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.

Albania.

London, May 26.

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.

London, May 27.

The International force at Skutari being insufficient, a proposal has since been made to send an International expedition to Albania. The Powers forming the Triple Entente appear, however, unwilling.

Rome, May 27.

In the Chamber yesterday, 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 Mussulman fears of prodominance of a Christian minority. Essad Pasha had undertaken not to return to Albania without the permission of the Powers. The Marquis added that he had had an active exchange of views with Count Berchtold on the situation, which had inspired mutual confidence and loyalty. The results 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 the utmost to assent to the despatch of an international force to Durazzo from Skutari.

Greece.

Washington, May 29.

The Secretary for the Navy has submitted to the Naval Committee of the Senate a proposal to sell for original cost the battleships 'Idaho' and 'Mississippi' to a foreign Power, understood to be Greece. Mr. Daniels made a speech, in which he said that the vessels were only useful for harbour defence and the proceeds of their sale would almost suffice for the construction of an additional dreadnought.

Anglo-Italian Relations.

London, May 27.

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

Egypt.

London, May 27.

Lord Kitchener's report on the condition of Egypt has been issued. He refers to the complete tranquility of the past year and anticipates years of uninterrupted progress and development. He has every confidence in the commonsense of Egyptians and hopes that representatives in the New Assembly have learned the lesson that noisy extremists and outside political influences must be eliminated in the interests of the improvement of the masses and the progress of the country.

Referring to sanitary conditions in Egypt Lord Kitchener points out that the people no longer object to isolation for infectious diseases. Notification is now general and concealment is an exception. Returning pilgrims now come voluntarily for medical examination. Plague is now well under control and appears to be yielding to steady campaign against it. Lord Kitchener suggests that an elementary primer on Hygiene be used as a text-book in all village schools. The old soldiers of the Egyptian Army, says His Lordship, would probably make suitable sanitary inspectors. In view of high infant mortality maternity schools have been established and midwives trained under qualified English matrons. There is a growing demand for cotton seed from Government which is being distributed to cultivators.

Anglo-Persian Agreement.

London, May 26.

Blue-Book gives the details of the Anglo-Persian Oil Agreement. The Admiralty memorandum in the Boolindicates the importance of providing fuel for the Navy, which it says, is absolutely necessary to secure full efficiency of the Navy. The memorandum points out that it is, therefore, important to secure the maintenance of at least one large British Oil Company, having independent control and considerable supplies and bound to Government by financial and contractual obligations. The prices

at which oil itself has been obtained has been kept secret, the supply contract being regarded as confidential in the interests of the public.

The Report of the Committee of experts, presided over by Rear-Admiral Sir E. J. W. Slade, strongly favours Government action. It remarks on the influence of the Anglo-Persian Company which, it says, has increased with the general tranquility of the district. The Committee points out, however, that it would be wrong to assume that there would never be a relapse in the event of an outbreak of lawlessness among the tribes. The situation would present certain difficulties which, though serious, would not be insurmountable.

Technical Scholarships.

Simla, May 27.

The Government of India have this year sanctioned the award of ten State Technical Scholarships to the following candidates for a course of training in Europe in the subjects noted against each :— (1) Mr. D. M. Analasadvala, Sizing and Weaving, (2) Mr. P. R. Udwadia, Archnitecture and building construction. He will undergo a training for two years in India and then proceed to Europe for a half-year to complete his training; (3) Mr. Upendra Nath Banerji, Mechanical Engineering, (4) O. D'Souza, Electrical Engineering; (5) Mr. Bashir-ud-din Ahmad, Municipal and Sanitary En ineering; (6) Mr. Arjan Das, Textile Industry; (7) Mr. W. Sorby, Mechanical and Electrical Engineering; (8) Mr. Baidai Sartan Bhargava, Mining; (9) Mr. Kasi Nath Saikai, Paper Pulp Industry. (10) Mr. Abdul Gafoor Khan, Electrical Engineering.

China.

London, May 28.

Viscount James Bryce was the principal guest at dinner of the Central Asian Society last night. He gave his impressions of his recent travels. He said that Siberia was being steadily settled and that within thirty or forty years its population would probably have quadrupled itself. There was never a stranger thing in the world's history than the overthrow of the Manchu Dynesty without a voice or arm being lifted in its support. To say that it had been replaced by a Republic in an effective sense was farcical. Yuan-Shih-Kai might keep going as long as he had money to pay his troops, but who would come after him if the Central Government collapsed? They might see China broken up into separate Principalities as she was two thousand years ago. This would mean great bloodshed and dislocation of trade; and the Powers should support the Central Government as affording the best chance of future peace.

South Africa.

Johannesburg, May 29,

In an interview with Reuter's representative, Mr. Polak said that the Bill amending the South African Immigration Act dealt with the two main causes of the passive resistance, namely the three-pound tax and the marriage question. He had received a telegram from Mr. Gandhi stating that it appeared to be satisfactory. In order however to comply with the requirements of the Passive Resisters, Mr. Polak said it would be necessary to get assurances from the Government that the Immigration Act would be more sympathetically administered and that due regard would be paid to vested interests in the application of gold and licensing laws. Mr. Polak further pointed out that the acceptance of the present Bill with every measure of thankfulness did not mean the abrogation of a general claim for a civil equality in South Africa. The remaining two points, namely the right of South African-born Indians to enter the Cape and the declaration on the entrance into Orange Free State Mr. Polak described, as small matters of administration.

Indian Council Bill.

London, May 28.

The Indian Council Bill has been printed. It provides that the number of members of the Council shall not be less than seven and not more than ten. When a vacancy in the Council has to be filled the appointee must domiciled in India, unless at least two of the existing members of the Council were at the time of their appointment domiciled in India, unless at least six of the existing members were when appointed domiciled in India or had served or resided in India for at least ten years and had not ceased to serve or reside for more than five years before their appointment. The appointee to file the vacancy must either be domiciled in India or have so served or resided. The appointment of the Indian member shall be made from a list of persons eligible chosen by non-official members of the Legislative Councils. He will receive a salary of £1,200 with yearly allowance of £600. The Bill empowers the Secretary of State to appoint one financial expert as member of the Council on special terms. The Bill contains provision whereby the signature of the Secretary of State to an order or communication to India or an order in the United Kingdom relating to Government of India may be dispensed with. It empowers the Secretary of State to make rules for the transaction of business under various restrictions.

Allahabad, May 29.

The *Poineer's* London correspondent cables :—The India Council Bill is quite short. Most of the changes have been foreshadowed in the speeches of Lord Crew and Mr. Montagu. Addition is made to salaries bringing them to £1,200. The Indian members appointed shall in future have allowance of £600. Before appointing the financial expert on special terms the Secretary of State must record in a minute to Parliament the terms and special reasons for the appointment. Orders sent to or made in relation to the Government of India shall not necessarily be signed by the Secretary of State when the Secretary of State in Council otherwise directs. The Rules by the Secretary of State affecting the powers to be given to the Committee or the necessity of submitting certain matters to the Council must be laid before the Parliament subject to the annulment by His Majesty in Council on a petition of either house within thirty days.

Simla, May 29.

Information which has reached Simla shows that the following are amongst the effects of the India Council Bill just introduced into the British Parliament. The pay of the members of the Council is restored to the figure at which it stood prior to 1907, *viz.*, twelve hundred pounds annually each except for (1) the two Indian members who are now to be a permanent feature of the Council and who will get eighteen hundred pounds annually each, and (2) the financial member who may be engaged on special terms. The maximum strength of the Council is reduced from fourteen members to ten (which is the number now existing) and this number which has hitherto been the minimum will be liable to a possible reduction hereafter to seven which is the new minimum. There will not, however, be altogether a corresponding reduction in the number of members with Indian experience, the new minimum number for such members being now fixed at six against old minimum which varied between six and eight. The two Indian members will in future be selected by the Secretary of State from candidates elected by the non-official members of the Provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils in India but the precise rules for these elections have not yet been disclosed. It is also not yet known what powers, if any, of disposing of business will accompany the arrangement provided by the Bill whereby the authority to sign certain despatches may be delegated by the Secretary of State to the Committee of the Council. The extra payment to the two Indian members is of the nature of an away-from-home allowance and is on the principle whereby Europeans in India received more pay than Indians alongside them.

London, May 29.

An explanatory memorandum to India Council Bill points out that with a simpler procedure much unimportant work now occupying time of standing committees and Council would be disposed of by Secretary of State with assistance of individual members of committees to be specially nominated by him when required. Bill provides for simplification of business procedure and enable Secretary of State in Council to make rules to modify procedure prescribed in Act of 1858. Requirement of weekly meetings of Council is dispensed with and quorum has been reduced. Opportunity has been taken to enlarge in a way which experience has shown to be desirable the category of cases which may be dealt with by Secretary of State in his "secret" department without informing or consulting Council.

London, May 29.

Lord Crewe's Council Bill rejects the demand of the National Congress for a Council of nine, three being Indians elected by local legislatures. The substituted Council will have ten members, and only two Indians. These will be nominated by the Secretary of State from a panel of forty persons, choosen by non-official members of the legislatures. The Bill also extends powers to the Secretary of state to send to India secret orders without consulting the Council.—*Statesman.*

London, June 1.

The *Times* to-day pblishes an article on the provisions of the new Council of India Bill by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, one of the delegates from the Indian National Congress. Mr. Jinnah describes the Bill as being most disappointing. There can be no doubt that what appears at first blush to be some sort of principle of election is to all practical purposes illusory. Large numbers of electors will be creatures of the official class and not representatives of the people. Mr. Jinnah postpones criticism of the remaining clauses pending explanation. He does not think, however, that it is desired to create a portfolio system.

Simla, June 1.

Further particulars now received of the India Council Bill introduced into Parliament by Lord Crewe last Monday show that

the method of election by Legislative Councils in India for nominees from whom occupants of the two seats reserved for Indian members are to be selected will be governed by Rules to be made by the Secretary of State in Council. The new scale of pay, already announced, will apply to members appointed after the passing of the Bill.

The Bill empowers the Secretary of State to fix dates for meetings of the Council, thus replacing, the present arrangement under which meetings are held weekly. In future, three members will form a quorum. The Bill also extends section 27 of the Act of 1858 regarding secret orders so as to cover questions gravely affecting the internal tranquility of India, her interests abroad or peace or security of any part of the Empire. They will enable the Secretary of State, to act in grave political matters without referring them to his Council.

Indians in Canada.

Victoria, May 27.

The decision as to whether or not the passengers of "Komagata Maru" shall be deported or not cannot be reached for several days. An attempt was made last night on part of the Hindus of Vancouver to get to the vessel and take off some of those on board. This was frustrated by the vigilance of the Immigration authorities. The watch afloat has now been doubled.

Fearing weakening on the part of the authorities in Ottawa the Vancouver Board of Trade has sent a memorial to the Government demanding the exclusion of all Indian immigrants. Gurdit Singh continues in the belief that all opposition to landing comes from the cheap labour element.

Ottawa, May 28.

In the Dominion House of Commons yesterday, Government was interrogated as regards the action to be taken in the case of the Hindus, detained at Victoria on the "Komagata Maru". The Premier replied that twenty had been admitted on the ground that they were returning to Canada and several excluded as the result of physical tests. Regarding others, law and regulations would be enforced. Asked whether if an application was made for "Habeas Corpus". Government would rest its case on the ground that the Courts had no jurisdiction, Mr. Borden answered that if such an application was made Government would resist it through Counsel.

Gurdit Singh had asked for the appointment of a Royal Commission definitely to settle the rights of Hindus generally. This might be granted by Government.

Vancouver, May 29.

Hindus have offered one hundred thousand sterling in cash and property as bail for passengers by the "Komagata Maru" if the latter are allowed to land pending the decision of courts. The fight will be carried to the Privy Council. The decision of the latter has already upheld the right of the Dominion to exclude aliens; but it is not certain whether the Dominion has the right to exclude, by an order in Council. British subjects who fulfill the requirements of Immigration Laws.

Victoria, May 31.

An enquiry presided over by the Immigration Superintendent will open here to-morrow to investigate the claims of the passenger on the "Komagata Maru."

The Indians will be represented by a lawyer and Gurdit Singh will meet all charter obligations to enable the "Komagata Maru" to remain, pending legal decision.

Ottawa, June 2.

Replying to a question in the Dominion House of Commons, Mr. Roche, Minister of the Interior, said that ninety of the shipload of Hindus at Victoria had been rejected as medically unfit, and thirteen had been allowed to enter the country as being persons who had returned to Canada.

Mr. Oliver, ex-Minister of the Interior, said that the Hindus had thrown out a challenge which should be met half-way.

Mr. Roche replied that he hoped that the present law was sufficient to prevent the entry of undesirables. If it was not the law would be amended.

Mr. Borden stated that he regretted that the Hindus had made this attempt, in view of the fact that the order prohibiting the entry of artisans into British Columbia did not discriminate against Hindus in particular.

Replying to a question, he announced that the Government would, if necessary, submit the section of the Immigration Act which prevents the interference of courts with the order of the Minister of the Interior.

Victoria, June 1.

No deportations of Hindus have yet been ordered.



Our London Letter.

London, May 15.

THE GRIMSBY BY-ELECTION.

The result of the by-election in Grimsby has undoubtedly proved very satisfactory to the Government. It is true that Mr. Tickler, the Unionist candidate, is returned; but he is returned by a majority more than 400 fewer than that which the Unionist candidate received at the previous election. It will not serve any useful purpose to over-state the significance of this fact; but it will be admitted in all quarters that it certainly shows no reaction against the Liberal policy. No effort had been spared to bring the menace of "civil war" before the electorate and Sir Edward Carson and his faithful galloper, Mr. F. E. Smith, had beaten the Ulster drum with all their incomparable fervour. The result of all this has been a substantial fall in the Tory majority. The Opposition may draw whatever comfort they can, but the country is not likely to overlook the real meaning of this by-election.

THE FINAL STAGES.

The House of Commons on Tuesday was called upon to accept a closure resolution dealing with the Home Rule Bill, the Welsh Bill and the Plural Voting Bill, all of which have passed their second reading more than once and the first two Bills three times. Mr. Asquith took the opportunity of explaining the course the Government proposes to adopt. The Plural Voting Bill, which has another year to run, requires no special treatment. As to the Welsh Bill, it is not known authoritatively whether the House of Lords mean to give it a second reading or to amend it in Committee. If they amend it, the amendments can be considered on the return of the Bill to the Commons, and there is no need to have a suggestion stage in the Commons. This explanation, obvious enough, disposes of the legend circulated once more by Mr. Balfour that under the Parliament Act no Bill can be amended. It can be amended, as the *Daily News* says, in precisely the way that any other Bill can be—by the consent of both Houses. The only difference is that the initiative in amending must be taken in the Lords; and as the Government can make its suggestions there as well as the Opposition, that difference is only formal. The case of the Home Rule Bill is different from those of the other two measures. It has been officially announced by the leaders of the Opposition—and Mr. Bonar Law repeated it on Tuesday—that the Home Rule Bill will be rejected by the Lords on the second reading. Under those circumstances a suggestion stage in the Commons with a debate upon it would be a waste of time. The Government, therefore, will send the Bill up to the Lords before Whitsun, and it will become law under the operation of the Parliament Act a month afterwards.

It might be thought that, having decided upon this, there was no more for the Government to do. That is not Mr. Asquith's view. The Government will, shortly after the Home Rule Bill has gone up to the Lords, introduce an amending Bill in the Commons, in which it will set out the concessions it means to make. The reason offered by Mr. Asquith for this course is that it will give a prolonged term for discussion and for the arrangement of a settlement by consent. The Opposition want to have it on record that they are unalterably opposed to Home Rule in any shape or form. They are to be given the opportunity of putting that on record by voting steadily to the end against the Home Rule Bill. On the other hand, they know that Home Rule in one shape or other must come, but they want it to appear that they are consenting not to Home Rule, but to a device for averting "civil war." Hence an amending Bill. Well, it may be prudent to do rather unusual things in order to save the face of the Opposition, and even Liberals who have no special desire to help Mr. Bonar Law and his colleagues out of their embarrassments, will make no objection to this device. But, these formalities apart, the central question is, what is to be in the Amending Bill, and what chance has this of acceptance by the leaders of the Opposition? One may assume after Mr. Lloyd George's speech on Tuesday that the original draft of the Amending Bill will embody the concessions outlined on the occasion of the second reading, but Mr. Asquith talks of subsequent "concerted discussion, not perhaps on the floor of the House, though ultimately on the floor." That can hardly mean anything else than further concessions. Whether these concessions are acceptable to Liberal Home Rulers will depend upon their character; but it is clear that such a mode of procedure has the grave disadvantage of putting upon the Government once again the onus of further advance and of setting it upon a road which may easily prove dangerous.

Mr. Bonar Law's reply on Tuesday showed what it means. He told Mr. Asquith that he sees no reason whatsoever to share the hope that the Amending Bill will bring peace, and he added that "the only conversations which are of interest or which could serve any useful purpose are conversations between the Prime Minister and Mr. Redmond." In other words, no suggestion, no advance is to be made by the Opposition. If there is to be "peace" it will come only because Home Rulers, who have already made such grave concessions, are to make still further concessions, and that in Mr. Law's vocabulary means the perpetual exclusion of Ulster (even of such parts of Ulster as desire to come under a Home Rule Parliament) and the permanent mutilation and division of Ireland. It is not surprising that Mr. Redmond finds such a prospect disturbing and holds himself and his party free to act as they think fit should anything of the kind happen. We must assume that the Government rejects fortwith Mr. Law's notion of a compromise, in which

all the sacrifices come from one party and all the gains are made by the other. In the direction of exclusion Liberalism has already gone to the very limits of concessions, and the most promising line of settlement is elsewhere. If the Irish leaders come together, with a sole thought of what is best for Ireland, that line will be found.

Chancellor in a Scene

During the debate on Tuesday, when it was rumoured that "Balfour was up", members streamed in through the swing doors to hear a speech, not excited, not in terms very voilent, but quietly, remorselessly destructive of peace. "Cheated" was the word applied to the loss of the suggestion stage. What was this Amending Bill? Nobody knew. Drop these "subteranean manœuvres"—produce the Bill—before Home Rule passes—that the House may vote while retaining its "self respect." What had Mr. Hogge advocated? A shorter veto under the Parliament Act as a "settlement of Ireland". "Rather an infelicitous pharse," remarked Mr. Balfour, meaning "the horrors of civil war and the destruction of life and property".

"You would have had no guns", said Mr. Hogge. And despite Mr. Balfour's answering sarcasms there was force in the remark.

The vital part of the speech was Mr. Balfour's triumphant claim that the prospect of the Amending Bill indicated that Home Rule passed under the Parliament Act was defective—wrong—that the Government had admitted it.

That was the sentence that led to the great scene with Mr. Lloyd George. He took the line that all sides want peace, but that Mr. Balfour's "mischeivous criticism"—his taunting claim that every concession was an admission of "defect" in Home Rule and the Parliament Act—made conciliation difficult.

As the reasoning proceeded, Mr. Balfour became extraordinarily restive. He tried at first to put a different construction on his argument. But Mr. Lloyd George was not having that. With a stroke of inspiration, he turned to Sir Edward Carson and declared that he was certain that Sir Edward would not treat the overtures in that spirit.

Sir Edward Carson rose slowly. "All I understood my right hon. friend to say was that the Amending Bill should be produced before the Home Rule Bill receives a second reading"—this was his answer.

"A very clever advocate," replied the Chancellor of the Exchequer. "He covers up the tracks"—(interruption)—"well but let me finish my sentence."

Mr. Balfour was again on his feet, very much perturbed—perturbed by the truth. "If you amend your Bill," said he in effect, "you admit that in relation to particular circumstances it can be improved; I don't want to rub it in."

"No, no." Protested the Liberals, and Mr. Lloyd George insisted that the amendments would be concessions—sacrifices—for the sake of peace. "The right hon. gentleman's argument," he cried, "is the way to promote civil war."

A roar of protest prevented further utterance. What Mr. Balfour kept saying could not be heard amid the din, but his shoulders swung forward again and again as he shouted—for shouting it was—his exclaimation.

The speaker rose; spoke mildly to the Opposition; explained that they had misunderstood Mr. Lloyd George; he had not accused Mr. Balfour of promoting civil war, but had only urged that certain arguments were calculated to promote civil war.

"Exactly so, Mr. Speaker," said the Chancellor, adding that, of course, he would never have suggested that Mr. Balfour deliberately tried to give cause for bloodshed. But how did it help peace when every offer was "jeered at"?

Mr. Balfour was again at the table—moved beyond his wont—indeed, speaking with great difficulty. "An unfortunate remark of mine," said he with seeming humility. "I withdraw it—(a murmur of sympathy)—and substitute for it not that the amendments will show defects, but that they will add perfections to the Home Rule Bill."

A hurricane of delighted cheering broke from the Tories, and from this point onwards it was fighting all the way. When Mr. Lloyd George said that Lord Robert Cecil's speech was "unusually offensive", Lord Winterton, amid the chorus of objurgation, got in the remark: "There spoke the expert."

When Mr. Lloyd George denied that the Prime Minister had given a pledge to allow a suggestion stage, a Tory said to his friends: "What matter? He'd break it if he could."

As for secret conclaves, what about meetings at Lansdowne House?

"They are angry because these Bills are leaving for the Statute Book," he concluded, and when Lord Robert Cecil asked: "What's your anger about"? the Chancellor not only claimed that he was "cheery and optimistic"—he looked it.

Another Scene: The Speaker's rebuke to Earl Winterton.

The past week has been full of lively scenes in the House. The speaker's position has been a most unenviable one, though it is admitted on all hands that Mr. Lowther is fully retaining his reputation for the extraordinary manner in which he has, since his election to the chair, preserved peace and order amongst hon. members, particularly at a time when party feelings run very high and when the least provocation creates intense excitement and wild party passion in the ranks of the Opposition. The following incident, which occurred on Wednesday, is typical of the series of scenes that the House has been witnessing of late.

The Marquiss of Tullibardine asked the Prime Minister whether the late Secretary for War was still attending committees at the War Office and was still dealing with Army matters; and whether he was still a member of the Committee of Imperial Defence.

Mr. Asquith.—The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative. As regards the latter part, the late Secretary of State for War is still summoned to meetings of the Committee of Imperial Defence.

The Marquiss of Tullibardine.—I ask the right hon. gentleman if he considers it a sound principle that an ex-Cabinet Minister who has lost the confidence of the Cabinet (cries of "Order") should still be summoned to meetings of the Imperial Defence Committee and should still serve on committees which concern the department which he has just quitted.

Mr. Asquith.—My right hon. friend has not lost the confidence of the Cabinet. (Cheers.)

The Marquiss of Tullibardine.—If he has not lost the confidence of the Cabinet, why is he not in office?

The Speaker.— That is going a long way from the question on the paper.

There were loud cheers and interruptions and cries of "Order" from both sides at this point and, amid the uproar, Earl Winterton was heard shouting to the Ministerialists below the gangway: "Order yourself." To this a member retorted, "Order yourself a drink."

Before the noise had ceased, the speaker called on Sir C. Kinloch-Cooke to put the next question, when Earl Winterton, rising amid renewed cries from the Ministerialists, was understood to say: "There are to be no more supplementary questions."

The Speaker.— I ask the noble lord not to attempt to keep order. That responsibility, I am sorry to say, is placed upon me, and I must ask the noble lord not to interfere. If I require his services I will invite them. (Cheers.)

Earl Winterton.—May I in justice be allowed to say that I was going to ask what I thought was a proper question and was not aware of any order preventing me from doing so. Several hon. gentlemen opposite shouted loudly "Order" before you had said anything.

The Speaker.— I beg the noble lord's pardon. I had already called on Sir Clement Kinloch-Cooke and he had risen to put his question.

Earl Winterton.—Why I replied to hon. gentlemen opposite was that I was under the impression that you kept order and not they. (Cries of "Order.")

The Times and a new bogey: "Americanization" of Canada.

The *Times* has created a new bogey. It is Canada this time. Its Toronto correspondent, in a long letter, warns the British public, in the usual solemn style of the *Times*, of the approaching danger in Canada, if England would not "look out" in time. "They," the letter proceeds, "can have no natural loyalty to Great Britain, no enthusiasm for the British Empire, no inherited conception of British ideals. Even now the French and foreign elements nearly balance the population of British origin. The French are passive loyalists and devoted Canadians, but they are not generally favourable to closer political co-operation with the mother country. During the war in South Africa the attitude of the French Canadians closely resembled that of the Irish Nationalists. . . . . Who doubts that any movement to establish a Canadian Republic would have support in Quebec? . . . . . So many English-speaking Americans who have come to Canada continue to subscribe for American journals. Moreover, a multitude of Canadians read, perhaps by preference, sporting papers, weekly journals, and magazines from the neighbouring country. All the Canadian daily newspapers give columns of space to reports of games in the American Baseball Leagues, and there is an international league which embraces Toronto and Montreal. . . . . The cable news services are designed primarily for American consumption. This has been conclusively demonstrated in all the recent dispatches covering the struggle between British Liberals and British Unionists over Home Rule for Ireland, describing conditions in Ulster, and estimating the state of feeling in Great Britain . . . . . A portion of one Press begins to ascribe all social and political evils in Great Britain to 'the landlords' and 'the aristocracy.' Letters from special correspondents come to Canadian journals aflame with contempt, if not with hatred, for lords and dukes. We have writers aping and demagogues mouthing Lloyd George, and boldly challenging the foundations of many honoured and venerable British institutions. Is there only concern for 'autonomy' behind the desperate resistance to naval co-operation with Great Britain? . . . . Canada and the United States have common traditions and common institutions, a common language and a common faith . . . . Into the Dominion pour multitudes who will quickly develop a Canadian patriotism. What attitude will they take towards Great Britain and the Empire? What will be the ultimate effect of the Lloyd George teaching on 'Democrats' in Canada? At the moment it is not wholesome. It may become dangerously

divisive and destructive. One catches a new note now and again. As yet we are all passive Imperialists. But there are elements in Canada to which an appeal against Imperialism can be made and who know no 'mother country.' Do British statesmen and British journalists fully undertand the Canadian aspect of the Imperial problem, and how vitally careless handling would affect the whole structure and future of the Empire?"

The *Times*, under the heading, "A warning from Canada," writes a leading article on this subject, in the course of which it expresses a hope that "statesmen in the mother country, and indeed all those who are capable of thinking seriously about the future of the Empire, will take its warning to heart." "As time goes on," says the article, "are all things working, as they should, for a British Canada in the future, or for an American . . . . In the United States, no doubt, there is still the old belief that Canada must some day, and by her own will, be 'annexed' . . . and one Canadian correspondent warns us gravely that the prevailing tendencies are towards what may be generally called 'Americanization.'" "It is time," concludes the article, "for practical people at home to 'wake up' and to get to business."

Your readers will, no doubt, realise for themselves the comparative resemblance which this latest bogey of the *Times* bears to its "Indian peril." It is plain that the strong conservative instincts of the writer are responsible for this most recent humug. It is a great pity that noble lords in England are beingb ridiculed by the Canadian Press! It is very sad to think that Mr. Lloyd George's policy of social reform in this country is finding an echo in the Dominion! It is heart-rending to know that the Canadian people are rapidly losing all respect and admiration for the great and ancient aristocratic families of the United Kingdom! It is indeed abominable to realise that democracy is gaining ground in that part of the Empire! It is not very comforting to be told that Home Rule for Ireland is most popular in that great self-governing colony of the Crown! Surely these considerations—are sufficient to warrant the *Times* to seriously warn its readers of the approaching danger in Canada! If Canada is going in more for American sports, American films, American journals and American pastimes, what could possibly prevent it from being gradually "absorbed" into the American Republic? The entire line of arguments and the whole discussion of the situation, as produced by the *Times*, are grotesque to the extreme degree. If anything could possibly succeed in shaking the loyalty of the Canadians, it would be the writings of irresponsible journalists, such as the Canadian correspondent of this journal. In fact, no greater libel on the devotion of the people of Canada to the Crown could be possibly imagined. The *Times* is ever busy creating "perils" in various parts of the Empire and the only consolation one could derive under the circumstances is the fact that thinking men and women of this country are not happily now-a-days much influenced by the opinions expressed in its columns. The successive bogeys of the *Times* have been repeatedly exposed in India and elsewhere and it is certain that its latest alarm in connection with the Dominion will prove as false as its numerous predecessors.

Indian Delegates in London.

The Indian National Congress delegates, who arrived in London on Sunday last, had a prolonged interview with Lord Crewe on Monday at the India Office. Sir William Wedderburn was also present. They have already visited the House of Commons, where they met the Indian Parliamentary Committee, with whom they discussed the various questions relating to the proposed changes in the India Council.

New Anglo-Indian Journal in London.

A New Aglo-Indian Journal, the *Indiaman*, a weekly "link" with India, has made its first appearance to-day. In it are incorporated both the "Overland Mail" and the "Homeward Mail" established in 1858.

In a leading article it says:—"We believe that under providence the destinies of Great Britain and India are interwoven, and that the bond cannot be broken without results disastrous to India, shameful to Great Britain, and intolerable to the civilized world. But we hold strongly that the bond is the bond of brotherhood and comradeship, and one great object is to make the Indians and the people of the United Kingdom and Great Britain think the best and make the best of one another. We shall avoid the alarmist note, and shall not talk of the "Indian peril". The only peril lies in ignorance and misunderstanding."

The *Indiaman* contains "notes of the week," special articles on the designs of New Delhi, general and provincial Indian news, shipping intelligence, etc. It is obviously too early yet to be able to judge as to how far the *Indiaman* will carry out the spirit of its bond of "brotherhood and comradeship," when dealing with grave Indian matters. Its future career will be followed with no little interest.

TETE À TETE



Mr. Tyler Again.

After the deplorable events of last July and August that had occurred at Cawnpore we must be pardoned for exhibiting more than the ordinary amount of interest in the careers of Messrs. Sim and Tyler. The Cawnpore Municipality has recently been in financial straits, and in spite of our sympathy for that body we could not but heave a sigh of relief for the assurance thus indirectly conveyed that Mr. Sim would no longer be able to afford the luxury of pulling down Cawnpore mosques in order to build pavements on "Sanitary" roads. Mr. Tyler had, however, hugged obscurity after having appropriated all the limelight for several months last year, but he has once more appeared before the footlights in the old *rôle* of the "Protector of Municipal Chairmen". On the 27th May a point of law of some importance was decided by Mr. Justice Piggott at the Allahabad High Court in the case of one Nathi Mal. Mr. Howard appeared for Nathi Mal and the Assistant Government Advocate represented the Crown. Counsel for Nathi Mal in opening the case remarked that *in all his experience he had never come across a case in which the provisions of a section had been so distorted to meet the wishes of a Magistrate.* The facts were that proceedings against Nathi Mal were before Mr. Williamson, Joint Magistrate of Cawnpore, for an offence under Section 411 of the Indian Penal Code. During the progress of the trial an application to the High Court had been made by Nathi Mal asking for the transfer of his case to some other Magistrate as the applicant did not expect a fair and impartial trial in the court of Mr. Williamson. The High Court rejected the application. Subsequently, on Nathi Mal being called on by the Joint Magistrate for a list of his witnesses, a list was filed, but certain of the witnesses by an order of the Magistrate were not summoned. Against this order of refusal to summon the witnesses an application was made to the High Court which was admitted but not earnestly contested, for by the date it came on for hearing Mr. Williamson had been transferred from Joint Magistrate to Chairman of the Municipal Board, Cawnpore. The case then came before Mr. Johnson who had succeeded Mr. Williamson as Joint Magistrate. Mr. Tyler, the District Magistrate of Cawnpore, who could not be supposed to be ignorant of the loss of prestige involved in the transfer of a case from a member of the Premier Service, whether by order or by accident, at this stage purported to act under Section 528 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, and passed an order transferring the case for trial to—Mr. Williamson!

Mr. Tyler's Permanent Settlement.

This was the order which came before Mr. Justice Piggott for disposal. It was submitted by counsel that the Chairman of the Municipality not exercising any magisterial powers was not a Magistrate within the meaning of the Code of Criminal Procedure, and, secondly, that a Chairman of the Municipality was certainly not "subordinate" to the District Magistrate. The Assistant Government Advocate, evidently possessing a child-like confidence in the superiority of a Collector above all else on God's earth, contended that Mr. Williamson, having been invested under Section 12 of the Code of Criminal Procedure with first class powers, was not divested of the said powers by the transfer, to the post of Chairman. His lordship in disposing of the application remarked: "The District Magistrate in Cawnpore has, for certain reasons "given, transferred the criminal case pending in the court of "Mr. Johnson, Joint Magistrate of Cawnpore, for trial to Mr. "Williamson, Chairman of the Municipal Board of Cawnpore. I

"have no doubt that when Mr. Williamson was gazetted to "the office of the Chairman of the Cawnpore Municipal Board "and took charge of that office, he was thereby divested of "his territorial jurisdiction as Magistrate of the first class "attached to the Cawnpore district. Even if it be conceded "for purposes of argument that Mr. Williamson continued to "be a Magistrate while holding the office of the Chairman of the Muni- "cipal Board, I am quite clear that he is not a Magistrate subordi- "nate to the District Magistrate of Cawnpore. The order complained "of is not sustainable. It is hereby set aside." So Mr. Tyler thinks that the Chairman of the Cawnpore Municipality is not only the Chairman of the Cawnpore Municipality but also a first class Magistrate. Once a Magistrate always a Magistrate, and we daresay Mr. Tyler would have serious objection to giving up the powers of a District Magistrate, including the authority to order the shooting down of little children and old men, if he was gazetted an Opium Agent or Excise Commissioner. *O, sanctas simplicitas!* We wonder whether a transfer accross the Styx would matter at all either, and whether the Assistant Government Advocate would not like to have trials by the graveside of Civilians gazetted during their lifetime as Magistrates. Mr. Howard who seemed to have been so shocked at the distortion of a section of the Criminal Procedure Code to suit the wishes of Mr. Tyler evidently knows neither Mr. Tyler nor the elasticity of the various sections of the various Codes in Cawnpore. That, however, is another story. What concerns us here is the fact that a judge of the High Court of Allahabad has tried to teach Mr. Tyler that there is a High Court even in the United Provinces and that it can overrule the wild vagaries of some District Magistrates that pass by the name of judgments and judicial orders. May he prove an apt pupil, or take an early pension.

The Moslem University Association.

Nawab Mohamed Ishaq Khan Saheb, the Honorary Secretary of the Moslem University Association, writes to us an appreciative letter anent our remarks in a recent issue about the Association and the forthcoming elections for its membership and we cordially acknowledge it with thanks. He, however, wishes to point out that his appeal for enrolment in the different constituencies have not been limited to the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* only, as we had seemed to suggest. While hoping that his appeals published in the *Gazette* would be reproduced by other journals *suo motu*, the Nawab Saheb tells us that he also thought it advisable to take the precaution of sending extracts from the *Gazette* to more than a hundred Moslem papers with a request to reproduce them, and we find that most of these papers complied with his request. Recently a note was circulated by the Nawab Saheb reminding these papers about the final date for the enrolment of names and inviting people belonging to the various classes of the community to have themselves enrolled by that date. Nay, more. The Nawab Saheb sent numerous letters individually to Graduates, Zamindars and Tax-payers personally known to him and to others interested in the movement. But what was the result? By the end of May, 10 Zamindars, 5 Tax-payers and 6 Graduates had enrolled themselves! It is true that the Press has 15 names to its credit, but it must be remembered that there is no enrolment or annual fee for the Press as there is in the case of the other three constituencies. If all those who have had their names enrolled voted for themselves, the 10 Zamindars would just fill the seats allotted to them, but the Tax-payers would still have half the seats vacant. As for the Graduates, their absorbing interest in the Moslem University is evidenced by the fact that even after the election of every constituent on the register, there will be nearly three times as many seats left unoccupied! If this is not disgraceful we do not know what to call it. Are there no more than 6 Moslem Graduates in all India who have any desire to manage the affairs of a Trust created for the establishment of the Moslem University which has an income of over a lakh of rupees? Is Rs. 15 such a prohibitive figure that no more than 6 Moslem Graduates in all India can afford to pay it as the price of a great privilege? At any rate, if nobody else comes forward to claim privileges that are going abegging, we would urge the Old Boys of the College who own even a bigha of land or pay even rupee as income-tax or who have graduated at least five years ago to send in Rs. 15 each for enrolment as member of as many of the three constituencies as they can. And there is no reason why such Old Boys as have already been elected by the Trustees or the Conference or their own Association should not enroll themselves and secure the right of electing others. Some Old Boys are already enlisting themselves and we hope no less than a hundred Old Boys would enlist as Zamindars and Tax-payers and that two or three hundred would enlist as Graduates. As regards the final date for enrolment, the Nawab Saheb would have been fully justified in refusing to extend the period once more, specially as even after our appeal in the *Comrade* of the 23rd May no marked improvement is noticeable. But the Nawab Saheb is prepared to extend the period by a month and the final date for enrolment will now be the 15th of July. It is impossible to extend the time beyond this date for the Ramzan will then be upon us and as the College would be closed for the long vacation earlier than usual the staff of the Honorary Secretary will not be available for work in connection with the elections. There is thus still more than a month before us all and we trust it will not be wasted like the last eleven months.

من تمی گویم زیان کن یا بفکر سود باش
ای زغفلت بی خبر در هر چه باشی زود باش

Will the Honorary Secretary kindly furnish us with the names of persons enrolled on each register up to date and send us the weekly additions also every Wednesday so that we could publish them in our weekly issues for general information? As regards the representation of the Press, we submit that journals and not individual editors should be elected. Editors are professional men and may cease to be editors or even journalists at any time after their election. We hope this suggestion will be accepted.

The Old Boys of Aligarh.

Mr. Shaukat Ali, Hon. Secretary of the Aligarh Old Boys' Association writes to us :—"I would be extremly "obliged if you would kindly allow me to "appeal to the Old Boys to take up Aligarh "and other communal work seriously in "hand. The Moslem University Association must be brought into "existence as early as possible. The Trustees, the Mohomedan "Educational Conference and the Old Boys have already elected "their representatives. The Moslem graduates, the zamindars, "the tax-payers and the Press have to fill in the vacancies allotted to "them respectively. I am informed that owing to various causes, "which have been distracting the attention of our people, very few "names have been registered in the graduates' and the zamindars' guilds. "According to the rules such Aligarh Old Boys as are graduates of "five years' standing and send in Rs. 15 at once to the Honorary Secre- "tary of the Moslem University Association, would be eligible for "election and have a vote. So far only 6 names have been registered for "20 vacancies. The zamindars also can get enrolled by the payment of "Rs. 15 only. Ten names have been registered for 10 vacancies. We "have no desire to pack the Moslem University Association with the "Aligarh Boys, in fact we would be glad to give others a chance; but if "they are not forthcoming, the Old Aligarh graduates and Old Boy "zamindars should gladly come forward. We are not ashamed of "the part the old Aligarians have taken in communal affairs and "I think the general Moslem public has often gratefully acknowledged "our services. Our college and its students have won a warm corner "for themselves in the hearts of the Mussalmans and never did our "community love Aligarh more than it does at the present time. Now, "we must devote our time to work for the development of our University. "I appeal to all the Old Boys to take this work up in right earnest. "They have to build up Aligarh and they must do it. They "should help us also (1) in increasing the membership of the Old Boys' "Association. (The College needs greater financial aid and we ought "to contribute our share to it), (2) in clearing up arrears "due from them, and (3) in the building of the upper storey of the "Old Boys' Lodge, so that in future, we may be free to place all our in- "come at the disposal of the College. We Old Boys must wake up now."

"Chilling Silence".

The London correspondent of the *Times of India*, writing about the annual meeting of the Sailors' Home, at which Lord Ampthill was re-elected chairman for another year, says that the Rev. J. P. Haythornwaite, late Principal of St. John's College, Agra, dwelt on the besetting sin of Englishmen, "which he described as racial arrogance". The correspondent accuses the Rev. Haythornwaite of "questionable taste" on this account. He declares that the annual meeting of an institution "maintained by the gifts of "English people for the succour and comfort of a humble class of "Asiatics was scarcely appropriate for a discussion of the vexed "question of the admission of Indians to European clubs". He is consoled to think, however, that "the speech was received in chilling "silence." Evidently the correspondent is of opinion that the Asiatic Sailors' Home is not a fit place in which to talk about the improvement of social intercourse between Indians and Englishmen. He would rather expect the speakers to lecture the "humble class of Asiatics" on the duty of gratitude and on the bountifulness of European charity. If the Rev. Haythornwaite had talked the usual, comforting platitudes about the White Man's burden and praised the sweet urbanity of temper and large humility of Englishmen in India, the correspondent would have thought differently of his sense and taste. But he chose to say exactly what he felt to be the truth. His critic, however, seems to have no stomach for such unsavoury things. Subjects going to the roots of the problems which may have a decisive bearing on the relations between India and England are evidently becoming, like religion, mere matters of taste—at least

among a class of Englishmen of which the London correspondent of the *Times of India* is the type. Racial arrogance expresses itself in various forms. But it finds its most characteristic expression in "chilling silence".

Mosques and Burial Places.

We regret the Bengal Government has so far done little to allay the growing excitement among the Mussalmans of Calcutta in regard to the fate of several mosques and burial places involved in the Kidderpore Docks Extention Scheme. The Mosque Defence Committee in Calcutta had decided sometime ago to send a deputation to H. E. the Governor with a view to lay before him the facts of the case. It appears, however, that Lord Carmichael has declined to receive the deputation saying that he is fully aware of the facts and of the requirements of the Moslem law on the subject and that the proposed deputation would serve no useful purpose. If Lord Carmichael is aware of the Islamic law in relation to mosques and burial places, we are at a loss to understand why he is keeping the Mussalmans in acute suspense. The Islamic law in this respect is most emphatic and well-defined and can admit of no ambiguity. It lays down that no mosque or burial ground shall be demolished or turned to other uses. We are really surprised that this simple and direct injunction is not clearly grasped by some English officials in India and even after certain recent sad experiences, it has yet to be fully realised that any violation of the law amounts to a grave sacrilege in the eyes of Mussalmans and deeply wounds their religious feelings. We have yet strong hopes that a sympathetic and level-headed Governor like Lord Carmichael will allow the Mussalmans to represent their case to him and he would take action accordingly. He cannot be unaware of the manifestations of the growing excitement in Calcutta and other places, and we have every reason to think that he will do all he can to remove the genuine and deep-seated grievance of the Calcutta Mussalmans. Our warnings were not heeded at Cawnpore. May they be heeded at Calcutta and a second tragedy of errors avoided.

"On Toleration and the Turk."

We reproduce elsewhere an article "On toleration and the Turk" from the *Nation* purporting to be a review of Mr. Sydney Whitman's book, "Turkish Memories", recently published in London. The *Nation* disposes of the whole of the book as the work of a partial historian, but selects one conclusion of the author as a thesis on which it elaborates a long-drawn argument. This conclusion is stated to be that "the persecutions and massacres of the Armenians were in no sense religious, that fanaticism played no part in them, and that they were a purely political reprisal for the outrages and seditious propaganda of Armenian revolutionaries." The *Nation* accepts the accuracy of this observation "so far as it goes." It says that "Islam has never earned Gibbon's censure on the early Church; it has never defended absurdities by cruelties." It admits that the Bulgarian "atrocities" and the Armenian "massacres" would have never taken place had there been no Bulgarian insurrections and Armenian secret revolutionary societies. Still, however, it is prepared to believe that "Armenians and Bulgarians were exposed to the intermittent sufferings and humiliations which provoked insurrection only because they were Christians, and at any time they might have escaped all danger by becoming Moslems." Even if this were true, it only serves to emphasise the secular nature of the the task confronting Turkish statesmen who have had to administer a vast Empire comprising diverse races, some of which never concealed their "nationalist aspirations." Even if an empire is based on conquest it has to be maintained intact—at least from the point of view of the conqueror. We are not concerned with the ethics of nationalist aspirations, but we know full well that no statesmen of Germany, France and England—to take the most advanced countries of modern Europe—would for a moment tolerate separatist and exclusive "aspirations" within their respective empires. If the Turk crushed spasmodic revolts within his dominions "to secure the outworks of his empire", he only practiced the most approved doctrine of modern Imperialist statecraft. As regards toleration, the *Nation* thinks that it has long since ceased to be the ideal of civilised men. It is an attitude of contempt in the strict sense of the word. "It represented in European history a half-way house, and a middle term between persecution and full civil equality." That may be true. It only means, then, that religious conscience has become a mere irrelevance in the organisation of mordern States. It will not be very wrong to say that the idea of "full civil equality" has sprung from the "toleration" of unbelief. But the important question is whether full civil liberty exists in any empire of modern Europe. As an ideal it is as beautiful and inspiring as any Utopian conception, but has it been actually achieved in practice in any part of the world? The truth is that Europe has travelled from the generous tolertion of positive belief to a peculiarly secular intolerance propped up by unbelief and based on pseudo-scientific theories and half-truths about distinctive cultures, racial types and social characteristics. Whether this implies an advance on the earlier ideal many may find sufficient reasons to doubt. And would the *Nation* tell us where *we* are? At the half-way house still?

The Comrade.

The Press Act and Proselytization.

II.—The Case of the "Badr."

Last week we dealt with the case of the *Ahl-i-Hadees* which has had to deposit under the Press Act two securities amounting in the aggregate to Rs. 3,000 for replying in a fair and far more courteous manner to the foul vituperation of Rev. Thomas Howell, a Pastor of the Church of England, against Islam, its Prophet and his followers. To-day we discuss the still more deplorable case of the *Badr*. This paper was required to furnish the security of Rs. 3,000 for venturing to publish under the heading: "The Birth of the Messiah," a rejoinder to the same Church dignitary, as well as to some Moslem publications containing the view that Jesus Christ was the son of Joseph the Carpenter. The *Badr* failed to furnish such a security and in consequence had to cease publication after a career of eleven years.

As we have shown in the previous article, the Christian doctrine of Atonement is based on the Christian belief that all descendents of Adam inherit the "original sin," but that Jesus Christ was sinless because he was not the son of man, but only born of woman. The *Badr* in its issue of 30th October, 1913, controverted this belief on grounds similar to those of the *Ahl-i-Hadees*. In the first place, said the *Badr*, nobody can be considered sinful or sinless on account of his birth but only on account of his own actions. Had it been otherwise, Adam should have been the most sinless person. In the second place, the "original sin" was not Adam's but that of Eve, and if the Christian theory be accepted, the seed of sin is chiefly in woman, and he who is born of woman alone would have more inclination to sin. The writer then cites the text from the Book of Job from which the writer in the *Ahl-i-Hadees* had also sought assistance. In the third place, says he, "it is not a sign "of perfection but of the weakness and frailty of human condition to "be born of woman alone. It is possible that if His Holiness (*Hazrat*) "the Messiah (On whom be Blessings and Peace) did not marry "throughout his life, it may have been due to some such cause." He concludes that "at any rate, to have been without a father was no "ground of any kind of superiority for the Messiah (himself). but "this fact was an indication that there had not remained among the "Jews a single man so worthy that the bringer of the good tidnigs of "the Last of the Prophets could be called his son." And the writer tacks on to this view the indirect praise of the late Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Saheb of Qadian, the founder of the sect of which the *Badr* was an organ, and believed by his followers to be the "Second Messiah," that "in the same manner the Second Messiah did not deign to be "called the spiritual son of anyone by becoming the disciple of some "heriditary preceptor."

That is all that the *Badr* itself wrote on the subject of Jesus Christ, and we defy the Secretary of State to point out a syllable in all this that can even remotely suggest the description of "wantonly scurrilous and offensive" which he has felt compelled to apply to it. But we shall probably be told that the issue of the *Badr* which drew upon that journal the wrath of the Punjab Government contained something more than the editorial views which we have reproduced with the utmost fidelity. Yes, it did contain something more than these editorial views, for, as we have stated at the very outset, this journal had not only to reply to Rev. Thomas Howell on the doctrine of Atonement but also to some Mohamedan writers on the subject of the birth of Christ, notably to a Maulvi Mohamed Sa'eed author of a book called the "Sa'adat-i-Maryamiyyah", who had sought to prove that Jesus Christ was the son of Joseph the Carpenter in the ordinary course of nature. The writer in the *Badr* says: "The "second aspect of the birth of tht Messiah is that to which the 'Natur-"ists' (Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and his school of Moslem rationalists "are called by that name) object that such a thing is opposed to the "Laws of Nature. Haji Hafiz Mohamed Ahsan had caused to be "published in the periodical called *An-Najm* a rejoinder to this based "on science and we reproduce the following extracts from it for the "benefit of the public."

Let us examine the *Badr's* reprint from the *Najm*, which we may however, explain had already been published elsewhere before it appeared even in the *Najm* of Lucknow in 1912. The writer condemns, on the one hand, the attitude of those who consider it "infidelity" to ask why and wherefore even about such religious beliefs and about such stories in their religious books as reason cannot accept and who yet never fail to sneer at and abuse the beliefs of others; and, on the hand, deplores a *soi disant* civilization which is every day diminishing respect for religion, and increasing the pride of people in their limited individual reason. However, he arrives at the eminently same conclusion that the time is past when people could accept a doctrine which was capable of discussion and proof without subjecting it to a searching inquiry or when they could find an easy deliverance by calling the critic an Infidel. He then proceeds to declare that Islam is capable of explaining every doctrine and

belief in a rational manner, though it is enough to satisfy a Mussalman that to the God in Whom he believes everything is possible. He takes up the Moslem belief in the Immaculate Conception which, he says, is the subject of much criticism, although Christians share it with Mussalmans except for the belief in the Godhead of Christ and in the Trinity. He points out that the Jews did not believe in the purity of Mary, and that it was owing to such doubts that Christ's mission was practically a failure during his lifetime, but that, owing to the fact that belief is miracles and in the suspension of the Laws of Nature was common in those days, the world finally came to acquiesce in the Immaculate Conception as a miracle. Nevertheless, this belief, says the writer, was buttressed by a number of conditions and doctrines so mysterious and puzzling that it became a veritable labyrnith from which there was no apparent exit, and consequently among the scientists of to-day there is a very large body of men "who agree with the Jews in their disbelief in the "greatness and glory of the holy leader of the Christian faith (Jesus "Christ)." He then tells us that even some Mussalmans have been cast in doubt by the dictum of the Quran that "You shall not find any change in the arrangements of Allah", and in order to escape this objection have accepted "that the Lady (*Hazrat*) Mary was married to "Joseph the Carpenter and the Lord (*Janab*) Messiah was in reality "the son of Joseph". He is not satisfied with this makeshift and says: "In my capacity as a Mussalman I pen the "ideas that have occurred to me about the birth of the "Messiah (Peace be upon him) in order to refute the objections of "scientists, and I trust that my explanations will be right, and that "not only will my co-religionist Moslem brethren look upon this "with appreciative eyes, but that the church-frequenting Christian "monks and divines will hail this with cordial enthusiasm." Little could he guess, indeed, that instead of being hailed with cordial enthusiasm by cloistered monks and church-frequenting divines, it would rouse the wrath of the Punjab Government several years after its first publication, that on its being published a third time it would cost the publisher a deposit of Rs. 3,000, and, on his failure to furnish it, the complete cessation of his journal, and that a Minister of His Majesty the King-Emperor in far-off London would tell a venturesome questioner that the Secretary of State could only describe this defence of the Immaculate Conception as "wantonly scurrilous and offensive." It was certainly not confined to the days of Burn that "the schemes of mice and men gang aft agley."

We have a great mind to translate the whole of the thesis and brave the wrath of Government, but the space at our disposal will not permit us to do so. We shall therefore explain here the nature of the arguments advanced and the hypothesis set up by the writer. He tells us, what is only too true, that reproduction in animals is of two kinds. For as biologists know, reproduction is either asexual or sexual. In asexual reproduction, such as in the case of some common worms, no sexual congress takes place, and if the whole body is cut into pieces, each portion may grow into a new organism. Sexual reproduction is the production of a new organism from a cell (called zygote) resulting from rhe conjugation of two gametes or sexual cells derived from the specialized reproductive tissue of the parent or parents. In asexual reproduction by spore formation, the spore proliferates without the aid of another spore; in true sexual reproduction the gametes may be regarded as special kinds of spores which appear in two forms, the egg-cell, ovum or female gamete not proceeding to proliferate into a new organism until it has been stimulated by partial or complete fusion with the other form, the spermatozoon or male gamete. From a perusal of his thesis it does not appear that the writer is well versed and quite up-to-date in his biology, but it suffices to know that he bases his arguments on what knowledge he possesses of biology. While accepting the view that for reproduction of the human species, unlike the asexual reproduction of the *Kechwa* and the *Birbahoti*, and the wasp (as he believes), the sexual congress of the male and the female is necessary, he instances the unproductive brown eggs of the domestic fowl to prove that in certain animals the reproductive material or germ-plasm shows the capacity of combining the functions and indications of both male and female gametes, even though it may be imperfect. He then quotes from a work of Hakim Arzani (*Mufarrih-il-Qulooh*) that the reproductive material of some females combines the properties of both kinds of reproductive tissues, but respectfully rejects this opinion as open to the objection that it may have been designed to be a provision for the explanation of the Immaculate Conception. He regards this as all the more unacceptable because it is opposed to the teaching of modern science. This is perhaps the theory of Parthenogenesis or the production of the new organism from the female gamete without previous conjugation with the male gamete which Aristotle recognised as occuring in the bee which produced drones. According to the accepted biological view, parthenogenesis remains doubtful even in the case of the bee and other insects in which parthonogenetic development results in the production of males. At any rate, the writer argues at some length against the reproductive tissues of the female containing both the male and female sexual cells capable of fertility by conjugation.

Having rejected this theory, he deals with what zoologists call Animal Teratology, a department of morphological science treating of deviations from the normal development of the embryo, and gives instances of monstrosities from the common dwarf to the double monsters to be seen in the glass-cases of museums. Hermaphroditism, too, is a form of monstrosity with which only biologists may now have to deal; but it was at one time believed to be possible in the human species and, among others, Moslem doctors of law have exercised much ingenuity in dealing with such prossibilities. Now the primary distinction of sex resides in the *essential* organs of reproduction. An organism that contains the germinal tissue producing sexual cells known as spermatozoa is a male; an organism containing the tissue which produces ova is known as female. One producing both ova and spermatozoa is a hermaphrodite. Associated with the presence of the primary reproductive organs there may be a large number of other characters, and attempts have been made to classify them as secondary and tertiary sexual characters. In the primary sexual characters all that is *essential* is the power of producing ova or spermatozoa, and the possession of all else, such as sexual ducts and reservoirs, intromittent and copulatory organs, and organs associated with oviposition, gestation, parturition and nutrition of the immature young in any stage, is only *auxiliary*. Differences between the sexes in size, shape, appearance,, ornamentation, armament, colour and coloration, voice, and instincts and habits not directly associated with the reproductive processes are among the secondary sexual characters. Hermaphroditism is the condition in which gonads producing ova and gonads producing spermatozoa are contained in the same individual. The term hermaphroditism, however, has been applied frequently to cases of a different kind, in in which there is no evidence of *essential* sexual organs being affected, the appearances relating wholly to the *auxiliary* primary or the *secondary* sexual characters. It is most probable that such conditions differ entirely from true hermaphroditism. With regard to the auxiliary primary organs, and especially the genital ducts and external organs of sex, in a majority of cases, as in vertebrates in which hermaphroditism is rare, the embryonic or youthful condition is undifferentiate d, and so to say, contains the initial material which may be elaborated by specialization in one direction or the other, by the proliferation of certain portions and the suppresssion of others, into the structures characterestic of the male or the female. Sometimes growth takes place without normal differentiation, sometimes the specialization in one direction lags, with the result that a dubious appearance arises. Subsequent dissection, or the approach of maturity, however, makes it plain that the dubiety was superficial and that the gonad of only one sex was present. Among mammals, including man, every normal male retains relics of the female side of the undifferentiated condition of the accessary sexual organs, whilst every normal female contains similar if less well-marked relics of the male condition. Apparent hermaphroditism depending on a dubious condition of the secondary sexual characters is equally widespread in possible occurrence. Among insects which have been much studied, such as the butterflies and moths, many curious conditions have been described; sometimes the pattern and colour of the upper and under sides, sometimes of different parts of the same wing, sometimes of different wings, present the characters of different sexes. Among birds and mammals, the secondary sexual characters of one sex, such as size, pattern or colour, weapons or habits, may appear in animals with the gonads of the other sex, in every degree of development, reaching to an appearently complete reversal. In many cases, these abnormal occurrences are associated with arrest of the functional activity of the primary organs of sex, by disease, accident, or decay, and the failure of the necessary stimulus would certainly serve to explain cases where the apparent reversal is no more than the suppression of a specialization in one direction.

The writer in the *Najm* whose article the *Badr* has reproduced discusses both apparent and true hermaphrodites in the human species and cites a reference in a commentary on *Sirajî* by the late Maulana Abdul Halim of Farangi Mahal to a well known person who retained the functional activity of both sexes, and also refers to books of Mohamedan law in which in the chapter devoted to "*Khunsa-i-mushakkal*," the existence of such persons is discussed in detail. We shall not enter here into the details of the writer's biological arguments, and it is enough for our purpose to state that he believes in the possibility of true hermaphroditism in which the *essential* reproductive organs of both sexes, that is, gonads producing both ova and spermatozoa, may be found in one and the same individual, with the *auxiliary* primary organ of only one sex, that is either only the sexual duct and reservoir, or the intromittent and copulatory organ may be found. After this, the writer refers to the familiar natural way in which the reproductive tissues sometimes discharge the germ-plasm without sexual congress. He then states his theory that Mary was a true hermaphrodite, having the *essential* primary sexual character of both the sexes, while possessing the *auxiliary* primary sexual character of only the female sex, and builds up a hypothesis about the birth of Jesus Christ with the assistance of certain fairly natural conjectures about Mary's state of feelings which would account for the secretion of germ-plasm from both the male and the female reproductive tissues and the conjugation of the two gametes resulting in a zygote or fertilised egg-cell. We would like to repeat that the writer very clearly states that while Mary possessed both the male and female reproductive tissues, and was thus a true hermaphrodite, she was to all outward appearance like any other woman, there being nothing of the dubiety which characterises the psuedo-hermaphrodite to which we have referred in such great detail. He

seeks, and to our mind obtains, considerable textual support in the Chapter of the Quran entitled "The Family of Imran", in which the dedication of the child in the womb to the service of God by its mother, the birth of a girl instead of the expected boy, and yet the fulfilment of her vow by Mary's mother are described, and in the midst of the prayer of Mary's mother just after her declaration that she had brought forth only a girl are introduced in parenthesis the significant words: "And God knows best what she had brought forth".

We are not here concerned with the scientific value of the writer's hypothesis, but we have no hesitation in saying, that so far as decency and decorum are concerned there is nothing in the whole thesis in which any but the most prurient person could discover anything vile or vulgar. Even when giving expression to his conjectures about the state of Mary's feeling which led to the Immaculate Conception, he has been careful enough to say that their existence is by no means hostile to purity. "Continence and chastity," says the writer, "do not mean the absence of natural demands on the human heart but to achieve control over such desires is chastity and continence, and this alone is the definition of a chaste and continent person; for if, as in the case of angels, there was no trace of human desires and passions in the body (of chaste and continent persons), there would have been no ground for distinction from mankind in general."

This, in the opinion of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, is "calculated to bring into contempt the Christian population of the Province", and it is this which the Secretary of State "can only describe as wantonly scurrilous and offensive." We do not know whether Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the Marquess of Crewe have heard the name of a person who lived in Western Europe in the 12th century and was known as St. Bernard. If so, they perhaps also know that he had explicitly raised the question of the Immaculate Conception. A feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin had already begun to be celebrated in some Churches of the West. St. Bernard blames the canons of the metropolitan church of Lyons for instituting such a festival without the permission of the Holy See. In doing so, he takes occasion to repudiate altogether the view that the Conception of Mary was sinless. He writes: "How can there be absence of sin where there is concupiscence (*libido*)!" and stronger expressions follow! We know that in St. Bernard's time Christendom possessed a varied and extremely effective machinery for the suppression of unwelcome opinions and the chastisement of those that held them. But even the Holy See had not invented a Press Act such as ours wherewith to gag and to punish, and the spirit of Pope Pius IX, the author of the Bull *Ineffabilis Deus*, must be fretting and fuming because the great Pope had not enacted a law like ours, with the addition of a clause giving retrospective effect to its provisions, so that there could have been left no record of the views of St. Bernard after 1854 when he promulgated the famous Bull making a belief in the Immaculate Conception, part of the Catholic faith. But so long as these views of St. Bernard are on record, it ill becomes any one calling himself a Christian to object to the words of a Mussalman believing in the Immaculate Conception, and taking such great pains to establish it on a biological basis, on the absurd ground that to regard Mary as a human being, with human desires and passions but chaste withal and continent, would bring into contempt the Christian population of the Punjab.

Last week we had stated that the Secretary of State's claim that he had read the articles concerned was an unmitigated misstatement, for we regarded him to be as incapable of reading the articles as Sir Michael O'Dwyer of writing them. We had, however, guessed that he must have read the words of a Secretariat hireling entrusted with the task of translating extracts from Urdu newspapers. In the case of the *Ahl-i-Hadees* this was only a conjecture, but in the case of the *Badr* we speak with the assurance of certainty. It seems that shocked at the treatment meted out to his paper, the publisher of the *Badr* applied to the authorities for a copy of the translation on which his fate had been decided, suspecting that this bolt from the blue must have been flung at the instance of the Secretariat hireling who translated the article. Government must now be ruing its unusual candour in furnishing to the publisher of the *Badr* a copy of what it calls the "Abstract Translation" of the peccant articles. Well, we have a copy of this "Abstract Translation" before us, and we possess few documents of as great a value as that copy for the purpose of showing how Government decisions of great consequence to the people are sometimes arrived at. What fearful wildfowl an "Abstract Translation" can be will be understood when we state that, whereas the article in the *Badr* occupies more than fifteen columns, the "Abstract Translation" occupies no more than a page and a half of foolscap size in manuscript. The sting of the scorpion is in its tail, and the rascality of the author of the "Abstract Translation" lies in the last five lines of his handiwork. If Lord Crewe will permit us the temporary use of his words, we shall describe this portion of the "Abstract Translation," as wantonly scurrilous and offensive. We have debated within ourselves for long whether we should reproduce it in these columns, but have been driven to the conclusion that it would be impossible to do so without defiling our columns and disgusting our readers. Evidently the distinction between a true hermaphrodite, without any dubiety in the outward appearance of a female, and a monstrosity with the *auxiliary* primary characters of both the sexes fully developed, was too fine a discrimination for one of so coarse a texture as the author of the "Abstract Translation," and our readers can well imagine how disgusting and offensive such a person can make the description of the process of the fusion of male and female gametes into a zygote in spite of the writer's clear assertion that it was without sexual congress. If it is not sheer incompetence,—and we think it is not—then it is the result of a deliberate plan to involve the organ of a religious sect of the Mussalmans in trouble, and consequently the scoundrel deserves exemplary punishment. We challenge the Punjab Government and the Secretary of State to place both the articles and the "Abstract Translation" before any of the three Mussalman Councillors, who know Urdu as well as English the Hon. Sir Ali Imam, the Hon. Nawab Shamsul Huda or Mirza Abbas Ali Baig Saheb, and to ask him whether the latter is not the most monstrous travesty of the former. Sir Michael O'Dwyer has not far to go if he consults the Hon. Mian Mohamed Shafi, and we hope the use of such prominent individuals will not be confined to their being the auxiliaries of Mr. Tollinton in administering warnings to peccant journalists. If Government fail to do this they would publish to the world at large their want of courage in retracing a rash step or rectifying an error of judgment. But even if they did, would it not be manifest to everybody that it is impossible to entrust such extensive powers as the Press Act confers even to the much praised local governments without at least giving to an independent judicial tribunal an effective control and extensive powers of revision. It is as clear to us as the noon-day sun that the Punjab Government and the Secretary of State have both been made the dupes of some petty clerk in the Punjab Secretariat; but it is a strange commentary on the British methods of governance that even after a question in the House of Commons on the subject, the authorities have either not been able to discover their mistake or have not the courage to acknowledge it. If neither of these alternatives are correct, then we must believe that so long as a writer uses the phrase Immaculate Conception and characterizes it a Miracle, the Christian population of the Punjab is safe, and the writer is as worthy as Pope Pius IX—and worthier, let it be said, than St. Bernard!—but the moment he begins to talk in terms of biology and calls the same thing parthenogenesis or hermaphroditism, Hey Presto! Lo and behold! the Christian population of the Punjab is forthwith brought into contempt and the writer becomes a wantonly scurrilous offender! At this rate, before long the mention of an isosceles triangle or a trignometrical logarithm would bring maidenly blushes to the cheeks of seasoned Simla ladies, and the Press Act would be used effectively against all those who are guilty of wanton scurrility and offensiveness in publishing meteorological reports during the forthcoming monsoon.

The Moslem League and Discipline.

Only a few years ago, complaints were not uncommonly heard that the All-India Moslem League was a sort of close corporation which had little direct touch with the currents of popular opinion in the Moslem community. A few even went so far as to describe it as a reactionary body dominated by men of fluid faiths and nimble views, who periodically met to register the decrees of Indian Government and otherwise made use of the organisation as a counterblast to the Indian National Congress. Certain recent events, however, have proved definitely that these complaints were, in the main, groundless. The All-India Moslem League had come to birth at a time when political consciousness among Mussalmans was limited to a small number of individuals who were men of unusual capacity and foresight and had adequate knowledge of public affairs. They had realised the significance of the changes that were slowly but visibly coming over the methods of Indian governance and felt the supreme need of organised political action. They took the initiative and in collaboration with men of weight and influence in the community laid down the framework of an all-India organisation for the purpose. This was the most practicable course open to them under the circumstances. To seek for a democratic basis for the organisation at the time would have been obviously futile. Moslem democracy in the political sense was not yet vocal or alive. The needs of the situation could best be met by the creation of an organisation, representative of the best elements in the community, which would serve the dual functions of educating the general body of the people as well as of safeguarding their interests. The All-India Moslem League was consequently established with these objects in view. Its constitution was designed on as wide a basis as the circumstances could allow, and the scope of its work was naturally confined within the limits of the actual needs of the situation. Soon after the establishment of the League with its provincial and district branches, constitutional and administrative re-adjustments of far-reaching importance began to take shape in India, which, among other things, helped to rouse the political consciousness of the general Moslem community. The Moslem League proved to be an organised political force of immense value in those anxious times, and its utility both as an organ of representative Moslem opinion and as an instrument of popular education stood the test wonderfully. Within the first few years of its existence it succeeded in defining the Moslem political position, set forth a definite programme of work before the community and offered a common platform to the educated Mussalmans who were vegetating in narrow individual grooves and were pining for larger fields to employ their leisure and talents in the service of their community and country. The political instincts of the Moslem democracy, which had

been lying dormant for years, became alive with amazing rapidity and vigour. They found expression in vague but eager desires, some of which outstripped the cautious aspirations embodied in the early creed of the League. The impatient idealism of the new political awakening yearned for lustier cries than the League had yet been able to provide. The League was, therefore, roundly denounced as a lethargic body that moved with exasperating slowness within a limited orbit of its own and lived in severe isolation from the mass of the community that was pulsating with new thoughts and desires.

In the meantime, there began to happen a series of events of unparalled magnitude, both in India and abroad, which have left an ineffaceable mark on Moslem thought and feeling. The experiences and trials of the community within the last three years have been the bitterest and most searching in its modern history. They shook its deepest and most cherished instincts to their very foundations. The shock of surprise, of betrayal, of disillusionment was felt by every class of Mussalmans with equal intensity. In the sacred intimacy of common grief they discovered anew their Islamic unity and the path that lies before them—a path that is beset with difficulties and perils of various kinds. It is a matter of remarkable significance that the All-India Moslem League has successfully borne the strain of a period of the utmost excitement and self-questioning through which Mussalmans have passed. The movement that it embodied was sound and vital at the core, and it is more vital and alive to-day than ever it was before. It has gained enormous access of popular strength, and is fully responsive to the needs of the people. The old complaint about the League being a reactionary body has ceased to be heard. The creed of the League has been recast to suit the charged political conditions, and it has now become a thoroughly reliable and powerful organ of Moslem public opinion. Indeed, the promptitude with which it has shaped itself to meet to the popular forces has alarmed a few of the old-fashioned hen in the Moslem community, some of whom are obsessed by the craven fear lest they should soon find their old occupations gone. They accuse the League of having been bitten with revolutionary ideas, and this is perhap the surest testimony to the fact that the Moslem political organisation has now become thoroughly communal. It was a right instinct that led H. H. the Aga Khan to observe on a memorable occassion that a permanent President of the League had become an anachronism in view of the growing political consciousness of the Moslem democracy. Much yet remains to be done to make the League an efficient instrument of the will of the community, but there can be no question that it enjoys the greatest measure of public confidence to-day and is the most representative organisation of its kind in this country.

We have been forced to make these observations at some length because the position that the League has recently come to hold in relation to communal work is not yet fully secure from the wily attacks of a species of its critics who were wont, not long ago, to trade on the confidence and goodwill of the Moslem community. Mussalmans need not be reminded of the commonplace that the utility, efficiency and prestige of all organised political work depend on the degree of solidarity, public spirit and disciplined energy displayed by the workers. The future success of the Moslem League rests on three obvious postulates. It should be the most reliable exponent of Moslem public opinion; it should command the devoted services of the ablest men in the community: it should be efficiently organised. Now, those who watched the proceedings of the last annual session of the League at Agra are perfectly aware that the League is becoming popular in the real sense, that it has now behind it the daily increasing support of Moslem democracy. It is also manifest that it now commands the services of some of the most energetic and able workers among Mussalmans. What it still lacks is efficient organisation. The utility of the political work done by the League will not attain to its full proportions as long as its machinery remains imperfect. The central organisation should have well-defined relations with the provincial and district organisations affiliated to it, and while allowing perfect freedom of initiative and action to all its branches in matters of local concern, it should exercise efficient control in all things relating to the general policy and principles of which it is the sole authoritative exponent. Its views and decisions represent the judgment of the entire Moslem community in India, and it should not tolerate any tampering with its authority by persons who are carrying on a purely personal propaganda under questionable disguises often at the instance of others who are as hostile to Moslem as to other Indian aspirations. It should enforce discipline with some rigour at this stage if it wants to make its future work useful and effective.

The existing lack of efficient organisation and discipline in the All-India Moslem League is due to various causes. The main cause has arisen from the fact that the League has only recently had to restate its policy and purpose in obedience to popular wishes. The amplification of its creed less than two years ago led to some conflict of opinion, which, however, never became serious or acute. The new programme satisfied an overwhelming majority of Mussalmans and the feeble voice of dissent was soon hushed in the general acclamation of the people. It is a remarkable fact that hardly a defection has taken place from the ranks of the League since it publicly declared the new formula of its faith. It is safe to conclude, therefore, that there is a practical unanimity among the constituents of the League about the ideals that it has in view. The situation, however, furnished a few of the self-seeking among its ranks with a new handle to serve their own personal ends. They fear to go out of the League lest they should sink into obscurity and be utterly wiped out of public life. "Assenting with civil leer" they have elected to remain in. They are shrewd enough to percieve that they will have ample opportunities within the fold of the League to create "scenes" and situations which they know how to turn to profitable account. It is this timorous breed of "leaders" who are surreptitiously using every means to undermine discipline and weaken the authority of the League. The time has now come that the League, in the interests of its own efficiency, should deal drastically with all cases in which its decisions have been flouted or its basic principles set at nought. A few cases of this character have just acquired some notoriety and it is necessary to unmask their true features to public notice.

The Hon. Mr. Mohamed Shafi, Secretary of the Punjab Provincial League, got his executive committee some days ago to "place on record its emphatic protest" in the shape of a huge resolution, and lost no time in having it published in the Press. The "protest" relates to the "appointment, by the Indian League, independently and over the heads of the various provincial leagues, of committees" for the purpose of raising the Moslem National Fund, the establishment of which was decided upon by the All-India Moslem League at its Agra session. Mr. Shafi's committee "considers it absolutely necessary that the work to be done in this connection in the various provinces should be left to the provincial leagues alone." Mr. Shafi himself in his letter forwarding his committee's resolution to the Secretary of the All-India Moslem League, says: "The appointment, by the central body, of these "provincial committees over the heads of the various provincial "leagues was so obviously opposed to axiomatic principles on which "alone an All-India organisation can be smoothly worked and con-"stituted such a slight on the provincial leagues themselves that I "considered it my duty to place your letter before the executive "committee of the Punjab Moslem League at its meeting held on "Sunday the 19th instant (May)." Now, it would be interesting to recall the circumstances relating to the appointment of the committees for the collection of the Moslem National Fund. As we have said, it was unanimously resolved at a meeting of the All-India Moslem League at Agra to raise a permanent fund for political work. The representatives of all the provincial leagues were present on the occasion including the Hon. Mr. Shafi. The provincial committees were appointed in consultation with the provincial representatives. When the appointment of the Punjab committee was being discussed, Mr. Shafi succeeded almost in creating a scene by refusing to accept Mr. Zafar Ali Khan as a member, with the result that the matter was left to be settled by the Punjab representatives themselves while they were at Agra. Mr. Fazl-i-Husain, Barrister-at-law of Lahore, gave a list to the Hon. Secretary of the All-India Moslem League on the following day, stating that their mutual differences had been settled and the names contained in the list were acceptable to all. But now that the time for practical effort has come and printed lists of the members of the provincial committees have been circulated with a view to get them to work, Mr. Shafi takes up a garrulous attitude and protests against the action of the central League. It is manifest that all the other provincial leagues have accepted the decisions reached at Agra without the least objection. They are neither aware of any violation of "axiomatic principles" nor of the alleged "slight" that is now apparently causing Mr. Shafi some sleepless nights. Mr. Shafi participated fully in the discussion about the appointment of the Punjab committee. He did not talk then of "slight" and "axiomatic principles." His only objection related to the inclusion of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan in the committee as one of its members. He had made a public confession of his peculiarity of character by declaring that he could not work with the Editor of the *Zamindar*, and had gone even so far as to say that the Mussalmans of the "aristocratic" class in the Punjab would be equally unwilling to work with him. The Punjab "aristocrats" present there instantly repudiated this unblushing imputation on their public spirit and sense of duty. The Punjab committee was eventually formed with the knowledge and approval of Mr. Shafi and it never occurred to him till after full five months that its appointment offended against "axiomatic principles" and constituted a "slight" to the *amour propre* of his committee and his league.

Mr. Shafi's tactics would have ranked as consummate exercises in the art of party manœuvring, if only they had some dash of courage behind them. But the fates have cast him in a mould that is not decidedly heroic. During the past few years a series of exasperating situations have sprung upon him, like bolts from the blue, which would have sufficed to disconcert a man of steadier nerve than he. His training as a public man has not proved adequate to the needs of those situations and the spectacle of his flight from position to position in search of some reliable cover has not been altogether edifying. He has talked in turn of law and

order, of respect due to constituted authority, of moderation and constructive work, even of political reform, administrative changes and self-government. He has tried every catchward of the hour and tested the value of every straw that has floated past him on the crest of the popular waves. The pathos of his situation is that he is capable of feeling all the Ulsteria of Sir Edward Carson's creation without having the quality of the Last-Ditcher. That is why most of his attempts to create a brief noise about himself have ended in a public laugh at his expense.

One must not, however, ignore the fact that Mr. Shafi controls an executive committee that is obedient to his will. The resolution relating to the Moslem National Fund was passed at a meeting of the committee attended by Mr. Shafi and three other gentlemen who have no pretensions to any weight or influence in public affairs. Mr. Shafi practically rules the roost in the Punjab League, thanks to his success in having so far kept out of the League most of the younger generation of workers whose capacity and independence of character are beyond question. With the general body of the League composed mostly of men of stereotyped views and indifferent intellectual equipments and with a committee mainly packed with his supporters, Mr. Shafi may have his way in recording protests and reeling off grandiloquent "resolutions" by the dozen. But for the sake of his own reputation as a public man he should come down from the fence and define his position. Let him openly come forward and defy the All-India Moslem League if he dares. Let him frankly unbosom himself and tell the Moslem public what he wants. These questionable tactics of his are doing no good either to him or to the community that he claims to serve. The collection of the Moslem National Fund may wait indefinitely ; but Mr. Shafi must vent his personal spite against Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, and should in the last resort take shelter behind "axiomatic principles" and in aginay "slights" simply to thwart the progress of an important communal undertaking. His dread of association with Mr. Zafar Ali Khan recalls to our mind another equally amusing episode that dates back to the annual session of the All-India Moslem League at Karachi in 1907. The Punjab Moslem League had not yet come into existence, but Mr. Shafi had already picked up a quarrel with Mr. Fazl-i-Husain about the formation of the provincial branch. The contending parties fought their rival claims with considerable virulence at Karachi and some efforts were made by men from other provinces to induce the Punjab stalwarts to compose their mutual differences and work harmoniously together. But Mr. Shafi and Mr. Shah Din would not yield, and the latter declared that he would not work in an organisation of which Mr. Fazl-i-Husain was also a member. Mr. Shafi's outburst of petty egotism at Agra was evidently inspired by a pardonable desire to imitate the superior manner of his learned cousin. We trust, however, that he is free from the vanity of imagining that he is indispensable. If not, he is under a cruel illusion. At all events, if he thinks he is well-advised in the choice of his tactics and methods of work, he should throw a bold, open challege to those who differ from him and test his position. If he is sure of his ground, why does he not stump the country with his gospel of salvation and come back to power borne on the shoulders of devoted multitudes ? His existing methods of conducting the affairs of the Punjab League cannot obviously be allowed to go on. The League has got to be democratised and made an energetic and disciplined body that would do some real work for the people on approved lines and not exist simply to give weight and prestige to the evolutions of a peculiarly self-conscious and self-complacent individual.

The other case to which we want to make a brief reference relates to the formation of a district Moslem League at Etawah to which some amount of noisy publicity has been given in the papers. The promoters of the new organisation are reported to have declared that they have no faith in the ideal of self-government adopted by the All-India Moslem League and approve in this respect the attitude of the U. P. Provincial League. The Etawah report gives prominence to a certain Mr. Amir Ali. We do not know who this gentleman is, unless he is the paid clerk in the office of the U. P. League. If so, we would like to know what business has this person to go about touring in districts at public expense with a view to bolster up mushroom organisations, which presume to dictate policy and principles to the whole community and its all-India political organ? The principles laid down by the central organisation must be accepted by all its affiliated branches. If any branch does not make a clear declaration to the effect that it approves of the basic creed of the League, it should not be allowed affiliation. The U. P. League, which appears to have become a nest of intrigue and personal wrangles, should be called to account for the opposition which some of its office-bearers have set up against the declared policy of the parent League, and of which they are making a public parade. If the U. P. League refuses to fall into line with the central organisation it should be disaffiliated at once, and a new organisation in perfect harmony with the general will of the community should be created in its place. It is really strange that the Mussalmans of the United Provinces, who form the most educated and progressive portion of the Moslem community, should have such a provincial League masquerading in their name. Sham organisations, run on lines of individual self-interest, cannot be allowed to exist under the wings of the All-India Moslem League. They should either be mended or ended.

CORRESPONDENCE



An Indian House in London.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—It gratified me very much to see that my suggestion for an India House in London has been so warmly approved by Mr. Pollak. There could be no more capable and broadminded witness to what is conducive to the defence of Indian interests than Mr. Pollak. For my own part, I am more than ever convinced that it is impossible for Indian opinion to produce any real effect upon the administration of the Empire or upon the leading minds of universal civilisation until India possesses in London—the great meeting place of the world's opinions—*a permanent residence and centre for her accredited representatives* in the great Metropolis, and for the promotion of the commerce, art and science of the Indian nation. India should, of course, always remain, and must always remain, the seat and origin, as well as the vast arena, for the development of every Indian movement which deserves the name of Indian. There must be, and there can be, no displacing and no undervaluing of the supreme centre of all-Indian patriotism and progress which must always be India herself. In dealing, however, with the plain and real facts that the well-being of the peoples of India largely depends upon the public and governing opinion at London, it is mere childishness and folly to neglect the means of bringing before the multitudinous opinion of London the fundamental necessities of the Indian situation.

To be understood by London you must be known in London; and it is not from occasional paragraphs or superficial correspondence in the *Times* or the *Standard* that the public opinion of England can be adequately informed upon the wants and the wishes of India and the Indian representatives. Even though closely connected with the English people and governing classes, speaking the same language, sharing the same institntions, *the whole of the great Dominions attached to England, such as Canada and Australia, have their official residences and Government agencies in London*; and it would be impossible for Canada and Australia to obtain proper attention for their requirements if they had not proper centres of their interests off Kingsway and near Westminster.

A stately palace for an All-India Agency, with offices for important departments, with halls and committee rooms for general and private business, with an annexe for artistic and commercial exhibitions, which would promote the material interests of economic India: *such an India House is an absolute necessity*, and would not only be directly beneficial to India, but would be of the greatest possible use to English public opinion by providing a well-known centre for every kind of useful knowledge and information about the condition of India. All the existing institutions and societies for the benefit of India would naturally gather around India House. In the great reading room there would be the newspapers of India together with all the books which are the most useful sources of information on every subject of the public welfare.

The large number of Indian princes who now visit London, and who are obliged to spend their time in wandering aimlessly around the maze of English festivities and amusements, would here have a centre at which they could repay under Indian conditions the hospitality accorded to them. Here, too, Indian princes and statesment residents or visitors in London, would be able to bring English friends to become acquainted with the realities of Indian opinion and nationality.

There would, naturally, grow up around such a representative centre of Indian feeling and sentiment the regular habit of having *certain times in the year specially devoted to representative meetings of Indian representatives and English friends and supporters of India* belonging to all classes and parties in English society. At present the friends of India have literally nowhere, where they can meet authorised representatives, or where they can invite the English public to become acquainted with the requirements of India.

Let me assume for instance that there was *an Indian Week every year in the month of June*, when London is most crowded with the represenatives of England, India and all foreign nations besides. Within your great India House you would have authorised and representative exponents of Indian opinion, supported by the numerous men of distinction in English society who at present have no centre of action for the better enlightenment of the English public. Great princes and nobles of India, distinguished politicians and professional men from India would naturally add to the attraction and distinction of the June conferences at India House. The National Congress of India, the All-India Moslem League and similar great organisations would be able to send their deputations and delegates to the public conferences at India House. There is no reason why you should not have a great newspaper containing the best news of India and the world at large, written by distinguished writers, and disseminated not only among Indians but among many hundreds or thousands of Englishmen, Scotsmen, and Irishmen, who at present never see an organ of Indian nationality from one end of the year to the other.

Such an India House would require to be built and maintained with a magnificent dignity worthy of that mighty Empire of three hundreds of millions of people, possessing such illustrious princes, such a great and ancient nobility, such professional and commercial classes with the education and the intelligence capable of developing the highest requirements of their great and wonderful country. The ground and the building would not cost less than £100,000. Another sum of £100,000 should form a permanent endowment for the payment of an adequate staff of administrators and officers. There should be *trained lecturers* capable of presenting the wants of the Indian peoples with learning and eloquence before English audiences. There should be *a system of election or nomination in India* by which every two years, for instance, representatives of the highest character and ability would be sent from India to represent for a couple of years or more the interests of the various countries of the Indian Motherland. India House would thus be always able to supply the Houses of Lords and Commons with adequate information on every subject of Indian importance. The great popular associations and organisations in England, the trades unions, the commercial organisations, the brotherhoods and leagues of various kinds which are so numerous and influential in England, would all be the object of the solicitude of the Indian representatives in London; and on every great question and great interest of Hindustan thousands of English friends would receive adequate information from the committee at India House. *India House would be the Supreme Insurance Society for Indian interests* spreading the light of truth, refuting falsehoods, and bringing the princes and peoples of India into direct connection with all that is best in English society. Nor should it be forgotten that the representatives of European opinion, the newspapers of France, Germany, etc., would always be able to receive in the most interesting manner the latest news about a great Asiatic country so important politically, commercially, and intellectually to the progressive nations of the world. A quarter of a century ago the great Lord Beaconsfield brought the Indian regiments to Malta in the interests of the common Empire. In the interests of the common Empire as well as of the wonderful Motherland of India, let an INDIA HOUSE arise near Westminster in order to convince even the most superficial and unreflecting that India is great, that India is progressive, that India cherishes her mighty past as well as her mighty future, and that the peoples of England and India would know one another better for their mutual advantage.

Yours faithfully,

May 9, 1914. F. Hugh O'Donnell of O'Donnell.

A night in the Balkans.

(By a Member of the All-India Medical Mission to Turkey.)

It was on a cold, wintry night towards the end of January 1913, that I left my tent about 10 P. M. to have a friendly chat with the Kurdish officers encamped at a distance of 2 or 3 miles around us.

Our tents were pitched under the shelter of a hillock, some miles rearward from the headquarters of the General Commanding the Ottoman forces at Chataldja.

Our men had finished their day's work and were now retiring to bed to refresh and prepare themselves for the next day's labour.

The Orient Express, which before the war went as far as Sofia and even beyond, now worked up only to Hademkeui, the Turkish headqurters. The line was intact as far as Saiyakteppeh and the fortifications on the left coast and beyond it had been blown up at numerous places for 50 yards apace, the bridges dynamited and the railway buildings levelled to the ground.

It passed our tents at a distance of nearly 200 yards only and so we could have the latest news both from the front and the Capital. For some days past rumours had been rife that hostilities were to commence again with the Allies and we expected daily to hear at any moment the noise and thunder of the cannonade. Still, however, days wore on and there was no sign that we were on the eve of the resumption of hostilities.

On the day in question the results of our enquiries at the railway station were more conflicting than ever. In the afternoon I happened to go for a stroll on the hillocks near by and heard the quick-firers rattling in the distance. Quickly I stretched myself on the ground and tried to locate the direction whence the firing proceeded. I made out soon that the sound came from the direction of the Kurdish artillery, some of whose officers were known to me. I turned my foot-steps thither and ran as fast as my tight breeches, heavy boots and the condition of the ground permitted.

In my great hurry I had lost my bearings and was only stopped when a Turkish private from a sudden ambush bid me halt. On ascending higher ground I saw that I was in the range of the firing-line. I soon learnt that the artillery men were engaged at gunnery practice. In still greater hurry I had to withdraw and by a circuitous route arrived at the place whence the firing proceeded.

I approached the officers covered both with perspiration and mud—the latter was always more than ankle-deep. I was repaid for my trouble many times over by the hearty welcome accorded to me by the Kurdish and the Turkish officers. The mechanism and the working of the various guns were explained to me and some additional rounds were fired to illustrate the actual working of the weapons. I was then introduced to some of the junior officers and we repaired to the tent of the Major of the regiment to partake in the usual, tiny cups, of the delicious Turkish coffee.

Our conversation ranged over all shorts of topics and it finally came round to the subject that lay nearest to the hearts of all of us, *viz.*, the war and the chance of the resumption of hostilities.

There were diverse veiws and conflicting estimates of the future course of events. But all were united in the one eager hope that the Turks might have one more chance of grappling with the enemy, one more opportunity on which they were ready to stake their all. Barring the little difference, that while the young were only too eager to come to instant grip with the enemy, the experienced heads wished to bide their time and wait till the season grew more propitious, there was absolute unanimity about the continuation of the war, and anxiety at the thought that, after all, hostilities might not be resumed. *La guerre, sans doute, la guerre.* When I was leaving the Kurdish camp, as I had to return soon to my duties, however small, and to the party that I belonged to, the officers asked me that evening to dinner and said that perhaps they would be able to impart me some information about the war. My time was not my own. I promised to call again in the evening, but said that I could not be certain about the dinner. After the usual enquiries at the railway station, which had raised our hopes of the war, I found myself, electric-torch in hand, picking my way back to my camp carefully amidst the falling snow and the biting wind of the Balkans. Luck was, however, against me that evening. I missed the footpath by which I had come and which I had carefully noted before along the hard ground of the hillock. It was now covered with snow, and inspite of my best efforts to find out the direction, I strayed helplessly into the head-quarters of an Arab regiment some miles off. I enquired from the soldiers of the Commander's place and was taken to a moderately big tent or *chaddar*, as the Turks call it, where a brisk fire gave the place a most comfortable look.

A tough, middle-aged Arab warrior was stretched on a portable sofa and was suffering from fever and headache. I was in a very awkward position. I had thrust myself in a sick man's room and, consistent with politeness, I could not hurriedly depart. I faced the situation as best I could and apologised to the gentleman for my unpardonable intrusion. Think of my dismay at the effect my words produced on him. When I entered the place, he had said *pardonnel moi, monsieur*, but I had stopped his efforts to seat himself by urging that, as he was unwell, he should not worry himself about a mere formality. But hearing my apologies he realised how I was feeling and instantly raised himself in the bed. All my entreaties were drowned in his loud-voiced orders to the soldiers to be quick about the coffee and tea. I felt thankful to my that day's star, notwithstanding the previous misadventure. Soon the tense and unpleasant feeling passed away when he began to chat freely and most good-humoredly.

When I left him he gave me his card and pressed on me an invitation to dinner the next day with him and the officers of his regiment. He gave me, also, a soldier or Askar, who accompanied me to the camp of the Kurds, where I guessed the dinner would be over and thought uncomfortably of passing a cold night, with lessened energy, on an empty stomach. I had expected great things at the dinner, especially meat, to which we had been strangers for sometime past, but my blunder had served me well. A night's fast is by no means a severe punishment for careless eyes and a wandering mind.

Reaching the artillery quarters, I was recognised by the men who immediately conveyed information of my arrival to their officers. As I reached the officers camp I saw a group of them waiting outside in the falling snow. They greeted my appearance with outstretched hands and I was deeply touched by their affection. I, a stranger amongst them, of a different country,

nationality and race, was treated by them as if I were one of their own kiths and kins. The only bond that invited us was Islam and that had removed all distinctions of country, rank and relationship.

They told me that they had not yet dined and were only waiting for me. Men helped me to take off my goloshes, long-boots and my rainproof, while I took a snug seat in a corner near the fire, thinking out the best way for offering my apology. But as I came to know later, my campanion, the Arab soldier, had done it in a far better manner than I could have ever done. When questioned as to who he was and to what regiment he belonged, he had given an account of my untimely, nocturnal visit to the sick officer. When they heard of my misadventure all had a good, hearty laugh and I, instead of being the apologiser, was the recipient of a good deal of warm and sincere sympathy.

I enjoyed the dinner as I had never done before and a great zest was added to it by the information that my friends had received their marching orders. With every one in the best of spirits, it was a most pleasant gathering. We dined late and well.

After the dinner, the fragrant Turkish cigarettes and coffee had their round till nearly 3 o'clock in the morning. We talked of the course of the war till the armistice had been arranged and of the course it was likely to take if resumed. The Kurds are primarily a warlike people, and their warlike customs and traditions, that the meanest soldiers in the army is expected to observe, were most interesting for me to learn. Major Zia Bey told us that the Kurds, in times gone by, in hand to hand fight, would bind the lapels of their coats to each other's so that no idea unbecoming a soldier may enter their head and that they may either kill or die in good straight fight. Amongst them it was not accounted creditable to be merely brave, but the palm was given only to the bravest of the braves. A second test of the utility of the Kurdish soldier was the length of time which he could live without any nourishment. The third and the hardest test was his endurance of bad weather and fatigue.

Indeed, it was difficult to realise a poor soldier's lot who had to undergo great privation and hardship and live months after months on coarse bread soaked in water. The only luxury available to him was a little bit of stale cheese, added every now and then.

It was getting late and was high time for the junior officers to depart, for early that morning they had to leave for the front.

We parted, to meet no move and we bade each other affectionate farewell.

Then the Major and I chatted alone for about half an hour. He said that it was the weary waiting before the actual fight that ate into a soldier's heart—months of weary waiting and no sight of the enemy. That was the hardest lot of a soldier. "We depart to-morrow," he said, "we know not whither. But we pray to God that every moment may bring us nearer to the enemy. We have had reverses, suffered humiliations, and the loss of honour. May it please Almighty God to grant us a moment to retrieve our honour and strike in the defence of our country. Death or life, but one moment of the enemy's presence would repay all these months of anxious and weary waiting.

"All rests in His Hand who is the Maker of all."

B.

Ghasita : a Budmash.

(III.—The Intercepted Dowry.

In my last story concerning Ghasita and his career of crime, that personage was safely lodged in the house of a friendly Sonar, whose place of business was situated in a back alley of the suburb of Tajgunj —a *mohulla* of average size and chiefly inhabited by persons who derived a living by selling mementoes of the lovely mausoleum whence their abode derives its name, or who were in some way or another connected with the up-keep of the gardens and the marble tomb sacred to the memory of the Mumtaz-i-Mahal, the "Exalted one of the Palace", otherwise known as Arjmand Banu Begum or, in the affectionate familiarity of the populace, as "Taj Bibi", the Lady of one of the most beautiful architectural triumphs in the world. Tajgunj was not a bad place for a fugitive from the Law to seek shelter, as the immediate neighbourhood is broken up by ravines running down to the Jumna, the population of the suburb is small, and a man could lie *perdu* there for sometime without much fear of his hiding place being detected. The Sonar—timourous as are most of that caste—was far from being pleased at the arrival of Ghasita, especially when the latter coolly informed him of his having murdered a constable the preceding night. But any intention of closing his doors to the Kachi, or betraying his presence in Tajgunj to the Police, was abandoned on Ghasita mentioning sundry transactions in which the Sonar had played an important part; knowledge about which the convict had gained while in the Central Jail. So Manphul made the best of a bad job, and showed his visitor into a tiny back-room, where he could stay in security until the first hue and cry subsided. Owing to his house being close to the thana at Tajgunj, the Sonar was frequently called to the aid of the Police in the character of witness to a house-search; to sign as to the correctness of articles found in possession of any person under arrest; or to help in the weighing of gold and silver ornaments recovered from thieves or robbers. He figured on such occasions as a "*mutabar admi*"—a respectable individual, and perhaps was not far below the moral standard of such witnesses to the integrity and upright doings of the subordinate Police. He was, therefore, in a position to hear news about the recent murder and keep Ghasita *au fait* as to the method being adopted to capture him, if suspicion should have attached itself to the Kachi with reference to that deed of blood. It was not many days before a second proclamation might have been noticed on the boards outside the Police station, in which the name of Ghasita figured as prominently as in the former placard announcing his escape from Jail. Some of the people he had met on the night of the murder at Duhuki *parao*—shortly previous to that occurrence—had given a fairly accurate description of his looks, and the similarity of the man they described with the personal appearance of the escaped convict was soon observed by an intelligent Sub-Inspector. The reward for the arrest of Ghasita now rose to Rs. 200, a sum which the Sonar would have been delighted to earn had he not stood in great awe of his dangerous lodger. Enforced captivity within the narrow precincts of a small, stuffy *kothri* proved more than the impatient spirit of Ghasita could bear for a lengthy period, so by the time a fortnight had slipped by, he used to sally forth after nightfall and roam among the old ruins that stand as monuments of past greatness along the road leading from Tajgunj to the Agra Fort. There were the crumbling walls of a mansion once tenanted by Todar Mull, that clever Kayasth from Laherpur in Oudh, who acted as Revenue Member to Akhbar and whose general lines of fiscal administration serve still a as basis for the British procedure with regard to the same difficult problem of land valuation and assessment of revenue justly due to Government. There again, one saw the decaying abode of Rajah Jai Singh, noted for his astronomical tastes as well as his being the founder of the modern city of Jaipur, after Amber—that hoary town perched on the barren hill-sides was quitted by the Jadon Rajputs for a new capital.

Lack of ready money alone hindered Ghasita from once more taking the road and replenishing his empty girdle at the expense of some rich traveller. Since the Police records must contain a list of all his near relatives, including the family of Kachis in Lohamandi bazar, the idea of his venturing to visit that locality was much too daring to render it probable, so Ghasita felt that it would be perfectly safe to proceed there at night and have a chat with Nasibun, the girl who imagined him as a persecuted hero of romance. Accordingly he put that scheme into practice and experienced no interruption in his stolen interview with that damsel, while she gave him some news likely to prove of considerable value in the near future. Nasibun was employed to sell vegetables at the cantonment station by the merchant who had got a contract for that work from the Railway authorities, and thus spent many hours on the platform, listening to the talk of the railway servants and gleaning odd scraps of information about doings on the line. Among other details, she casually informed Ghasita that a wedding was about to be celebrated in the house of the Indian Assistant Station Master, and that great preparations were in progress for holding this ceremony in grand style. The salary of the bride's father might seem an insignificant sum, yet he had his allotted share—his *hak*—of the unearned increment derived by most of the station staff and divided in accordance with the unwritten law on the subject. The 10th of November had been fixed for the arrival of the bride groom's party from some place down the line, but the dowry and wedding gifts would be collected in the house where resided the bride with her parents—a set of hideous red brick quarters about fifty yards distant from the railway station itself. Greatly interested by what Nasibun told him, the possibility of breaking into the place in question and carrying off such cash and jewelry as he could lay his hands on, made Ghasita revolve many plans in his mind. From talks with dacoit leaders in jail he had learnt that in the majority of instances their capture had been effected by treachery on the part of some member of the gang led by greedy longing for a good reward, fear of Police oppression, or perhaps to revenge some insult or rough treatment often led a dacoit to play the informer and reveal to the authorities the whereabouts and identity of "the leader of his gang. So Ghasita determined to work—a sound rule—on "his own," and thus have no companions to claim a portion of the spoil, or false friends to betray him in the hopes of handling the Government reward for his arrest. But dacoit-

ing a house, where several persons were sure to be collected together and which stood so near to the railway station and—still worse—to the lines of the Agra Police Reserve, was not a job to be undertaken single-handed, and he wondered where he could find a few kindred spirits to join him in the crime he now contemplated. Bidding Nasibun adieu, after promising to see her again ten days hence—it being now the end of October—he returned to his refuge in Tajgunj to think matters over and find a suitable method for robbing the Assistant Station Master of the portable property certain to be at his house in readiness for the coming of the bridegroom and his friends.

In his character as a receiver of stolen property Manphul used to be visited by men of the *budmash* class, who came mysteriously to his house at night and were taken by the Sonar into an inner room for the transaction of business too strictly private in nature to be dealt with in the outer shop. Long absence from Agra had put Ghasita quite out of touch with his quondom allies in crime, most of whom had either begun to live honestly, had left for other parts of the country or—and these perhaps were in a majority—were safely locked up in jail. No alternative remained except to confide in his host and explain that he wanted introduction to a few men of the right sort—thereby meaning scoundrels who would not hesitate to commit any offence in the Penal Code, from cheating to murder—to join in a promising enterprise with a large booty to be divided when the affair was brought off satisfactorily. Manphul asked no awkward questions, not wishing to learn particulars of the villany Ghasita had in view, but made the latter faithfully swear that a certain percentage of the proceeds from his criminal undertaking would be handed over to the Sonar, independent of the portion of the *swag* given him at ruinously cheap rate to dispose of. To deposit jewelry in the melting pot and despatch Currency Notes to a Calcutta correspodent for passing in that distant centre of trade— these were not the least profitable parts of Manphul's trade and he had been too long at the game to make any mistake in this branch of his business. By the middle of November, Ghasita had made the acquaitance of four professional burglars and deemed that number sufficent for the prosecution of his plans. He ascertained from Nasibun that on the 20th of that month, the bridal party were expected to arrive from Farruckabad by a train that reached the Cantonment station between six and seven A. M. The Assistant Station Master, a Kayasth by caste, had made all preparations for the reception of the bride and her relatives, and cash and trinkets were sure to be in his house awaiting the ceremony of betrothal. From the same source he learnt that a Troop Special—conveying a British regiment to take part in some manœuvres at the Meerut Camp of Exercise—was timed to pass through about 1 A. M. and that the Assistant Station Master had been detailed for duty on that occasion, so would be away from his quarters for some little time. The only other male members of his household were two lads, still in their "teens" and a semi-crippled grandfather, hence the opposition to be overcome was very trifling. Ghasita had not made a confidant of Nasibun, yet her woman's wit soon led her to guess why he asked the questions he did about matters in no wise concerning him, unless he meant mischief towards the subject of his inquiries. The nights are pretty cold in northern India in November and a dense fog often rises at that season of the year, lasting from after sunset till within an hour or two of dawn. By having five persons concerned in the raid on the valuables of the Assistant Station Master, the crime became, as enjoined by Sec. 395 of the Penal Code, a dacoity, punishment for which offence is of a slightly severer character than for ordinary housebreaking, but Ghasita flattered himself that his scheme was too carefully planned to admit the chance of detection or arrest.

The drivers of hackney carriages in a military Cantonment are almost a class by themselves; usually Mahommedans of the most disreputable type and accustomed to act with lawless vigour and without much fear of consequences—a fact due to having to deal with Tommy Atkins, a somewhat rough customer, though in reality his bark is infinitely worse than his bite, and if he does curse and cuff individuals exciting his wrath, nevertheless makes amends by the ease with which it is possible to swindle him in matters of payment. A driver accordingly had repaired to a cluster of small bungalows, tenanted by Government pensioners, chiefly retired Eurasians, and there stayed—as if waiting for a fare till wanted. His place of tarrying was within easy distance of the railway quarters and on the main road leading from the Cantonment Station to the military lines and Sudder Bazar. The four other members of the gang were told to repair by separate routes to an appointed rendezvous, under an old tree that grew on some waste land adjoining the railway line, and not more than hundred yards from the house it was intended to break into. On the night chosen for the dacoity, five men might have been seen—had not a heavy mist rendered things invisible at a distance of over ten yards—seated in conclave under the tree. Ghasita carried his Winchester, skillfully hidden beneath a long dirty overcoat—made out of rough blanketting—while his companions had *lathis* and one of them a *tulwar*. They anticipated little difficulty in getting into the house, surrounded by a brick wall of about eight feet high and with wooden doors unlikely to resist strong pressure from outside. One of the gang stole forward to watch for the exit on duty of the Assistant Station Master, whose departure was to be the signal for beginning active operations. The railway employee was sure to take a lantern to help him on his way to the station, and prevent him from tripping over wires or falling into a pit on the journey. The chimes from the big clock on the Roman Catholic cathedral had scarcely finished riniging out twelve, when the spy came back to report that the hour for their work had come, the Station Master having just left his house and gone off to his post of duty. Stealthily approaching the building, Ghasita made one of the others give him a leg up and soon managed to scale the low wall. Sitting astride of its narrow coping, he noticed the glimmer of a country lamp, the humble *chiragh*, within the house and heard female voices. Doubtless the women folk had awoke when the master of the premises started out, and were indulging in conversation prior to resuming their disturbed slumbers. Giving a hand to pull up his comrades, one by one the gang surmounted the wall and Ghasita dropping down into the little front courtyard, was soon busy in forcing open the main door, not very securely fastened, so offering scant resistance to the sturdy shoving of the dacoit. Once inside the place it was easy to seize the womenfolk and lads, threatening them with immediate death should they attempt to raise an alarm. Nor were the frightened creatures likely to do so, for the sudden apparition of the dacoits, the ferocity on the coarse features of the leader and their utter helplessness compelled them to sit cowering on the mud floor, while the robbers commenced ransacking the room and breaking open a strong chest in which they, rightly enough, thought the property they sought must be hidden. Unfortunately Ghasita forgot the existence of the grandmother, who slept in another tiny apartment at the back of the house and who—like most old people—was awakened by the smallest noise. She heard the door broken in and the fierce warnings given by the gang, so with a wonderful agility for her years, managed to lift the latch of another door opening on to a bit of ground where the family had planted a few marigolds—the *gendas* used for garlanding an image of Vishnu or some other god of the Hindu pantheon—and a plant of sacred basil (*tulshi*) which on certain festivals adorned a rudely carved lingam, also object of worship by the pious Kayasth and his relatives. To cross the space intervening between the house and the wire fencing that marked off the railway land; to scramble through that barrier and painfully climb the steep embankment did not prove a task beyond the powers of the excited crone. Once on the line, she was not many paces from the distant signal and points where a Jemadar—as the pointsman is called in Indian railway parlance—stood after seeing that everything was ready for the safe passing of the Troop Train, due in another five minutes. Her shrieks of "*Chor-Chor, Daku agya*" ran out on the night air with surprising vigour and were audible for a long way in the perfect stillness that prevailed. The sentry on the Police magazine shouted for the Guard to turn out; the sound of men moving hurriedly about in the lines, orders being given in half a dozen different voices and directions, showed the dacoits that they had better depart as quickly as possible, although not all the booty had been discovered and taken possession of. Ghasita did not lack pluck, so delayed leaving the house till the sound of men running up told him that it was high time to make good his escape. Emerging from the courtyard, his figure was seen by the Jemadar, who told him to stop at once. A shower of abuse followed by a warniug not to advance a step further, was the only answer he received. Not perceiving that the dacoit was armed, the Pointsman—a sturdy Rajput from Ajmere—bravely kept on his way and got with in a couple of yards of Ghasita when the latter taking deliberate aim shot the luckless man dead in his tracks. Though the report of the rifle increased the bustle in the Police lines, it served to deter some other railway men from coming any nearer, so Ghasita rushed away into the environing fog and made straight for the spot where the gharry was in readiness to bear him and his asscoiates away from the scene of their crime. Some sowars had mounted, without pausing to saddle their horses, but were obliged to make a considerable detour to reach the Station Master's quarters, owing to a long stretch of wire fencing that demarcated Police and railway territories. By the time the constables and sowars arrived to find the corpse of the dead Jemadar and to obtain from the terrified people some idea of what had occurred, and whether the dacoits had fled. Ghasita and his "*pals*" were being conveyed at full speed towards the barracks, the Kachi cleverly choosing that road since he knew that soldiers invariably made the driver urge his steeds to the utmost, so their rapid pace would not cause surprise, which it would inevitably have done had they gone in the direction of the Civil Lines or the city. Nearing the Cantonment church, he stopped the gharry, bade a hasty farewell to his companions, after ordering them to meet him that night at the house of the Sonar to get their share of the stolen property, and then—shouldering the cash and ornaments which he had tied up in a sort of bundle, using a *chudder* belonging to one of the women for that purpose—Ghasita walked calmly along the road leading to Tajgunj, halted amid some ruins in one of the ravines, placed the booty in what the deemed a secure cache, unlikely to be noticed or interfered with for the next twenty-four hours at any-

rate, and was knocking at the door of his lodgings before the sowars had got on the track of the gharry, whose noisy rattling had not escaped their attention, but which they failed to overtake or catch sight of. Having killed a fellow creature did not hinder Ghasita from enjoying a sound sleep, and it was midday ere he got up, went to the well to perform the usual ablutions and then told the Sonar to have some food prepared for his benefit. Manphul had visited Tajgunj thana that morning and news of the dacoity and murder had come while he was engaged in amicable conversation with the officer in charge. Congratulating the *Daroga-ji* on the absence of *badmashes* of that sort in the circle under his vigilant care, he returned to his shop, more anxious than ever to see the last of a tenant with such dangerous habits as Ghasita: for he had little doubt of that worthy being mixed up in the crime of the previous night. Some days, however, had yet to elapse before host and guest were destined to part company.—*A. N. G.*

Oriental Studies.

LORD CURZON'S APPEAL TO LONDON.

A LARGE and influential meeting was held at the Mansion House in mail week under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, in support of the School of Oriental Studies. Among the speakers were the Marquess of Crewe, Earl Curzon, Lord Reay, Lord Inchcape, and Sir Montagu Turner, and the attendance included the Persian Minister, the First Secretary of the Turkish Embassy, Viscount Peel, Lord Redesdale, Lord Lamington, Lord Sydenham, Lord George Hamilton Syed Ameer Ali, Sir W. R. Anson, M. P., Mr. L. S. Amery, M. P., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, Sir Stanley Bois, Sir Reginald Brade, Sir Edward Busk, the Rev. Professor Caldecott, General Sir E. F. Chapman, Sir Ernest Clarke, Sir William J. Collins, Sir Homewood Crawford, Professor A. W. Crossley, Sir Louis Dane, Major-General F. J. Davies, Sir Algernon F. Firth, Dr. T. Gregory Foster, Sir W. Garstin, the Rev. Professor Gollancz, Professor Israel Gollancz, Sir Lawrence Gomme, Sir George Grierson, Sir K. G. Gupta, Sir Murray Hammick, Sir Lancelot Hare, Professor M. J. M. Hill, Sir Walter Hillier, Sir E. H. Holden, Sir Frederick Lely, Mr. G. A. Lloyd, M. P., Professor S. L. Loney, Sir Charles Lyall, Mr. Stanley Machin, Sir Philip Magnus, M. P., Sir Carl Meyer, Sir Henry Miers, Sir Theodore Morison, Mr. Charles Roberts, Under-Secretary for India, the Rev. Dr. J. A. Nairn, Professor J. W. Neill, Professor Prendegast, Sir Walter Prideaux, Sir J. D. Rees, M. P., Sir Frederick Robertson, Sir William Schlich, Sir Felix Schuster, Sir J. George Scott, Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge, Professor F. M. Simpson, Sir J. Dunlop Smith, Sir John Stanley, Sir Richard Stapley, Sir T. Vesey Strong, the hon. C. H. Strutt, Sir F. A. Swettenham, Sir Mark Sykes, M. P., Sir Henry Tanner, Sir James Thomson, Canon Weitbrecht, Sir Harry Wilson, and Mr. P. J. Hartog, Secretary of the Oriental Studies Committee.

The Secretary read a letter from the Earl of Cromer to the Lord Mayor, saying: 'It is with the deepest regret that I find myself prevented by illness from attending and speaking at the meeting which you have been good enough to summon for May 6th in support of the School of Oriental Studies. For the last four years I have had the success of this scheme at heart, and have done my best to surmount the not inconsiderable difficulties which have attended its inception. The only difficulties now remaining are of a financial character, and although I do not underestimate them, I feel that we can confidently appeal to the citizens of London to help us to carry through, within the next few months, a scheme which will be of service to the Metropolis as well as to the Empire. I am convinced that the foundation of the school, which will be at once a training ground for those about to proceed to Africa and the East, and a centre of intelligance in regard to our vast Dominions in those parts, is of vital importance to the continued prosperity of our Oriental commerce and of our Oriental administration. It is a matter in which we can no longer afford to remain in a position of inferiority to other countries.'

The Lord Mayor said the merchant princes of London were thoroughly in sympathy with the establishment of this School of Oriental Studies, and the City was anxious to remove the reproach that while England was the greatest Oriental Power in the world, it possessed no school of Oriental studies that could be compared with those of Paris, Berlin, Vienna, or St. Petersburg. He appealed confidently to the citizens of London to make the projected School a speedy and a great success. (Cheers.)

LORD CURZON'S SPEECH.

Earl Curzon who was received with cheers, moved: 'That in view of the great Imperial and commercial interests dependent on adequate provision being made for instruction in the languages, the literature and the social customs of Oriental and African countries, this meeting desires heartily to support the scheme for the foundation of a school of Oriental Studies in the City of London.' First of all he said he would like to express the gratitude they all felt towards the Lord Mayor and their regret at the absence of Lord Cromer, who had been Chairman of the Committee which had been dealing for four years with the question of the establishment of a School of Oriental Studies a Committee of which the speaker himself was a member. Lord Cromer had attended every meeting of the committee and had done an enormous amount of work in connection with it. In the main that School, when it came into being, would owe its existence to Lord Cromer's influence and untiring perseverance. (Cheers.) Another person whose absence he sincerely regretted was that eminent African administrator Sir Harry Johnston. He would much have liked to see that gentleman there, because this School was intended to deal with the languages and customs not only of the East in the conventional sense of the terms but also of Africa. As the Lord Mayor had pointed out, this was a movement to place Great Britain in the same position with regard to the countries of the East which were administered by us, or with which we had relations of diplomacy or trade, that was occupied by Continental Powers whose interests in the East were far inferior to ours. Germany spent £10,000 a year on a school of Oriental languages at Berlin; France, £8,000 a year on one in Paris; Russia £8,000 a year on one in St. Petersburg to which had lately been added a sister institution at Vladivostock with a similar endowment while even Italy spent £4,000 for a similar purpose. It was hardly credible, having regard to the position of this country in the East, that there should not be an institution of the kind in the British Capital. Our officers and Civil Servants pick up the languages of the countries who went out to the East were left to which they were sent from munshis or interpreters or the native assistants whom they employed, and it was the same with the clerks who were sent to treaty ports and great commercial centres, where our traders were faced with ever-increasing foreign rivalry. Nor was there any machinery for teaching these men what was, from some points of view, ever more important than languages, namely, an acquaintance with the ideas, traditions, customs, and beliefs of Oriental peoples.

LANGUAGE AND SPIRIT.

To know the languages of the East was a great thing, but he ventured to suggest that to know the spirit of the East was a greater. (Hear, hear.) He remembered a phrase that once fell from General Gordon, who said that it was the duty of the Englishmen in the East 'to get inside the skin' of the Oriental with whom he was dealing. That was a very sagacious and pregnant remark. He would not raise the question whether the Eastern man was a different being from the Western man, but undoubtedly there was an atmosphere of the East, and there could be no doubt that the real key to success was a knowledge of the national character of the peoples and their point of view, their religious beliefs, their scruples, their prejudices, perhaps. (Hear, hear.) To teach such knowledge would, he thought, be an important part of the work of this school of Oriental Studies. During the past quarter of a century more than one effort had been made to remedy the state of things in this country to which he had made reference, but none was successful, and they finally dwindled down to the excellent but rather precarious teaching of a small number of Oriental languages in University College and King's College, London. This state of affairs lasted until, in 1906, an influential deputation went to the then Prime Minister, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, and made to him a powerful representation of the case. The Prime Minister gave a most sympathetic reply, and the result was the appointment of a Departmental Committee, presided over by Lord Reay, than whom, among the distinguished Englishmen who had served this country in high administrative offices abroad, none on returning home, had devoted himself with greater enthusiasm to the languages, literature, and interest of the East. (Cheers.) In 1908 Lord Reay's Committee reported, and that report was the basis of all that had happened since. It recomended the institution of a School of Oriental Studies in London, to be ultimately incorporated in the University of London, and to be reasonably endowed by the Government. The next stage was the discussion in the House of Lords in 1909, a discussion inaugurated by his noble friend, Lord Redesdale, who had placed at the service of Lord Reay's committee his unrivalled knowledge of the peoples of the Far East. Lord Cromer and he (Lord Curzon) incautiously took part in that debate, the consequences of which they little foresaw. The then Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley having adopted a favourable attitude, and indicated a willingness to be further squeezed pounced down on Lord Cromer and himself and told them that they were to formulate and organise a scheme for the establishment of the school, to find a site for the building, sketch out a scheme of managements, and find the necessary

fairly ambitious and expensive programme. (Laughter.) Their income. (Laughter.) The meeting would agree that was Committee had sat ever since, and had seen four Lords Mayors and two Permanent Under-Secretaries for Foreign Affairs.

The London Institution.

With regard to the site, their attention was directed to the splendid building of the London Institution in the heart of the city, at Finsbury circus, which had a magnificent library, large rooms, and a theatre, and was in a quiet position well adapted to study. With the aid of the chairman of that institution, Lord Aldenham, they succeeded in buying out the interest of the proprietors, the Government promised £20,000 or £25,000 for repairs and alterations, and the building of a new block of class-room, and Professor Simpson prepared plans which would be carried out before the middle of the next year. This institution was to be established as a school of the University of London, but under a Royal Charter. The bodies represented among the Governors would be the University of London, several provincial Universities, the Foreign Office, the War Office, the India Office, the Corporation of the City of London, the London County Council, the Royal Asiatic Society, the British Academy, and the Landon Chamber of Commerce. In the school would be taught nine Indian languages, as well as Arabic, Persian, Malay, Chinese, Japanese, Hansa, and Swahili. There were to be six professors and a number of assistants. The King had honoured them by consenting to be patron of the institution. (Cheers.) The Committee estimated the annual expenditure at £14,000, and towards this the Government had promised £4,000, and the Government of India £1,250. They had hopes that the London County Council would make them a handsome grant. In fact, the Education Committee of the Council had, he believed, recommended a grant of £2,000 a year. (Cheers.)

With regard to the city, he appealed to the Lord Mayor to be kind enough to use his powerful influence with the splendid and munificent body over which he presided. (Cheers.) The school would be valuable to the commerce of the city, and once it was established the present Lord Mayor's successors would claim it, and rightly claim it, as a city institution. (Cheers.) He greatly hoped that they might be assisted, too, by those admirable bodies the City Companies, whom everybody co-operated in bleeding, and who revelled in the surgical operation. (Laughter.) Some he believed were favourably inclined but on this subject they must adopt a formula which was popular in high politics; they must wait and see. (Laughter.) He hoped that the formula of the Companies would be: hurry up and pay. (Laughter). The Committee desired to raise an endowment fund. It behoved the merchants of the city who traded with the East to support the scheme if they did not want to see the plums from the cake and the spoils of commercial enterprise taken by their indifatigable foreign rivals, particularly the Germans, as was being done at the present time. He appealed for recognition for what was really a great Imperial obligation. It was part of the necessary furniture of Empire. There was a gap in our national equipment which ought to be filled, and those who took part in filling it would be rendering a patriotic duty to the Empire and promoting the cause of peace and good will among mankind.

'Dont's' for Anglo-Indians.

Lord Reay, in seconding the resolution, emphasised the importance of understanding the manners and customs of the peoples of the East. There were certain things that an Englishman in India for instance, ought to know, such as that he should not call on a Hindu at prayer time, morning, noon, or night, that he should not cast a shadow on any food a Brahmin was eating, and that he should not interfere with a workman at work.

The Resolution was Carried.

Lord Inchcape proposed, and Mr. F. Faithful Begg seconded, a resolution appealing to the commercial community of the city and the general public for funds to enable the school to be opened in 1915 on a satisfactory financial basis. This also was adopted.

The Marquess of Crewe proposed a vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor. In doing so, he referred to the close connection between the City of London and East ever since the foundation of the first of the East Indian Companies rather more than 300 year ago. Indians were studying the English language and English literature more and more every day, and that being so there was a reciprocal obligation on Englishmen who went out to India to learn not merely the languages of India, but Indian customs and Indian history. He trusted that all those connected with the City of London would take a prominent and noble part in supplying the needs of this School of Oriental Studies and he was certain that countless as were the objects which had been promoted and pressed forward in the Mansion House, that nursery of good causes, there were not many more worthy of general support than the cause they had met to advocate that day. (Cheers).

On Toleration and the Turk.

There is nothing that so surely enshrines the past in a living balm of piety as a monastery. It is in the critical spirit that the true monk locks his door. His treasure is a thing of chance. No connoisseur has gathered or preserved it. It is always the gift of hazard that some random affection or antique habit has made precious. Here it is a priceless manuscript that a carved chest contains, there a chased salver, and again some pitiful relic that survives only to commemorate credulity and superstition. We recall a curious monastic treasure which in itself summed up a whole world of ambiguous yet beautiful sentiment. It lies in the monastery of Rilo on the frontiers of the old Bulgaria. There is much that is curious and beautiful around it. The mountains have made for it a narrow hermit's cell with their towering walls of greenery, their spires of living rock, their rippling streams that are a ceaseless call to prayer. The whitewashed masonry with its reminiscences, now of the Venetian and again of Byzantine architecture, are solid tomes of history. Like the memories of the monks, it is a chronicle of revolt and brigandage, of plotting and massacre. The treasure is that rarest of all relics, a memento of tolerance, the gift of a fraternity which could overstep race and creed. It is a great candle, such as men of all religions have loved to burn at their altars, presented to this Christian monastery by one of the more glorious Sultans of the House of Othman. Nor is its message inarticulate. Among the treasured manuscripts of the place is a letter in which this tolerant Turk assured the monks of Rilo of his regard and protection, and bade them pray for him at the altar to which he sent his gift. Rilo in the centuries to come was to be the centre of many a savage struggle between Christians and Turks. Here the bands were sheltered and armed which set out with fire and sword for the liberation of Macedonia. Hither the refugees fled with their tales of horror, from its devastated villages, when revolution had brought in its train the usual reprisals of alarmed authority. Crusade provoked jehad, and outrage was answered by massacre, but still, amid the angers and fanaticisms, these candles stood in Rilo to recall the good deed of the tolerant Sultan. There was nothing insincere in their tolerance nor has time made it obsolete. The Turks were and are a tolerant people.

It is s book in defence of the Turks, not too accurate in its facts, and far from tactful in its polemics, which has reminded us of Rilo. In "Turkish Memories" (Heinemann), Mr. Sidney Whitman is concerned largely with Abdul Hamid and the Armenian massacres. He is a partial historian, and his competence to write on Eastern affairs may be judged from the fact that he supposes the Armenians to belong to the Greek Orthodox Church (p. 20). But the book, superficial and but moderately interesting as it is, makes one point which is worth considering. Mr. Whitman, travelling through Armenia to investigate the atrocities as a personal friend of Abdul Hamid, with Palace officers at his side, and Kurdish cavalry for his guard of honor, was impressed by the fact that everywhere on the hillsides of this country which Turkish fanaticism was supposed to have devastated, he saw churches and monasteries of the Armenians, inviolate, flourishing, and secure. On that impression fortified by similar evidence, he bases the conclusion that the persecutions and massacres of the Armenians were in no sense religious, that fanaticism played no part in them, and that they were a purely political reprisal for the outrages and seditious propaganda of Armenian revolutionists.

The thesis is not new. It is, indeed, the usual Turkish version of these ghastly events, but Mr. Whitman puts it forward with an uncritical assurance unusual among disinterested Europeans. The Turkish mind is essentially loyal and honest, and when it is driven into untruth, it lies clumsily and badly. This excuse is not clumsy, and it is not a lie. It is in our experience, so far as it goes, the exact truth, and it fails to be a fair account of this hideous social phenomenon not because of what it states, but because of what it omits. The persecution of Christians by Turks never was religious, as the persecution of Jews by Christians or of heretics by the Church was religious. It was not inspired by hatred of their "errors," by anger at their rejection of sacred teaching, by a desire to vindicate the authority of a Church, nor by a wish to save souls in the next world by destroying bodies in this life. Islam, in short, has never earned Gibbon's censure on the early Church; it has never defended absurdities by cruelties. There have, indeed, been cases, even in recent centuries, of forced conversions *en masse* by the sword, but these were always an incident of warfare, and did not occur among populations which quietly accepted Ottoman rule. We so far agree with Mr. Whitman as to believe that if there had been no Bulgarian insurrection there would have been no Bulgarian horrors, and if there had been no Armenian secret societies there would have been no Armenian massacres.

Had the Christians of the Ottoman Empire remained deaf to nationalist aspirations, and turned a cold shoulder to fraternal incitements from outside, they might have vegetated in a relative security as tolerable as that which the Jews of Salonica and Smylum have enjoyed since they formed under the Crescent an asylum from the Inquisition. Whatever else may be said of Turkish atrocities and massacres, they are not religious phenomena comparable with the destruction of the Albigeneses, the St. Bartholomew massacres, or the exploits of the Holy Office. When the Turks persecuted, they were not vindicating dogma; they were securing the outworks of an empire based upon conquest.

The distinction may seem subtle. After all, it will be justly said, Armenians and Bulgarians were exposed to the intermittent sufferings and humiliations which provoked insurrection only because they were Christians, and any time they might have escaped all danger by becoming Moslems. That is the broad fact which Mr. Whitman's casuistry ignores. Life was made intolerable for progressive and self-respecting Christians, with the result that some of them rebelled, whereupon rebellion was suppressed with massacre. History in such cases may have some censure for the imprudence of the rebels, but it holds the conqueror and oppressor responsible for the whole chain of evils. The distinction which Mr. Whitman and his school invite us to make is interesting only in the world of theory and psychology, but there it is vital.

The simple fact is that tolertaion, though we continue to use the world loosely, has long since ceased to be the ideal of civilized men. It represented in European history a half-way house, and a middle term between persecution and full civil equality. It was toleration which kept the Irish Catholics as helots under the penal laws, and debarred them from the ownership of land and the exercise of professions, while it allowed them the practice of their rites. It was toleration which excluded the Jews from the franchise, while it protected their synagogues and stamped out the medieval instinct for *pogroms*. It was not toleration, but a Liberal theory of the secular State which opened wide the doors of political and civil rights to Catholics, Nonconformists, and Jews. The interesting fact about the Turks, or rather about Islam in general, is that it was the first and greatest builder of this half-way house. It is not enough to say that Islam is tolerant; it is based on tolerance, it has been the standard-bearer and model of tolerance among the world's civilizations. Its theory and practice had as a corner-stone the permissive existence of tolerated cults, which were not merely allowed but protected. So far from making any effort under moral conditions of peace to convert Christians or Jews, the Moslem ruling class regarded them as permanent castes, designed to persevere in their errors under an inscrutable destiny, as pariahs are destined to persevere in their uncleanness. Their rights were well-defined and rarely infringed. They were governed by their own ecclesiastical heads, who administered the civil as well as the canon law in their internal affairs. They enjoyed the public exercise of their cults and were absolutely free in matters of opinion.

The apologist of Islam is entitled to make the most of the wisdom and humanity which inspired this institution. The Prophet anticipated John Locke by a round thousand years, and the history of Islam is in consequence a luminous and glorious page in the matter of tolerance, when one places it side by side with the records of Christian doctors and princes from St. Augustine downwards. But toleration in the strict sense of the word is an attitude of contempt. The tolerated sects of Christians and Jews occupied a status midway between slavery and freedom. The early statesmen and jurists of Islam defined it sharply, and practice rather tended to worsen than to better the plight of the *rayahs*. They were in theory an enemy who had made an external submission. They had bought off the worst penalty of conquest by consenting to pay a tribute. They were a subject caste with rights that marked their status of inferiority. They might own slaves, but not Moslem slaves. They might not marry Moslem women. They might not own or bear arms. There was a penalty on a Moslem who killed one of them, but it was never death, and was always less than the blood-price of a true believer. Their evidence, like that of a slave could not be accepted in court. They might ride mules but not horses. They might retain their churches but could not build new ones, nor even repair their ancient fanes. This was the theory of Islam as its greatest doctors defined it. Its practice as the Bulgarian and the Armenian knew it, was governed mainly by the fact that the Turk was usually his landlord, and that the Kurd and Albanian alone went armed. Toleration bore the same fruits in Catholic Ireland and in Christian Armenia, aggrevated, indeed, in the latter by the rudeness of the ruling race and the feebleness of the central government. By all means let us give the Turk his due, but let us make no fetish of tolerance. If persecution has slain its thousands, tolerance has degraded its hundreds. The monks did well to keep the Sultan's candles in the library at Rilo. But who shall say that they did ill to store rifles in the cellar?—The *Nation*.

Degenerate Journalism.

Trafficking in Abuse.

There is only one thing more apparent than the monotonous scurrility of the Tory Press when dealing with Liberal Ministers and Liberal measures, and that is its utter ineffectiveness. The disadvantage of always screaming when you talk is that when you do want to raise your voice you cannot. If the epithets 'rogue,' 'liar,' 'traitor,' 'bully,' are used daily about opponents they not only cease to convey any stigma, but are dead when applied on some serious occasion. It is this fact which so troubles the Tory writers. Having exhausted the vocabulary of abuse in their ordinary vocabulary of Liberalism they have nothing left for 'a rainy day,' and, hoarse with bawling, can only repeat their hackneyed catalogue, complaining' that 'current language' is unable 'to keep pace with current events to quote the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

A few citations from Tory journals will show how great a hold the new style has got. I unhesitatingly affirm that it is impossible to find in Liberal organs of similar standing to these papers such an utter disregard not only of the elementary decencies of controversy but of the elementary meaning of words. The quotations I have taken are from the Tory Press of last month and in order to avoid the charge of exaggeration the passages selected do not represent the Tory Press at its worst, they are fair samples of its medium mood:—

'We learn on authority, which we cannot question, that warrants have already been signed for the arrest of leaders of the Ulster movement.'—*Globe*, March 19.

Though this statement was untrue, the *Globe* did not, so far as we can discover, withdraw it.

'We believe the Unionist party will now refuse to have any further truck with a Cabinet of tricketers and 'agents provocateurs.'—*Globe*, March 23.

"'General' Lloyd George, the debased Maconi Minister, and now official incendiary, will work his vile ways in vain.'—*Globe*, March 23.

"'The honour of Ministers is worth £8 a week. There is no dirt, no filth that Ministers will not eat if only they can cling to office a little longer.'—*Globe*, March 27.

'Trickery evasion, and downright falsehood have stained with indelible dishonour the actions of this unprecedented Government.'—*Globe*, March 26.

The 'Times' and Ministers.

The *Times*, though not so blunt as the *Globe* is equally insulting. It refers to Mr. Churchill as Mr. Lloyd George's 'rival in vituperation,' speaks of the reckoning to be sough with the plotters who planned the forcible coercion of Ulster,' and asks 'need we take any further notice of the evasions and the protestations of Mr. Churchill and other plotters?' On March 27 the *Times* declared that—

'The cynical withdrawal of these pledges has induced a widespread feeling that no undertaking by this Government, however solemn, no promise, however sacred, will be kept for an instant longer than political exigencies require.'

During the month of March the forthcoming reduction of the *Times* to 1*d*. rivalled in importance the Ulster crisis in the columns of the *Daily Mail* but there was room for such headlines as 'The Bullies,' 'Dirty work for the Army,' and for the prophecy that the Government. are comes, and not honest,' would be the verdict of the British People. Mr. Asquith, said the *Daily Mail*, must be beginning to see 'he cannot carry out his fraudulent bargain with Mr. Redmond.' The *Daily Express*, however, atoned for any excess of 'sweetness and light in the *Daily Mail*.' Included in its headlines were:

How to make a pogrom.
Up to the neck.
Still on the knee.

'As for the limpets who cling to office and salary in this incredible fashion, they are beyond the piercing touch of shame. First the "hellish" plot to make a pogrom in Ulster, now amply proved, in spite of Sir John Simon, by evidence against which Mr. Asquith's verbal assurances do not weigh at all. Then the offer of a choice to the officers who were to carry out the pogrom. Then the resignation. Then the Ministerial lies and extra lies morasses of lying which are given a new twist with each new hour, with the dishonoured cheque lying on top of all'—*Daily Express*, March 28.

'The Ulster pogrom and its sequels are made the excuse for a "star turn" by Mr. Asquith, P. M. of England, in his new character of profession of droll.'—*Daily Express*, March 31.

Shrieking Headlines.

'P. M. of England' is quite good and to the *Daily Express* belongs the further distinction of discovering the hair-raising qualities of 'pogrom,' the 'P. M. of Russia', but the 'honours' undoubtedly belong to the *Pall Mall Gazette*. 'Bully,' Juggler,' 'pantalones,' 'slanderous,' 'indecent.' 'put-up job,' 'vile means,' 'clutching at dirty handholds,' were among its happiest hits.' The headlines were worthy of a paper which, as has been wittily remarked, is not so much published as carried shrieking into the street. Here are three examples :—

What the Government Intended,
To Catch Ulster Unprepared
Days of Butchery.

The letterpress was in the same strain :—

'The plot that failed becomes the more scandalous, the more the details are known. It was worthy of a Negro republic. There is no doubt even in well-informed circles that the work of exasperating Ulster was deliberately contemplated'. *Pall Mall Gazette*, March 24.

'The faction that supports the conspirators is prepared to go to any lengths of destruction in its spleen and rage.. A Ministry shamed and convicted growing in malignancy as it declines in power.—*Pall Mall Gazette*, March 25.

'The length of a barge pole will not bottom the muddiness of the plot and the second plot....Ministers eat a very dirt to save face.'—*Pall Mall Gazette* March 26.

Mr. Asquith's acceptance of the post of Secretary for War and the consequent by-election were described in the *Pall Mall Gazette* headlines as a

Bolt to cover
Premier as 'Poor Reynard'

'The House of Commons had become 'too hot' for the Prime Minister, and he was snatching a brief holiday from humiliation,' leaving his Ministers to stew in their own juice. The same journal stated that the Government could not afford 'the luxuries of consistency and honour,' and was 'without a rag of respect to drape the position to which they still cling with paralytic clutches.' Why one should 'drape a position' with a rag is not clear.

The Non-Party Organ,

'It may be well said that the conditions of English politics are fast approximating to those of Mexico.—*Morning Post*, March 26.

Then *Morning Post* is not in the counsels of my party...it is an independent organ free from any party or trust, political or financial.... We leave concealment of Liberal Whips, lies to Liberal Ministers, and misrepresentations to the Liberal Press.—*Morning Post*, March 28.

'Every vote for a Liberal is a vote for civil war.—*Morning Post*, March 28.

The *Standard*, whilst not professing to be 'free from any party,' is content with referring to the Government as 'a group of political adventurers who are showing themselves as inapt as they are unscrupulous.'

'These pledge bound Ministers who have sworn on oath to commit the foulest treason against democracy that a Government ever conceived are entangled in the nets of their own making, and are willing to bring to ruin the whole fabric of the State in a last desperate effort to break through.'—*Daily Telegraph*, March 30.

We have not referred to the provincial Tory Press. A single quotation will show how the example of the London Tory Press is emulated. The *Yorkshire Evening Post*, alluding to the sore throat from which Mr. Lloyd George is suffering, said:

'We trust his ailment will keep him just sufficiently indisposed to be unable to return to the House of Commons before Mr. Asquith.

Later it contemplates the advantages which might accrue—

'If demagogues can be conveniently silenced for a time, whether by the operation of sore throats or some other merciful intervention of Nature.'

To conclude, here are a few flowers of speech culled at random from the pages of the current issue of the *National Review* the acknowledged organ of the 'Die-hard' section of the Tory party.

'We are governed by a combination of black mailers and blackmailed.

'There are no limits to the amount of dirt which an Asquith can eat.'

'The present Prime Minister believes in nothing, not even in himself.'

'Sir Edward Grey would cheerfully smash up the Army and cashier every officer, provided his party secured a few votes. It is high time that a sanctimonious impostor who has enjoyed the privileges of a chartered libertine should be unmasked.'

'It is said of George Washington that he never told a lie, and it can be said of Mr. Lloyd George that he rarely tells the truth.'

'Even such utterly discredited demagogues as the Windbag and the Artful Dodger continue to collect audiences at Bradford and Huddersfield.'

'All the contemptibleness of Mr. Asquith's shifty character was revealed by his answer.'

'Not a statement of his (Mr. Lloyd George's) should be accepted except upon affidavit, and even then it should be handled with tongs.'

'Mentiris impudentissime (O most abandoned liar)—for the first time in history that stinging phrase, which should cut a man of honour like a whip can be addressed with justice to a British Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that British Chancellor of the Exchequer does not care.'

'That is the bitterest reflection of all—to the beaten and discredited 'Die-hard'—Mr. Lloyd George 'does not care'.—*Daily Chronicle*.

Mr. Wells on Rebels.

Mr. H. G. Wells tells the *Daily Herald* why he prefers a constructive person to a rebel.

"It is possible to make rebellion a cant," said Mr. Wells. "I think the *Daily Herald* comes near to making rebellion a cant. I disagree with the paper's little way of calling people rebels as if it were praise, as if rebellion was a permanent profession, and highly honourable. Rebellion is sometimes a disagreeable necessity. I admit that. I admit that there are things one cannot stand, one must be quite of them, one has to liberate one's lsoufrom them at any cost. But this note of pride! No.

"A rebel is a nuisance. A rebel is always a bit of lout Any fool can do rebels' works, and smash and spoil. Don't we all remember from our school days the sort of little beast who used to 'stash up' games? When one has to rebel when there is no more decent or human method, then rebel and have done with it. But to flourish about it as though it was something gaudy and glorious is to show an imbecile's outlook on life. Life is to be and do and make and cherish, not to spoil, insult, defy and embitter. If you must rebel, be clean and direct about it. Decide upon the things you won't stand and don't stand them. If there are things that hamper your life, get rid of them. But get rid of them as quietly and decently as you can.

"Don't spoil life for other people. Don't regard your insurmountable objection to this or that oppression as the heroic justification for any malicious mischief that the ancestral monkey, still lurking in our composition, puts into your head. Everybody has an occasional craving for spiteful destruction. I restrain myself here from a tedious story about a greenhouse and an impulse in my boyhood.) Even in Florence they once smashed ornaments and burnt books and pictures with the utmost gusto. It is one of our ugly factors. It has to be restrained just as we have to restrain many people from a certain innate filthiness, just as we have to restrain many dogs from fighting and many men from a disposition to pursue and frighten unprotected girls in lonely places. It is atavism. It is not the last divine birth of the human spirit.

The Lord of the Future.

"Isn't there a principle actor in the great drama of the modern state whom the *Daily Herald* ignores?" queries Mr. Wells. "I perceive all about me, and I perceive also in myself and my own life, both of the two opponents in the *Daily Herald's* social picture, both *Fat Man* and the lean, large-limbed, small-headed, pathetic *Worker*. Neither strikes me as the hopeful lord of the future. Even if the *Fat Man* be slain, cut up, melted in vats for his tallow, I do not see a very hopeful heir in his toiling, untutored, microcephalic antagonist.

"Isn't there, indeed, between these two, something as yet inadequate in which the hope of man resides, something that is neither pride and greed on the one hand nor blind anger and revolt on the other—Intelligence and Will? Has the *Daily Herald* no sense of Thought and Science and Education as the true heirs of the future that will put an end to Serfs and Fat Men and—Kings? In schools and laboratories to-day there are heroes at work. Or does the Good Rebel hope also to burn the books and smash the experiments, and leave nothing finer than a Rebel Leader in the world?"

The Honest Party.

The word "rebel" displeases even Mr. G. K. Chesterton, for in the same paper he says :—

"The word 'rebel' understates our cause. It is much too mild ; it lets our enemies off much too easily.

"I should not say to Mr. Rockefeller 'I am a rebel.' I should say 'I am a respectable man ; and you are not.'

"We want a term that will tell everybody that there is, by the common standard, frank fraud and cruelty pushed to their fierce extreme ; and that we are fighting *them*. We are not in a state of 'divine discontent' ; we are in an entirely human and entirely reasonable rage. I cannot at the moment think of any party name that would particularly distinguish us from our more powerful and prosperous opponents, unless it were the name the old Jacobites gave themselves ; the Honest party."

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

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

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Supplement to the Comrade, 6th June, 1914.

[We regret that through an oversight the leading article on "The Press Act and Proselytization" in our last issue was published without the proofs having been read. We extremely regret it and republish it to-day as a Supplement.]

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*.

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 now 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 his presentation of the 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 sub-"jection 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 black-"ness of (Mohamed's) heart, which was the seed or spermatozoon 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 com-"mitting 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 com-"mitted 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 prosti-"tutes increase in this world, but Paradise also was filled with *hoors* "and *ghilman* and became a quarter full of brothels." Take another sample: "It is the Mohamedan formula of faith which not only encour-"ages 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 thereby 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 in winning true converts than all the religious controversies in the world. 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 certain 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 of the *Ahl-i-Hadees* and the *Badr*, both of which wrote their peccant articles as rejoinders to Rev. Howell's book on Atonement.

I. The Case of the "Ahl-i-Hadees."

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 sin and sin against the law. They define original sin in this way: Because man is the son of Adam, who committed sin, every Son of Adam is sinful by origin. 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 born only of woman, and that, consequently, he was the Son of God. Moreover, 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 Gospels" 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" according to the Christian doctrine than any other person born of such union. 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 texts 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 Gospels* Sinless?" (*The italics are ours.*) The writer 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 scurrilous 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 Gospels". 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 in which they 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 and 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 Gospels". But what of Jesus as the writer believes him to be? Does he, too, consider him to be a disturber of peace and a man given to unseemly abuse of others, an ungrateful son and 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, in his opinion, 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 'origin' and according to law. If he was "sinful he cannot atone for the sins of others, according to the Chris-"tian 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 Jesus 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 scurrilous and offensive"! If the Christian population of the Province is ever brought into contempt, it would be brought into contempt by 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 in the 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 Uhad? 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 piquant 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 Maulvi Sanaullah of Amritsar, the Government of the Punjab deigned to reply after three months of deliberation and cogitation that Sir Michael 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 puhlisher, but that the keeper of the Press also where the *Ahl-i-Hadees* is printed had 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 he 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 Statue 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 that 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 reading 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 :

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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"!

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