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.

Home Rule.

London, May 22.

Mr. Bonar Law pressed for the introductian of an Amending Bill saying that it was not fair for the House of Common to continue the discussion of Home Rule without knowing Government's real proposal. Mr. Asquith replied that he would explain the reason later.

When the Bill came up for third reading, Lord Robert Cecil moved an adjournment, saying that his reason for so doing was that Government would not command a majority when the whole of their proposals were submitted. Mr. Asquith replied that the House of Commons must give a deliberate judgment on the main proposal first. Mr. Bonar Law affirmed that the whole proceedings were farcical and he saw no use in participating in them. The motion to adjourn was rejected by 286 votes to 176.

The Speaker then put the motion for third reading. Thereupon the Opposition raised a chant "Adjourn, Adjonrn" and kept up the uproar. The Speaker asked Mr. Bonar Law if he approved the demonstration, but Mr. Bonar Law refused to answer amid frantic opposition cheers. The uproar still continued and the Speaker said that in the absence of Mr. Bonar Law's assistance in maintaining order, a suspension of the sitting was unavoidable. Members left the House amid continued confusion. The sitting was suspended until to-morrow.

Home Rules are not on Order Paper again until Monday. Ministers will thus have time to re-consider their attitude ragarding the Amending Bill.

London, May 22.

The Unionists' chant "adjourn" during yesterday's debate in the House of Commons was raised when Mr. Campbell rose to move the rejection.

When Mr. Bonar Law rose to answer the Speaker there were cries from the Opposition back bench of "What right has he to ask that of you?" "Don't answer" Mr. Bonar Law replied:—"Mr. Speaker, I do not presume to criticise what you think is your duty, but I know mine and that is not to answer any such question."

It is stated in the lobby that Mr. Bonar Law previously appealed to his followers to refrain from disorder. Chanting was confined to some 30 to 40.

London, May 25.

The House of Commons was crowded this afternon and the wildest excitement prevailed during the session. The answers at question time were almost inaudible owing to the huzz of conversation. There were excited comments when Mr. Asquith entered and cries of "Ipswich" and "Where is Charlie?" were raised.

Some hundreds of Irish Constabulary, armed with rifles and revolvers, have been entrained for Ulster.

London, May 26.

Mr. Bonar Law and the newly elected member for Ipswich Mr. Ganzoni were received in the House of Commons to-day with exultant Unionist cheers.

The Speaker in a statement regretted if his question of Thursday last seemed to impute that Mr. Bonar Law was responsible for the Unionist demonstration. He said it was not always easy in such circumstances to hit the right nail on the head. He did and would do his best. (Cheers). With regard to the demonstration he suggested that Mr. Asquith should make a communication with reference to the amending Bill. (Ministerial Dissent). Mr Bonar Law cordially accepted the Speaker's explanation and assured the Speaker of the confidence of the House. Mr. Asquith concurred.

The House of Commons passed the third reading of the Home Rule Bill by 351 to 274.

Mr. Asquith, responding to the Speaker's suggestion regarding the amending Bill, said it was the intention of the amending Bill to give effect to any agreement. If however none was reached when it was introduced into the Lords it would embody substantially his proposals of March 9th. Then the motion was put to read the Home Rule Bill a third time.

Mr. Bonar Law affirmed that the Premier had made the usual conciliatory speech but had not altered the facts of the situation. It would be futile and ridiculous to continue the contemptible farce. Let the decision be taken forthwith. (Loud cheers). Let the curtain be rung down, that would however only end the act. It would not end the play. (Cheers). The country would decide the conclusion of the drama.

Mr. Asquith replied that so long as he had the confidence of the Commons he desired no better title to the tenure of the Premiership.

(Ministerial cheers). The Government had redressed an injustice Liberals had suffered for generations. This explained the present attitude of the opposition. The Division was then taken.

The Lords to-day passed the first reading of the Home Rule Bill. Lord Crewe said that the second reading would be taken before June 22nd.

London, May 26.

In a statement in *Freeman's Journal* Mr. Redmond says that nothing conceivable can happen to alter the fact that the Home Rule Bill is now an Act of Parliment. Despite all prophecies of evil, patience, discipline and mutual confidence have won the day and there is not an Irishman in the world but will rejoice that he has lived to see the end of the Union of Pitt and Castlereach. Its place will be taken by a new Union founded on mutual respect and goodwill.

Rejoicing, illuminations and burning of tar barrels were features of the celebration of the passing of Home Rule in Limerick, Cork and elsewhere in Southern Ireland yesterday evening. There where no disorders.

Albania.

Landon, May 21.

Essad Pasha has arrived at Brindisi and gone to Naples. He has signed a pledge never to interfere in Albanian affairs.

Essad Pasha at Naples denied that there was conspiracy in Albania. He said he was the victim of a plot on the part of Austrians and Dutch gendarmes, protested against the outrage on Albanian autonomy and added that his Sovereign had shamefully deceived him.

Rome, May 21.

It is denied that Essad Pasha will be deported to Tripoli.

London, May 23.

A message from Vienna states three hundred insurgents have hoisted the Trukish flag in the town of Kavaja, twelve miles north of Durazza.

Rome, May 24.

The Italian Minister at Durazzo gives a graphic account of recent incidents. He says that after the capture of Dutch Officers, a dragoman was despatched to parley with the insurgents, who declined to negotiate until they had reached the sea coast. A panic prevailed at Durazzo. The Prince was urged to place the Princess and their child in safety, but the Princess declined to leave her husband. Thereupon the Prince agreed to go on board the "Misurata" temporarily. Subsequently, the insurgents sent a white flag with a Dutch Captain requesting that the Prince should receive the Delegates, who would submit their demands and threatening to shoot the prisoners if the Captain did not bring a favourable reply by 8 tomorrow morning. They also demanded that no further force should be used against them. The Prince went to the palace received the Captain and signed the letter. The insurgents number several thousands. The movement is mainly a religious one; but it not doubted that many of Essad Pasha's supporters are taking part.

Durazzo, May 24.

The insurgents are advancing and the Prince and Princess of Albania and their suite have boarded in Italian warship.

The International Commission which went out to parley with the insurgents returned with the representatives of the latter. These demand to see the Prince.

His Highness landed, accompanied by his staff and the Italian Admiral.

The insurgents have captured four gendarme officers.

Athens, May 23.

A hot-headed Greek Lieutenant stationed at Lamia persuaded two hundred and fifty of his battalion to follow him to Epirus to fight the Albanians. The mutineer seized a steamer and forced her captain to start for Epirus, but the Greek Government sent torpedo boats in pursuit and obliged the mutineers to surrender and disembark.

London, May 25.

Austria and Italy have both sent several more war vessels to Durazzo.

London, May 25.

The opinion prevails that the Prince ef Albania has greatly jeopardised his position by hastily embarking on board a foreign vessel. A scheme is being considered in Vienna for detaching 500 men from the international force now in Skutari to re-establish order in Albania. The scheme is ascribed to anxiety to avert Austro-Italian jealousies to which the newspapers of both countries are giving strong expression. Meanwhile the latest reports from Durazzo state that the insurgents have released all their prisoners. The Prince yesterday visited all the outposts, everything is quiet.

London, May 26.

The insurgents at Durazzo have formulated a demand for the restoration of Moslem rule. They state that if this is impossible they will place their destinies in the hands of Europe again, trusting that a solution will be found in conformity with Ottoman character and religion, Five hundred rebels at Kavaza tore up the Albanian flag and hoisted the Turkish flag.

In a speech before the Austrian delegation, Count Berchtold annouaced that Austria and Italy had agreed to interfere as little as possible in Albania and neither Power would act separately.

Italy urgently desires the despatch of an International force to Durazzo. France and Russia are acquiescent. Austria-Hungary does not oppose the idea. Great Britain, on the other hand is disinclined to it and has not replied to the suggestion. Germany likewise has not answered.

LATER.

It is annonnced that Germany is prepared to contribute a contingent to the International force in Albania provided that all the Powers take part.

London, May 27.

In the Chamber yesterday the Marquis di San Giuliano dealing with the situation in Albania, said that other countries at the outset of their independence had overcome greater difficulties. He hoped Albania would do the same. The insurrection was partly social, partly agrarian and partly democratic. It was also the outcome of Mussalman fears of predominance of the Christian minority. Essad Pasha had undertaken not to return to Albania without the consent of the Powers. The Marquis added that he had had active exchange of views with Count Berchtold on the situation which had inspired mutual confidence and perfect loyalty. The results were that the two Governments were agreed on the necessity for consolidating Albania and the authority of the Prince. Previous decisions with regard to Epirus could not be modified. They would do their ntmost to avoid armed intervention and had agreed to ask other powers to assent to the despatch of an International force to Durazzo from Skutari.

Turkey.

Havre, May 21.

Turkey has ordered twelve destroyers here.

Anglo-Italian Relations.

Rome, May 26.

The Marquis Di San Giuliano in a long statement regarding Anglo-Italian relations in the Eastern Mediterranean dwelt on the extremely cordial and loyal attitude of Great Britain in the matter of railways in Asia Minor. He explained details of the agreement whereby Italians obtain railway concessions southward of the Smyrna-Aidin line and the British northward thereof.

Council of India Bill.

London, May 25.

In the House of Lords to-day Lord Crewe formally introduced the Council of India Bill which was read a first time.

Indians in Canada.

London, May 25.

Gurdit Singh the wealthy organiser of the trip of the "Komagata" says that he financed the trip for the purpose of testing the validity of the Immigration regulations. He is prepared to carry the matter to the extreme limit if his countrymen are deported. They claim the right, he declared to migrate anywhere in the Empire as British subjects.

Victoria (B. C.), May 22.

The "Komagata Maru" has obtained a bill of health at the qnarantine station but is still being held there and is awaiting instructions from Ottawa before proceeding to Vancouver. Boat-loads of local Hindus have been prohibited from appoaching the vessel, which was issolated until the passengers had been examined by immgiration officials.

Vitoria (B. C.), May 23.

The "Komagata Maru" has been released from quarantine for Vancouver. The Indian leader, Gurdit Singh, is determined to carry the fight to the last tribunals. The examination of the passengers will occupy several days. The vessed is meanwhile moored in mid-stream to prevent any escape from quarantine. Gurdit Singh is communicating with the British Government.

The *Victoria Times* says that British Columbians cannot for economic reasons allow Indians to enter because they will be swamped by a people whose standards are vastly different from ours and whose presence in large numbers would cause most dangerous disturbances and would be laying up a store of trouble, not only for ourselves but for the Empire. The paper emphaisises that the occurrences in South Africa furnished an abundant warning and that they cannot afford to throw down the bars even at the risk of India's loss to the Empire.

London, May 24.

Reuter learns that neither the India Office nor the Colonial Office has hitherto received a communication from Gurdit Singh.

Victoria, May 24.

The Immigration authorities of Vancouver are engaged in conducting medical examination of the immigrants on board the "Komagata Maru" which has not been allowed to proceed to the wharf and is being carefully watched by Government launches. None but official are allowed on board. Individual examination of arrivals for right of entry will begin probably on Tuesday.

Meanwhile the problem as regards the cargo coal, consigned to Lloyd's agents, is being considered by the Ottawa authorities.

No Indians have been permitted ashore even to buy stores, the ship's purser during all necessary catering.

Hundreds of the Hindus of Vancouver attempted to reach the ship on boats but were turned back and they are now not permitted on wharves. No definite instructions regarding the disposal of the vessel have yet been received from Ottawa ; but immigration officials have been told to enforce law to the latter.

Trans-Persian Railway.

London, May 25.

Lord Lamington raised the question of the Trans-Persian Railway he declared that it would be the least beneficial scheme for Persia, that it was commercially unsound and that it would become a burden on the finances of India besides involving an increase in the military forces of India and greater naval protection.

Lord Sydenham dealt in detail with a possible branch line.

Lord Crewe said the queition had not moved materially since it was last discussed by the Lords in June, 1912. Then Lord Morley had demonstrated the impolicy of a blank refusal to discuss the suggestion. The Societe D'Etudes had not been able to proceed very for and regarding the meaning of Sir Edward Grey's words of May 19th, that he was "prepared to agree to such extension" he meant only leave to survey not to construct.

A railway system to develop Persian commerce was another matter altogether and if a number of small lines were constructed combining trade centres they might suddenly be found a considerable aid to the Trans-Persian line already built. The Government had however already made it quite clear that whatever railway were made any continuation towards India remained an absolutely reserved question and unless they agreed it could not be made. They had also made it quite clear that they were bound to exercise control in the ports of the Gulf. With regard to the suggestion for a line ending at Bunder Abbas, the Russian view was that the only effect would be to abstract from Russia a portion of the trade which legitimately belonged to her. Certain discussions had taken place but no definite conclusion on that subject had so far been reached. From the point of view of the development which the Government had most at heart the coustruction of lines inland would be commercially more effective than great through lines and preferable from the Persian standpoint.

Tibetan Treaty.

London, May 22.

According to a telegram from Peking to the *Daily Telegraph* the British and Chinese delegates in Simla have initialled a draft of the Tibetan Treaty. It provides, says the telegram that Great Britain and China shall have representatives in Lhassa and gives to China undisputed sovereignty in outer Tibet, including Koko-Nor.

London, May 23.

A message to the *Times* from Peking says that the Tibet Convention has been initialled. It is understood that complete autonomy of Tibet proper has been recognised. China is entitled to maintain a Resident at Lhassa with a suitable guard.

A semi-autonomous zone will be constituted in Eastern Tibet wherein Chinese position will be relatively much stronger. The correspondent adds that it is disappointing that he has not been able to learn that provision has been made for the establishment of a British Resident at Lhassa.

London, May 26.

The *Times* says that Russia has assented in principle to a policy of non-interference regarding Tibet.

With reference to the Tibet negotiations, Reuter learns that nothing has been signed and nothing can be signed except under conditions which do not conflict with the provisions respecting Tibet comprised in the Anglo-Russian Convention af 1907. These conditions must of course form the object of discussion with the Russian Government.

Our London Letter.

London, May 8.

The Political Situation.

The political situation during the week has undergone no substantial change, though the prospects for a peaceful solution of the Irish problem are decidedly brighter, so far as one could rightly judge by the political atmosphere. The Prime Minister has already met Mr. Bonar Law and Sir Edward Carson and, though the Irish Nationalist Leader was not present during Mr. Asquith's "conversations" with the Unionist leaders, Mr. Redmond has likewise privately interviewed the Prime Minister. These proceedings, however, must not lead one to suppose that the Government are negotiating for the acceptance of further concessions on their part, as any step of that nature would produce a serious revolt in the ranks of the coalition and Mr. Asquith has repeatedly warned his political opponents of the finality of his overtures.

The following statement issued by Mr. Redmond last night renders the matter quite clear, so far as the position and the attitude of the Irish Party are concerned:—

> The statements which have appeared recently in most newspapers with reference to the renewal of "conversation" on the question of further concessions to Ulster are, according to his information, entirely incorrect. As far as he knows, no renewed "conversations" on the question of further concessions to Ulster have taken place, and the statement that Mr. Redmond himself has been in consultation with Mr. Asquith with reference to new concessions is untrue. The position of the Irish Party with reference to concessions has undergone no change since the second reading of the Home Rule Bill.
>
> Mr. Redmond is confident that the Home Rule Bill will now be proceeded with rapidly, and will receive its third reading, and will be sent to the House of Lords in its present shape, certainly before the Whitsuntide recess.

So it is plain that any further "concessions" are now to come from the Opposition, if civil war is to be prevented. The Government have gone to the very extreme length of conciliation that they reasonably and in fairness to their supporters could, and it is now for Sir Edward Carson and his friends to take advantage of Mr. Asquith's offers. The door ot peace is yet open to them and, if they have any patriotism still left in them, they would be well-advised to meet the Government half-way. So far, of course, they have not shown the least sign of their willingness and their genuine desire to secure peace, neither in speech nor in practical politics. As the end of the crisis is fast approaching, let us hope they would at last realise the gravity of their attitude—an attitude which cannot but be desribed as criminal—and face the situation in that true spirit of real statesmanship that the country rightly expects in her chosen representatives on great national questions.

The Case of Col. Aziz Ali Bey.

The Agence Ottoman at Constantinople has published a statement to the effect that the grant of a free pardon to Colonel Aziz Ali Bey was due in no sense to foreign influence, but entirely to the mercy of the Sultan and the initiative of the Turkish Government.

This statement, which bears a strong resemblance to a semi-official *communique*, is no doubt intended—and rightly intended—to counteract the effect produced abroad by the "knowledge" that British official influence has been exerted on behalf of the Egyptian officer. It is thus in conformity with the view I had expressed in one of my previous letters to the *Comrade*, a view that has been seriously entertained by all those who are at all acquainted with the modern political life of Turkey. It is indeed a matter for regret that the above statement was not made a little earlier, before the mischievous agitation in the Press of this country had fully developed, but even now, late as it is, it is bound to create a favourable impression on the minds of those who are earnestly desirous of seeing a strong and independent Government established in Constantinople.

It is fortunate that this novel method of outside interference in a purely domestic affair of Turkey has miserably failed, in spite of the boastful attitude in the rôle of the Colonel's "protector" that has been adopted by the *Times*. This journal has given its readers to understand that it has taken no little part in securing the acquittal of Colonel Aziz Ali Bey and has tried its utmost to strain the cordial and intimate relations that have hitherto happily existed between Cairo and Constantinople, the reasons for which are obvious enough. In both instances, and particularly in the latter case, the scheme has fallen to the ground. No sane Egyptian has ever seriously believed that the case against their fellow-countryman was only a "put-up job" and that the Colonel had been doomed from the beginning of the proceedings, in spite of a formal court-martial

appointed to try him, and further that Great Britain or, to be more accurate, the *Times* had at last succeeded in saving the life of Aziz Ali Bey. Nor had Cairo for a moment suspected Enver Pasha of jealousy towards the Egyptian officer, as the readers of the British Press had been "informed." Enver Pasha is nowhere more popular than amongst the Egyptians and his faithful services to the sacred cause of Islam, his brilliant achievements on the field, his extraordinary personal courage and bravery, his wonderful powers of organisation and statesmanship and, - last but not the least, the absolute and genuine devotion with which he has been attending to his duties in various walks of life—and that too, let it be at once said, disinterestedly and conscientiously—have gained for him a position unique in the whole Moslem world. To attribute jealousy to a man of such a noble character—and jealousy towards an old comrade-at-arms, who, one is forced to state, under the circumstances, has never even pretended to be anything like a rival to the great hero—would be indicative of a colossal amount of ignorance on the part of those who have ever believed in this remarkable "theory."

The fact remains that the deliberate attempt made in this country to strain, if not to actually shatter, the loyalty, the patriotism, the reverence and the friendship of the Egyptians towards Turkey has luckily proved fruitless and indeed it has incidentally brought about a still further strengthening of the attachment of the people of that ancient land to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan and his Government. This is yet another happy confirmation of the truth of the old saying that "good comes out of evil." It is, therefore, a matter for sincere gratification to Moslems in all parts of the world that the solidarity of Islam, when put to the test, has again proved itself great enough to resist such attacks. If Egypt had really shown the least symptom of her disbelief in the justice of those who had been appointed by the Sultan to try and deal with Col. Aziz Ali Bey in accordance with the laws of Islam, the results, both political and moral, would have been disastrous in more ways than one. Inspite of a few telegrams published in the *Times* from some irresponsible quarters in Cairo and notwithstanding the frequent "impartial" reports submitted to Printing-House Square by that journal's special correspondent in Egypt, one is bound to be driven to the conclusion, on honest investigation, that such an unfavourable symptom had never manifested itself amongst the Egyptian Moslems as a whole. Naturally enough, a good deal of fellowship, sympathy and concern had been noticed in Egypt, but there had not been the remotest trace of uneasiness as to the probability or even the possibility of the Egyptian officer receiving an unfair trial at Constantinople.

The Imperial pardon granted to Aziz Ali Bey has obviously been enthusiastically received in Egypt in common with Turkey and other Moslem lands, and the Sultan's advisers are to be congratulated on the lofty and broad-minded statesmanship they have thus shown. They are equally entitled to the deep gratitude of every true Moslem for the bold and independent way in which they have managed this piece of domestic business, without in any way allowing themselves to be influenced by the vain threats of foreign interference in "favour" of the prisoner—but in reality for other sinister purposes—throughout the proceedings before the court-martial at Constantinople. Turkey will be only too glad to show every friendship and courtesy towards other Powers in Europe, especially Great Britain, whose relations with the Turkish Empire, on account of her vast number of Moslem subjects, have always been of a particularly intimate character; but she cannot afford, in the interest of her own sovereign rights and privileges, to permit any foreign interference, from howsoever influential quarter, in the judicial administration of the Empire. The remarkable way in which the Turkish Government has ignored the floods of protests that had lately become evident in the British Press, during Aziz Ali Bey's trial, and the silent yet effective method in which the Ottoman Cabinet has so rightly snubbed the promoters of this last Anti-Turkish compaign in the newspapers of this country, will, let us hope, succeed in reminding them that when dealing with the new Turkey they are as much bound by the excellent moral underlying the doctrine of "minding one's own business" as they would be in their treatment of any other Power in Europe.

A Muslim subject of the Sultan has been fairly and impartially tried by a court-martial, found guilty of certain crimes and duly sentenced. He has subsequently received the Imperial pardon on the recommendation of the Sultan's legally constituted advisers—which is a not unfamiliar practice in every civilised country. There the matter ends and, as far as the Turkish authorities are concerned, the incident is closed. The host of "conscientious moralists" in this country—whose number is legion, whenever Turkey or any other Oriental State is involved—ever ready to publicly demonstrate their "superior" and "human" virtues, as soon as they become acquainted with any case in which there has been an alleged miscarriage of justice abroad, would be well advised to turn their attention towards such incidents in the British possessions across the seas—which, after all, is their primary duty—instead of allowing themselves to be overcome with an unusual degree of jumpy enthusiasm in the interest of justice and fairplay in foreign countries, whose rulers are prefectly capable of managing their own affairs with due regard to the proper administration of justice, law and order. The great Eastern Dependency of the Crown and the several Crown Colonies abroad would afford them an ample scope for their activity. Justice and fairplay, like charity, must always begin at home! The British Empire itself should consequently first be rid of all its unrest, and its defects—social, industrial, economic, and political—before these energetic and lofty humanitarians in England conscientiously engage themselves in the gigantic task of putting their tender and highly sensitive fingers on the pulse of the entire mass of humanity in the universe.

Chinese Journalistic Enterprise in London.

A new note in London journalism is sounded by the publication of a Chinese journal, printed in English, but edited by two Chinese graduates. The title of the paper is the *Chinese Review*. It will appear monthly at a shilling and the May number is just out. The journal is a purely Chinese enterprise, being owned, edited and managed entirely by natives of China, whose foremost aim is the presentation to English readers of accurate and impartial information on the course of events in the Republic.

The first number contains messages of welcome from Lord Bryce, Lord William Cecil, His Excellency Lew Yuk Lin, Sir Walter Hillier, Professor Giles, and others. Mrs. Archibald Little writes on impressions received during her recent visit to China; Mr. Ku Hung Ming contributes an interesting analysis of the spirit of the Chinese people; Mr. Wilson Harris describes the work and aims of the Anglo-Chinese Friendship Bureau; and the editor, Mr. Wong Anincey, examines from the attitude of a sympathetic but, on the whole, severe critic the record of the Young China Party.

The editors, Mr. Wong Anincey and Dr. W. C. Chen, have both received a Western education, Mr. Annicey being a graduate of London University and Dr. Chen a Ph. D. of Yale.

An interesting departure is being projected in the shape of occasional discussions or criticisms of British affairs from the Chinese point of view. "English people are very fond of coming to China and writing about us," one of the editors remarked to a Press representative, "and we think they may be interested sometimes to read what we think of them."

The *Chinese Review* is published from 42, Hillfield Road, London, N. W.

The King Receives Indian Officers.

At Buckingham Palace on Tuesday last, the King received Major P. E, Ricketts, 18th King George's Own Lancers (Officer in charge), and the following King's Indian Orderly Officers who were presented to His Majesty by Lieut.-Col. Sir J. Dunlop Smith (Political Aide-de-Camp to the Secretary of State for India) :—

Risaldar Zaman Khan, 26th K. G. O. Light Cavalry; Subadar Mihr Din, 1st K. G. O. Sappers and Miners, No. 1 Company; Subadar Bostan Khan, 53rd Sikhs (Frontier Force); and Subadar Abdur Razzak, 63rd Palamcottah Light Infantry,

Major Clive Wigram (Equerry in Waiting) was in attendance.

How British Statesmen make their Speeches.

A brief description of the various methods adopted by some of the leading politicians of this country in making their speeches may not be without interest to your readers, especially during the present acute stage of the political situation.

At least two members of the House of Commons—Mr. Tim Healy and Mr. Ginnell—take all their notes in short hand, the former using Pitman for the "heads" of his discourse, and the latter relying upon a copious phonetic manuscript.

Mr. Asquith, the greatest Parliamentary master of precision and conciseness, commits to writing certain phrases of any important pronouncement, but on all other occasions he trusts to the inspiration of the moment and without loss of his sledge-hammer and clear-cut style.

Mr. Balfour, as is well-known, jots down his main lines of argument on the back of an envelope, but nothing else, whilst Mr. Bonar Law makes a fetish of speaking without notes (except quotations from speeches of adversaries), with consequences that are sometimes inconvenient.

Mr. John Redmond, the last of the old school of orators, is most effective when he speaks impromptu, but he apparently realises the danger of trusting entirely to the inspiration of the moment, and on big occasions he fortifies himself with a manuscript, to which he adheres pretty closely, though always ready and willing to be drawn into "asides."

"T. P.," as becomes the experienced journalist, scorns such adventitious aids, and might have difficulty in deciphering his own manuscript if he ventured to rely on it.

Mr. Jeremiah MacVeagh the Irishman, who delights the House with his humour no less than his ability, has never been known to write any of his famous jokes down on paper. He has them docketed in his mind to fit every occasion, and between the seriousness of his arguments he brings them out to point a moral and adorn a tale.

Mr. Winston Churchill not only carefully prepares his more important pronouncements, but actually commits them to memory, and he may sometimes be seen buried in thought and pacing one of the long unfrequented corridors deliberating with himself on his next utterance.

Lord Hugh Cecil is another politician with a weakness for committing speeches to memory, after which he rarely uses a note; but his brother, Lord Robert Cecil, is more promiscuous in his methods—and, strange to say, more effective. Mr. Lloyd George "thinks out" his line of speech, but relies on his store of celtic imagery for his phraseology.

The Chief Secretary for Ireland, one of the most humorous and most delightful of speakers, never seems to prepare anything or to use any note, and the unpremeditated Birrellisms flow from him like water over Niagara, and at a rate that exceeds the widest of speed limits.

Mr. F. E. Smith's speeches are carefully prepared, and many of his epigrams are suggestive of the midnight oil, but he uses notes very sparingly.

Mr. Will Crooks, a natural orator, never uses notes, his eloquence, his humour and his pathos being entirely spontaneous; and the same may be said of Mr. Keir Hardie, though few would ever accuse the Scotsman of humour.

Mr. John Burns always arms himself with a mass of statistics and other ammunition, and to that extent his speeches are carefully prepared; but he does not place much reliance upon notes or manuscript.

Mrs. Besants's Appeal Allowed.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, consisting of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Moulton, Lord Parker, Sir John Edge, and Mr. Ameer Ali, has, on the question of jurisdiction, allowed Mrs. Annie Besant's appeal from a judgment of the High Court of Madras in the litigation respecting the guardianship of J. Krishnamurti and J. Nityananda, two Hindu youths, who are being educated in England.

Mr. Younger, K. C., Sir Erle Richards, K. C., and Mr. R. W. Turnbull appeared for the appellant; Mr. Kenworthy Brown, for the respondent; and the Lord Advocate of Scotland, Mr. W. R. Sheldon, and Mr. W. Ingram for the two youths, who had been added as interveners by Order in Council.

The facts of the case, as revealed before the Indian Courts, are no doubt quite familiar to your readers. After the suit was removed to the Madras High Court, where it was heard by Mr. Justice Bakewell, as everybody is aware, the learned judge had declared the respondent to be the guardian of the boys, and had directed Mrs. Besant to hand over the custody of the boys to the respondent, their father, on or before May 26, 1913. Mrs. Besant appealed from that decision, but the appeal was dismissed by the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Oldfield before whom it was heard.

Mr. Younger, K. C., continued his argument on the preliminary question of jurisdiction. Mrs. Besant had contended before the Indian Courts that the High Court had no jurisdiction over the persons of infants other than that conferred by the Letters Patent of 1865 and that the Letters Patent gave the High Court no power to make the decree appealed from.

The Lord Chancellor, addressing the Lord Advocate, said that he understood that it was stated on Monday that the boys objected to return to India.

The Lord Advocate.—That is so. I am glad you have given me an opportunity of stating expressly and clearly their position. They are passionately desirous of staying in this country and extremely averse from going back to India.

The Lord Chancellor asked the Lord Advocate whether he had satisfied himself personally that that was so.

The Lord Advocate replied that he had.

At the close of Mr. Kenworthy Brown's argument, the Lord Chancellor said that as at present advised his view was that the proceedings in the Court below were altogether misconceived and brought in a wrong form, and for that reason ought to fail, without prejudice to any further proceedings which the father might make in proper form.

Mr. Kenworthy Brown asked whether the difficulty was that the boys were not represented in the Court in India.

The Lord Chancellor.—It is more than that. The boys not being represented, the issues were not properly framed, and the mind of the Court was not properly directed to the true question, but it was not the fault of the Court.

Mr. Kenworthy Brown said a great deal of attention was paid to the issue. He added that the boys were under the extremely powerful influence of Mrs. Besant, who occupied a position in the Theosophical Society, which made her word law. If their Lordships had come to the conclusion that the proceedings in the Court below had been misconcieved he did not wish to occupy their attention further.

The Lord Chancellor said their Lordships had made up their minds as to the course they would take. They would humbly advise his Majesty that the judgment of the Court below could not stand, for the reason—the only reason—they had discussed that day. Their Lordships would give their reasons at a future date.

The question of costs was reserved.

Oriental Studies : Lord Curzon on the Spirit of the East.

A largely attended meeting was held at the Mansion House on Wednesday afternoon in support of the scheme for establishing a school of Oriental Languages in London. The Lord Mayor presided and the company included: His excellency the Persian Minister, Lord Crewe, Lord Curzon, Lord Redesdale, Lord Lamington, Lord Sydenham, Lord Reay, Lord Inchcape, Lord George Hamilton, Lord Peel, Sir Montagu Turner (Chairman of the City Executive Committee), Sir W. Anson, Mr. Ameer Ali, Sir A.T. Arundel, Mr. Abbas Ali Baig, Sir George Birdwood, Sir Stanley Bois, Sir Reginald Brade, Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, Sir Edward Busk, General Sir E. F. Chapman, Sir Valentine Chirol, Sir Ernest Clarke, Sir William Collins, Sir Homewood Crawford, Sir Louis Dane, Sir Algernon Firth, Sir W. E. Garstin, Prof. Gollanez, Sir Krishna Gupta, Sir Murray Hammick, Mr. F. Begg (Chairman of the Council of the London Chamber ofCommerce), Sir Lancelot Hare, Dr.F. Heath, Sir Frederick Lily, Sir Charles Lyall, Sir Phillip Magnus, M. P., Sir Carl Mayer, Sir T. Morison, Mr. A. C. Morton, M. P., Sir J. D. Rees, M. P., Mr. C.H. Roberts, M. P., Sir Frederick Robertson, Sir Felix Schuster, Sir John Stanley, Sir T. Vesey Strong, Sir Mark Sykes, M. P., Sir Henry Wilson, the Sheriffs and several of the Aldermen of the City, and chairmen and clerks of various City companies.

Lord Curzon pointed out that Germany, France, Austria, Russia, and Italy all spent considerable sums on centres of Oriental study in their capitals. Great Britain, which ruled over nearly 400,000,000 Eastern peoples and had commercial and diplomatic relations with 400,000,000, besides a trade with the East amounting to £200,000,000 per annum, had no such central institution. We had no machinery at all in this country for teaching acquaintance with ideas, traditions, customs, and beliefs of oriental peoples.

In making a strong appeal to the iCty to supplement the support already provided by the Treasury and the Government of India, Lord Curzon said that they would make a great mistake if they thought the men who went out to the East could get along all right if they merely had a smattering of the native tongue. In the case of a man in charge of a tea or rubber plantation knowledge of the language, customs, and habits of the coolies under him would save many a row—and rows easily occured under such conditions—and in the long run their firms would be saved large sums of money. In the mercantile sphere, unless the training such a school would give was provided for their assistants, the would see the spoils of their commercial enterprise taken away, as they were already being largely taken away in the Far East at this moment by their active and indefatigable rivals, and most of all by the Germans. The meeting commended to the commercial community of the City of London and to the general public an appeal for the necessary funds.

Lord Crewe said that the balance of expert opinion was strongly in favour of linguistic study being undertaken before young officials went out to the East, while the fact that an increasing number of Indians were familier with their language literature, and history impressed upon them a reciprocal obligation.

New Indian Barristers.

Wednesday night last was call night at the Inns of Court, when the following Indian and Burmese gentlemen were called to the Bar:—

Lincoln's Inn.—A. P. Basu (certificate of Honour C. L. E., Easter 1914), a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court; Mohamed Khairuddin Sagg, M. A., D. C. L., Punjab University; Maung Sein Daing, Downing College, Cambridge; Vinayak Ganpat Rao B. A., L.LB., St. John's College, Camb.; Haroon Khan Sherwani, B. A. Jesus College, Oxford; M. C. Ghose; T. Chhibbar, Edinburgh University; D. Nanda M. A.; R. D. Javeri; S. C, Gupta; J. J. Mugaseth, B. A. (Honours) Fitzwilliam Hall, Cambridge; M. P. Loke; Fazal Elahy; M. V. Desai, B. A., LL. B., Bombay.

Middle Temple.—Syed Jamal Hyder Warisi; Raghu Nath Singh; Bashir Ahmad; Isher Das Madhok; B. G. Kane; T. C. Kesava Rao; Dina Nath Gantam.

Gry's Inn.—S. B. Vaidya, B. A., St. John's College, Cambridge; Nihal Singh; B. B. Bhagat; C. V. Dharma Rao, Edinburgh University; Abdul Ali; Ramzan Ali Bhaloo Velani; Sir Prakasa, B. A., Trinity College, Cambridge.

TETE À TETE



To "To Exact Reparation".

AN Address of the House of Commons, dated 7th August 1913, a Return has been published in the usual form with a view to keep the British democracy well informed on the subject of (1) wars and military operations on or beyond the borders of British India in which the Government is engaged; (2) the causes of such wars or operations; (3) the locality in which troops operated; (4) the results obtained; (5) the numbers approximately of the troops employed; (6) the cost of such wars or operations; and (7) the amount of any contribution towards such cost from the British Treasury. Fortunately for India and for her neighbours there is very nearly a clean bill of health for the quinquennium 1909-1913, the only exception being the Abor expedition. The Return tells us with commendable brevity and clearness that the Abor Expeditionary force consisting of 2,500 troops and 400 Military Police operated on the North East frontier in Dihang Valley, Abor country, between October 1911 and April 1912 and that the bill of costs amounted to Rs. 21,60,000, towards which the British Treasury, of course, contributed nothing. When we turn to the column: "Object of the Operations", we are told, as, of course, we knew, that they were undertaken "to exact reparation for the murder of Mr. "Williamson and Dr. Gregorson by the Muizong Abors." We hope it will not be accounted to us as the height of brutality to point out that each of the two aforesaid lives lost cost India more than ten round lakhs in cash and our troops and the Abors a good many more lives than two in kind. And the "Results Obtained"? We are informed that "the tribe was com-"pletely subdued after two or three small actions and the capture "of their stockades, and the murderers were delivered up". When the Abor expedition was being arranged, we had asked the Government a single and a simple question, but in vain. It will serve no purpose to refer to "Christless Code" that wants a life for a life. Christendom has worked itself free from the shackles of turn-the-other-cheek policy, even if its men of affairs had ever heeded it at all. But granting that a life must be taken for a life, and putting on this doctrine the gloss that more than one life may be taken for a life when it happens to be a case of a neighbouring country or people and not of fellow-snbjects in the same State, we must at least satisfy ourselves that the life taken for which we are to take many more lives was taken without any justification. What was Mr. Williamson, a servant of Government, doing in the Abors country beyond our borders when he lost his life? We had asked this question three years ago, but no answer was then vouchsafed. May we not ask it again when Mr. Lewis Harcourt has publicly repudiated the deliberate insubordination of Mr. Corfield in Somaliland and is, in spite of sustained "Imperialist" agitation, still impenitent? Did not the Mullah deserve castigation like the Abor after cutting of Mr. Corfield? Why no reparation exacted? And had the prestige of the white rulers of India to be established only among the Abors? Were there not Tibet and China also in the background? Again, even if Messrs. Williamson and Gregorson had never lost a hair of their heads, would not the circumstances that arose towards the end of Lord Minto's *regime* and that induced Lord Hardinge's government to revert to the system of Chief Commissionership under more direct control of the Government of India, have compelled Government to "make things hum a bit" on the North East Frontier? When will Western diplomacy learn to call a spade a spade? It is some consolation at least that the Abor Expeditionary Force was not called a "Mission" and the real object was not disguised as "to civilize the heathens and bring peace to them". On the whole "to exact reparation" is good!

"Domestic Arrangements."

IT is true that many even among the educated Indians interested in politics do not understand much about the arrangements concerning the disposal of business in the India Office. But it is equally certain that the Secretay of State for India and none else is the person primarily responsible to the King and to Parliament for the good government of India. He is the principal and the Governor-General in Council is the agent, as Mr. Montagu had clearly stated in the House of Commons on a memorable occasion three years ago. Naturally, therefore, India is greatly concerned in everything that is likely to affect the settlement of Indian issues placed before the Secretary of State. It is true that he is an autocrat, in theory at least, and Mr. Birrell once envied the autocracy of Lord Morley. But even autocrats are susceptible to influences and it is distinctly against the interests of India to allow the Secretary of State to be powerfully influenced by individual members of his Council, who in the majoriy of cases are retired Anglo-Indian officials with settled views and inclinations often at variance with those of Indians. A Secretary of State not particularly distinguished for taking an independent line of action now proposes to divide his Council into departments with a member at the head of each, instead of some committees of two or three, and we in India, who have some idea of Departmentalism and what havoc it plays with Council Government, naturally feel anxious. The two Indian members, who are not always chosen for being "experts" in the bureaucratic sense, are able to represent Indian points of view by a method of permutation and combination on all questions before they are brought before the Council, and even if they are not brought before it. With a clear demarcation of departments we shall be splitting the India Office into more or less watertight compartments in most of which the Indian point of view will not be represented. Moreover, Indians have their own views about the method of selecting the Indian members adopted by the Secretary of State as well as about the proportion of the Indian, English, and Anglo-Indian members in the Council. A Congress deputation which, so far as we have been able to ascertain, shares on the question the views of the All-India Moslem League, has travelled all the way to England to lay its views before Lord Crewe and has made this an important part of its programme. Lord Crewe, too, has reverted to the practice of his predecessor and also his own earlier practice and has not only received the deputation, but also promised to consider their representations carefully. But if we are to believe the *Pioneer*, the Bill "is merely concerned with a reconstitution of domestic arrangements affecting "the disposal of business in India Office." We really admire the *naiveté* of language of our contemporary. "Domestic Arrangements" Is'nt it superb, exquisite, delicious? But is not the entire business of Indian administration a "Domestic Arrangement"?

The Moslem Communal Work.

NO ONE would seriously argue that Indian Mussalmans have not had a share out of the "general awakening" that these piping times are said to have produced in India; and if the testimony of the experts psychologists of sundry hues counts for anything, they have had more than their legitimate share quite recently and have almost "awakened" too much. Apart, however, from the outward symptoms of this awakening, which have alarmed their "friends" a good deal, there are few other signs to show that they have been really restored to a full, healthy, wide-awake consciousness. If "awakening" means anything, it means that a community or group of people has begun to realise its wants and make serious effort to provide ways and means for meeting them. Has the Moslem community become thoroughly alive to its needs? It is, no doubt, true that some sort of general feeling has grown up among Mussalmans that all is not well with them. One also hears some din and clamour of effort in some places. The Muslim Press, too, is vocal with eager voices pressing to be heard. But a careful student of Moslem affairs would discern little useful purpose in all the lively discussions of the hour, no method and no design, in fact, no serious, intelligent and systematic effort to study, elucidate and solve the fundamental questions relating to the progress of the community. Much of the literary energy, that certain recent circumstances have called to birth in the shape of Moslem journalism, is running to waste along unproductive channels—in interminable and senseless debates about first principles, in the rehabilitation of exploded myths, in sentimental adulation of impossible virtue and equally absurd denunciation of impossible evils, in personal wrangles, revolts and strife. It seems as if Mussalmans have not yet settled even the general line of communal advance. Everything that really matters would seem to be an open question still, and every communal patriot is busy generalising with tremendous fervour and assurance. The Moslem democracy is beginning to be vocal, and it is no fault of a democracy if it cries aloud for knowledge and faith. But the real danger is that its genuine and helpless cries for more light are sometimes ta

as the oracles of Delphi, which bustling persons of certain mental and moral density set themselves noisily to decipher for the guidance of the whole community. قوم is said to have spoken when, as a matter of fact, some perplexed souls inquire, in earnest but broken accents, about the right path and the ultimate goal. The anxieties and uncertainties of the mass of the people are exploited in some cases with ruthless thoroughness. They are turned upside down; they are paraded as popular vendicts, and the process ends finally when the قوم gets back its doubts stamped as its own mandates by the eager interpreters of its wisdom. We wish it were possible to teach these busy exploiters of Muslim democracy that their ceaseless spinning round communal perplexities is leading nowhere. We wish they could understand that what the masses of the people want is real guidance and faith. The masses are alive with a genuine desire to learn, to know and to do. They want direction and a fair amount of assurance that the path they are asked to tread leads to salvation. The duty of the Moslem Press is to try to supply this great need. The main lines of work have already been laid down. The programme needs no recasting after every week or month. Even the discussion about ways and means has not been wholly unfruitful. What is now wanted is to press every individual into active service for the building of of the future. Quest for ideals and principles has lasted long enough in all conscience and some "discovery" has already been made about the first and last things. It now remains to fill in the plans of reconstruction with details, to devise suitable methods and to co-ordinate effort. The field for constructive work in the development of the Moslem community is vast and the Moslem Press should give the lead by helpful suggestions and encouragement, by intelligent discussion of questions needing elucidation, by focussing opinion on matters requiring public attention and organised action.

Literary Contributions to The "Comrade."

We could name a score of matters of topical interest to the Moslem community about which, however, the Moslem Press discussions are either vague and inconsequential or voilent and sterile through partisan bitterness. They generally lack intelligent interest and earnest efforts to reach practical conclusions. In this respect, however, journalists are not wholly to blame. They cannot obviously go on delivering their *obiter dicta* on a number of topics without wearying themselves and their readers. What they want to say on a subject is said once or twice or even thrice, but they must in the end turn to other topics from sheer exhaustion. The real, sustained and fruitful "discussion" of important matters is not brought about in the editorials but in the correspondence columns of a newspaper, in which persons interested in particular subjects state their points of view and conclusions, or argue disputed points and thus help to create real public opinion. We have often invited our readers, some of whom are persons of remarkable gifts and therefore quite competent to offer helpful advice or criticism, to initiate discussions in our columns on current matters of public interest. Our request has, however, been seldom fruitful of great results. We do not, of course, mean that we receive few literary contributions for *The Comrade*. Our daily mail bag brings dozens of "letters to the editor" and other manuscripts for publication, the majority of which are not at all suitable for the purpose. They are either lengthy "essays" on things in general or huge and breathless dissertations on quite trivial affairs. The art of newspaper correspondence has not yet fully developed in India. The casual correspondent has yet to learn that he would lose not an atom of his weight and effectiveness if he says what he wants to say in as few words as possible. He sometimes needs to be reminded that he is not the first man in the world who has discovered the "importance" of a certain "subject," and that he needs not therefore introduce it to his fellow-men by beginning from the birth of creation. We regret we may have caused some annoyance to several correspondents by our inability to accept their contributions, but we would request them to exercise greater care in the choice of their subjects and to state what they have to say in as brief a way as they can. Our greatest desire is to keep our columns always open for the discussion of matters of real public interest from all possible standpoints.

A Faint Memory.

We are glad to note the progress in England of our distinguished fellow-countrymen who have gone there as the Congress delegates. The venerable Sir William Wedderburn gave them a breakfast on the 14th instant and a conference was held after the breakfast. Among the distinguished guests that came at least to honour our friends by breakfasting in their company, if not to take part in the subsequent conference, we notice with pleasure the names of three prominent officials of India, Sir Basil Scott, Sir Benjamin Robertson and Sir K. G. Gupta. On their arrival in London another high official, the Hon. Mr. Chaubal, had received the delegates. We have a distant recollection that two Indians had once upon a time gone to England where they were being asked to dine with some prominent Englishmen, including some former Viceroys and Lieutenant-Governors. An eminent fellow-countryman of theirs, who drew no salary from the Indian Exchequer, was only too anxious to take them by the hand and show them every hospitality, when an Ogre, called the Lord Chancellor, turned the beautiful dream into a nightmare by objecting to his participation in a "political dinner." Is it really true or are we dreaming?

Unavoidable?

In closing his Resolution on the Revenue administration for the last year, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governer of the United Provinces observes that during the year the Hon. Sir Duncan Baillie K. C. S. I., and the Hon. Mr. G. A. Tweedy will retire from Government service "inflicting an almost irreparable loss upon the land revenue administration of the Province." It is a relief to know that the loss is only *almost* irreparable, and one knows, in spite of the official assumption to the contrary, that no one is absolutely indispensable. But is the loss absolutely unavoidable? May we not hope to secure an Executive Council for the United Provinces in time to avoid the "almost irreparable loss"? Or will the Council have to wait till Sir Duncan Baillie and Mr. Tweedy have both left and younger men can take their place? We thought the only thing the Council was waiting for was the departure of Sir John Hewett. Is it possible that the U. P. Government's alleged aversion to "young men", of which one hears so often, is insincere, or does it apply only to non-officials?

The Situation in Albania.

The dramatic news from Albania throw little light on the real tangle of the situation beyond making it clear that the affairs of that unhappy land are in a thorough mess. Since the Concert of Europe decided to preserve the individuality and integrity of the Albanians by turning the province into an independent principality, there has been little progress towards the establishment of civil government and peace. Even some of the boundries of Albania yet remain undefined. A Protestant German Prince has been imported as its new ruler, but he commands little allegiance in his new kingdom and the task of settling the people to peaceful and ordered reconstruction seems to be well beyond his strength. Hellenic intrigues set early on foot a general revolt in Epirus which, led by officers of the Greek army, declared for autonomy. There have been wholesale massacres of Moslem children and women as well as of men, and unspeakable atrocities have been committed by the Epirote revolutionery bands. The "protecting" Powers have looked on without moving a finger, and now it seems that the Epirotes have been pacified by the grant of extensive concessions regarding the formation of their own gendarmery, language, education and appointment of Christian governors under the guarantee of the Powers. Trouble is also brewing on the northern frontier. Montenegro has proceeded to occupy the Albanian districts assigned to her by the Concert, but the population of these districts, almost entirely Albanian, detests Montenegro and would not submit to her rule unless it is crushed by force. On the eastern side some of the most fertile districts of Albania have been torn out of the Principality and handed over to Servia. The Albanians of these territories are being harassed and persecuted in innumerable ways. They are being forcibly ejected out of their homes and their lands. The stream of refugees from across the Servian frontier is constantly pouring into Albania bringing harrowing tales of misery and distress. All these factors have combined to exasperate Albanian feeling and a spirit of deep restlessness and discontent with the existing state of things has been growing among the people. They are feeling injured, maimed and helpless. The independent, proud and sturdy mountaineers, who are never known to have forgiven an insult or suffered quietly a wound to their self-respect, feel bitterly the humiliation of their present position. Their civil affairs are in chaos. Europe has imposed upon them a supreme authority for which they can have little love and respect. Their own leaders are either fickle and selfish or feeling the heavy weight of pressure from interested Powers which has rendered them powerless to act. In the circumstances, what is now happening is natural and intelligible. Essad Pasha's mysterious arrest and his deportation to Italy is a *coup* that can not be expected to pass off without an aftermath. He is a powerful chieftain, perhaps the most powerful Albanian leader who can make or mar the future of his country. He is not a man of unimpeachable record. He is wily and astute. His services to his former master, the Sultan, were tainted with gross infidelity. His loyalty to his own country is questionable. He is ready to play for his own hands under any master. For sometime he was the protêge of Austria-Hungary, and received Prince William by loudly swearing his allegiance to him. He has now fallen out with the Prince, and has contrived to become the favourite of Italy. Whe-

ther in his present quarrel he is in the right matters little. The situation that the episode has produced is frought with serious possibilities. The Albanian cabinet has resigned. Thousands of Moslem Albanians have marched on the capital determined to have their demands accepted. The Prince first sought safety in an inglorious light to an Italian steamer. Saner counsels have, however, prevailed and he has come back to his palace to negotiate terms with his enraged subjects.

Moslem Demands.

The demands of the Moslem Albanians are significant and the movement behind these demands seems to be formidable. The Albanian Moslems demand the restoration of Moslem rule, but if this be impossible, they will place their destinies in the hands of Europe again trusting that some solution of the difficulty will be found "in conformity with their Ottoman character and religion." In some places Albanian flags have been torn down and Turkish flags hoisted. We can easily see how the Concert will treat these demands. Its "honour" has already been committed to a certain solution by the appointment of Prince William. That solution has well-nigh failed. But the interests of Austria-Hungary and Italy demand that no other solution should be tried but the one which they have helped to devise and which lends itself magnificently to the success of their respective diplomatic games. Albania has been allowed to come into existence as an independent State, not because the claims of nationality are held sacred and inviolable by the Chancelleries of Europe, but because only an independent Albania could furnish a convenient hatching-ground for the Austro-Hungarian and Italian designs in the Balkans and the Adriatic. It is these ulterior designs that have led the Powers to impose an alien ruler on Albania. Otherwise, the easiest solution of the difficulty would have been to let the people choose their own ruler. The Albanian nationality is composed of various creeds, but the most considerable portion of it is Moslem. It is, therefore, the Moslem Albanians, who far exceed their brethren of the Catholic and the Greek faiths in number and strength, whose views about the government of their country should have been predominant. What respect and allegiance can a people entertain for a ruler who does not share their traditions and their faith? The Powers ostentatiously claimed to have avoided the possibility of rousing creed jealousies in Albania by fixing their choice on a Protestant Prince. They have well-nigh brought the country to the verge of anarchy by this much-flaunted device. The Prince remains in splendid isolation, unable to command the esteem and confidence of the people. He cannot catch the national imagination or inspire popular enthusiasm. A stronge, magnetic personality, racy of the Albanian soil or which, at any rate, can appeal to the intimate sympathies of the race, can alone become a strong, rallying symbol of Albanian sovereignty and unite the people for the purposes of common national life. The demand of the Moslem Albanians for Moslem rule is the genuine national cry of Albania. Her difficulties will not end till this demand is satisfied. The demand may be suppressed by the weight of an international force that may be sent to vindicate the authority of the Concert, but it would be the barest hypocricy to claim afterwards that Europe strove disinterestedly to preserve the Albanian nationality from destruction and give it a chance for independent life.

Prestige or Purse ?

A fortnight ago we had complained of the sad lack of humour in our erstwhile bright contemporary, *Punch*, when it hoped to raise a laugh out of the following :—"Oil has been "discovered in Somaliland, and it is rumoured that the Government "is at last about to realise that its obligations to our friendlies demand "a forward move against the Mullah". We had characterised this as part of the merest commonplaces of the East. And now for the fulfilment of the *Punch* prophecy and the proof of our contrition. On April 23rd in the House of Commons Mr. Fell asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies "what steps "were being taken to do away with the unsatisfactory position which "prevailed at Berbera and in British Somaliland; *if he was aware* "*our friendly native tribes were being harried by the Mad Mullah* "*incessantly* and our troops penned in at Berbera; and that the whole "position was detrimental to the prestige and position of this country "with the whole of East Africa". Who can doubt after this the "friendliness" of our "friendly native tribes" or the madness of the "Mad Mullah"? Do not our friendlies get harried just when we get a fresh access of altruism, and does not the Somali Mullah show distinct signs of being *non compos mentis* in harrying them and reminding us of our prestige and position in the whole of East Africa just at the moment when we have struck oil? Mr. Fell is quite right in asking Mr. Harcourt "if he intends to do nothing "but wait for the death of the Mad Mullah". In the compelling interests of eugenics—our latest deity—we must wait no longer but kill the madcap, thus preventing his propagation of other Mullahs equally "Mad". Mr. Fell and the *Punch* humourist must both be happy at the reply of Mr. Harcourt that "we are taking *immediate* "action". A "friendly" in need is a friend indeed.

The Utility of the Press.

Mr. Asquith, speaking at the 51st anniversary dinner of the Newspaper Press Fund, posed a number of searching questions as to the value and utility of the press in public life. He said that there were a number of problems in connection with the relation of the press and the public upon which it would be tempting to enlarge. Some of them, in his opinion, might form fitting questions in an examination paper for the Civil Service or for posts of distinction in the Universities. "For "instance" he said, "this, I think would be a very interesting inquiry: "Which institution would a democratic country more readily "dispense with, its Parliament or its Press? Or, again—and this "is a less drastic suggession—would the world be better off or "worse off if for a limited time, say for a fortnight or perhaps "for a month, there was a complete and universal supression of "newspapers? Or, if I may put another problem, there is the "wider question which must sometimes present itself to every re-"flective mind. Does the press of the world on the whole do more "good or harm? I am far from suggesting that upon anyone "of these issues, if they were submitted to what is now a "fashionable and favourite form of suggested submission—what is "called a referendum—you would carry with you of the total votes "polled a large and a workig majority. The only thing I should "stipulate would be that the votes should be taken by ballot." If a democratic country found itself forced to choose beween its Parliament and its Press, its choice would be determined by the issues of a free fight between the journalist and the demagogue. Opinions would naturally differ as to which of the two protagonists is the stronger, but there is some force in the contention of those who hold that the demagogue is a pampered creation of the press and would shrink to a little measure if he were deprived of newspaper "puffs". No one would dispute the fact that the press has grown to be an immense power in the lives of modern democracies, though it is not easy to determine how far it is a power for good. Life of high-pressure has deprived the busy, industrial democracy of to-day of all leisure to think for itself. The press has become its thinking organ and provides it with ready made opinions as the outfitter's establishments provide it with ready made clothes. The press caters, so to speak, for the intellectual hunger of democracy. It manufactures views and distributes them on wholesale principle. Its commercial basis allows room for the growth of much that is evil. This is a part of the price that the existing organisation of democratic society has to pay. Whether there is a possibility of the growth of a new process for the wholesome, unadulterated creation of views and opinions and their easy distribution, it is for the future to discover. As things are, the suspension of the press for a fortnight or a month, even if it might make life easier and freer in the end, would starve the mind of the democracy and even demagogues would find their occupations gone.

The "Sikh Review".

The first number of the *Sikh Review*, a monthly started from Delhi with a view to promote Sikh interests, holds promise of an interesting future, and a good deal of care and energy seem to have gone to its production. The publishers have set before themselves an ambitious programme, but there is no reason why they should not work their way to some measure of success if they have enlisted the support of the enlightened members of their community and conduct the periodical on proper lines. The Sikh community, though small in numbers, is not lacking in strength and cohesion. It has recently shown considerable energy in the field of education. New schools are being started in different Sikh centres in the Punjab, movements for the education of women and social reform are beginning to yield tangible results and the future holds bright prospects for this sturdy community. With the liberal help and patronage that the Sikh educational movement and other interests have been uniformly receiving from Government, the Sikhs are already well able to hold their own amongst the different communities of the Punjab. There has, however, been a tendency, much more pronounced of late, amongst the Sikh communal patriots to urge their sectarian claims without due regard to the interests of other classes of the people.

In the language questisn, for instance, they have come to take an attitude that is hardly reasonable. They want to introduce Panjabi as the language of the courts in the Punjab and the medium of instruction in public schools. The claim is obviously extravagant. Apart from the bewildering variety and the extreme literary poverty of the primitive dialect known as Panjabi, it should be remembered that the large majority of the people of the Punjab desire to retain Urdu as the official and literary language of the province; and it is manifestly absurd to think that the whims of a small minority should be allowed to prevail at the expense of the important interests of a great majority. The *Sikh Review* places the advocacy of Panjabi in the forefront of its programme. We are afraid this will only add to existing racial bitterness without promoting the true interests of the Sikhs themselves. A couple of articles in the *Review*, in "which peculiarly" violent attacks have been made on Aurangzeb, the Great Moghal and the "Great Turkish (Moghul) Empire," hardly breathe the spirit of unity and peace that, according to the publishers, has been the inspiration of their undertaking. They not only offend against the ordinary canons of literary taste, but also bristle with flagrant historical inaccuracies and misstatements. The Moslem rule is described as "the rule of tyranny and injustice." The Moghal Dynasty is spoken of as "the tyrannous Moghul" and so forth. Aurangzeb is said to have starved his father to death. All this passion and violence and garbled histoy are indulged in to vindicate the purity and grandeur of Guru Tegh Bahadur. We have no wish to say a word against the Guru and his political activities. But we put it to the educated Sikhs themselves: How would they treat a man who, under the cloak of religion, is found engaged in seducing people from their allegiance to their lawful sovereign? Guru Tegh Bahadur, as a political revolutionary, was no more than a rebel and a seditionist and it is a wonder to us that Aurangzeb gave this man, so dangerous to the peace and security of a part of his Empire, such latitude and inflicted punishment on him only after he had tried all other peaceful means to dissuade him from his unlawful courses. Our Sikh enthusiasts perhaps know the fate that would be in store for a man who flouts the authority of the King-Emperor in India to-day, who tampers with the loyalty of his army and sows disaffection among his subjects. It is only fair to admit that Aurangzeb, whose name is occassionally sought to be blackened by politicians who sometimes create history, could have made short work of the militant sect that at the instigation its leaders was becoming openly mutinous and laying waste the country side. But he chose to be tolerant and forgiving. And the reward that he gets for his tolerance from the latest exponent of Sikh interests is a shower of invective and abuse.

♣

Verse.

To Peory.

Not fadeless garlands of Pierian flowers
As, for Apollo's brows, the Muses twine
By sacred streams, whose living waters shine
'Mid charmed groves and amaranthine bowers;
Nor yet such blossoms as, in bounteous showers,
Fall from the Muses' spotless hands divine
Upon the Poet when, like maddening wine,
Love's ecstasy his ravished soul o'erpowers,
'Tis mine, O Heaven-born, at thy feet to lay;
But withering leaves and fading flowers that grow
In dust and heat along Life's common way;
Mixed with the trailing weeds that keep them low.
Such as they are, thy fostering bounty may
Bid them, perchance, with some faint beauty blow.

NIZAMAT JANG.

The Comrade.

The New Leaders of India.

We endeavoured to show in the three previous articles under the general heading "Young India", how certain influences peculiar to Indian conditions affect the development of the Young Indian personality from the cradle to early manhood. We sketched in brief outline his home environment, his school atmosphere and the life he lives in the college. It would be tolerably clear even from these fragmentary sketches that the development of the character and mind of the young educated Indian is a very unsatisfactory process, and in the majority of cases he enters life after his inner race has been run. How to save India's youths from a sort of intellectual paralysis and their optimism from an irretrievable loss of vitality and zest, is a problem with which we do not propose to deal at present. The ultimate solution of it would seem to be in the direction of a thorough reform of the methods and system of education now in vogue in this country. Most of the intellectual and moral puzzles of the Young Indian arise from the unsettled state of Indian society. Western thought and culture have let loose vast destructive forces and old social values and standards are in conflict with the new. The younger generation has to face all the muddle of a duality in social doctrines, and the burden of picking and choosing the essentials for a complete social reconstruction is not a light one. What is called a period of transition is a very painful and trying process—it is the travail of a new birth. Those that happen to be born within this period are mostly the helpless instruments of a remorseless process of change—they are thoroughly used up for the ends of the future. They do not know whither they are drifting, they have to bear the burden and become the sacrifice.

It would not, however, do to console ourselves with the comfortable theory that the process would work itself out some day without any meddling on our part. The will of man is the most effective force in human things. It can bend, change or create circumstances and environment. And the trained, organised will and intelligence of a community are never needed so much as when it is passing through a period of transition. Efforts that are being made in India to-day to organise public will and intelligence are not yielding very satisfactory results. The defect lies in the type of education which is producing the new generation of educated Indians, whose intellectual confidence has, in most cases, been shattered in the process, whose character is not equal to the task, whose efforts are half-hearted and whose purposes are dim and fleeting. The only remedy is the organisation of a thoroughly national system of education controlled mainly by the people themselves. This is by far the greatest need of modern India. Political and social activities would be comparatively barren of good results as long as this root-problem of Indian social reconstruction remains unsolved. Inspite of the havoc wrought by the existing system of education, there are enough men in the ranks of the educated classes who are intellectually virile and have a clear conception of the problems of Young India, its doubts and fears, its mute tragedy, of the smouldering embers of its faith and aspiration. Their gaze is clear, but their purpose is not yet set. They preach abundantly and even with a note of passionate protest. But they hesitate to act. This is the one serious failing of Young India.

The progress of modern education in India, though not very rapid, has been considerable. It has been of a sufficiently long duration to judge it by its fruits. The rate of educational advance has varied amongst the different communities, and the position of the Moslem community is the most backward in this respect. But the general growth of education has reached a fair level even in the backward communities and all the progressive movements in India are being mostly inspired and controlled by men who have received modern intellectual training. It would not, therefore, be out of place to attempt an estimate of the new leaders of thought and action who have come to preside over the destinies of the Indian people.

The diversity of religious creeds in India has naturally created a diversity of outlook in the people. Their ideals, history, traditions, racial characteristics and tempraments display a great variety and have brought into existence different needs, which are in some respects mutually irreconcilable. The Hindu's conception of the past and his outlook about the future are not identical with those of the Mussalman. Inspite, however, of the vast racial, historical, and cultural differences that divide the various communities of India, the great social problems that confront them all are in essence the same. All alike have to bring themselves into harmony with the new conditions of things, to recast their respective social systems in the light of a new set of ideals which the modern civilisation has evolved. The needs of the various communities may vary in degree and may require different methods of treatment, but they are identical in origin. The main tasks of the Hindu and the Moslem re-

formers depend for their execution on similar qualities of character and mind. The social problem of both the communities is one of adaptation. The leaders of the new movements, be they Hindus or Mussalmans, alike need trained intelligence, strength of purpose and powers of organisation. They alike should have a perfect grasp of their past efforts and ideals, a thorough familiarity with the efforts and ideals of the West, a capacity to choose and judge, and a bold initiative. They are alike subject to similar political conditons and certain other broad influences from which they cannot tear themselves away.

The Young educated Indians, who have entered life and begun to take responsible part in the affairs of the country, are hampered by limitations of similar character, irrespective of race and creed. The obscure stresses and conflicts of the period of transition have stamped themselves on their characters and minds. Most of them have been irremediably mangled in personality and are condemned to bear the affliction of a dull sense of failure at their ineffectual lives. The few that have emerged from the process of "education" with comparatively sound hearts and minds, lack courage and capacity for sustained endeavour. Irresoluteness, indecision, readiness to temporise, nervous fears to face consequences and lack of courage to take risks are the besetting failings of Young India. These are weaknesses of character, that has never passed through the bracing rigours of action. The Young Indian is mostly a giant in theoretical speculation. He shrinks from coming into grip with circumstances. He would never try to bend them to his will as long as he can help it. It is not, therefore, surprising that he often grows into a merciless critic of things in general, idealising about impossibilities and shielding himself from the little, necessary, aggressive things which constantly thrust themselves on his attention and which in their cumulative effect have the utmost bearing on the welfare of the people. His love of delivering theoretical judgements explains his dislike of all practical efforts. In fact, both are the symptoms of the same malady.

Nothing tantalises the young educated Indian so much as the old type of communal leaders. His dislike of their ways amounts almost to derisive contempt. The feeling has grown much more pronounced among the younger generation of educated Mussalmans. Yet little effort has been made by the impatient young enthusiasts to come forward and set an example to the old "despots" of how things should be done. They shrink from accepting responsibility in any direction. Their capacity to suffer abuses is phenomenal. They let things go on, and while they keep on a running fire of angry criticism at a distance, they would not move a finger to put a stop to the senseless muddle. They seem to think as if it were no concern of theirs. It seldom occurs to them that the affairs of the world have to go on, that mere grumbling has never set human affairs aright, and that if they do not take active part in the direction of the affairs of their community and country others more active and self-reliant than they must needs control and direct them. What right have they in such a case to complain of the follies and errors of those, who, whatever their limitations, have certainly much greater self-reliance and sense of duty than their more pretensious critics? The young educated Mussalman is often heard to complain of the way in which his community conducts its politics. He calls it a silly game in which men, with private axes to grind, are playing at obsolete "policies" with antiquated methods. Why does he not come out to the front with his better methods and better policy? He speaks with scorn of his community's, educational conferences. If he thinks he has enough capacity to make these activities fruitful, why does he hold back like a guilty thing from showing his hand? He thinks little good has come out of the Moslem educational movement for women. Why does he not try to rescue the movement from collapse and put more life and vigour into it? There are scores of other matters about which he is dissatisfied and never loses a safe occasion to denounce those whom he considers to be generally responsible for the ills of the community. But his communal patriotism stops short at destructive criticism. He does not care to move an inch from his attitude of critical negation towards some practical genuine effort for positive achievement. He looks on at absurdities, errors and even corrosive evils with passive resignation. He has enough sense to see that things are bad. Has he no sense to realise that they might become infinitly worse? And does he think that they can be made better by dint of aspiration? His attitude is dangerous, for it is producing a depressing atmosphere in which the faith of the masses in the efficacy of ameliorative effort and action is beginning to be undermined. He is producing an intellectual and moral fog, in which things of vital moment seem to be indistinct and vague. Of what use it is to talk of progress and reform when one has lost discernment, when one can not distinguish the white from the black, when one has no courage to face difficulties in doing what is right. Things may go on as they are, when all that is has to be. It is equally useless to talk of absurdity, error and evil when there is no positive passion for truth to crush absurdity and expose error and no moral wrath to uproot evil. It is not surely from such a temporising, half-hearted race that men of heroic stature would arise to redress the woes of the Mussalmans. Men of resolute purpose and clear vision are needed who are ready to act, to suffer and to achieve.

The Press Act and Proselytization.

In the course of the now famous judgment of the Hon. Sir Lawrence Jenkins in our Pamphlet Case his lordship had said: "I recognise the force of the argument that the Act (the Press Act) "is now being applied to a purpose never intended". But Sir Lawrence perhaps forgot that intentions, like everything else in a hot climate, expand enormously. Although the Hon. the Home Member was the author of the new Contempt of Court Bill and was therefore extremely careful of the respect due to a judgment of three of the seniormost Judges of the Calcutta High Court, he nevertheless pointed out to the learned Chief Justice that he had misinterpreted Government's intentions in passing the Press Bill of one of his predecessors into law. But unless the Hon. Member accepts our theory of expansion in relation to intentions, he would find it difficult to justify the application of the Press Act to the two religious papers of the Mussalmans in the Punjab, the *Ahl-i-Hadees* and the *Badr*.

Let us first take the case of *Ahl-i-Hadees*. Last year the "Newal Kishore Press" of Lahore published three small volumes of a book or tract in Urdu entitled *Isbat-i-kaffara* (Proof of Atonement.) Its author was Rev. Thomas Howell Bashir, Pastor of a Church belonging to the Christian sect of the Church of England. On the cover it is indicated that the publication was a rejoinder to objections raised against the Christian doctrine of Atonement. The preface makes this still more clear and we learn therein that a Mufti Sadiq Saheb, who was a Christian for a time, once more became a Mussalman, and as such delivered a lecture on the doctrine of Atonement when Khwaja Kamal-ud-din took the chair. The author says that he had asked the Khwaja Saheb's permission to question the lecturer at the end of the lecture which was withheld "on account of the obstinacy and bigotry of members of the Ahmadi sect," and he was thus prevented from making a rejoinder then and there. Sometime after this the Mufti, who had lectured, published a book called *Kaffara* (Atonement.) The three volumes of Rev. Howell's book, *Isbat-i-Kaffara*, are, we are here informed, a rejoinder to the lecture and the book of Mufti Sadiq Saheb. As regards the Christian doctrine of Atonement, we need say nothing as it is too well known, and we do not think any one would accuse us of injustice to Rev. Howell if we said that it is rather difficult for anyone to discover a new argument to prove this doctrine. But the way in which the old arguments can be presented are innumerable, and whatever merit Rev. Howell could claim could only lie in the presentation of his case. We have no desire to set up as a controversialist or even a judge of such polemics, but we cannot refrain from saying that Mr. Howell's methods are certainly not Christ-like, even if they are Christian. We do not know how Christianity is benefited by referring to the Prophet of Islam as having in his heart "the seed of sin which is called the Devil's part", which was repeatedly taken out by the Archangel Gabriel and equally repeatedly grew again. Is the doctrine of Atonement likely to be proved to the satisfaction of a rationalist by saying that Mohamed "frequently remained in subjection to Satan and Sorcery"? What relevancy has the following in a discussion about that Christian doctrine:—"Notwithstanding "Gabriel's endeavours to remove it by repeated washings, the blackness of (Mohamed's) heart, which was the seed or sparmatozoa of "sin or the Devil's part, could not be removed; or perhaps Mohamed "used to blacken his heart by not guarding it and repeatedly committing sins." Or take this as a sample of the Reverend gentleman's style of argument: "Mohamed was caught in the vapour of "Hell . . . . . In the battle of Uhad Mohamed had a tooth "knocked off besides receiving other wounds. All this was visited upon "Mohamed on account of his sins with which he was loaded till his "death". Turning from the Prophet to his faith and to his followers we get the following:—"The Mussalmans and their divines who committed the crimes of adultery and theft, did so according to the "desire of Mohamed and behind the screen of 'There is no god "but God (the first part of the Moslem formula of faith). . . Through "this (Islamic) teaching, not only did the number of Moslem prostitutes increase in this world, but Paradise also was filled with *houris* "and *ghilman* and became a quarter full of brothels." Take another sample-"It is the Mohamedan formula of faith which not only encourages a sinner to sin, but is also acting as a digestive pill to assist

"him in the digestion of sins. And encouraging people to sin beyond "measure (*sic*), in practice, thanks to the Mohamedan formula of "faith, not only are the brothels and the bazars of the towns filled "with Moslem women who repeat the formula of the faith, but the "gaols have also been filled".

It has been said that there is never a controversy about religion but religion is a loser. For our part, we cannot ignore the necessity of religious controversies, and missionary religions cannot avoid them. But the history of the preaching of Islam offers unshakeable evidence for the belief that the example of lives well lived and the few words whispered earnestly at moments when the soul expands and yearns for truth and communion with another soul, are far more effective than all the religious controversies in the world in winning true converts. Possibly Rev. Thomas Howell's scheme of conversion is quite different and he relies upon vituperation of this kind for giving him the converts he seeks. Obviously it does not matter to him a bit whether his proselytising methods wound the religious feelings of the Mussalmans or not. But it is too much to expect that the people whose religious feelings are wounded would remain wholly indifferent to Rev. Howell's vituperation. "Tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye" supplies an obvious method of securing satisfaction; but the infuriated Mussalman is to a great extent denied this opportunity of easing his feelings. The Christian theologian can denounce the Quran as a fabrication, and a fraud; but the Mussalman, although he may allege interpolations in the Biblical text, is prevented by his own religious belief from denying the Divine origin of the Christian scriptures. Similarly, a Christian may call the Prophet of Islam an imposter and an evil person; but a Mussalman's religion imposes upon him respect for the personality and character of Jesus Christ as a Messenger of God. Obviously, therefore, if a Moslem theologian, no matter how incensed, offers a reply to Christian abuse of the Moslem Scriptures and the Moslem Prophet, he can only denounce certian Christian doctrines which he regards as the creation of later glossators of the Bible and Jesus Christ's claim to divinity put forward not by him but by a large majority of his followers. It is only within these limits that Christ or Christianity can be criticised by Mussalmans. This must be clearly understood, for on this hang the cases both of the *Ahl-i-Hadees* and the *Badr*, both of which wrote their peccant articles as rejoinders to Rev. Howell's book on Atonement. To take the case of the *Ahl-i-Hadees*. This paper, which is an important religious organ of the Moslem sect of "the people of the Tradition," understood the Christian doctrine of Atonement to be as follows:—

> Our Christian friends believe that sin is divided into two kinds—original and sin against the law. They define natural sin in this way: Because man is the son of Adam, who committed sin, every son of Adam is sinful by nature. And the sin against law they define thus: that disobedience to Divine law in sin. By these two suppositious definitions they conclude that Jesus was not the Son of Adam, because he was borne only of woman and that consequently he was the Son of God. Morcover, as he did nothing against the law, he was sinless and can, therefore, atone for the sins of all mankind.

The *Ahl-i-Hadees* had attacked the first part of the Christian argument in a previous article on "Jesus of the Gospel" in which it had sought to prove from the Christian Scriptures themselves that Jesus Christ was the offspring of the union of a man and a woman, and can, therefore, be no more devoid of "original sin" than any other person born of such union according to the Christian doctrine of Original Sin. In the article which drew upon it the wrath of the Punjab Government not a word is said even remotely suggesting that the writer believes Christ to be a sinner, and all that he has permitted himself to do with reference to the first part of the argument is to quote these three facts from the Bible:

> I know it is so of a truth: but how shall man be just with God?—Job ix, 2.
>
> For there is not a just man upon earth, that doth good and sinneth not.—Ecclesiastes.—vii, 20.
>
> If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.—I John i, 8.

We are not here concerned with the merits of the controversy; but can any one say that the method of controversy adopted by the *Ahl-i-Hadees* is not in glaring contrast with that chosen by the Christian Pastor? It is not for a Mussalman to abuse Jesus Christ, but he can argue that those who infer from the circumstances of his birth his freedom from sin and from that the doctrine of Atonement do so by ignoring passages contradicting these claims which the Bible itself contains. This is indicated by the title of the article itself: "Atonement in the Bible: Was Jesus *of the Gospel* Sinless?" (*the italics are ours.*) He then goes on:

> If for the sake of argument, we suppose that he was born without father, that in no way proves the point of our Christian brethren, because it is written in Job xiv. 4: "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? Not one;" xv. 14: "What is man that he should be clean? and he which is born of a woman that he should be righteous?"

The writer also argues that "woman is more sinful than man, because she did not sin herself alone, but induced Adam to sin," and once more quotes the Bible: "And Adam was not deceived, "but the woman being deceived was in the transgression." (I Timothy ii. 14.)

So much for the argument about Original Sin, and what is there here which is "calculated to bring into contempt the Christian "population of the Province", as the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab thinks, or "wantonly scurrillous and offensive", as the Secretary of State is compelled to describe?

Let us now see whether the writer in the *Ahl-i-Hadees* has done anything more reprehensible in dealing with Christ's sinfulness or sinlessness according to the law. Once more we must bear in mind that the writer is not dealing with Jesus as the Mussalmans know and venerate, but with "the Jesus of *the* gospel". What he does is to quote texts from the gospels and, whether one agrees with his interpretation or not, it cannot be denied that the texts *can* be interpreted in a manner which do not do justice to so great and holy a personality. The well-known text in Mathews: "I come not to send peace but a sword" etc, can easily bear an interpretation wholly different from that which Christians accept, and we have no doubt that if an Indian patriot used such expressions to-day the police would have something to say to him and the authorities of our colleges would certainly hold up the man who boasted that he had come "to set a man against his father" to public opprobrium in the interests of discipline. Take again Christ's abuse of the Pharisees and Scribes as "an evil and adulterous generation" and a "generation of vipers". We know what the Pharisees and the Scribes were like in the days of Christ; but have we no Pharisees Scribes among us who can count on the support of officialdom when "Young hot-heads" call them by names not half as abusive? Again, Christ accused the Prophets who had preceded him of being "thieves and robbers". The writer quotes other passages and offers a running criticism of unequal merit, and finally cites Mathew xix. 17 "And he said unto him, Why callest thou me good? There "is none good but one— that is God". So much for "Jesus of the Gospel". But what of Jesus as the writer believes him to be. Does he consider him to be a disturber of peace and a man given to abuse of others, an ungrateful son or a brother without affection, the author of vain prophecies and a teacher of dissembling, fond of loving women who were not related to him, and of wine drinking as, according to him, the texts cited by him suggest? Let us give the reply in his own words. He concludes the peccant article with the following:— "In short according to the decision of the Old and the New Testaments "Jesus was sinful by 'origion' and according to law. If he was "sinful he cannot atone for the sins of others, according to the Chris- "tion teachings. So Jesus can in no way carry away the sins of all "Christians. Christian friends, give up this unbecoming and fanciful "idea of Atonement and believe in the Holy Book "which in a few but portentous words calls Jusus son of "Mary' *illustrious in this world and the world* to come,!" And this, if you please, is "calculated to bring into contempt the Christian population of the Province". This, of all things, is "wantonly scurrillous and offensive"! The Christian population of the Province would be brought into contempt for their unchristian conduct rather than by their belief even in the doctrine of Atonement. But is there no Moslem population in the Punjab and did it never occur to the highly sensitive Government of the Punjab that it could be brought into contempt by being alleged to be the followers of one whose black heart could not be cleansed even by the repeated washings of an Archangel? The Punjab Government has, to our knowledge, taken no notice of the Christian Pastor of the Church of England who attributed the loss of a tooth by the Prophet of Islam and other injuries sustained in the battle of Uhad to the sins of which he bore the load throughout his life and for which he was caught with vapours of Hell; but it at once becomes alive to the far reaching results of the imputation—and that too pointed out merely to prove the absurdity of such inferences from the Bible itself— that Jesus died young and was crucified because he was rude to "the mother who kept awake for nights "that he might sleep, who many a time went without meals "that he might eat and bore trouble that he might rest in comfort." Does not the Bible say; "Honour thy father and mother that thy days "may be long," and does not Mathew tell us that "Jesus said unto "her, Woman, what have I to do with you?" Is not the argument at least as good as that which accounted for the loss of a tooth by Mohamed in the battle of Jehad? It is true that perhaps neither one nor the other would give the rival missionaries a single convert; but is Sir Michael O'Dwyer so little occupied with the ordinary duties of administration that he must teach missionaries how to convert as well as teach journalists how to conduct newspapers in his vast leisure? Again, even the prestige of Piccadilly has to be maintained at the cost of ten thousand rupees in cash and a large printing press to a writer of poignant prose, but is not the honour of their women at least as dear to the Mussalmans of the Punjab and has no law yet been framed and enacted to deal with a foul-mouthed "trafficker in souls" who ascribes the overcrowding of Punjab brothels and bazars to the Moslem

women's belief in the formula: "There is no god but God and Mohamed is His Prophet"! The *Zamindar* shall not even publish the statistics of divorces in England, because that would bring the purest Anglo-Indian maid and matron into contempt; but Rev. Thomas Howell Bashir, Pastor of the Church of England could not possibly bring the Mussalmans into greater contempt than the world already feels for them by reason of their yearning for a Heaven of lechery and worse.

This is no new case, for we have had all the documents concerned with us for a full six months. But we awaited the result of the appeals of the *Ahl-i-Hadees* to Sir Michael O'Dwyer and in the last resort the reply of the Secretary of State to a question in Parliament. Both are now before us and they need more than a little comment. To the prayer of the publisher of the paper, the well-known Molvi Sanaullah of Amritsar, the Government of the Punjab deigned to reply after three months of deliberation and cogitation that Sir Michal O'Dwyer saw no reason to reconsider his orders regarding the security. Once more he petitioned His Honour to reconsider his decision and pointed out that in his case it was not only he who was required to deposit a security of Rs 2,000, as a publisher, but that the keeper of the Press also where the *Ahl-i-Hadees* is printed has been required to deposit Rs 1,000, which amount, too, the publisher has had to provide. This, as he states, is against the practice of the Punjab Government; but evidently His Honour does not believe in the doubtful virtue of consistency, and after another month's deliberation and cogitation expressed his regret that he cannot accept the publisher's representation.

That, however, is nothing. The paper has furnished the "good conduct" money and may lose it any day so long as the Press Act remains on the Statute Book in its present form. But the reply of the Under-Secretary of State to Mr. Morrell adds insult to injury. "The Secretary of State has read the articles and "can only describe them as wantonly scurrilous and offensive." What shall one say to this but say he can only describe the reply as an unmitigated misstatement. We know our England and our Englishmen with their wonderful equipment for learning Oriental languages and their still more wonderful linguistic aptitude. And we know our Secretary of State also. He is as incapable of being able to read the articles in question as the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab of writing them. What he has probably read is the English composition of a Secretariat hireling who can translate :

او خانه برانداز چمن کجهه توادهر جی

as "O, destroyer of the garden root and branch" and who can summarise a long and learned thesis on the possibility of Virgin Mary being a hermaphrodite in a few words as filthy and disgusting as the wretch himself. And that is how India is to be ruled by the "man on the spot" and retained "on the floor of the House of Commons !"

An Appeal.

We have received the followfng appeal from Canada from Mr. Sunder Singh:—

"As there is a lot of misunderstanding about our movement and the position of the Hindus in Canada, I give below some idea of my labours since coming to this country. I came to Canada in the year 1909 with the idea of making my way like an immigrant from any other country. I got the fever of get-rich-quick type as it was in the very air which I breathed.

"But owing to the grace of the All-loving One I reverted to the teaching of my father which was :—

From the Unreal lead us to the Real.
From Darkness lead us unto Light.

"Speaking about myself is repugnant to me, but I find that I have to write of these things so that my friends and helpers may know exactly where I stand.

"Since coming to Canada I found the position of my countrymen uncertain and pitiable in the extreme. With one or two exceptions they had practically nobody to help them in their time of need. Therefore I volunteered for this service and for the last four years have kept at it since. I spent my time and whatever money I could get for the advancement of this cause. The people of Canada know me as three years ago my countrymen deputed me and three other friends to interview the Dominion Government at Ottawa regarding the admission of the families of my countrymen. I have stuck to this mission of service through good reports and evil reports and through thick and thin, knowing it to be a service to God and humanity. Sometimes it seemed that even the mother earth beneath my feet gave way, but this much I know and am fully certain of that God has been kind to me and my mission.

"Over three and a half years ago when everything was dark and I was laid up on account of a very serious illness due to overwork and mental strain, kind friends to whom I can never repay for what they have done for my cause, took up the case on our behalf. With their help and active co-operation an English paper called The *Aryan* was launched. I never solicited for contributions, for verily did I believe that God will see to the needs of his people. In fact many a time I have refused financial aid offered to me for the cause even in this country.

"The *Aryan* was kept going for more than a year letting the public know of our trials, shortcomings and successes. Two years ago the thought came to me to go ahead with the scheme of a printing press of our own which had been dormant in my head for a long time. Up to now this mission of mine had been practically a one-man-crusade against heavy odds. I know very well that I had a sympathiser here and a friend there, but the idea of having a press to print a paper both in English and Punjabi was astounding. It needed an organised effort. However, God opened the way and one of my countrymen believed in me and my mission. He came forward as a volunteer. The two of us had not much of capital to speak of but we had a far more precious thing than money and that was faith in God and man. (Some other time when I have more space at my disposal I will describe to my readers our sorrows and trials.

"We did not know very much about printing. But the plan had to be put through anyhow. New helpers and offers of money for our mission came and finally this paper, The *Sansar*, saw the light of day in May of last year. The hardship and privations which we underwent were as nothing compared to our joy, when we found that a great pillar of our cause, *viz.* a printing press, was in running order.

"But since this was done I found that there were forces ahead. The forces of darkness which were watching all the time gained a fresh impetus. Although I fully believe that they are just an illusion (*maya*), but still this ignorance had to be contended with. These friends tried to scatter our mission to the four winds, but up to now the Lord God has sustained us by his abounding mercy and grace.

"The present time is a critical juncture in the history of our mission. We find that although averse to ask for contributions from our friends to carry on this mission, we are compelled to seek financial help from them. Therefore we appeal to you for your help and co-operation in our work of education and uplifting of our countrymen in Canada and thus bring about a higher and better understanding between the Orient and the Occident.

For this purpose we need immediately about $2,000 (Two Thousand dollars) or about six thousand rupees to meet the demands of our present building and plant. There is a mortagage on our building which has only two months to run and has to be paid at the end of that time. This debt is hampering us in our action and it is to free ourselves of this and enlarge our field of activity that we make this urgent appeal. This sum of two thousand dollars will give us the needed scope for further service and usefulness. We on our part have given our services both in energy and time gratuitously in the past and are prepared to do so in the future. Therefore we give all our sympathisers and friends an opportunity to aid us by subscriptions or inducing others to help us in our just case.

Knowing your sympathy and interest in all movements for the uplift of humanity, allow us to appeal to you for help in bringing about the dawn of a great day when the Brotherhood of Man will not only be a theory but something more tangible.

Please send your contributions in aid of this mission to Dr. Sunder Singh, 630 Speed Ave, Victoria, B.C. Canada.

Sanitation in India.

(Concluded from our last.)

MALARIA.

18. It remains to consider the results of research as applied to the chief tropical diseases, always remembering that they are liable to revision or modification in the light of further investigation and discoveries. The most important tropical disease is malaria. After allowance has been made for the tendency to attribute to fewer deaths from other causes, malaria stands out as universally prevalent in India and in many tracts, is a scourge far greater than either plague or cholera. It maims as well as kills and causes more sickness, misery and death than any other single disease. Measures for the prevention of malaria aim at breaking the cycle of infection in two ways, (*a*) by attacks on the parasites

in man, and (*b*) by the destruction of mosquitoes. To the former class belong the different systems of quinine prophylaxis and treatment; and to the latter, all those measures which aim at abolishing mosquito breeding grounds. Both methods have been successful in other countries and both have been tried extensively in India.

19. The Government of India have arranged classes for instruction in practical malaria work twice a year. The course is so planned that each member of the class takes an actual part in the preparation of a malaria survey which will eventually be the basis of a practical scheme of malaria prevention. Already 155 medical officers in civil and military employ have passed through the classes. It is hoped before long to spread a large number of trained and active workers over the whole of India.

The Lucknow Sanitary Conference recommended that a malariologist and engineer should be deputed to Italy to study the methods of "colmate" and "bonificazione" under the auspices of the Indian Research Fund Association, and it is hoped to arrange for their deputation. The effect of silt deposit on the malaria conditions of deltaic areas in India is also receiving attention; and interesting experiments are being conducted by the Government of Bengal at Berhampur. Experiments in clearing jungle and undergrowth will shortly be undertaken.

Plague.

20. The Plague Research Commission, which was constituted in 1905 and is still continuing its investigations, has thrown much light on the etiology and epidemiology of the disease. The chief conclusions that have been reached so far may be summarised as follows:—

(1) In India, where the pneumonic form of the disease is relatively rare, plague is essentially a disease communicable to man and a few of the lower animals; an epidemic amongst men is directly dependent upon an epizootic amongst rats.

(2) Plague spreads from rat to rat and from rat to man through the agency of the rat flea.

(3) The plague bacillus under natural conditions does not long retain its vitality outside the body of the rat, the rat flea, or man.

(4) Plague has a definite seasonal prevalence, generally constant for any given place, but varying in different parts of India; investigation shows that the plague season coincides with the season of maximum prevalence of rat fleas.

(5) Infection is carried from place to place only over very short distance by the spontaneous movements of rats: in other cases, infection is carred either (*a*) by the agency of man or personal effects acting as a means of transport for infected fleas, (*b*) by means of merchandise grain, chiefly which may contain rats as well as fleas. It is not yet established which of these two agencies is the more important, but recent work, both in India and the Far East, has emphasised the importance of grain as a vehicle for the transmission of infection.

(6) In comparatively few places in India does plague infection survive the adverse conditions of the non-epidemic season: such places are usually either (*a*) large towns or (*b*) places which have been infected late in the epidemic season.

(7) In places which have suffered from repeated and severe epidemics of plague, the rats have become less susceptible to plague than are the rats in places which have remained plague-free or have suffered but slightly.

21 These conclusions have been arrived at after much careful painstaking research and constitute a great advance on the knowledge of plague, which was available when, in 1896, it first appeared in Bombay. They point, apparently, to a simple solution of the plague problem—no rats no plague. But this solution is not attainable unless the population concerned is convinced of the danger of living in close association with the rat and is ready to co-operate in its extermination. Unfortunately, attempts at rat destruction by trapping or poison frequently meet with active opposition. Experience in India suggests that owing to the excessive fecundity of the animals, general rat destruction, even when applied to extensive areas, gives only a temporary reduction of rat infestation and has a limited sphere of usefulness as an anti-plague measure.

22. In one direction, however, well directed efforts at rat destruction may prove useful. In each epidemic a number of places are infected late in the season and in certain of these plague survives the non-epidemic period only to break out in a virulent form when the conditions of spread again become more favourable. These localities are potential foci of extensive infection. It would seem important to concentrate the energies of the plague preventive staff on them in well organised schemes of rat destruction carried out during the quiescent period before the commencement of the next epidemic season.

23. Much can be done, indirectly, to reduce the number of rats in towns and villages, by diminishing their food supply. In any place the number of rats is in proportion to the quantity of food which they can obtain. Efficient scavenging and the protection of food-stuffs from the depredations of rats are important from this point of view. The markets, grain stores, and shops, in most parts of India, are so placed and constructed as to give food and shelter to large numbers of rats. Experiments are being carried out with a view to discovering the best practical means of disinfecting grain stores and godowns. It is not practicable at present to remove grain markets and godowns outside towns, to prevent them from being used as dwellings for men, to insist on solid masonry buildings, or to prohibit the stabling of horses and cattle in the precincts of dwelling houses. But these measures and the storage of grain in bulk instead of in bags may, with the progress of edauction, hereafter enter the zone of practicability. The exclusion of rats from houses is important. In several provinces experiments with different types of so-called rat-proof houses have been made with varying degrees of success. The results suggest that no form of house could remain rat-free for long in India owing to the habits of the people. Even were this not the case it would obviously be impracticable, for financial reasons, to render dwelling houses in the towns and villages of India rat-proof on anything like a large scale. On the other hand, the individual can protect himself by providing his house with masonry floors and walls and windows enough to give ample light and air to every room and by preventing accumulations of rubbish amongst which rats can build their nests. The rat requires shelter for breeding, is mainly nocturnal in its habits and prefers darkness to light.

24. Three other measures remain to be considered—evacuation, disinfection and inoculation. The evacuation of all houses in large towns, on the occurrence of rat mortality therein or human plague cases in adjacent dwellings, is rarely possible, but in villages and parts of smaller towns it is a valuable means of checking an epidemic of plague. Disinfection to be efficacious should be directed against the rat and the rat-flea. It is of little value when it leaves both untoched. The practical objections to compulsory inoculations with anti-plague vaccine on a large scale continue; but the safety and efficiency of inoculation as a personal preventive measure against infection has been abundantly proved, and in certain areas the prejudice against it appears to be diminishing. The Government of India desire that every facility should be afforded to any one wishing to obtain this protection for himself or his family and they commend to local Governments the employment of carefully selected private practitioners to this end.

Cholera.

25. Cholera is now much less prevalent than formerly, but frequently occasion severe epidemics and still remains a constant cause of mortality. Epidemics have in several recent cases been traced to pilgrims returning from places of religious pilgrimage, at which there had been no recognised outbreak of the disease. In 1912, Major Greig was deputed to make a special investigation of the whole subject. That investigation, which still continues, has added to knowledge regarding the propagation of cholera and has established the fact that not only cholera convalescents, but also healthy persons who have been in contact with cholera cases, can act as "carriers" of the disease. It has also been shown that the germs of the disease can be recovered from a patient's dejecta kept under natural conditions for a variable but frequently considerable period, and that flies may play an important part in the dissemination of infection. These observations, while in no way opposed to previous knowledge that cholera is a water-borne disease, accentuate the importance of careful and thorough conservancy.

Infant Mortality.

26. No summary of public health is complete wishout a reference to infant mortality. In 1911, of 4,752,152 male children and 4,457,551 females born in India, 1,016,823 males and 873,677 females died. In other words, about one-fifth of the children born died within the first year of their life. It is difficult to arrive at the actual causes of this high rate of mortality. The figures at the disposal of Government are often of doubtful accuracy, and the comparisonof figures from different localities is frequently fallacious. On a board view of the causes of infant mortality may thus be summarised: (1) malaria operating both directly on the infant and indirectly through the mother; (2) diseases due to insanitary surroundings and exposure to infection especially through the medium of flies; (3) diseases due to ignorance on the part of the mother with regard to the feeding and care of the infant; (4) accidents of child birth and diseases attendant thereon. For (3) and (4) the custom of early marriage and the primitive and insanitary methods of midwifery are largely responsible. The latter lead directly to the death of the infant from tetanus and other diseases, and indirectly increase the infant mortality by depriving children of their natural nourishment either through the death of the mother or the failure of her milk as the result of sepsis Deficiency in the supply of cow's milk has been proved to be a predominant cause of infant mortality in India; but the question

of inproving both the quality and the quantity of the milk-supply without increasing its cost is engaging earnest attention (*vide*, paragraph 42).

It is hoped that the instruction of mothers and midwives will engage the attention of all medical women practising in India and especially interest the women's medical service which has recently been established. In some of the large cities in India, notably Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, nurse health visitors have been appointed by municipalities to visit the people in their homes and assist and instruct mothers in the elementary principles of hygiene. In Bombay, an interesting experiment has been started by Dr. Turner in the form of lectures to the midwives. Another is likely to be made under the auspices of the Indian Research Fund Association in Delhi, where it is proposed to detail two trained nurses for work as health visitors.

Vital statistics.

27. The course of sanitary reform is much impeded by the want of complete and accurate vital statistics. Without them it is difficult to gauge the effects of sanitary measures or to convince people of their efficacy. The difficulties in the way of improving the reporting and recording agency especially in rural areas are great; but systematic checking and supervision of returns should yield good results. Dispensary returns and voluntary notification by private medical practitioners are useful as checks but are only partial in their scope. A comprehensive scheme for the improvement of general reporting is required. The Government of India invite the attention of local Governments to the importance of the subject.

28. The Government of India recognise that differences in local conditions preclude the issue of any general instructions but they commend the following propositions for consideration :—

(*a*) The reporting of vital occurrences should not be left exclusively to the municipal staff; reporting by the head of the household also should be insisted on. The two reports would then be available to check one another.

(*b*) The actual registration should be done not as an extra duty but by special registrars who should, if possible, posses a medical qualification. In the case of deaths, inquiries regarding the symptoms of the deceased could then be made from the person reporting and some check on the diagnosis of the cause of death could be obtained: Many people are attended during their last illness by unqualified persons or die without medical attendance.

(*c*) The registrar should be required to verify at least 10 per cent. of the reported births and deaths and this verification should, as far as posible, include all particulars such as cause, date, age, sex, place, etc.

(*d*) The health officer should be in charge of the vital statistics in the town and should be responsible for supervising and checking the work.

(e) Experiments might be made in obtaning accurate registration in typical areas by means of a special staff which would also be employed in healing the sick.

Sanitary surveys.

29. Concurrently with attention to the registration of vital statistics the Government of India commend to local Governments the importance of surveys on board lines. Something has been done in this direction and valuable reports have been drawn up, giving the real health conditions of towns and particular localities and indicating the existance of any special sickness or mortality and the definite causes underlying them. The Government of India desire that systematic working plans should be drawn up where this had not already been with a view to mapping out the sanitary conditions of all the more important towns and localities in which sickness or mortality is above normal. This will occupy years of steady preparation; but as deputy sanitary commissioners are relieved of much of the routine work which at present they have to perform they should be able to carry this undertaking to a successful issue. The preparation of drainage surveys in towns in advance of needs obviates waste in the long run. In the absence of such surveys, work is often commenced in a haphazard way without due consideration of a scheme as a whole.

Urban sanitation.

30. Urban sanitation has, as already observed, received much attention of late years. It falls generally under four heads, *viz.*, conservancy, water-supply, drainage, and town-planning with improvement of housing and the relief of congested areas. In the forefront of these stands conservancy.

Conservancy.

31. The importance of efficient scavenging with speedy and complete removal of all night-soil and rubbish from the vicinity of habitations and its satisfactory disposal can scarcely be exaggerated. Yet probably no department of public health work is more neglected in many Indian towns. The strict rules of the caste system have for centuries relegated everything connected with this work to the outcast, and the people, as a rule, evince little if any interest in the conservancy even of their own houses. To this neglect must be attributed the plague of flies which at certain seasons is experienced in every Indian town. Apart from the discomfort which they cause flies are know to be the disseminators of may diseases, including cholera, enteric fever, tuberculosis, dysentery and diarrhœa and are largely responsible for the heavy mortality amongst infants. The all-India sanitary conferences at Madras and Lucknow drew prominent attention to the danger to health caused by the presence of these noxious insects, and the results of the recent "anti-fly" campaign at Delhi suggest that a large reduction in the number of flies is by no means an impossible task.

32. Whether incineration or shallow trenching of either of these methods of conservancy combined with water carriage is the best in any particular case will depend very largely on local conditions and customs. With the extension of drainage and sewerage systems, water carriage of all night-soil, with ultimate disposal on sewage farms, should give the best result. In the majority of towns, however, it will be long before this is generally practicable and the choice rests between incineration and trenching. Of the two methods, incineration is safer and on this account, if conditions permit, is preferable. Trenching is often thought to be more economical; but the profits obtainable from the trenching or pitting of night-soil and sale of the poudrette disappear, or are largely reduced, when the expense of carriage and supervision is taken into account. The material consideration in all cases is that the removal and disposal should be prompt. As education spreads and the number of health officers and sanitary inspectors increases, improved results may be anticipated.

Water supply.

33. Few subjects have received more attention of late than the provision of a piped supply of filtered water in towns. Complete figures are not available but sums amounting to at least Rs. 3,51,58,267 (£2,343,886) have been spent during the last 20 years on completed schemes. Projects costing Rs. 1,40,03,433 (£933,562) are under construction and projects costing Rs. 1,14,44,750 (762,983) have been prepared and sanctioned. These figures are exclusive of the expenditure in the presidency towns and Rangoon.

34. The demand for piped and filtered water-supply grows and is likely to grow more rapidly in future. While recognising the need for treating the question with due regard to local conditions, the Government of India offer the following general observations:—

(*a*) When piped water supplies were first introduced, in theface of opposition, it was necessary that the charges should be made as low as possible. That stage has now been passed, and there appears no good reason why water-supplies should not be conducted on a business footing and the water charged for like any other commodity. An interesting discussion on the financing of water-supplies was introduced by the Hou'ble Mr. Curtis of the Madras sanitary conference.

(*b*) On the whole, the provision of piped filtered water in towns has not been followed by that reduction in water-borne disease which might have been expected. This is probably due in most cases to the large number of wells, both public and private, which still remain in use. The closure of many of these wells is much to be desired. but the owners are unlikely to consent to this so long as the piped supply is intermittent and is drawn off hot or unpleasantly warm during the summer. In any case the substitution of a constant for an intermittent supply will shortly have to be considered as pipes get older and in-suction declares itself. The warmth of the water is more difficult to deal with, but much might be done by burying pipes deeper in the ground and carrying house pipes inside instead of outside houses.

(*c*) Excessive wastage is common and causes not only an unnecessary burden on thn municipality but frequently also a defective supply in the higher portions of the distribution. The employment of a regular waste-detection staff has in most cases been found to make for enconomy and efficiency.

Drainage.

35. Drainage schemes, on modern lines, are the basis of all sanitary improvement in urban areas. The demand for them is scarcely less than that for piped water and is steadily on the increase. As in the case of water-supply complete figures are not available but the known expenditure during the last twenty years has been considerable and is now rapidly increasing. The expenditure on completed works outside the presideucy towns and Rangoon during that period amounted to Rs. 97,65,049 (£651,003) whereas the

cost of the works under construction is estimated at Rs. 1,54,20,502 (£1,028,033). In the beginning precedence over drainage was given to piped water-supply but experience has demonstrated the advantage of introducing both concurrently. Without drainage there is no means of carrying off the surplus water and without piped water-supply it is difficult to flush the drains properly.

38. When drainage schemes on modern lines were first started in this country there seems to have been a bias against the use of sewers and, wherever possible, open drains were adopted. Experience has shown that the preference for the open drain, and the fear that sewer would give excessive trouble, were not well-founded. On the contrary, much of the advantage of a drainage system is lost if only open drains are used, as the old system of hand-carriage latrines has to be continued. Moreover, economy in establishment is possible only in the case of a sewerage system.

Epidemic diseases.

39. The Government of India desire to invite the attention of local Government to the importance of providing adequate facilities for the isolation of cases of epidemic diseases. The isolation of individuals suffering from infectious diseases is often desirable and sometimes necessary, and it would seem desirable to have in every important municipality a small well-built segregation hospital in charge of a qualified medical practitioner, who might be one of the medical registrars for vital statistics.

A revised set of regulations under the Indian Ports Act for the prevention of the spread of infectious and contagious diseases is under consideration.

Adulteration of food and drugs.

40. The adulteration of food and drugs is common and has an important bearing on public health. Provisions for dealing with adulteration of food-stuffs exist in most municipal enactments in India, but these are confined to municipal areas and are restricted in their operation. Bombay and the United Provinces have special laws dealing with the question. The Government of India have recently inquired from local Governments as to the desirability of legislation, imperial or provincial, on the subject. The question is not free from difficulty, as, besides the necessity of fixing standards, a competent staff of analysts and inspectors is necessary, and for any real success the co-operation of the people is required.

Adulteration of milk.

41. The adulteration of milk is almost universal in Indian bazaars and a large proportion of the milk consumed is contaminated. In most cities, the milk-supply is in the hands of men ignorant of the elements of sanitation and addicted to uncleanly practices. Moreover, the milk when stored and in transit to market is liable to contamination in several ways. On the other hand, the price of milk is already very high and the problem of improving the purity without increasing the price to such an extent as to cause hardship to the poorer classes is a difficult one.

The Lucknow sanitary conference recommended that the development of the dairy industry and the organisation of the transport and sale of milk should ordinarily precede measures of sanitary restriction; and that there should be mutual help and co-operation between sanitarians, milk dealers and the agricultural department. That department is already considering how to develop a profitable dairy animal, a measure largely dependent on suitable and regular feeding. While local authorities should clearly insist on cleanliness in the conditions under which cattle are milked and dairy produce is manufactured, stored, or transported in towns, the removal of cattle so far as possible to cheap, healthy and natural surroundings outside cities is a measure greatly to be commended. The establishment of co-operative dairy farms in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, and elsewhere has so far been attended with success and should be encouraged. Attempts might well be made to induce *gwalas* to organise milk production outside cities and its transport to market on co-operative principles. These methods prove successful, it may be possible without raising the price to bring the milk-supply under necessary sanitary control. The Government of India commend the whole question to the early attention of local Governments. With ragard to milk standards, conditions in India differ from those in Europe, and chemical standards should be fixed by persons possessing adequate local knowledge and experience, and with due regard to local conditions.

Town-planning and relief of congested areas.

42. While much has been done to provide drainage and pure water in large cities, there can be little hope of improving their sanitary condition permanently until measures are taken to relieve congested areas and to provide broader streets and buildings more open to sun and air. The constitution in 1898 of the Improvement Trust in Bombay marked a notable step in advance. By the end of 1912-1913, the Bombay Trust had incurred an expenditure of Rs. 488 lakhs (£3,253,333) towards schemes aggregating Rs. 802 lakha (£5,346,666). Broad roads have been driven through the heart of the city, slum areas have been abolished; and dwelling provided for the accommodationof the poorer classes. The Calcutta Improvement Trust constituted in 1911 is now developing similar schemes for the improvement and development of Calcutta. Funds for these great projects have been provided mainly from local taxation and municipal contributions, supplemented in the case of each city by an imperial grant of Rs. 50 lakhs (£333,333) and, in the case of Calcutta, by a recurring grant of Rs. 1½ lakhs (£10,000) for 60 years. In other provinces, similar works have been carried out on a smaller scale in the larger towns, notably in the United Provinces and at Lucknow.

There has been, as already stated, an increasing desire on the part of the well-to-do in cities to escape from their present insanitary surroundings and to obtain houses in more open positions outside city limits. In India, as in England, municipalities are confronted by the difficulty of obtaining land for town extensions except at prohibitive cost. The multiplicity of small owners in this country, and the impossibility of persuading them to co-operate, render any considered and comprehensive plan of town extension impossible in the absence of some controlling and co-ordinating authority armed with powers of compulsion. In their letter of 26th July 1912, the Government of India indicated their opinion that where land on the outskirts of a town was mainly agricultural and could be acquired cheaply *en bloc*, the local body would probably be well advised to purchase it outright.

43. Such a policy, however, will, for financial reasons, often be impossible on a large scale. Where the cost of acquisition is prohibitive, control may be preferable to acquisition and in their circular letter of the 26th July 1912 the Government of India drew attention to the features of a scheme under discussion in the Bombay Presidency which has now been incorporated in a Town Planning Bill. The principal feature of this scheme is that the cost is apportioned and recovered from the various persons and interests concerned in the shape of a development contribution calculated in proportion to the increased value which is estimated to accrue to each plot on the completion of the scheme, the tax that can be levied from any one owner being limited, as in England, to one-half of the betterment estimated to accrue. The local body remains liable for any excess cost not covered by the tax. Such a scheme involves taking powers to pool and redistribute small holdings in a form suitable for building purposes. It has the advantage of reducing capital outlay while securing for public purposes a share in the profits of the transaction. The Government of India have also invited an examination of the provisions of municipal acts for dealing with insanitary areas and have inquired whether the limitations contained in the English Housing Acts on excessive compensation in areas, which, after due inquiry, have been declared insanitary, might not be introduced in India. The first step towards improvement is to fix a standard of light and ventilation suitable to local conditions; the next is to ensure that adequate building regulations providing for this standard are introduced by all municipal bodies and that a competent executive staff is appointed with full powers to carry them out. The whole question will be reviewed when the replies of local Governments have been received.

Rural sanitation.

44. The difficulties which surround rural sanitation in India are well-known and persistent. Contaminated sites, polluted water-supply, badly constructed and insanitary dwellings, the habits and prejudices of the people raise obstacles to progress which in most provinces are still well-nigh insuperable. The Government of India have informed local Governments that they are at liberty to expend a portion of the imperial grants for urban sanitation on rural sanitation, provided practical schemes for this purpose are forthcoming; but they have postponed special imperial grants for this purpose until such schemes are more generally advanced. They fully appreciate the enormous importance of rural sanitation in a country which is mainly agricultural. Past experience and present conditions, however, indicate that the subject is still one for experiment on lines conceived to attract the co-operation of the people. Without their cordial help no sanitary staff could effectually deal with the village sanitation of the two hundred and twenty millions who inhabit rural areas in British India. The danger of employing low-paid and imperfectly trained subordinates in a metter so closely affecting village-life is now generally recognized and should never be out of mind.

Need for education.

45. The diffusion of sound education will, however, remain the most potent and penetrating instrument of sanitation among a population which still views it for the most part with hostility, or unconcern. The claims of hygiene as part of their educational policy were recognized by the Government of India in their educational resolution of the 21th February 1913. It may be hoped that before many years have passed educational institutions will have become missions of

sanitation in their own vicinity and beyond. Meanwhile, some simple knowedge of the more common infectious diseases may with advantage be diffused. The difficulties are considerable and systematic organisation is required. The India branch of the St. John Ambulance Association has offered its valuable assistance. In several provinces pictorial leaflets are distributed and simple lantern lectures and demonstrations are given at fairs and other large gatherings, while in Bombay popular lectures to teachers, students and others have been organised by Major Glen Liston. She Indian Research Fund Association has decided to establish a central bureau where lanterns and lantern slides, pictures, and skeleton lectures can be stocked for issue on loan. Much may be done by utilising the services of municipal health officers and medical subordinates attached to travelling dispensaries and by enlisting the sympathies and active help of medical women, private medical practitioners, and private philanthropic agencies and persons. Sanitation must begin at home and as the Hon'ble Sir Pardey Luk.s and Colonel Firth, the former on the civil, the latter on the military side, have pointed out, there will never be any real advance in domestic or personal hygiene until the women of the country realise its advantages and necessity. The encouragement of medical women to preach the gospel of health inside the zenana and to organise *purdah* parties for simple lantern demonstration lectures and the employment of nurse visitors as in Delhi, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, are to be commended. Periodical local conferences and publications similar to the recently issued by the Bombay Government entitled "Some recent sanitary developments in the Bombay Presidency" are very useful and keep the question of sanitation before the public mind. Other methods for preparing people to combat preventible disease and premature mortality may suggest themselves. There is room for many workers in the sanitary field. The Governor-General in Council appeals with confidence to all who have interest in the well-being of India to join with him and the local Governments in a sustained endeavour to give effect to His Imperial Majesty's most gracious wish that the homes of his Indian subjects my be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge with all that follows in its train, a higher level of thought, of comfort and of health.

The Ulster Plot.

Mr. Churchill's reply to Charges.

Replying in the House of Commons on the 28th April to Mr. Austen Chamberlain's speech in moving the Opposition resolution demanding a full inquiry into the Ulster plot, Mr. Churchill, who was received with loud Ministerial cheers, said:—This is a vote of censure and a demand for a judicial inquiry. In all the circumstances I venture to say it is the most audacious vote of censure (Ministerial cheers) and the most impudent demand from an Opposition (loud Ministerial cheers) for a judicial inquiry to which our records can provide a parallel. The first maxim of English jurisprudence is that complainants should come into court with clean hands.(Ministerial cheers.) Here we get Sir E Carson and Captain Craig fresh from their gun-running exploit (loud Ministerial cheers and Opposition interruptions, and cries of "We don't tell lies about it.")

Mr. Churchill was unable to proceed in the uproar. Ministerialists shouted across to members of the Opposition, and Sir E. Carson leaning forward in his seat, appeared to he shouting across the table to Mr. Churchill.

A Ministerialist: Order, Carson. Behave like a king. (Loud laughter.)

Sir E. Carson: You behave like a cad.

Mr. MacCallum Scott (L. Glasgow, Bridgeton,) (rising amid general uproar): Mr. Speaker, I desire on a point of order to call your attention to the conduct of the right hon. getleman, the member for Dublin University, who has been shouting across the floor of the House to members on this side that they are cads. (Derisive Opposition laughter.)

The Speaker: It is a most improper expression, I do not know whether the hon. member was one of those who were shouting offensive expressions (Opposition cheers), but he will not deny that several of his colleagues did. I hope the right hon. gentleman will not repeat the observation, but under the circumstances I do not propose to call upon him to withdraw it. (Opposition cheers.)

Sir Edward Carson: May I say, Sir, that I listened patiently through all these discussions as I always do and it is only when I am taunted from the other side of the House that I use these expressions. If I have said anything disorderly I regret it, but I shall not be taunted from the other side without asserting myself. (Opposition cheers.)

Mr. Churchill: I am quite entitled to review the curious position occupied by the right hon. gentleman and his colleagues in coming here fresh from their exploits in Ireland to demand a judicial inquiry into the conduct of those responsible for the maintenance of law and order. (Ministerial cheers.) The right hon. gentleman who has just sat down made a very long speech which was altogether out of date (Ministerial laughter and cheers.) He began by admitting this. He said, "I have not to deal with subsequent facts." Subsequent facts he clearly sees are fatal to the motion. (Ministerial cheers.) But are we quite sure they are subsequent facts. (Ministerial cheers.) It is very convenient, no doubt, to represent that after the revelations of the fiendish plot it was necessary for the law abiding people of Ulster to obtain weapons to protect themselves from such horrible machinations (Ministerial laughter), and that what took place at Larne and other places on Friday night last was the answer to the events which are now under discussion. I do not think that this is the case at all. (Ministerial cheers.) On the 18th February—a month before we had made those preparations to protect our depôts—the right hon. and learned gentleman (Sir Edward Carson) speaking at the Cannon Street Hotel said: "They were daily entering into commitments of thousands of pounds and he himself in the last few days—it was no harm to confess it—the right hon. gentleman has always been perfectly frank—

Mr. Rawlinson (U. Cambridge University): He has always told the truth.

Mr. Churchill: It is quite out of the hon. gentleman's power to insult me. He himself—it was not harm to confess it (went on Mr. Churchill continuing his quotation)—had authorised an expenditure of at least sixty to eighty thousand pounds toward their defence if it became immediately necessary.

Consignments of Arms.

I think it is quite clear that the large consignments of arms which have lately been landed in such a lawless fashion were part of the policy which the right hon. gentleman was carrying out before the Government even embarked on its military precautions. (Ministerial cheers.) A great many hard words are used about us. Mr. Chamberlain used the expression "criminal" in regard to us, and his supporters in the Press have used extraordinary language. But we can support these accusations with composure. We have not broken the law, and we are not engaged in breaking the law. (Ministerial cheers.) Anyone who is familiar with the law knows perfectly well that there are half a dozen statutes, some of them of the gravest character, which are being openly flouted and defied at the presant time by hon. members who sit opposite us and by their followers in Ireland, and that they are being flouted and defied with the full connivance and approval of the Opposition leaders. (Ministerial cheers.) So that what we are now witnessing in this House is uncommonly like a vote of censure by the criminal classes upon the police. (Loud Ministerial laughter.)

A Unionist Member: You have not arrested the criminals.

Mr. Churchill: Oh, is that the complaint? It is that we have been too lenient? If so, that is the only accusation I am not prepared to answer. (Ministerial laughter and cheers.) I should like the House to notice that in 2 Vic., Chapter 3, the offence of using force to induce the King to change his councils or to try to intimidate or overawe either or both Houses of Parliament is placed on a level with two of the vilest crimes, namely, endeavouring to subvert the Throne of this country or to bring in a foreign enemy. (Ministerial cheers.) We have to face every day the revilings of your ferocious Press. (Ministerial laughter.) But your condemnation is contained in the statutes and the laws of the British Realm, in Acts of Parliament which have for generations and centuries been respected and enforced by the people of these Islands, and which are indeed the necessary and indispensable foundation of order by government and civilised society. (Ministerial cheers.)

Language far stronger, far crueller, than any which your most partisan speaker or your most patriotic editor—(Ministerial laughter)—has been able to introduce into speech or leading article is found on the grave and severe pages of the English Statute-book. In these circumstances we can afford to retain our composure. (Ministerial cheers.)

Position of Conservatives.

But what is the position of the Conservative party in regard to events which are taking place in Ireland? The Conservative party—the party of the comfortable and the wealthy, the party of those who have most to gain by the continuance of the existing social system—here they are committed to naked revolution—(Ministerial cheers)—committed to a policy of armed violence, to the utter defiance of lawfully constituted authority—committed to tampering with the discipline of the Army and the Navy—(Ministerial cheers)—committed to obstructing the highways and the telegraphs and to overpowering the police, the coastguards and the Customs officials—committed to smuggling in arms by moonlight—committed to tyrannical seizure of ships and to the unlawful imprisonment of the King's servants. The Conservative party as a whole are committed to that. (Loud Ministerial cheers.)

The right hon. gentleman the member for Walton (Mr. F. E. Smith) has left us in no doubt about that. Speaking at the annual dinner of the Junior Imperial League, he said: "Sir Edward Carson has taken no steps and he will take no steps, however extreme they may be, for which we shall not make ourselves responsible here as representing a majority of the English constituencies." That is their position, and while the newspapers are chuckling with nervous glee as each sorry event is recorded, while they are hurridly collecting information as if it were news from Mexico or some other disturbed area, and bringing out special editions with the utmost satisfaction—all the time this is going on, let me point out to the Conservative party and those associated with them that there is in this country a great democracy—(cheers and counter cheers)—millions of whom are forced to live their lives under conditions which leave them stripped of all but the barest necessities, who are repeatedly urged to be patient under there misfortunes, and to wait year after year and Parliament after Parliament until in the due workings of the Constitution some satisfaction is given to their clamant needs. All the time this great audience is watching—(Ministerial cheers),—and is learning from you, from those who have hitherto called themselves the party of law and order, how much they care for law and how much they value order if it stands in the way of anything they like. (Ministerial cheers.)

The Premier's Offer.

If I am to go back in this controversy I would like to begin at what I must consider the turning point in the Home Rule discussion —I mean the rejection of the Prime Minister's offer of the 9th March. It was necessary to Mr. Chamberlain's argument that he should make out that there had been no rejection. But he quoted with approval the expression "hypocritical sham" which had been applied to the Prime Minister's proposal. He said: "The Government had made an advance, and we recognised it." How did they recognise it? The very next day Sir Edward Carson wrote: "It is clear to my mind that so far as our preparations are concerned the pronouncement of the Government, if anything, necessitates a still more forward movement." That is what Mr. Chamberlain describes as the Government making an advance and the Conservative party recognising it. (Laughter.) I cannot understand why when that pronouncement was made by the Prime Minister the spokesmen of the party opposite could not have said: "Although this is not what we require, it constitutes the greatest step forward towards a settlement that has ever been made." Had that language been used I venture to think the threads would not have been severed which have heen interrupted. The Government made the greatest offer it was in their power to make, and it was summarily and incontinently rejected. What were the results of that act? It was perfectly clear that there was no possibility of settlement so long as one party in the House believed that it had only got to go on bullying the other and in the end the other would be incapable of taking an effective steps to maintain its authority.

While one party in a dispute is prepared to go to all extremes, and it is its firm belief that the other will in no circumstances take the necessary action to defend its rights and discharge its duties, there is no possibility of any effective parley between them. (Ministerial cheers). From the moment that the declaration of the Prime Minister was made, there was no more question of the coercion of Ulster by the Government. Six years must intervene before the question of the inclusion of Ulster needed to arise again.

Coercion of Ulster.

There was no question of coercing Ulster. The question was of our preventing Ulster from coercing us. (Ministerial cheers.) In the differences which remained in regard to Ulster, taken by themselves, there was no foothold of foundation for civil war. It is clear that these who were preparing civil war had other purposes besides Ulster in their mind. (Ministerial cheers). They were preparing to defeat the general policy of Home Rule, and they weter preparing to subvert the regular system of parliamentary government in this conntry. Whatever sympathy we my have for Ulster, there is no room for concession or weakness in face of a challenge of that kind. (Ministerial cheers.) If parliamentary government is exposed to challenge in this country we are bound to take up the challenge and fight it out to the very end. (Renewed cheers.) Nothing would be more disastrous then that hon. gentlemen opposite should suppose that they and their Ulster friends are the only people in this country who are prepared to risk their lives. (Ministerial cheers.) The supreme issue lies here, but the actual events are taking place on the Irish stage.

What was the situation in Ireland in the second week in March? There was an Orange army, strong and efficient, no doubt. No one can do more justice to it then has been done to it by its own friends. (Ministerial laughter.) Scattered about Ulster were the scanty police and Military forces of the Crown, and depôts of arms and ammunition of great consequence to the growing illegal military force. We had, of course, police and military reports accumulated over a long period of time; we had the advice of general officers, and we had many other sources of information as to what was proceeding. We had Sir Edwurd Carson's statement as to the large sums of money spent on arms and ammunition.

Military Precautions.

We had therefore to survey the whole military situation in Ireland with all its possibilities, actual and contingent. That survey comprised three separate spheres. First of all there was the question of the battle squadron with attendant ships which it was decided in the Cabinet on thn 11th March should be stationed upon the west coast of Scotland with viewa to being at hand should intervention in Irish disorders become necessary or desirable. (Ministerial cheers and Opposition counter cheers.) I have never attempted to conceal the fact. Will any one say it was an improper or improvident proceeding on the part of the Government. That is entirely separate from the second sphere of our inquiry that relating to the defence of the military depôts.

Mr. Chamberlain has spent a great deal of time in trying to make mystery, obscurity and difficulty out of what is perfectly clear and plain. Those large stores ranged from thirty to eighty-five tons of small arm ammunition scattered about in entirely unprotected positions. They had as guards very small bodies of infantry, largely recruits and old soldiers, and those men were in some cases almost equally divided between Protestants and Catholics. There was every possibility of these stores being a temptation, either to a serious movement by responsible people or to being the prey of some spontaneous and irresponsible movement. Then there were three batteries of field artillery at Dundalk, and although the Orange army has since replenished its rifles and ammunition, it is believed to be deficient in field artillery; the military authorities pointed out to us that that artillery, weakly guarded, was the most dangerously exposed part of our dispositions. We therefore moved two battalions of troops to reinforce those various points, and we also sent General Macready to Belfast in order that he might concert and co-ordinate measures by which the scattered police and military on the spot might combine in the event of a general hostile movement being taken against them by the right hon. and learned gentleman (Sir Edward Carson) and his army. (Ministerial cheers and laughter.)

The only use of ships in connection with this movement was which the scattered police and military on the spot might combine the event of a general hostile movement being taken against them by the right hon. and learned gentleman (Sir Edward Carson) and his army. (Ministerial cheers and laughter.)

The only use of ships in connection with this movement was that two scouts were used to carry two companies to Carrickfergus in order not to rail them through Belfast, which it was thought might lead to trouble. That is the whole of the movements authorised by the Cabinet or by any member of the Cabinet. Does anyone say, in view of the desperate steps now taken to obtain arms by the Orange leaders, that the measure that we then proposed, which I have unfolded to the House, was inappropriate or premature or unnecessary in any respect! (Loud Ministerial cheers.)

Study of Contingencies.

Now I come to the third subject in our general survey of the military position in Ireland. We made a free and confidential survey with our military advisers, including the Commander-in Chief in Ireland, into the general situation, actual and prospective, not only in Ulster, but in Ireland as a whole. It is a recognised process of all military departments to study effectively all contingencies, however improbable, that may be reasonably apprehended. In this case an element of greater reality was imparted into our consideration by the fact that these small definite movements had been authorised and were going to take place, and that the General charged with them believed that they might easily entail far larger and far graver consequences. We did not accept his view, and the event has proved that we were right in the judgment and measures we took of the whole situation. Sir A. Paget was also right to be over-cautious.

I am not going into details of confidential discussions which we held with Sir A. Paget and other Generals, nor am I going to give plans and movements which would have been appropriate to a situation which has not yet arisen, which probably will never arise, but which, nevertheless, may arise. I think it is a very cool request—(Ministerial cheers)—on the part of gentlemen engaged

in planning military operations against the organised Government of the State, and in arming, as they tell us, 100,000 men with rifles and ammunition to shoot down the King's servants, (Ministerial cheers.) I think it is a very cool request to ask to be informed what in each of these particular eventualities are the precise military or police measures which will be adopted against them. (Ministerial cheers.)

Of course, my responsibilities are limited, but I am anxious to take the fullest responsibility for everything I have said or done either publicly or confidentially in this matter; but, broadly speaking, the contingencies we considered were these:—

First of all an armed attack upon our small depôts or on the forces marching to protect them, including the guns at Dundalk.

Secondly, we considered the measures which would be appropriate and necessary if the Provisional Government were set up in Belfast either consequent upon these small movements we were making or at a later period.

We considered that under two heads—whether that Government would be set up bloodlessly or whether it was set up after the murder of a number of police and others. (Ministerial cheers.) No movements of any kind were authorised other than those I have described, but in view of the fact that Sir A. Paget thought that grave events might follow from these movement, we gave him to understand that large reinforcements would be sent him if these contingencies arose, and he left with the cofidence that even if the most extreme and improbable contingencies arose he would be properly supported by the Government, as he has been and will, if necessary, be supported. (Ministerial cheers.)

Duty of the Executive.

Does anybody dispute the propriety of that? If British troops marching on the King's highway were shot down and slain by rebel rifles if the guns at Dundalk had been attacked before they could have been covered by infantry, if the 85 tons of ammunition at Carrickfergus had been assailed, it would be the absolute duty of the Executive Government with every man or gun they could command. (Ministerial cheers and counter Opposition cheers.)

It would be the duty of the military department to be fully prepared to execute any orders they might receive from the Government, and so far as I am concerned, I wish to make it perfectly plain that if British troops are attacked and fired on and loss of life occur to them, I would take every measure within my power that I have authority for to secure that the persons making that attack shall receive the most condign chastisement—(Ministerial cheers)—at the time and are afterwards proceeded againt with the full rigor of the law. (Renewed Ministerial cheers and counter Opposition cheers).

Resort to Force.

Hon. gentlemen opposite may say that these things could never have happened—they did not happen; they never could happen. Then in that case nothing could happen on our part either. The use of force rests with them. It does not rest with us. They are the masters of the situation in that respect.

We shall not use force till force is first used against the representatives of law and order. We shall in no circumstances use more legal force than is necessary to maintain or restore order.

Lest, therefore, they take life first their lives will not in any circumstances be in danger. But if they do, we are bound to use all the forces at our disposal, and to take all necessary measures to secure the vindication of the law and the repression of disorder. (Ministerial cheers.)

From that there is absolutely no escape. Whatever mistakes hon. gentlemen opposite may make, do not let them imagine that they are dealing with a Government or with individuals who will flinch from doing their duty in that respect. (Ministerial cheers.) The Government have an absolute right, if they choose, at any time to make movements far in excess of those that have been made. We have a perfect right at any time we think fit to put 40,000 or 50,000 men in Ulster, to begin the arrest of leaders, the seizure of arms, and the general prevention of drilling. (Ministerial cheers.) We have always rejected the idea of such measures, and we do not consider, and have not at any time considered, that they would be wise or appropriate in the circumstances with which we had so far to deal. I am very anxious indeed that no words should come from me or from any member of the Government which would seem to admit for a moment that we limit our rights to dispose of His Majesty's forces in the King's Dominions in any way we choose to maintain law and order. (Ministerial cheers and Opposition counter cheers.)

Mr. A. Chamberlain has accused us of having wished to seize strategic points. A pretty pass we have come to when we are told that British troops may not march about within the United Kingdom. (Ministerial cheers.) I did not believe at the time that, these definite precautionary measures would provoke an outbreak nor did they. (Hear, hear.) The movement of troops by sea in order to avoid going through Belfast was only part of careful measures we took to prevent it being possible to bring armed opposition to bear upon these small bodies or small movements while they were actually in process of taking place.

Talk of Civil War.

All this talk of civil war has come from the party opposite. For the last two years we have been forced to threats of civil war.

What do they mean by civil war? Do they think it would be a war in which only one side would take part—all dazzling exploits and brilliant gun-running on the side of rebellion and nothing but fiendish plots on the side of the Government? (Opposition cheers.)

Do they really suppose they will be conducting a campaign against the Government and the Crown in the field and at the same time asking the Government and Ministers awkward questions about their military operations? (Ministerial cheers.) A sense of humour ought at least to have saved them from that. (Laughter.)

I do not believe that rebellion or civil war will come. I wish to make it perfectly clear—that if rebellion comes we shall put it down (Ministerial cheers)—and that if it comes to civil war we shall do our best to conquer in that war. But there will be neither rebellion nor civil war unless it is the making of the Opposition. (Ministerial cheers.)

Reference has been made to my Bradford speech, to which I adhere strictly. I said that if Ulster sought peace and fair play she could find it, that if she extended the hand of friendship it would be grasped by Liberals and her Nationalist countrymen in all good faith and good will. But if there was no wish for peace, and if the Government and Parliament of this great country were to be exposed to menace and sinister influences of a revolution, then we should go forward and put it down. (Ministerial cheers.) I say so still.

Desire for a Settlement.

I will venture to ask the House once more at this moment in our difficulties to consider whether we are going. I ask the House to consider whether we ought not to try to find even at this period to make some final effort to reach a better solution. Apart from the dangers which exist at home, let us look at the consequences abroad. (Cheers.)

Mr. R. Hunt (U., Ludlow): Who brought it about? (Ministerial cries of "You.")

Mr. Churchill: Anxiety is caused in every friendly country by the belief that for the time being Great Britain cannot act. The high mission of the country is thought to be in abeyance, and the balance of Europe appears for the time to be deranged. Of course, foreign countries never really understand us. They do not know that at the touch of external difficulties or menace all these affairs of internal controversy would disappear and we should be brought into line.

Why cannot men form some new basis of co-operation in vital things? Sir E. Carson is running great risks in strife. Why not run some risk for peace. The key is in his hands. Any day some event may happen which will condemn us all to a continuance of this struggle and shatter perhaps irretrievably the greatness of our country. Let the right hon. gentleman consider whether he will not run some risk for peace. In spite of the partisanship of our politics and conflicting party interests. Peace with honour is not beyond the reach of all. Tomorrow it may be gone for ever.

I am going to run some little risk upon my own account in what I am going to say. Why cannot Sir E. Carson say boldly, "Give me the amendments to the Home Rule Bill I ask for to safeguard the dignity and interests of Protestant Ulster, and in return I will use all my influence and good will to make Ireland an integral unit in the Federal system." (Ministerial cheers.) If the right hon. gentleman used language of that kind in a spirit of sincerity it would go far to transform the political situation, and I firmly believe that procession of hideous and hateful moves and counter-moves which we are forced to discuss, and that hateful avenue down which we have looked too long, would give place to a bright prospect which would bring honour and not discredit to all concerned, and would save these islands from the evils for which our children will hold us accountable. (Loud Ministerial cheers.)

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