conferences, associations and anjumans in the country entered on a spell of strenuous activity. The month of April has witnessed quite a carnival of public meetings and organised efforts of sects, communities, provincial and district political associations to take stock of their respective positions, redeliver their messages, and rekindle enthusiasm amongst their followers to march with surer steps under their banners. There were the Provincial Conferences in the United Provinces, Behar, Bombay and Bengal, which maintained in every way the reputations of their predecessors. There were the Jain Conference and the Rajput Conference, and the Sikh Educational Conference, which saw no future for the Panjab unless Panjabi were adopted as the medium of instruction as well as the language of the courts. There was the Panjab Hindu Sabha, which even in its sixth year of birth does not seem to have got over its task of defining Hinduism. These Conferences and Sabhas are on the whole a reassuring sign of the times, and though some of them lack the sense of proportion and show tendencies of extreme sectarian bias, genuine efforts for self-improvement within the limits of sects and communities will eventually contribute to the general advance of the country.

The Bengal Presidency Moslem Educational Conference.

The number of annual meetings and conferences during the last month relating to different sections of the Moslem community has been considerable. Prominent amongst these were the Bengal Presidency Moslem Educational Conference and the Bengal Presidency Moslem League, which held their annual sessions at Dacca. The Hon. Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhry, who presided at the Educational Conference, delivered an eloquent address in which he dealt with the educational needs of the Bengal Moslems. He described at length the situation of the community in regard to modern education and traced the historical and general causes that are responsible for its backward condition. The Mussalmans did not take early to Western education because the loss of their political power and prestige had paralysed their energies and they clung all the more tenaciously to their ancient culture and modes of thought. But now that the earlier feelings of alarm and suspicion have passed away other causes have sprung up to handicap them in the race. The Moslem community in Bengal is generally poor. The system of education now in vogue in the province has naturally become more and more adapted to the requirements of the dominant and progressive Hindu community and takes little account of the social, religious and intellectual needs of the Mussalmans. The latter have got to make up an immense lee-way, and their success depends in a considerable measure on their own exertions. But the responsibility of the Government is also great in the matter. The Mussalmans do not plead for privileges and favours at the expense of the Hindu community. They only want an equality of opportunity. Unless Government help to create special facilities for the growth of Moslem education no such equality of opportunity can be attained. The Hon. Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhry has indicated the various directions in which Government help is needed in all the branches of Moslem education. We trust his appeal for co-operation and assistance will not be in vain. Government owes this to the Moslem community of Bengal whose educational prospects have been so materially marred by the sudden annulment of the partition.

The Bengal Moslem League.

The address of the Hon. Mr. A. K. Fazl-ul-Haq, who presided at the Dacca Session of the Bengal Moslem League, is a straighforward and brilliant performance. He states the standpoint of the Moslem community in regard to various public questions with admirable precision and subjects some acts of the Government and a few aspects of its policy to a searching criticism. His views on the creation of the Presidency of Bengal and its effect on the position of the Moslem community are shared by the Mussalmans throughout the country. When the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam has been wiped out without the least regard for the interests and sentiments of the Moslem community, it is only natural that some efforts should be made by Government to guarrantee for the Mussalmans some of the advantages of which they have been summarily deprived. He pleads for justice, for a fair recognition of the difficulties of the Mussalmans and of the duty of Government to afford them all legitimate help. His remarks on the Press Act and on Hindu-Moslem relations are worthy of note. We will particularly commend his observations in regard to mosques and other sacred places of Mussalmans to the notice of the Government for they sum up the attitude of the entire Moslem community in India in regard to this delicate and supremely important matter. The *Statesman* roundly declares the straight and sincere talk of the Hon. Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq as minchievous. We do no know if it is mischievous to give a timely warning to Government about the consequences of measures which are likely to stir up deep religious feeling. No sane Mussalman has ever objected to public improvements, but he can not certainly be expected to welcome such improvements at the expense of his religious sentiment.

The "Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Talim."

The fourth anniversary of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Talim, Amritsar, was celebrated on 25th and 26th April under the presidency of Shah Suleman Qari, the well known preacher and lecturer. There was a large audience, many gentlemen from Delhi, Multan, Lahore and other places were also present. In the first sitting the President read his address dwelling on the need of the moral and educational elevation of the Mohamedan community.

After this the Secretary read the annual report giving a detailed account of the services rendered by the Anjuman in the cause of Moslem education during the past 4 years. Forty students were helped in getting higher education and sixty more students to study in different schools and colleges, the outlay being Rs. 900 per month. He also drew attention to the application submitted to the Government by the Anjuman for free and compulsary education, special schools for villages with better arrangement for accommodation, sanitation and with more teachers than one to teach the different subjects and classes. The Secretary also laid great stress upon the necessity of education in the Physical Sciences and urged upon the Mohamedan students to join F. Sc., and B. Sc., classes. He regretted the paucity of Mohamedan students especially in Engineering and Medical schools and colleges and assured the public that the Society will spare no effort in helping those students who especially wish to join such institutions. The assembly unanimously adopted two resolutions—the one expressed the heartfelt gratitude of the Members of the Society especially and the Mohamedans generally, to the Bahawalpur Durbar for the munificent permanent grant of Rs. 1,000 per annum and the other thanked Captain Malik Mubariz Khan for the handsome donation of Rs. 500 yearly for three years.

The Muslim Kashmiri Conference.

The fifth Anniversary of the Muslim Kashmiri Conference was held at Sialkot on the 25th and 26th April under the presidency of Nawab Mohamed Azam Khan Sahib, Rais of Dacca, (Bengal.) The audience was very large with delegates from every part of the Panjab. The president delivered an instructive address in Urdu, which besides containing useful advice in general touched every topic of peculiar interest to the Kashmiri community of the country. Resolutions pertaining to the education of the Kashmiris in the Panjab and in the Kashmir State in particular, to the introduction of the punchayat system in the community, to their enlistment in the Army, to the removal of restriction under the Land Alienation Act and to other matters of communal import were adopted. About five thousand rupees were subscribed, the president himself contributing no less than about three thousand rupees towards the objects of the Conference.

The Rev. C. F. Andrews.

The Rev. C. F. Andrews, on his return from South Africa, immediately resumed his duties in St. Stephen's College, Delhi. He hopes to stay on in Delhi for the greater part of the time till the University term ends in June. After that he will take up work in Rabindranath Tagore's School in Bolpur, Bengal, where a noble form of national education is being worked out under the poet's direction. Mr. Andrews is still troubled owing to an accident which happened to his knee in London and was laid up during the whole time of the voyage. He met the Mohamedan community in Delhi shortly after his arrival and received their welcome back to the city. He hopes still to be able to reside in Delhi for two months in the year doing College work while the Bolpur school has its holidays. During his stay in South Africa Mr. Andrews lived entirely with the Indian Community, both Mussalman and Hindu, in every place he visited. Among his hosts were Mr. Musa and Imam Sahib Bawyer at Durban, Haji Habib at Pretoria and Mr. Gool and Dr. Jool at Capetown. The Mussalman community in each city gave him their warmest welcome, and he bore to them messages which he had received from Indian Mussalmans before leaving India. One of the greatest difficulties which Mr. Andrews had to face during the whole of his visit was the marriage question as it was related to Mussalmans. At present the condition of affairs is utterly deplorable. There can be scarcely said to exist any marriage law at all. Practically no marriages are registered and the greatest possible hardships and sufferings exist concerning wives of Mussalmans who reside in India and wish to rejoin their husbands. It was the refusal to allow a Mussalman lady to land and join her husband which opened up the whole question of marriage validity and made the passive resistance movement necessary. Until the present law is amended Mohamedan's marriage rights are safeguarded by the State itself. The difficulty which Mr. Gandhi had to face was this question of State legitimisation, and Mr. Andrews was able to render him valuable aid in safeguarding Mohamedan interests and preventing any compulsion in matters of religion. He had long interviews with all the leading statesmen on this very question. Mr. Andrews put the Mohamedan point of view clearly before them. In the end, proposals were put forward which would result in the law of South Africa being practically equivalent to that already existing in England, *viz.*:—the full State recognition of one marriage, combined with no interference from the State if religious marriages take place beyond that number. Mr. Andrews quoted the verse of the *Quran Sharif* "Let there be no compulsion in religion" with great effect, and his opinion on this question was listened to with much attention. There is a considerable hope that this matter, which has been such a long standing and grevious trouble in the past, will now be amicably settled.

The Comrade.

Charitable Endowments.

II

While welcoming those who had responded to the invitation of Government for a conference on charitable endowments, the Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock defined the scope of the conference. It was only convened to secure an interchange of views, and although they may find many points of agreement, it was not the Hon. Home Member's idea that they should formulate any definite resolutions. All that the Government desired was "a record of the general scope of the various representations."

This was the only thing possible to secure in a conference of 25 official and non-official members who had to discuss a number of most difficult questions relating to charitable endowments within the space of few hours in a single-day-session. But how such a record could be "extremely useful for the future in guiding the Government of India as to the course that it should pursue," is a mystery which only those can disclose who know how to manipulate non-official opinions for official purposes.

The Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock defined the attitude of Government during last sixty or seventy years as a policy of holding itself and its officers aloof from any part in the administration of religious endowments and trust holdings, and of desiring that these should be managed by committees of the community interested, those who are dissatisfied with the management of such endowments and trusts having free access to the ordinary courts of law. Where we believe Government has as constantly erred is in thinking that anybody desires that it, or its officers, should take up the management of religious endowments and trust holdings instead of the managing committees of communities interested therein. As we shall show, it is not in this direction that those dissatisfied with the management of such endowments and trusts have asked for reform. What they have desired is that the "free access to the ordinary courts of law," should be free in reality as well as in name, and that before a public-spirited person or group of persons wend their steps towards the ordinary courts of law they should have free access to materials on the basis of which alone the ordinary courts of law could accord to them a hearing.

Sir Reginald Craddock included among the persons most deeply interested in this matter (1) the general educated public who disliked the idea that it should be possible for trusts of this kind to be abused without adequate check; (2) the general body of beneficiaries; and (3) those who are connected with the management and administration of the trusts. The interest which each of these classes took in the matter was described in the following words:—

> The first class as a class are, of course, not personally interested, except, that as enlightened citizens they dislike to see what they regard as a scandal going on unchecked. The second class, as a class, are deeply interested, but they may be so backward and so lacking in cohesion that even if they have any views they are not likely to take concerted action. The third class, when most conscientious and honest, genuinely dislike the interference and trouble which legislation for their further control might cause them, while those among them that are dishonest or grossly negligent, naturally do not want light to be thrown on their doings.

After this Sir Reginald Craddock summed up the general aim to which all efforts at legislation have been directed in the following manner :—

(1) That the persons or committees managing such trusts and charities should be suitable persons.

(2) That the procedure for determining their suitability and replacing them, if necessary, should be simplified.

(3) That in order to simplify this the rendering of accounts and the audit of such accounts should be made obligatory, and thus

(4) Persons wishing to impugn, by a suit, the managements of such trust and the fitness of the managers should have at hand materials on which to base their suit.

With a view to attain these objects Dr. Rashbehari Ghose had brought in a Private Bill in the Imperial Council and Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla in the Bombay Council, the outlines of which we have already given, while Mr. Seshagiri Iyer and Mr. Govinda Raghuva Iyer had brought in a Bill in the Madras Council which was designed to deal with religious trusts by amending Act XX of 1863.

The Hon. the Home Member said he could sympathise fully with the authors of these bills at the delay which had occurred in respect to their proposals, but he said he could assure them that it had been unavoidable, for, "as the whole history of the controversy shows, the subject is too important to allow anything but the most deliberate consideration." And it was with this important admission that the Home Member commenced that hurried interchange of views on the 16th of March which is to assist Government in formulating another policy and adhering to it for the next sixty or seventy years inspite of the protests of the educated public.

Obviously it is impossible for us to know what transpired at the conference; but we understand that, as promised by Sir Reginald Craddock, the Hon. the Home Secretary commenced the discussion of each of the main heads, which had been confidentially circulated a few days in advance of the conference among the members, "with such observations as his careful study of the history of the subject prompted him to make," that the members proved patient listeners and that, like a row of schoolboys, they repeated, each in his turn, all they knew when called upon by the Schoolmaster-President.

With remarkable industry and promptitude the Home Department assimilated all that the members of the conference had said on the previous day and condensed and catalogued it in the form of a Press *Communiqué* on the 17th of March. This *Communiqué* announced that 17 non-official gentlemen (of whom 8 were Hindus, 7 Mohamedans, 1 of the Sikh community and 1 for Burma) and 8 official members had accepted the invitation of the Government of India. The first question to be discussed was the general issue whether the time had now come to reconsider the attitude of opposition which had generally hitherto been adopted by the Government of India towards any proposal to amend the Act of 1863. With regard to this, we are informed that a majority of those present were of opinion that alterations of the existing law were required. We are indeed surprised to find that even on this general issue unanimity should have been absent, specially when the majority made it clear that the alterations of the existing law were required, not with the intention of restoring the direct executive control of Government over the management of these endowments, but in order that the administration of their funds might be safeguarded from abuse.

On the second question, whether the legislation should continue to be uniform for India as a whole, it is stated that opinion was about equally divided. We are told that certain members, in recognition of the fact that the public opinion, and, indeed, practical needs of change varied in different provinces, would allow the provincial legislature to deal with the subject as it thought fit. Others were disposed to hold that the main lines within which greater control should be exercised should be laid down in one Imperial Act, which might be extended to any province at option, supplemented possibly by rules of local application only. For our own part, we fail to see which province of India is so much more advanced than others in these matters that a general Imperial Act would not suffice for all general purposes, nor are we satisfied that any province is so much less advanced than others that it could not keep pace with sister provinces in very modest forward march. There may be local needs which vary, but such variation was peculiar to localities and institutions rather than to provinces, and we can well understand the necessity of supplementing an Imperial Act by rules of local application only. We can, however, understand equally well the possible tactical necessity of dealing with the matter through provincial legislatures, because provincial satraps differ among themselves in the pace of progress, and some could be induced to go full steam ahead when others are still hesitating about weighing anchor. The speed of the fleet is the speed of the slowest boat, and we can well believe that the Government of India is unable to steam ahead on account of the slowness of some provincial vessels which keep back the faster units of the Imperial fleet. This was exemplified in the case of Bombay in this very matter, and we dare say other Local Governments are equally ready to move forward if the Government of India give the signal.

The third question that was discussed at the conference was whether secular trusts should be treated differently from religious trusts. We are glad to note that the majority recognised that it would be impracticable to differentiate between the two classes of trusts. When the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah introduced his bill into the Bombay Legislative Council, we had pointed out that he had not specified any reasons for the belief that "it is not considered desirable to apply the provisions of this (Sir Ibrahim's) bill to charities of an exclusively religious character," and we had hazarded the conjecture that he had "learnt wisdom from the eyes of the wolf," and desired to court the least resistance of the Government and its bugbear, the furious theologian. Since writing that it has been amply proved that the Government is in much less terror of the furious theologian and of the cry "Religion in Danger," than it had made itself out to be. Moreover, as the majority of the conference explained, it is not possible in many instances to classify the purposes of a trust under the two heads, secular and religious. The obvious solution is that all charitable endowments must be treated uniformly. As a matter of fact as the origin of the institution shows, all Islamic Waqfs are religious, and only last year Government passed a declaratory Act on the subject of Waqf-'ala-l-Aulad recognising the paramountcy of religion even in the matter of comparatively more secular Waqfs. We feel certain Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoollah himself would be willing to extend the safeguards provided in his Bill to all Waqfs if the Government themselves are not afraid of supporting the demand of educated Muslim opinion.

The main question, however, related to the publication of accounts in order to afford to the public information as to the extent and the method of management of these endowments. The Government *Communiqué* states that "there was a general feeling in favour of such a step," and we may take it that no dissentient voice was raised. This is very satisfactory, and we hope Government have put a proper valuation on this unanimity. We do not know whether the members of the conference included those who are connected with the management and administration of trusts; but it could hardly have been a representative conference if this, the third class in Sir Reginald Craddock list of persons most deeply interested in the matter, had been totally excluded. Presuming, therefore, that this class was represented, and that its representatives in the conference were, in the words of the Home Member, "most conscientious and honest," we may also safely presume that expression was given in the the course of the discussion to "a genuine dislike of the interference and trouble which legislation for their further control might cause them." If even then there was a general feeling in favour of the publication of audited accounts, Government have a clear mandate from all persons deeply interested in this matter to legislate accordingly.

The Press *Communiqué* goes on to state that the view found expression that audit was attended with difficulties which might render it inexpedient, and opinion differed as to matters of detail, such as the imposition of this liability on all trusts or only on those above a specified value; the authority to appoint the auditors; whether this should be judicial or executive; the qualifications of auditors and the duties to be imposed upon them (*i.e.*, whether those should extend to administrative audit or be confined to verification of such accounts as might be produced) very considerably. The details are of no little importance, for in some instances they go to the very root of the matter. But as any one could have foretold, they could not have been adequately discussed and settled in a single sitting. In fact, these are matters which require more extended consideration and the assistance and the discussions of more than a couple of dozen official and non-official members. A Royal Commission would have been the most satisfactory machinery for the purpose; but if for some reasons Government could not see their way to recommend one, they could have at least appointed an All-India Committee to go round and take evidence. This suggestion is not too late even now, and we submit it for the consideration of Government. We would here only venture to suggest that a mere verification of such accounts as might be produced by the managers of trusts would not be an adequate and effective safeguard. Committees composed of the members of the commumnity to which the trusts may belong, elected by people themselves, should be appointed in every locality for the purpose of administrative audit.

We are informed that as regards the term of office of members of committees appointed under the Act of 1863, the general view was in favour of a five years' term. We hope the Trustees of the Aligarh College will note this. A life tenure must in many instances mean indolence, indifference and stagnation. If private endowments require the periodical election of trustees for their efficient management, how much more necessary it must be in the case of the greatest national endowment of Indian Mussalmans?

As regards the facilities now afforded to the public interested to move the courts to take action in cases of mismanagement, some desire was expressed that these should be increased, possibly by special concessions in the matter of court-fees and cost. It must be remembered that the late Sir John Jenkins had complained in 1911 that "practically no attempt has been made to utilize the remedies which the law already provides by invoking the powers which the courts possess to enforce the proper administration of such endowments." We recognise that special concessions in the matter of court-fees and costs would afford greater facilities to the public interested; but the chief difficulty in this matter is not connected with court-fees and costs.

The fact is that the public does not know where and what the endowments are. In 1910, the *Times of India* published a leading article on the subject of Muslim Endowments in the course of which our contemporary said: "There are gold mines under our very feet, but before digging them up the Mussalmans have to do not a little prospecting." Writing *apropos* of this, we said in one of our earliest issues, that we know of a case in Rander, the rich Muslim suburb of Surat, in which a philanthropic Muslim trader of Mauritius and Rangoon had left a third of his property to public charity for the benefit of his co-religionists. For nearly ten years the Bombay Secretariat and the district authorities of Surat were ignorant of a public bequest which was believed to amount to 33 lakhs. Few people in Surat itself knew of it, and even in Rander only the haziest notions prevailed as to the character and the extent of the bequest and the persons who were appointed trustees. Need we

say more than this that even Lord Sydenham was unable, through being unaware of the existence of such a gold mine so near Bombay, to successfully persuade the trustees of the Bota Endowment to contribute liberally for the education of the Mussalman boys and girls of Gujrat. What is required is a survey of all such endowments, the preparation and maintenance as a public record of a statement giving (*a*) the trust property (*b*) the terms and conditions of the trust (*c*) a schedule of annual receipts and disbursements (*d*) the beneficiaries under the investment of trust, and, particularly, institutions of a public nature maintained out of trust funds (*e*) the names of the trustees (*f*) the period of their tenure of office (*g*) the method of appointing their successors and (*h*) such other prrticulars as the peculiar character of the trust may suggest. If these data were made available, the beneficiaries could be made to know their rights, and have ready at hand materials wherewith to approach the ordinary courts of law whenever there was any reasonable ground for suspecting mismanagement.

This could be effected only by compelling all trustees to have their trust duly registered within a fixed time, after which it should be declared penal for a trustee to deal with the funds of a trust unless it had been previously registered.

It is true that there are many important trusts already well-known to the public the affairs of which are not particularly well-managed, and that even in their cases the public has not availed itself of facilities already afforded for invoking the powers which the law courts possess to enforce their proper administration. But we contend that even in these cases a public-spirited individual or a group of individuals cannot ascertain the data on which to base their invocation of the powers of the courts without undergoing an excessive amount of odium and inconvenience. Contrast the difficulties of the present with the ease and convenience of the future if a survey such as we have suggested has been carried out, when anybody could go to the Collector's or the Judge's office and on payment of a small fee could inspect the full record of an endowment in which he happened to be interested, and for a little additional fee could obtain a certified copy of the record. With this in his possession he could examine the affairs of the trust, and if his suspicions were confirmed by such an examination he could confidently invoke the power of the courts to enforce better management. Even this would require no little public spirit; but it is too much to expect at any time, and certainly in the present conditions, that anybody, or even any committee or association, would undertake the odium, worry, trouble and expense of ascertaining all the particulars that we have enumerated and would thereafter undertake the further odium, worry, trouble and expense of a law-suit to enforce a better administration of a trust. This is not Government interference in religious matters, and we are sure our own record is not such as to lead Government to suspect that we could recommend to them a policy of active intervention in religious matters. As we wrote three years ago, Government are not asked to depart from their policy of non-interference in religious matters followed with praisworthy consistency since 1863, but only to deviate into a consistency in mundane affairs as well. A man who forgets the inconvenient distinction between *meum* and *tuum* and pilfers another to the extent of a few pice is sure to be held up by the Police the Magistracy, and the Jail authorities. But another who robs the dead as well as the living of thousands and laks in spite of his fiduciary position is not to be interfered with by the Government, nor allowed to be watched by the beneficiaries interested in his aptitude and honesty. If this is consistency, may we not pray to the Lord to be delivered from it through the wayward agency of our legislatures?

Young India.

II

One would give anything to know of a grown-up person who has not found himself wishing at one time or another that he could live his boyhood over again. That wonderful and divine experience is at once the illumination and the quest of humanity. It treasures up feelings that were full-blooded and were not sicklied over by the pale cast of thought, sorrows that were real and whole, hopes that were spells of acute physical joys, desires that embraced without the least cowardly spasm of doubt or fear the entire gracious aspects of life and the universe. Mr. Wells has given a delicious picture of the future of humanity, when, cleansed of its ugly imperfections, it would stand as if on a footstool, and reach its hands among the stars. This is in fact an exact picture of individual boyhood—a period of life when no sense of imperfection clings to the free and joyous movements of mind and feeling. It is a time of life when the world seems robed in purple, when everything seems alive with meaning or mystery, when even the wooden table and the stool and the pen and the inkpot have their individuality and seem to be endowed with miraculous articulation and gesture. In this populous world of wondrous tones and tints the little chip of humanity disports as a god. He dips into the secrets of creation. Worlds of magic loveliness issue every moment from the alchemy of his heart and brain as if from the Creator's hand. This faculty of creativeness and self-projection is the miracle of boyhood. Only the elect among persons of mature age can retain this faculty unimpaired to the last. It is the supreme vital impulse of a living society. It was to this faculty that Goethe referred when he said that man is in every sense divine, "for he builds worlds

"Or bidding them no longer be,
"Exerts, enjoys a sense of deity."

The young educated Indian has had his boyhood, full of dreams of creative wonders. Inspite of the subdued anxiety and puzzling elusiveness of his home atmosphere, he has had his time when he held communion with the earth-spirit and looked overhead into vistas of light and glory. His public initiation as a "seeker of knowledge" is quite an event in the family. His own feelings about the ceremony have a vague intensity that is little short of an emotional crisis. The *mullah* or the *guru* emerges out of the unknown and the cosmos of the boy is filled with this dread presence. His whole conception of knowledge is tainted by his early experience under the iron rod of this remorseless pedagogue. The *maktab* or the *patshala* becomes to him a living purgatory, learning becomes a dire penance and the teacher oppresses his imagination as a nightmare for years. From the *maktab* or the *patshala* to the public school there is a whole change of atmosphere, but the boy enters it with a lump in his throat. He has tasted of the "fruit" of knowledge and has already made up the attitude with which he goes through his subsequent schooling. It is an attitude of mute protest against a scheme of life that should condemn him for the best part of day to sit with overstrung nerves through a dreary and hateful counting of incomprehensible symbols and rules of thumb and shiver to the very roots of his hair as a scowling face turns on him or a rasping voice dins horrors into his ears. In the public school, however, some relaxation of the nerve is possible. The drastic methods of the *maktab* pedagogue who regards purging the boy of all his playfulness and mirth as the main end of education, are not generally used by his modern prototype in the public school. But the atmosphere of the public school is frigid and its tone is harsh and impersonal. The *mullah* and the *guru* are the tyrants of the old schools of intellectual and moral discipline, yet they put their whole heart into their work and their pupils are also their disciples. The boys dread them and yet respect them genuinely and find themselves related to them by many human links. The school-master is a wholly different being. He is a creature of a system that is run mainly on commercial lines. His profession is a mere bread-winning device to him and not a vocation. He is generally concerned with getting the boys under his charge through "a course of instruction" within a definite period of time, and his whole duty ends when he has secured the largest percentage of "passes" within his Division at the annual examination. At his best he is a smooth machine that is generally successful in standardising the mind.

The boy, during his ten years of education at a public school learns little that is useful. He has some strange facts and ideas stuffed into his memory and acquires some mechanical skill in the manipulation of figures. But he gets little intellectual training and discipline and, inspite of the moral text-book, his moral perceptions are usually dim. His character at its most critical stage receives no help and guidance and is subject to a variety of chance-influences in the process of formation. Some race instinct or religious injunction or even a superstitious admonition that had gone deep into his soul while yet a mere child, leaps out of his sub-conscious region when he is face to face with a moral crisis and guides his conduct. The teaching of the school has no relation to his home life. It has no relation to the life of the street and the market-place. It does not fit in with the conceptions of joy, happiness, social purpose and duty that his own individual experience is evolving in his mind. Before he has finished his school course he becomes vaguely conscious of the duality of his inner life. His parents and the general people around him are living their lives and thinking their thoughts, and their hopes and fears, their joys and griefs, their pursuits and occupations, their dealings with one another and the ways of their common intercourse in daily life give him one measure of social life and individual destiny. The secular spirit of the West that glimmers upon his sense through the obscurity of the school instruction and the text-book suggests an entirely different scheme of values and relations. The culture, social institutions and the beliefs of his forefathers claim his devotion and he is infinitely relieved if he can give them his unquestioning loyalty. The new gods of the West utter strange oracles from afar, and he is held in trance by the glamour and prestige of novelty. The young mind abhors philosophical doubt and neutral grounds, and can never do without lusty faith and downright conviction. Inspite of his many puzzles the boy hastens to strike an emphatic attitude in relation to the enormous questions that the Indian society has got to

solve. It is at this stage, that is, a year or two before the young prodigy matriculates and passes on to the college, that some aspects of the general controversy and deep struggle of thought of Young India are impressed on his mind. He percieves for the first time, however dimly, the vast burden of his race. He becomes conscious of the social, political and other problems of his country. The whole tangle is far beyond his mental grasp, yet he begins to see some aspects of the tangle and hears distinctly the shouts of men engaged in straightening it up. The cries and catchwords of the press and the platform attract him and he begins to take sides in the momentous controversy which is still going on about the destiny of the Indian people.

The boy feels the pulse of change and sees the new spirit that moves over the surface of the waters. The school teaching does not help him much in realising the significance of what he sees and feels. The vast literature of controversy, the newspapers, the general talk and discussion around him give him some clue to the thoughts and riddles that inflict the mind of Young India. He takes a mental vow and is initiated into the service of his creed, community or country. The patriotic feeling is born in his breast and for the first time after his childhood he feels the richness and luxury of being. The magnitude of the task does not appal him, for he has a very hazy conception of it. With the simple vitality of his faith he sets out to plan a new heaven and a new earth. His patriotism is mostly communal in its origin. If he is a Hindu he seeks inspiration from the vision of Bharat that is revealed to him through his religious lore and literature and round which cling the tenderest associations and the aroma of fine deeds and noble idealism of a great and gifted race. If he is a Mussalman he glories in the achievements of his ancestors in all parts of the world—in art, literature, commerce and empire. His visions of the past fill his dreams about the future. Patriotic poems touch him to the core—he learns them by heart and they form the deep music of his soul. He can sing them well and his "recitations" at the communal gatherings win him the plaudits of the "potent, grave and reverend signors" of the community, and his face is flushed with excitement and incommunicable joy for a week. He begins to talk earnestly of social reform and of what he would do when he comes to take an active and responsible part in social life. In the meantime he holds forth amongst his fellows, and in every company in which he finds himself, on the folly and wickedness of the ways of men and their social institutions. The old men shake their heads at the young dreamer's vigour and zest and his reforming zeal. He takes delight in scandalising the women of his famlily by telling them half-a-dozen times every day what he thinks of the *purdah*, and of woman's existing status and how he would revolutionise the whole scheme of things. In religious matters he is often for "reform", and he measures his own talent and capacity by the extent to which he can rouse the ire of the school *maulvi* or the *pandit* by riddling him with heresies. The Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit classes in the secondary school are in fact small, young, debating religious societies, with the *maulvi* and the *pandit* as their permanent chairmen. The battles of Young India against obscurantism and the dark hosts of superstition and stereotyped dogma begin in the school room, and begin with all the heat and energy of boyhood. The *maulvi* is the symbol of the past with its fixed standard, and settled polity. The young boy bears in him the spark of the new illumination and is the promise of the future. The *maulvi* is a kindly, indulgent and easy-going man with a taste for puns and witty anecdotes. In controversial duels he often feels his ground slipping from beneath his feet, but he recovers his balance by shrewdly running off at a tangent and silencing the young enthusiast by a long and pointless tale. The *maulvi* has his idiosyncracies and his freaks and they furnish an inexhaustible fund for witty and irreverent gossip to the young iconoclast. He is rapidly disappearing from his place in the school and his new successor from the normal school and the training college is hardy an improvement upon the old type. The *maulvi*, inspite of his inefficiency and imperfections, has retained a distinct corner in the hearts of his pupils and in many cases has helped to lit a torch that has burned with steady flame to the last.

The young boy is deep in the splendours of his dreams when he matriculates and prepares to go to the college. His visions are fresh and inspiring; he has faith in his powers; he is unshakable in the strength of his patriotism; he is, in short, sure of his ground. The college draws him like a magnet and he goes with a heart full of rich emotion. He hopes he would find there the key to his riddle and an enormous accession of strength and faculty to recreate the world. His illusions are his stars and he walks in their light, secure from the dark shadows that have descended on the paths of older men. The college life of the young Indian is the most important phase of his career. He begins the spring-tide of his romance. He reaches out his hands to the core of things. He finds some degree of self-expression. But the process of disillusionment soon sets in and the lights of his early heaven drop out star by star.

The Aligarh Old Boys' Dinner.

THE following speech was made by Mr. Ross Masud at the Aligarh Old Boys' Dinner while proposing the toast of the College :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—Of all the duties that fall to one's lot there is none which is more pleasant than that of proposing the toast of one's *Alma Mater* on an occasion such as the one which has brought us together to-night. Whichever side I turn my eyes, I see the faces of old and dearly loved friends and I begin to wonder whether all the long years of separation have been a myth or not. I wonder how many of us realise the fact that gatherings of this kind help to keep one young. The very walls of our *Alma Mater* resound with a welcome and the atmosphere they exhale and in which they envelope him who has lived there before, takes that man's mind back to the days of his youth and so strong and magical is its power that as long as he stays within the four walls of his *Alma Mater* he no longer feels himself the old and careworn individual that he is in the world outside.

I also wonder how many of us have recognised the debt we owe to the institution where we have received our education and where we have spent the happiest time of our lives. Throughout our lives this college of ours is our haven of refuge, and from the storm and stress through which one has to pass in this world we turn to it as one would to his mother for peace and solace of mind. And remember if there be any Old Boy who does not rejoice when visiting this institution and who does not look upon it with the affection he would bestow upon his home, then I say that man is not the true son of this college and, miserable, indeed, is his lot. When we are sore beset with temptations and when we are faced with what seem insurmountable obstacles in our struggle for existence, it is the memory of having belonged to a worthy institution with noble traditions that comes to our help, and these traditions form our shield when we battle with all that is low and mean in this world. The feeling that one belongs to a corporate body of men and the reversed sense that one carries on one's shoulders, the honour of one's *Alma Mater*, are things which give stimulus to a man's soul and courage to his heart and thus help him to crush the temptations and overcome the obstacles that he finds in his way. Thus the debt we owe to our *Alma Mater* can never be repaid.

You must remember that in this world of ours every bond that helps to keep human beings together, and everything that engenders a spirit of kindliness and fellow-feeling, are sacred. And I ask you, is there any bond which can unite men of various temperaments and nationalities more firm'y together than the bond of having belonged to the same *Alma Mater* ? There is one thing upon which I should very much like to lay emphasis to-night, and that is that each and every true son of this college should do his best to annihilate all those forces that tend to weaken this bond of union and that are prone to create a spirit of schism amongst the *alumni* of this institution. Let all of us—those who have already issued forth from the dearly loved portals of this College, and those who are to leave them soon—be firmly united in the common and noble endeavour of improving the social and the intellectual condition of our community, by crushing all that is evil and by creating all that is good and consequently great. Let it never be said of the students of this College that they have helped to increase evil in this world and that they have brought into it not union but disunion. Our aim should be to unite the friend and the foe, and not to disunite friends. It is thus and only thus that we who pride ourselves on being the sons of this institution can ever hope to do any good to our community and to the land to which we have the honour to belong. Frankness, truth, courage and self-Sacrifice should be the motto of those who have been educated here.

Speaking as I do on behalf of the Old Boys, to whom I have the honour to belong, I should like to tell you who are the present students of our College that we expect great things from you. Not only are we, but also the eyes of your community are watching you most anxiously, for all its hopes rest on you. You have yet to pass through a great ordeal—the ordeal of life; you have yet to be tossed on the ocean of worldly strife, you have yet to face manifold temptations, and we who are your elder brothers are anxious to see how you behave in the world that lies beyond the walls of this College. And let me tell you why we, Old Boys, expect great things from you. It is because you have had better chances than we had, it is because you began your student life at a time when education was the cry of your community, it is because you have had better opportunities of comparing things than we had, and, last of all, it is because you are receiving your education at a time when your native land—the land of Hindustan—can no longer be called a country that lives in its past, a country that is asleep. You who are destined to play a very important role in the history of your country should prepare yourselves earnestly and carefully for the work that awaits you, and I assure you that as long as sincerity and toleration are your watchwords you can never go wrong. We wish you to be the best representatives of the highest intellectual life of your country, and in you who are our younger brothers we wish to see that combination of sound intellect, modesty and toleration of mind which is possessed

by those who belong to a community that is healthy, a community full of mental energy.

But before I sit down to-night I should like to say something about a topic which is very dear to me. These annual dinners give us, the Old Boys, the best opportunity of giving you, the present students, any advice which we think might be useful to you. You must remember that you are now on the threshold of professional careers and I request you most earnestly to think carefully before you choose your profession. India is changing rapidly and life here is becoming more complex. A person with an incomplete knowledge of many things can no longer be admired nor can he do any good to his country; the time for specialisation has come and you must follow no idle family traditions or sentimental whim in your choice of a suitable profession. I take it that we all wish to see our community and our motherland great; now it is my firm conviction that that can only be done by our developing to the highest pitch all that is good in us. Each and every healthy inclination of the mind should be encouraged to the highest extent. In other words, what I want you to do is to take your real inclination to be your only guide in choosing a profession.

Gentlemen, I now ask you to charge your glasses. I have the honour to propose the toast of "The Dear Old College and the Trustees who govern our *Alma Mater*."

*Hindu Immigration to the United States.

The New York *Evening Post* says in a rather playful editorial,—"The sciences are booming in Washington. Geography is being written anew by Congressmen who are reconstructing the boundaries of Asia. Astonishing contributions to anthropology are being made by the representatives of the American Federation of Labor, whose scent of racial distinction is nothing short of marvellous. New principles of economics are embodied in bills providing for an international sliding wage-scale test."

This sounds big, but there are facts behind it. The House Committee on Immigration is considering two Bills for excluding Hindus and another which excludes all Asiatic laborers. Note here Armenia is not counted as being in Asia. Various ingenious ways are being suggested to keep out Asiatics out of the country. One of the most novel one is by Commissioner-General of Immigration Caminetti, who says that the best way of excluding Asiatics would be to require all aliens to pass the physical tests required for recruits to the U. S. Army. Perhaps he was thinking of undersized Chinese and Japannese, but he overlooked the fact that that condition would not bar many Hindus, a race of Asiatics he would keep out of the United States at all hazards.

These Immigration Bills for excluding the Hindus are incited only by the Labor Unions and a few Pacific coast citizens. There are only 6,656 Hindus in a country which is about double the size of India. The Philadelphia Public Ledger rightly remarks that "only a Brobdingnagian imagination could construe this to mean an invasion in force or a real problem." But the Labor Union men are following in the wake of Canada, South Africa and Australia.

Of these 6,656 Hindus, 300 are students attending the various American Universities. When this Hindu Exclusion Bill goes into Law, as it surely will, there will be another obstacle in the way of poorer students who used to come here. Among other things the Bill provides that an intending student to the United States is required to have a letter from his District Officer, a certificate from the principal of the school he last attended, and a letter of recommendation from an American Consul in India guaranteeing that his parents will send him monthly the amount specified by the U. S. Government as enough to get a college education in America. All these are subject to the approval of the Immigration Authorities in the port of entry. On entering the country he will have to register and he must not do any other thing than what he is registered as. So one more chance is gone for Hindu students who used to work their way through school in America. Henceforth it will be only those possessing a long purse, who will be able to come to the American Universities.

To protest against the Hindu Exclusion Bills a deputation was sent conjointly by the Hindustan Association of America, the Pacific coast Khalsa Diwan Society and the Indian Defence League. The members of the deputation interviewed the British Ambassador in Washington and asked him to protest against the exclusion of British subjects from the United States. The ambassador could only reply that he would cable "home" and await instructions. In fact, there is mighty slim hopes of anything being done from that quarter. The House Committee on Immigration gave a four hours hearing to our deputation and said they would consider our point of view. It seems we are fighting a losing fight, but we are fighting it bravely. We are single-handed when public opinion in the mother country itself is voteless. Thus one more mark of the helot is being placed on our brow without a protest from the Power, into whose hands, for a time at least, our destinies are placed.

* The term Hindu is generally used for Indian, to distingusih from Red Indians who are known as Indians too

Let us note in this connection that the Mussalmans of India have lost one more chance. Everybody is not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. Poor Mussalman students could take advantage of the open-door policy of the United States all these years. But they slept. Now they will have to wait till we develop educational institutions on a par with Europe and America, and that can only be done when the fiscal policy of India is left in our hands.

I will close by stating that some of the democratic papers have been pleading our cause, but, alas they seem to have very little influence on the representatives of a nation "which was conceived in Liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equals." We wonder, if any more American missionaries need to go to India to preach about the "brotherhood of man."

IOWA CITY, U. S. A. RAFIDIN AHMED.
February, 28th, 1914.

The Indian Press Act.

The following letter was sent by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan to Mr. Philip Morrel M. P., in appreciation of his efforts to bring about some modification of the Indian Press Act:—

My Dear Sir,—I have received a number of letters from the readers of the *Zamindar* and other eminent Indian Muslims expressing their greateful appreciation of the interest you have taken in the Press Question and asking me to convey their sincere thanks to you for the efforts you are making to render the lot of the Indian Journalist more tolerable. The obligation imposed upon me is as agreeable as it is sacred and I take this opportunity of thanking you most sincerely on behalf of my countrymen for your sympathetic treatment of their grievances.

As regards the daily *Zamindar*, my people have lodged an appeal against the decision of the Panjab Government in the Chief Court. It is to be hoped that an early hearing of the appeal will be granted and the judgment pronounced one way or the other before the Session of Parliament is over.

Inspite of the interpellations in the House of Commons Magistrates in British India continue to harass the luckless journalists and abuse the practically unlimited powers which the Press Act has vested in them. In February 1910 when the drastic nature of the Press Act in respect of the vast powers it gave to Magistrates to impose prohibitive monetary security, was being discussed in the Viceroy's Council, the Government had observed: "Unless we are to assume that the Magistrate is by design a malevolent creature, we may take it for certain that in ordinary cases he will not ask for more than Rs. 500, the minimum." The assurance of Government has turned out to be illusory, and Magistrates when demanding securities from present or prospective journalists have failed to show that benevolence on which the Government had counted. The latest exhibition of Magisterial eagerness to discourage independent journalism was made at Laylpur, a district in the Panjab, where a Sikh gentleman who intended to start a Press called the "Khalsa Press" for printing a vernacular paper, the *Khalsa Akhbar*, was mulcted in a security of one thousand rupees. The press and paper were both yet in embryo, the Magistrate could not know whether they were to be used for seditious propaganda or not, and yet he demanded a security of one thousand rupees. If it was necessary to bind down the unfortunate proprietor the minimum security (five hundred rupees) could have been demanded and if the paper had been objectionable the security could have been increased, as that course is open to Magistrates under the Press Act. But to demand a heavy security at the very outset before even the press was started or the first number of the newspaper had appeared, shows the spirit in which the Press Act is being administered. I asked Mr. Seed to explain all this to you and I am glad to learn that you are going to ask a question in the House.

I enclose a copy of an Open Letter to Lord Crewe from my friend Mr. Kamaluddin. It deals with the alarming attitude taken up by the Panjab Government with regard to the suppression of newspapers dealing solely with religious topics. To suppress papers like the *Ahl-i-Hadees* and the *Badr* on the plea that they contain "words which have a tendency to bring into contempt a certain class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India namely Christians," is to use the Press Act for purposes which, to say the least, were never contemplated by its framers. The policy of His Majesty's Government in India has been never to interfere in the religious beliefs and observances of various sections of the Indian community, to whom perfect liberty in matters sacredotal has been guaranteed by law. For upward of half a century Christian Missionaries have been vilifying Islam and Hinduism, with a great deal of vehemence and have in turn been treated by their rivals to rejoinders which though pungent were nevertheless more in keeping with that laws of controversial propriety. Yet Hindus, Muslims and Christians have lived in India side by side in perfect peace and amity, and the Government has had no occasion to remind them that they have been using words which were calculated to breed mutual contempt or hatred. The admirable attitude of the Government in this respect may be summed up in

reply which a Lieutenant Governor of the Panjab gave to a representative Muslim deputation which waited upon him in 1897 with a request that a Missionary publication entitled the "Ummahat-ul-Muslimin" (the Mothers of the Faithful), should be suppressed on the ground that it was full of the vilest and the most indecent abuse of the Prophet. The Lieutenant Governor replied that he could not accede to the request of the Muslims for the simple reason that to interfere with the freedom of religious opinion was against the established policy of Government. The Muslims felt the refusal very keenly but had to console themselves with the prospect that although they could not as Muslims indulge in ribald abuse of Christian Missionaries, they yet had the right to defend themselves against their attacks in a becoming manner as enjoined by their faith. This satisfaction appears now to have been taken away from them by Sir Michael O' Dwyer's Government, which in suppressing the *Ahl-i-Hadees* and the *Badr* has shown that whereas it is perfectly legitimate for a Christian Missionary to revile the Prophet and denounce Islam in the grosest language, a Muslim paper has no right to defend itself against Missionary attacks even in an appropriate manner. The Rev. Thomas Hewell of Lahore publishes a book ("Isbat-i-Kaffara," printed at the Nawal Kishore Press, Lahore, 1913), which may be called the Billingsgate of theology. Its fulminations against Islam are simply disgusting. If the Indian Press Act could by any stretch of imagination be used for the suppression of theological polemics, the book of the Rev. Thomas Howell ought to have been proscribed under it. But the Panjab Government, while deliberately shutting its eyes to the stream of abuse poured from this book over the devoted heads of Muslims, castigates the *Ahl-i- Hadees* which only published a reply to Howell in a spirit of defence. A translation of the article which formed the basis of the Government order inflicting a security of two thousand rupees upon the proprietor of the *Ahl-i-Hadees* will be found in the letter above referred to.

The action taken by the Panjab Government against the *Ahl-i-Hadees* and the *Badr* the latter having been required to pay a security of three thousand rupees because it discussed the doctrine of the Incarnation from a scientific standpoint— has created the painful impression that the Government is begining to depart from its time-honoured policy of non-interference with freedom of religious thought. This impression is further intensified by a recent order passed by the Panjab Government to the effect that persons not belonging to agricultural tribes would, on embracing Christianity, be included in that favoured list and would become entitled to small holdings and other privileges enjoyed by agricultural tribes. It is a well known fact that Missionary enterprise in the Panjab as elsewhere has succeded only where pariahs, or according to the Hindu caste classification, the "untouchables," are concerned. That it is eminently desirable in the general interests of India that this unfortunate section of the Indian community should receive every consideration and have their status elevated, no one will question. But it is the height of bad official taste to convert a non-agricultural class into an agricultural class because it accepts baptism. Instances are not wanting in which the applications of high class Muslims and Hindus to be declared as agricultural classes have been rejected by the Panjab authorities. The inference is obvious and significant. If these applicants, over whom precedence has been given to presons of admittedly non-agricultural antecedents on the score of baptism, had likewise embraced Christianity, the fate of their applications would have been different. People are beginning to ask whether Government is going to assume the role of Missionaries. A member of the Panjab Legislative Council is going to ask a question in the Council in connection with the Government order, above alluded to.

I trust that the promise you have obtained from the Secretary of State to place on the table all the proceedings taken against Indian newspapers under the Press Act, will be fulfilled in due course. But I would particularly invite your attention to the cases of the *Ahl-i-Hadees* and the *Badr* which have caused much heart-searching in Muslim circles. A question in the House might help in reviving not only these two defunct papers but also the confidence of Muslims in the non-sectarian traditions of Government.

Once more thanking you for your kindness and sympathy.

YOURS VERY TRULY

Zafar Ali Khan,

The Abuses of European Civilization in Islamic Countries.

AT a Meeting of the Anglo-Ottoman Society, held at Caxton Hall, London, on April 2nd 1914, the following address was delivered by Mr. O'Donnell of O'Donnell on "The Abuses of European Civilization in Islamic Countries."

The Chair was occupied by Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, who in introducing the Lecturer said that strong drink was admittedly a curse to humanity—a degradation morally, physically and mentally: but at the same time from the very beginning it had permeated the human social system and every growth and development of civilization. It was very difficult indeed to trace its origin, but as old as the days of the mighty Pharoahs they found on the plains and cities, on the banks of the Nile and its Delta, evidences of the manufacture and commerce in intoxicating liquors. Similar evidences were to be found among the records of the Babylonians, Assyrians, Athenians and the Romans, and also the Jews. For 1900 years the Church of Christ could not see any inconsistency between wine-bibbing and the teachings of Christ; but when the non-Conformist Conscience awakened, they saw the sin in wine-bibbing, and the spirit of strong drink was to-day recognised as poison.

The Lecturer said: Very Reverend Sir, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have been asked by the Anglo-Ottoman Society to deal with this question which is of supreme importance for the peace as well as the hygiene of the East.

The great Teacher of the Mohamedan religion, as the Rev. Chairman had reminded us, had 1300 years ago inculcated doctrines of sobriety upon the warriors of Arabia: and as Moslem dominion extended the dominion of sobriety extended. Wherever you land on the coast of Africa—at any of those seaports frequented by European trade—you now see huge cargoes of Anglo-French Gin coming ashore and being distributed among the merchants of the place. You may be sure it is not under a Moslem banner that this wholesale trade in the degradation of negro races is being carried on.

I have taken as the leading subject of my address what is happening in what is called the French protectorate of Morocco. I intend, besides dealing with this subject, with this branch of the drink question among native races, also to deal with another fearful abuse maintained by the British Government in India. Unless here, in the Capital and centre of the Empire, a healthy feeling is roused which will insist upon the introduction of reforms, we can never expect those reforms to be carried out at vast distances from the Metropolis.

I deal with this question of the abuses under the French Protectorate of Morocco because it was under the protection of Britain that the French flag was hoisted over the independent Sultanate of Morocco. But a few years ago Morocco was an independent Mohamedan kingdom, and if any one—any Christian nation—or nation reputed to be Christian—was to take a leading place in Morocco in the apparent future, England might have looked forward to that position. Yet, for some unknown reason, the British Government itself repressed the enterprise of British nationality in Morocco, and gave up all the superiority Englishmen possessed to their European rivals, and literally placed the sovereignty of Morocco at the disposal of the French Republic.

How is the French Republic fulfilling the obligations which have been committed to its protection? I have here extracts from the Report of the French Senate drawn up by the Senator, M. Hubert, upon the horrible increase in the trade in intoxicating liquors which has occurred in the few years during which the French flag has been hoisted over Morocco. In the French Republic the various classes of drink producers and sellers form a confederacy still more formidable than the Brewers and Distillers whose sacred interests are respected by every British political party. In every constituency the drink interest in France is so powerfully organised that it is practically impossible for any candidate to put up, with any hope of success, who does not do the work the drink sellers want him to do. As a result, Morocco is being opened, shamelessly, to the most foul trade in intoxicants which has ever disgraced our nominal civilization.

In that country there is a systematic plan for creating Colonies of Alcohol Dealers who spread themselves over the conquered land. In this Report of the French Senator there are such examples given as the following:—In the year 1907, in the seaport of Casablanca, which was the first seaport which fell into the hands of the French invasion, there were only five drink shops in the town, and these were notoriously for the custom of the foreign sailors who attended the port. To-day, or rather two years ago, in the year 1912—only five years after the first occupation,—*the five drink shops had risen to the enormous number of 161*! But there is a more striking and scandalous example of what has been done by this civilized European power in the Moslem land which is under their protectorate. In Fez, itself the Capital of Morocco, the Holy City of the Moors,—in which the virtues commended by the Moslem religion were practised by a fanatical population—in that City of Fez there were in 1912 400 French "citizens" resident in the newly protected City. *Of these 400 citizens 300 were sellers of intoxicating drinks!* (Shame.) The contagion has gradually spread among the lower classes of the population surrounded by temptation, often badly fed, often underpaid. The Moorish workmen are led by the example of their European taskmasters to take the drink: and I have here the depositions of French Factory owners themselves, who admit that one-third of their Moorish workmen now spend their wages in intoxicating drink. That, very Reverend Sir, is the horrible legacy that a civilised country of Europe has bequeathed to your Moslem people. Now the only justification that the French Republic can give for this state of things—for this inhumanity—the only excuse is, that the drink trade brings in large profits to the French Treasury.

There are other evils of the grossest kind, not only tolerated but permitted and officially organised by the British Government in those districts of the East which have come into the trust of the British nation. We, the Reform party in India, have long been in possession of the proofs that what is called here the White Slave Trade", that the equivalent of the White Slave Trade", is being carried on in a wholesale manner by the British Government in India, for the demoralisation and detestable pleasure of the British soldiers in India. (Shame.) During the last few days the witnesses upon this subject have been reinforced by the testimony of a British Reformer who commands universal respect, and has deserved the widespread gratitude of all lovers of humanity in this English land. I refer to the distinguished public servant who gave the final stroke to the Belgium tyranny in the Congo, the distinguished Sir Roger Casement. Within the last few days, he has published what was already known to Indian Reformers, the Circular of the General Commanding-in-Chief the British Army in India; and it is enough to quote one paragraph of that official Circular:—"In Bazaars it is necessary to have a sufficient number of women: to take care that they are sufficiently attractive; and to provide them proper homes." That Circular of the Central Authority was already known to us; but Sir Roger Casement has gone beyond the knowledge possessed by the Indian Reformers—he has not only got the Order of the Central Authority, but he has been able to trace the general effect of that order in the orders which have been issued, in conformity with that circular, by the Colonels Commanding the British regiments in Indian provinces, Sir Roger Casement, as an Irishman, has had no hesitation about publishing the abominable Circular which the officer Commanding an Irish regiment—the regiment of the Connaught Rangers—has issued to his subordinates. Writing to the Assistant Quartermaster, the Colonel Commanding directs as follows:—"The Cantonment Magistarte has already on more than one occasion "been requested to obtain a number of younger and more attractive "women, but with little or no success. He will again be appealed to. "The Major General Commanding should invoke the aid of the Local "Government by instructing the Cantonment Magistrates, whom they "appoint, that they give all possible aid to Commanding Officers "*in procuring a Sufficient number of young, attractive and healthy "women.*"

Since civilisation began was there ever a more infamous document penned than that? Consider the example that England of the Missions gives to all the Moslem and Hindoo East. Consider the use of the Officers and Representatives of Justice—the Cantonment Magistrates themselves—in order to procure the young and attractive victims that are destined by the British Government in India for this infernal degradation. It is for you, Ladies and Gentlemen, each within your sphere to bring the facts, now fully unrolled, before every gathering and every organisation of men and women in this land. If an argument were wanted in order to prove that women must have political power in this country, the argument is afforded by the revelation of the hideous system that is carried on by a Government that is not shared by women.

Now we have here the admission that not only do the Military Authorities use whatever power they possess and whatever influence they possess among the vilest elements of Native society in order to gather this hideous tribute of young and attractive women, but we have also the demand for the infamous co-operation of the Officers and Representatives of Justice, and the Magistrates themselves! "The Cantonment Magistrate has already on more than one occasion been requested to obtain a number of younger and more attractive women." The Court of Justice prostituted to be the vestibule of the house of ill-fame! Might I ask who is the War Minister? Colonel Seely has resigned. Mr. Asquith is in Fife. I venture to ask him—most respectfully—what sort of gratitude is displayed in return by the British Government to the victims which it has selected for performing this service to the British Crown? Are Medals of the Indian Empire won by these women by their awfull campaigns? We have now got the facts. We have now got the evidence of Sir Roger Casement—a name that can stand against any authority; and from this platform of the Anglo-Ottoman Society, which was framed and founded to bring about a better understanding between the English and Moslem races, we demand a wide and sweeping reform which must put an end to this abomination.

Very Reverend Sir, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is impossible for any word of mine to add to the persuasive force of this hideous circular itself. That is what we see a European State doing in Asia—we see what another European State is doing in Western Africa—and unquestionably the establishment of those innumerable houses of intoxication among the sober populations of Islam is necessarily accompanied by every other vice and degradation.

I will not weary you by dwelling further upon this subject upon this present occasion. I have felt it my duty to lay before you the simple facts; and upon you, and your influence and the influence of this meeting and of those whom you are able to inform and guide, depend the wiping away of this vile blot of European civilization, and the doing at length of common justice to that noble civilization of Islam, which, continually decried and denounced, is on so many points infinitely superior to the rule of its conquerors. (Lond Applause.)

At the conclusion of a general discussion of the subjects dealt with in the address, which then ensued, the following Resolution, proposed by Mr. Arthur Field (Hon. Secretary of the Society) seconded by Mr. Blake, was unanimously adopted, *viz:*—

"That a letter be addressed to Sir Edward Grey calling his "attention to the abuses introduced by the French Protectorate in "Morocco in spreading the trade in intoxicating drinks among a "Moslem population."

A resolution of warm thanks was moved by Mr. O'Donnell to the very Reverend Chairman Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, and to his distinguished colleague, the Very Reverend Imam Qazi Hairedin Islamic Chaplain to the Ottoman Embassy. The resolution of thanks was carried unanimously by acclamation.

Mr. Arnold's Appeal Dismissed.

Judgment of the Privy Council.

THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

THE judicial Committee of the Privy Council, at which there were present yesterday Lord Shaw, Lord Moulton, Sir John Edge, and Mr. Ameer Ali, dismissed the appeal of Mr. Channing Arnold, the editor and proprietor of the *Burma Critic*, from a conviction of defamation and a sentence of one year's imprisonment by the Chief Court of Lower Burma. The proceedings were taken under the Indian Penal Code by a district magistrate, who alleged that Mr. Arnold defamed him in two articles headed " A Mockery of British Justice."

Sir Robert Finlay, K.C., Mr. D. A. Wilson, and Mr. A. Page appeared for the appellant; Sir Erle Richards, K.C., and Mr. A. M. Dunne for the respondent.

The arguments were recently heard before a Board composed of Lord Shaw, Lord Sumner, Lord Parmoor, Sir John Edge, and Mr. Ameer Ali, when judgment was reserved.

JUDGMENT.

Lord Shaw, now in delivering their Lordships' judgment said that the appellant was charged with having defamed Mr. G. P. Andrew, Deputy Commissioner and District Magistrate, of Mergui, by the publication of two articles in the *Burma Critic*, on April 28, 1912, entitled "A Mockery of British Justice. Mr. Arnold had had experience as a journalist, and he was at one time the chief editor of the *Rangoon Times*. He ceased to be editor in the end of September 1911, and in January, 1912, he was registered as one of the proprietors and the editor of the *Burma Critic*. The proceedings against him were initiated June 11, 1912, by Mr. Andrew. On October 3, 1912, the trial began before Sir Charles Fox, the Chief Judge, with a jury. It lasted from October 3 to the 19th when the jury returned a unanimous verdict of *Guilty*, and a sentence of one year's simple imprisonment was pronounced. After undergoing four month's imprisonment, the remainder of the sentence was remitted.

Their Lordships listened to a long argument in support of this appeal, during which the entire history of three stages of proceedings was discussed. These were, first, the details of the conduct of McCormick, a planter, who was charged with having abducted a Malay girl of about 11 years of age; secondly, the conduct and proceedings of Mr. Andrew as District Magistrate at the investigation conducted before him into this charge and which ended in his declining to commit McCormick for trial; and thirdly, the proceedings at the trial in the present case.

It was important to see what were the provisions of the Penal Code which applied to the case. " Whoever," says section 498 of the Indian Penal Code, "by words either spoken or intended to be read, or by signs or by visible representations, makes or publishes any imputation concerning any person intending to harm or knowing or having reason to believe that such imputation will harm, the reputaion of such person, is said, except in the cases hereinafter excepted, to defame that person." His Lordship then referred to the exceptions under the section and said that it was upon the ninth exception that the determination of the appeal solely depended. That was in these terms:—

" It is not defamation to make an imputation on the character of another provided that the imputation be made in good faith for the protection of the interest of the person making it, or of any other person, or for the public good."

In connexion with that exception it was necessary to take its language along with of that section 52 of the Code, which was to this effect:—"Nothing is said to be done or believed in good faith which is done or believed without due care and attention."

It was contended by the appellant that in the course of the charge there was misdirection by the Judge and that the jury's minds were diverted from this, which it was admitted was the true and only issue, to other questions. What were these? They were the very things which the prisoner's counsel had throughout the trial insisted on introducing—namely the question of the conduct of McCormick and of Mr. Andrew, the narrative as to Mr. Andrew being accompanied by the suggestion

that it was after all indefensible and corrupt. Their Lordships recognized that that mode of conducting the defence, which it appeared to have been difficult to repress, was not unlikely to lead to confusion; but it was at least satisfactory to find that the learned Judge in charging the jury made no mistake in stating what the true issue was.

THE NATURE OF THE LIBEL.

It was expedient to state what the libel contained. Being headed "A Mockery of British Justice." after a considerable amount of inflammatory matter, it proceeded to "speak out against those officials who have forgotten their duty and have dared trifle with the fair fame of England." Having made these very serious allegations the appellant added:— "The facts before us indicate that he (Mr. Andrew) conspired with Mr. Finnie to burke the case: that he conducted it *in camera*; that he refused to heed the protest of the complainants that the interpreter employed was a paid parasite of McCormick, and did, in fact, deliberately mistranslate; that of the witnesses for the prosecution only those called by the District Superintendent of Police, and not even all of them, were allowed to give evidence; that in a word the whole inquiry was an outrageous make-believe and a mockery of what he is nominally representative, the fair play and judicial honour associated with the name of England. By what looks like the meanest of tricks, the unfortunate complainants were unrepresented by any lawyer at this judicial force."

The libels were at least seven in number. First, of conspiracy with Finnie to prostitute justice by saving McCormick. Secondly, of having. apparently knowingly and as part of the partisanship, bailed out McCormick for a non-bailable offence. Thirdly, of having misled the Malay girl, her parents and friends, by leaving them without professional advocacy, which they had been led to expect. Fourthly, of having perverted the course of truth by a partisan interpreter. Fifthly, of having tried the case *in camera* (very little was made of that in argument). Sixthly, of not having called certain witnesses in the inquiry; and seventhly, of Mr. Andrew's having heard the case knowing that certain people objected to his doing so. Of these libels the first was the real basis of all. It imputed corruption. Several of the others might not appear, but for their resting upon that basis of corruption, to be of so serious a type. But in their Lordships' opinion that could not be said of the third and fourth, for if it were true that the magistrate had designedly deprived the complainants of legal assistance, and provided them with a false interpreter, then such wicked conduct would not only be itself indefensible but would colour all the rest. Upon the whole it could not be denied that if any substantial part of this defamation was true, it meant ruin to the career of Mr. Andrew and any others engaged in conspiring with him as alleged.

THE POINTS FOR THE APPELLANT.

The points put forward in the appellant's favour as establishing that although the charges were false yet he was excused by statute because he believed them *bona fide* and had given due care and attention to their truth were substantially three. In the first place it was urged that he relied upon a letter published with the signature of "Vigilance," and addressed to the *Rangoon Times*. It was dated August 31, 1911 and at that time the appellant was connected with that paper. It contained a long narrative incriminating McCormick and also Mr. Andrew and others, the second element proposed in support of Mr. Arnolds good faith was of a different and an important character. It was this—In the district of Tenasserim referred to the position of sun-divisional magistrate was occupied by Mr. Buchanan. It was alleged that Mr. Buchanan had been on unfriendly terms with McCormick, but their Lordships did not think that there was anything substantial in that allegation, and they further thought it right to put on record their opinion, which was in entire concurrence with that of the Chief Judge, that Mr. Buchanan in his investigations and conduct was actuated by entire good faith. Although his conclusions and suspicions might have been erroneous, their Lordships saw no reason to think that from begining to end he did not act in accordance with the best traditions of the service. Mr. Buchanan himself made inquiries and came to the conclusion that McCormick should be put upon his trial.

The third point, which was more important than either of the foregoing in support of the contention that the writer of the libels believed them to be true, was the admitted conduct of McCormick himself. Although it was no part of the submission of the counsel for the appellant at their Lordships' Bar that McCormick was guilty. their Lordship thought it was an element relevant to the consideration whether Mr. Arnold was acting in good faith in these libels to show that he believed that McCormick's own admissions would have justified his committal for trial. The last matter which their Lordships reckoned to be a perfectly relevant one in the category of elements in the case which bore upon the point of the accused's good faith was this. Importance was attached to a pronouncement by the magistrate. After investigating the facts, and declining to commit, he went on to say that in his opinion McCormick's conduct was pure and philanthropic. Their Lordships could not agree with such an opinion, and their views coincided with those of the Chief Judge upon that subject.

They were of opinion that there were thus several elements in the case which were all with perfect propriety submitted to the jury in support of the defence. Their Lordships were also of opinion that a fair and statable case in support of the statutory defence and of the belief in the wickedness of Mr. Andrew was put forward on the points which have been already enumerated, but that no others were of any real weight. In putting forward, however, the points mentioned, their Lordships thought that a case was made which demanded an answer. Such an answer was given, and it also was both fair and statable.

THE LETTER SIGNED "VIGILANCE,"

In the first place a serious and weighty reply was made on the subject of the letter signed "Vigilance." It was not confined to the remark that the letter was no valid excuse for a belief in gross slander. The points proved were these:—When that letter was received by the *Rangoon Times* a most proper course was taken, and that with the appellant's knowledge. It was forwarded by Mr. Stokes, the assistant editor, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma, so that there might be official confirmation of its allegations before its being published. These allegations were examined into, and on October 31 the Chief Secretary wrote stating that the Lieutenant-Governor had caused inquiry to be made and had found that the allegations against the officers were without foundation. By this time the appellant had ceased to be editor of the *Rangoon Times* and the incident was closed. In 1912 the attacks were renewed in the defendant's paper, the *Burma Critic*, but at the trial he neither defended the articles as true nor gave any assistance as to what were the actual things on which he founded his own beliefs, nor, finally, what the steps were, if any, on which he took to investigate their truth before giving them to the public. Every officer who had investigated the case except Mr. Buchanan had agreed with the conclusion at which Mr. Andrew arrived—that the charge should be dismissed.

It was alleged that the prosecutors were led on to the trial by Mr. Andrew, and that Mr Andrew had wickedly conspired suddenly to leave them in the lurch without an advocate and furnish them with a false interpreter. That was not only untrue, but particularly cruel. In their Lordships' opinion when it was discovered that the truth with regard to Mr. Andrew had not been that in these particulars he wickedly conspired to defeat justice, but that he was, on the contrary, anxiously endeavouring to secure that justice should be furthered and guarded, then the mistake should have been acknowledged and an apology tendered. That was not done, but upon the contrary the case was conducted to its close upon the footing that an unstated defence was the real and good defence—namely, that the libels and all the libels were true. Nobody was to be blamed in these circumstances for thinking that the plea of good faith on the part of Mr. Arnold had sustained a serious shock.....

"THE PRIVILEGE OF THE PRESS."

Proceeding Lord Shaw said:—Their Lordships regret to find that there appeared on the one side in this case the time-worn fallacy that some kind of privilege attaches to the profession of the Press as distinguished from the members of the public. The freedom of the journalist is an ordinary part of the freedom of the subject, and to whatever lengths the subject in general may go, so also may the journalist, but, apart from statute-law, his privilege is no other and no higher. The responsibilities which attach to his power in the dissemination of printed matter may, and in the case of a conscientious journalist do, make him more careful; but the range of his assertions, his criticisms or his comments is as wide as, and no wider than that of any other subject. No privilege attaches to his position.

Upon the other side it would appear from certain observations of the learned Judge that this false and dangerous doctrine may have been hinted at, that some privilege or protection attaches to the public acts of a Judge which exempts him, in regard to these, from free and adverse comment. He is not above criticism, his conduct and utterances may demand it. Freedom would be seriously impaired if the judicial tribunals were outside of the range of such comment. The present case affords a good illustration of what is meant. When the examination before Mr. Andrew concluded with his declaration that in his judgment the action of McCormick was pure and philanthropic, the whole trial would seem to have been laid open to searching and severe observations, and no blame could be attached to these. But when the criticism was converted into an attack upon the magistrate as a conspirator against justice, a traitor to his oath a trickster, a man who had manœuvred his procedure so as to defeat truth and protect an associate, then, of course, it is for the person who has uttered these things to justify them, or, under the Indian Penal Code, to establish affirmatively that he believed them to be true, and that on reasonable grounds. On both of these matters last mentioned the learned Judge seems to have properly directed the jury.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

It is the duty of their Lordships to consider the special position and function of the Board, in criminal cases as the advisers of the King. The powers of his Majesty under his Royal authority to review proceedings of a criminal nature, unless where such power and authority have been parted with by statute, is undoubted. Upon the other hand, there are reasons both constitutional and administrative, which make it manifest that this power should not be lightly exercised. The over-ruling consideration upon the topic has reference to justice itself. If throughout the Empire it were supposed that the

course and execution of justice could suffer serious impediments, which in many cases might amount to practical obstruction, by an appeal to the Royal Prerogative of review on judicial grounds, then it becomes plain that a severe blow would have been dealt to the ordered administration of law within the King's Dominions.

These views are not new. They were expressed more than 50 years ago by Dr. Lushington in his judgment in the Queen v. Mukerji (1 Moore N. S., 272), and Lord Kingsdown, in the case of the Falkland Islands Company v. the Queen (1 Moore N. S., 312), stated the matter compendiously in these words; "It may be assumed that the Queen has authority by virtue of her Prerogative to review the decisions of all colonial Courts, whether the preceedings be of a civil or criminal character, unless her Majesty has parted with such authority. But the inconvenience of entertaining such appeals in cases of a strictly criminal nature is so great, the obstruction which it would offer to the administration of justice in the Colonies is so obvious, that it is very rarely that applications to this Board similar to the present have been attended with success." Their Lordships desire to state that in their opinion the principle and practice thus laid down by Lord Kingsdown still remain those which are followed by the Judicial Committee.

There have been various important cases in recent times to which, naturally, reference has been made. The first in the case of *Re* Dillet (12 A. C., 459).....Lord Watson there observed that "the rule has been repeatedly laid down and has been invariably followed that her Majesty will not review or interfere with the course of criminal proceedings unless it is shown that by a disregard of the forms of legal process or by some violation of the principles of natural justice or otherwise substantial and grave injustice has been done."

Not a Court of Criminal Appeal.

The present case brings prominently before the Board the question of what is the sense in which those words are to be interpreted. If they are to be interpreted in the sense that wherever there has been a misdirection in any criminal case, leaving it uncertain whether that misdirection did or did not affect the jury's mind, then in such cases a miscarriage of justice could be affirmed or assumed then the result would be to convert the Judicial Committee into a Court of Criminal Review for the Indian and Colonial Empire. Their Lordships are clearly of opinion that no such proposition is sound. This Committee is not a Court of Criminal Appeal. It may in general be stated that its practice is to the following effect:—It is not guided by its own doubts of the appellant's innocence or suspicion of his guilt. It will not interfere with the course of criminal law unless there has been such an interference with the elementary rights of an accused as has placed him outside of the pale of regular law, or, within that pale, there has been a violation of the natural principles of justice so demonstratively manifest as to convince their Lordships first, that the result arrived at was opposite to the result which their Lordships would themselves have reached, and, secondly, that the same opposite result would have been reached by the local tribunal also if the alleged defect or misdirection had been avoided. The appeal in Dillet's case has been referred to, and their Lordships do not think that its authority goes beyond those propositions which have now been enunciated.

Their Lordships were referred to the dicta of Judges and the rules set up with regard to the procedure of the Court of Criminal Appeal in England: but they are not the rules adopted by this Board, which as already stated, is not a Court of Criminal Appeal. And the authority of these decisions, which apply to a different system, a different procedure, and a different structure of principle, must stand out of the reckoning of anybody of authority on the matter of the procedure of this Board in advising his Majesty.

The application to the present case is simple. Even had this Committee been a Court of Criminal Appeal it is hardly doubtful that the appeal would fail. *A fortiori* their Lordships are left in no doubt as to their own duty in conformity with the practice of the Board. They will humbly advise his Majesty that the appeal be dismissed. There will be no order as to cost.

The Army Crisis.

Debate in the Commons.

[*Concluded from our last.*]

Mr. Holt and the Oppositson.

The Government's Profession.

The Government professed that the measures they contemplated were what I might almost call peace measures of protection. Their case is that they moved the military to protect certain depôts as they would have moved policemen to protect a town hall. I cannot reconcile that with statements we have heard from the Government, and I accept the word of the Secretary of State, but I confess his description of the intentions of the Government are irreconcilable with the action which was taken by the Government If he correctly interpreted the considered opinion of the Cabinet, then somebody in high quarters has betrayed the Cabinet by taking action behind their backs. (Cheers.) The Government profess to have given us the whole truth but they have refused or neglected to give us an essential part of it. What is General Paget's version of what he said to his officers? (Cheers.) We are asked to believe that the instructions given to General Paget were those contained in the document of December 16 and the letter of March 14. Where in those instructions did General Paget find his authority to offer officers domiciled in Ulster and desiring to be excused service the opportunity of disappearing until the operations in Ulster were over? (Cheers.) There is not one word to show what the Government said to General Paget or what General Paget said to his officers. If the Government were merely contemplating making secure against a raid by irresponsible people on certain magazines and stores in Ulster they never would have told the General that he was to excuse from service officers domiciled in Ulster; and no officer domiciled in Ulster would have asked to be excused from such service. (Cheers.)

The Honour of the Prime Minister.

Nor am I able to reconcile the statement made by the Cabinet with the known facts. The Prime Minister late on Sunday night sent for a representative of the *Times* and conveyed to him for publication a message intended to reassure the public. In the course of that message he denied the rumours of extensive naval preparations, and said that the whole foundation for them was two cruisers being ordered to Ireland. But we now know on the authority of the First Lord of the Admiralty himself that that statement was inaccurate at the time it was made. I do not accuse the Prime Minister of wilfully misleading the country in that statement. My inference is that he did not know, and that is the most curious thing of all.

Mr. Churchill.—The movement of the First Battle Squadron was the result of a Cabinet decision taken more than ten days ago.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain.—Does the first Lord tell me that when the Prime Minister said on Sunday, the 22nd, that no movement of ships in connexion with Ulster was contemplated he knew that the First Lord of the Admiralty had on the 19th ordered a battle squadron to Lamlash, in proximity to the coast of Ireland, in case of serious disorder? The honour of the Prime Minister is at stake, and it is the First Lord who stakes it. (Cheers.)

At this point in Mr. Chamberlain's speech, Mr. Asquith who had been absent from the House, returned to his place, and was received with cheers, and Mr. Chamberlain repeated that his honour was at stake.

The Government and General Gough.

Passing to that part of Mr. Asquith's speech which dealt with the action of the officers concerned, Mr. Chamberlain said:—The Prime Minister has told us that no one ought to ask an officer what would be his course of action in future contingencies, and that no officer ought to ask what the Government would expect of him. That no one would dispute, and if in the case under consideration most unhappy results had followed from the Government's breach of this rule the blame with all its consequences must be accepted by those who first violated it.

I listened not without emotion to the right hon. gentleman's speech under that impression; but when, after the Secretary of State, the Prime Minister had spoken, what did we find? That the whole thing was a put-up job (prolonged cheering), that it was a hollow comedy played by the Secretary of State, who, if he had asked to resign, knew while he was speaking that his resignation was not accepted. (Cheers.) I confess that I have never seen anything more humiliating than this drama of spectacle played before a credulous and decieved House of Commons. Now we know from another source of information that these paragraphs which two Ministers stood at this table to-day and declared to be the sole work of the Secretary for War and to have been inserted by him because he had not been able to be present throughout the sitting of the Cabinet, were prepared by him in consultation with another member of the Cabinet, Lord Morley, who, I believe, had been present throughout that sitting, and could not have consented to have put those paragraphs in unless in his opinion they were a fair interpretation of what the Cabinet had decided. We do not hear that he has resigned, and we know now why the Prime Minister does not accept the resignation of the Secretary for War. (Cheers.) There are some things which Prime Minister—and, if the present Prime Minister will permit me to say so, he least of all or as little as any—will not do. They will not throw over a colleague for doing what they themselves in fact if not in words had assented to. (Cheers.) The Secretary of State for War and Lord Morley are pledged by that paper which they gave. (Cheers.) The Government may throw them over if they like, but if they are thrown over, if the word they pledged is repudiated, as men of honour they cannot stay in the Government a day longer (cheers), and if they stay then the paper which they approved and one of them initialled, and the interpretation of that paper which the Chief of the General Staff gave to General Gough and authorized him to read to his officers, is a binding obligation alike on them and their colleagues. (Loud cheers.)

Mr Churchill's Defence.

Mr. Churchill rose to reply amid Opposition cries of "Time." Mr. Bonar Law remarked.—"Let us know what he has got to say."

Mr. Churchill.—Under ordinary circumstances with the regular succession of our Parliamentary debates there is very little opportunity for judging the character of individuals or of parties, but there are occasions when the temperature is raised, as I daresay it

...ay be raised, to the point where you will interrupt the Government ...ply.

Mr. Bonar Law.—You are only doing this to avoid saying anything.

Mr. Churchill proceeded to say that he intended to deal with the most insulting charges made by Mr. Austen Chamberlain. One might expect sneers from political opponents, but for Mr. Chamberlain to say, after Colonel Seely's frank and manly statement, that his resignation was a put-up job was an illustration of chivalry as practised by the Opposition. (Cheers.)

Mr. Churchill went on:—

Lord Morley came into the room while the Secretary of State was opening for the first time the box in which the letter of General Gough was contained. He came into the Cabinet room, deserted by the Cabinet, who had repaired to lunch, to find out from my right hon. friend what were the precise terms of the declaration he had to make in the House of Lords. He never revised or examined those paragraphs, or took any decision upon them. My right hon. friend takes upon himself the whole responsibility. I dare say we shall see the right hon. gentlemen at the head of a Government in this country. (Ministerial laughter.) I can only say I hope that in that day he will have a colleague as loyal and as chivalrous as Lord Morley. (Cheers.) Although my right hon. friend takes full responsibility for the decision taken, Lord Morley, who was only indirectly brought in, considered it right and proper to say that he took full responsibility for it. (Cheers.)

The Battle Squadron.

As to this battle squadron. A fortnight ago to-day the Cabinet decided that a battle squadron and its attendant ships should be taken to Lamlash. This particular squadron was at Arosa Bay and was coming home. The battle squadron was allowed on its course as long as it was not certain that the movement would be effected without bloodshed or serious military opposition. As soon as it was clear that the movement had been safely effected my right hon. friend suggested to me that it would be a good thing, as there was great excitement and there were many lying rumours in the Press, to delay the movement of the battle squadron for another fornight. But it is going to Lamlash, and there it will stay during the continuance of this crisis. (Cheers and counter-cheers, and Unionist cries of "How about the artillery?") The Vice-Admiral desired to have the guns aboard in order that the men might work them as occasion offered.

When movements, however limited, precautionary, reasonable, non-provocative in themselves have been made it is necessary that subsidiary preparations should also be taken into account in case that we all hope and trust will be avoided were to suddenly break upon us. That is the explanation of a great deal that you will see in the next few days in the newspapers of stores, ships, men and guns, ambulances and pontoon sections, and so forth that were taken into general consideration in case contingent movements should be necessary. That is the only explanation.

A Disorderly Scene.

Mr. Churchill continued:—When the question of the officers had been put aside, and everything said that could fairly be said to reduce that action to its proper proportions, the fact remained that the great issue had been raised of the Army *versus* Parliament. (Cheers.) We are content to let that issue, in so far as it has been raised, move forward steadily to its ultimate conclusion. Another issue has been broken in upon—I mean that of the Army *versus* the people. (Cries of "Oh" and cheers.) Every effort has been made with the greatest dialectical skill by the right hon. gentleman the member for the City of London and by the Leader of the Opposition, who emulates his dialectical force without all his dialectical subtlety (laughter) to show that it is always right for a soldier to shoot down a Radical or a Labour man—(cries of "No" and cheers) and always wrong—(cries of "Withdraw," "Rub it in," "A lie," and "A damned lie.")

These are the two great issues which at the present time overshadow the local issue, the complicated, delicate issue with regard to Ulster. If these issues are raised we on this side of the House are prepared at any time, in any way, by any method whatever—

Lord H. Cecil.—To misrepresent your opponents. (Cheers.)

Mr. Churchill.—I would most earnestly ask the House to end this debate by considering where it is that we are actually drifting to-day. (Opposition cheers.) I earnestly suggest that when we have got to the point when rebellion, organized, avowed, applauded (cheers), and stimulated, is set on foot against the ordinary working of our legislative system, when attempts to deal with that rebellious movement if it should be necessary are attempted to be countered, when attempts are made to paralyse the executive in dealing with rebellion, by fomenting, stimulating, or suggesting mutinies and resistance in the Fleet and the Army (An Opposition member:—"Never")—I welcome any one who says "Never" to that—when that stage has actually been reached in our sober, humdrum, prosaic, British politics, it is about time for serious and responsible people of all parties to see whether they cannot do something to make the situation a little better. (Cheers.)

The Division.

The House divided and there voted:—

For the second reading	...	...	314
Against	...	...	222
Majority for	...	...	—92

The Bill was then read a second time.

The House stood adjourned at 10 minutes to 12 o'clock.

Women in Egypt.

(From the "Times" Correspondent.)

Cairo, March 20.

It is fairly generally admitted that the future of all Moslem races, and the elevation of their moral and physical standard, depends in a great measure on the better education of the Moslem woman and on her emancipation from the very secondary—one might with all truthfulness say, degraded—social position that she occupies even to-day. There are signs that this fact is gradually receiving recognition in Egypt. The spread of education among the male section of the population is slowly broadening the views of the Eygptians as to the social position of their womenfolk. Polygamy, except among the lower classes, is as much an exception to-day as it was the rule some score of years ago. The increase in the cost of living may, of course, have had something to do with this change, but as this monogamistic tendency has been noticeable among the Pasha and Bey class, it is not unreasonable to assume that the spread of education has not been foreign to it. Furthermore, the movement in favour of the abolition of the veil which has sprung into prominence during the past two or three years, and the articles, some of them exceedingly outspoken on that subject, and on the urgent necessity for improving the position of the Egyptian woman, which appear in the vernacular Press, afford interesting indications of the transformation in the general outlook which is slowly coming to pass.

The raising of the standard of education among the men has had for natural consequence a demand for educated wives, and parents, realizing this fact, are seeking by all means in their power to obtain for their daughters the instruction that will render them intellectually attractive when the time comes for them to be married. The Government, has done its best to assist in the matter, and has established a great number of schools where girls can receive elementary and advanced tuition. But the demand for admission far exceeds the available accommodation.

New Society Founded.

While official efforts have been made to meet this new situation, it has become increasingly evident that the instruction afforded at the public and private schools was not having the useful result that was expected, in that girls who had completed their studies had no means of further extending their knowledge, and that those whose early marriage had brought their education to a premature close had no facilities for completing that education if after their marriage they desired so to do. With a view to filling this want there has been founded in Cairo, under the auspices of the Khedivah-Mother and of the wives of the Ministers and of the chief European and native notables, a society called the Women's Educational Union. Its objects as set forth in its statutes are:—

1. To unite in a common bond women of all nationalities interested in education, and thus promote the cause of female education in Egypt.

2. To assist mothers and teachers to understand the best principles of education, and afford them opportunities for consultation and co-operation so that the wisdom and experience of each may be profitable to all.

3. To provide for this purpose lectures dealing with education in its physical, mental, and moral aspects.

4. To afford to girls and young women who have been well educated an opportunity of maintaining their interest in intellectual and literary matters, and to publish for that purpose a magazine dealing with educational subjects in a language understood by the majority.

Two meetings have already been held at the Egyptian University, and at the last Mme. El Bassel, who is well known as a writer, gave a lecture in Arabic on "The Influence of Women." A large number of adhesions have been received, and there are many signs that the society will meet with great success, since every effort is to be made to observe the wishes and customs of those for whose special benefit it is intended.

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 insp 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 account of Zorastrians. It is a book which will be most useful for the English educated Moslems, as it would give them a very clear insight into their faith, and prepare them to defend it easily against the 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.

The book is so well translated that the beauties of the author's style and diction have been amply preserved. This treatise would be a most valuable addition to the Islamic literature in the English language. It expounds in a most lucid and logical manner the teaching of the Great Prophet, and gives a rational and logical refutation of all the attacks on Islam.

This book would be useful both to the Mohamedan readers and those Europeans who want to learn the truth about Islam.

(Sd.) M. A. ANSARI, B.A., M.B., M.D., M.R.C.S., I.R.C.P,

This book will be a best companion to the Moslems and non-Moslems in India and Foreign Countries and the members of the New All-India Mohamedan Religious Association. Price has been reduced from Rs. 15 to Rs. 10/8 so that learners of truth about *Islam* may easily purchase it.

APPLY TO—THE MANAGER,
The General Newspaper Agency
and Islamia Book Depôt, Delhi.
Or Haji Mohamed Ishaq, Merchant, Sadar Bazar, Delhi.

Notice.

BENGAL VETERINARY COLLEGE.

Candidates for admission to the Bengal Veterinary College for the Session 1913—14 should present themselves with necessary certificates in original, as required by the Regulations, at the College in Calcutta, Belgachia, at 11 A. M., on 20th May 1914 for selection.

D. Dey,
For Principal, Bengal Veterinary College.

SUMMONS FOR DISPOSAL OF SUIT.

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

Suit No. 37 of 1914.

IN THE COURT OF THE MUNSIF, FYZABAD.

Mutsaddi Lal, son of Ghansham Das, Nanikram, son of Chaturbhuj of Mohalla Sahebganj, Fyzabad ... *Plaintiff*

Versus.

1. Ram Nath 2. Hira Lal ... *Defendant*

To

Name 1. Ram Nath 2. Hira Lal son, of Narain Das of Nayagoun Cantonment, District Jhansi ... *Defendants.*

Whereas the above named Plaintiff has instituted a suit against you for Rs. 533/14/9. you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person, or by a pleader, duly instructed and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied by some person able to answer all such questions on the 14th day of May 1914, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim; and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to produce on that day all the witnesses, upon whose evidence and all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence. Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court; this 29th day of April 1914.

NOTICE.

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

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

(3)—A* accompanies this summons.

NOTE.—*If written statements are required, say,*—You are (or such a party is, as the case may be) required to put in a written statement by the 11th day of May 1914.

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

Hours of attendance at the office of the Munsif's Court, Fyzabad from 10 A. M., till 4 P. M.

Personal Experience derived by the learned proprietor of the daily paper of our Moslem brothers.

The Proprietor of the "Akhbar-i-Islam," the leading daily of Bombay, in the issue of the 30th January 1913, writes : "The well-known native physician, Dr. Kalidas Motiram of Rajkot, has obtained numerous certificates for his medicines that have stood a successful test to diseases pertaining both to males and females on account of his long-standing experience in the line and has got them registered in Government amongst which, the Royal Yakuti Ananga Vilas, the best tonic, has been very attractive in as much as it makes fresh and youthful blood run in all parts of the body, gives stability to genuine manhood removing all diseases of the body. We had an occasion of giving a trial to a tin of the said pills from which we have been convinced of the fact that the praises regarding the pills made in the advertisement appearing in this paper under the signature of the said doctor are quite free from exaggeration and it is therefore that we specially recommend the use of the pills for persons having a lean body and suffering from debility."

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Dr. KALIDAS MOTIRAM, Rajkot, Kathiawar, India.

25 Years Ago

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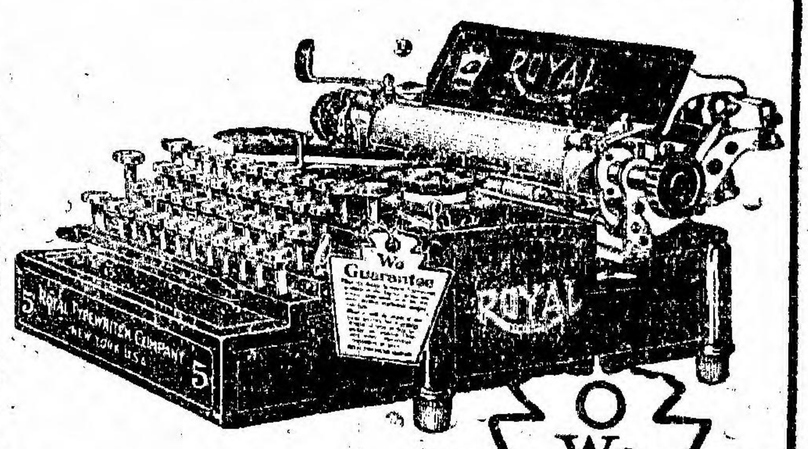
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