The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal. Edited by - Mohamed Ali

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

—*Morris.*

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The Editor's Grateful Thanks

I beg to thank all kind friends who have made inquiries about Mrs. Mohamed Ali's health during her dangerous illness and prayed to the God of Healing for her recovery. She was at death's door and for at least three days, 30th and 31st October and 1st November, her life hung on a thin piece of thread. But God in His mercy willed that she should live for her distraught husband, her afflicted brother, her helpless little girls and her other relations and friends.

Haziq-ul-Mulk Hakim Ajmel Khan, Dr. Ansari, Shifa-ul-Mulk Hakim Raziud Din Khan, Dr. Abdur Rahman and Dr. Singh were indefatigable in their efforts to pull her through and they succeeded by dint of their persistence and patience quite as much as their well-known ability and knowledge of the Science of Medicine. My debt to them can never be repaid, and this is no place even to mention it—

حساب دوستاں در دل

I say thesame to all of you whose expression of affection and concern for me in this terrible crisis in my life has touched me more deeply than I can tell you. Naturally, the confiscation of the security of the Press could have had no weight with me when I was passing through the severest trial to which the All Merciful God in His Wisdom has hitherto subjected me.

But I thank you no less heartily for your expression of sympathy in the loss of the security of our Press and the financial assistance that you are so liberally offering to me. Naturally all depends on the nature of the demand made on our resources and the extent of your succour. Should your response continue to be as hearty as the first few days after the order of forfeiture lead me to hope and our dues are paid to us at an early date, the *Comrade* may yet live to advance the cause of righteousness and truth.

Explanatory Notes.

ALAND ISLANDS, an Archipelago at the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia, about 25 miles from the coast of Sweden and 15 from that of Finland. These island formerly belonged to Sweden, but they were ceded to Russia in 1809. They occupy a total area of 1426 sq., Kilometres, and their present population is estimated at about 19,000 These islands occupy a position of the greatest strategic importance, commanding as they do both the entrance to the port of Stockholm and the approaches to the Gulf of Bothnia, through which the greater part of the trade of Sweeden is carried on. The question of the Aland islands created some discussion in 1907 and 1908 in connection with the new North Sea agreements, but the point was not definitely and officially raised.

ARMAMENT: 14—7.6 in. (45 calibres) guns, four in pairs in turrets fore and aft, six singly in turrets on beam, and four in casemates; 18—9 pounders; 8—3 pounders; 2—1 pounders. Torpedo tubes, 2-18 in. submerged, broadside.

BAYAN, PALLADA and ADMIRAL MAKAROFF are three of the latest armoured cruisers of Russia. These ships are very similar to the Japanese *Aso* (ex *Bayan*) captured at Port Arthur in 1905.

Pallada and *Bayan* were built by the New Admiralty in 1906 and 1907, respectively, while *Admiral Makaroff* was constructed at La Seyne in 1906. Length: 442·9 ft; Beam 57·4 ft; Draught (mean): 21·3; Displacement: 7,775 tons. Indicated Horse Power: 16,500; Speed: 21 knots.

Armour: Krupp. Belt for 350 ft. from bow, 6·5 ft. wide, 6·9 in. amidships, tapering to 4 in. at ends; lower deck side for 350 ft. from bow, 2·4 in. Bulkhead aft 5·9 in. Turrets and barbettes 5·9 in.; battery and casemates 2·4 in.; Conning tower 5·4 in.; deck sloping 2 in. behind belt., 2·7 in. aft.

Armament: 2—8 in. (45 calibres) in turrets fore and aft, 8—6 in. (45 calibres) four at corners of battery, four in double athwart-ship casemates; 22-3 in. (12 projected,) eight in battery fourteen shields; 4-6 projected; 4 machine gun torpedo tubes, 2 18 in. submerged broadside.

BERWICK:—Is a British armoured cruiser with thin armour. She was built at Dalmuir in 1902.

Length between perpendiculars 440 ft.;

Beam, 66 ft.; Draught (mean) 24·5 ft.; Displacement 9,800 tons. Indicated Horse Power 22,000 and Speed 23 knots.

Armour: Krupp. Belt for 330 ft., from bone, 11·5 ft. Wide, 4 in. amidships, 2 in., forward; after bulkhead, 5 in.; casements, 4 in.; turrets and barbettes, 5 in.; conning tower, 10 in., deck sloping; 7 in; main deck, 1·2 in.

Armament: 14—6 in. (45 calibres), four in pairs in turrets fore and aft, ten in casemates; 8—3 in. (12 projected); 3—3 projected. Torpeds tubes, 2—18 in., submerged, broadside.

Complement 655.

BAILLEUL is a town of Northern France, in the department of Nord, situated on the Franco-Belgian border some 20 miles west-north-west of Lille.

CAROLINE ISLANDS:— are a widely scattered archipelago, in the Pacific Ocean, E. of the Philippines and north of New Guinea, and they belong to Germany. They fall into three main groups, the Western, Central and Eastern Carolines, the central being the most numerous. The total land area is about 380 sq. miles These islands are of considerable elevation. The total population is estimated at 3,600. The natives have finer physique and comparatively high mental standard, being peculiarly clever boat-builders and navigators. The Germans have devided the whole archipelago into two administrative districts, eastern and western.

CONDE is a French armoured cruiser built at Lorient in 1902. Her length between perpendiculars is 452·7 ft; Beam 65·3 ft. Draught (mean) 25·2 ft.; Displacement 9,842 tons, Indicated Horse Power 20,220 and speed 21 knots.

Armour: Krupp. Belt from bow almost to stern, 12·2 ft. wide, 6·7 on water line, 5·5 in. at top, 3·2 in. at bottom amidships, tapering to 4 in. on water line and 2·2 in. at edges at ends: Bulk-

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DRESDEN is a German protected cruiser, and sister to *Emden*. She was built at Hamburg in 1907.

Length, water line 386·6 ft.; Beam 44·3 ft. Draught (mean), 15·8 ft. Displacement 3,592 tons. Indicated Horse power 13,315 and speed 24·5 knots. Armour: Deck, 2 in. to 3 in.; conning tower 3·9 in.

Armament: 10—4·1 in (40 calibres): 2 machine guns: Torpedo tubes, 2—18 in. submerged on broadside.

Complement 361.

DIXMUDE: Is a Belgian town in the department of West Flanders. It is situated about 15 miles south of Ostend.

HAWKE was a British Protected Cruiser belonging to the Truth Cruiser Squadron which consisted of the *Hawke*, the *Theseus*, four other sister ships of these two, and two sister ships *Crescent* and *Royal Arthur*. The *Hawke* was built at Chatham and the *Theseus* at Blackwall in 1891 and 1892 respectively.

Length: 360 ft.
Beam: 60 ft.
Draught (mean): 23·7 ft.
Displacement: 7,350 Tons.
Indicated Horse Power: 12,000.
Speed: 19·7 Knots.

Armour. Compound. Deck, 5 in. on slopes, 1 in. on flat; coamings to engine room, 6 in.; casemates, 6 in.; hoists to big guns, 7 in.; Conning Tower, 12 in.

Armament. 2—9·2 in. (30 col.) in shields fore and aft;
10—6 in. (40 col.) four in casements on main deck, six in shields on upper deck;
12—6-pounders;
5—3-pounders;
2—Machine guns.
2—18 in Torpedo tubes submerged, broadside.

Complement: 544.

HAZEBROUCK is a town of Northern France, capital of an arrondissement in the department of Nord, on the canalized Bourre, 29 miles west-north-west of Lille. Its population in 1906 was 12,819. It is an important junction and railway employees form a large part of its population.

KARLSRUHE is a German small cruiser built at Germania in 1912.

Length, water line 456 ft.; Beam 44·9 ft.; Draught (mean) 17·4 ft.; Displacement 4822 tons. Indicated Horse power 25,660 and speed, 27 knots. Armour: Krupp. Belt amidships, 3·9 to 2·4 in.; Deck, 2 in. 8 in.; conning tower 3·9 in. to 3·1 in. Armament: 12—4·1 in. (calibres): 2 machine guns.

Complement 373.

MIDDELKIRK: is a Belgian port situated between Ostend and Nieuport, about five miles south of Ostend.

S. 90:—is a German destroyer built in 1900.

Length: 207 ft.; Beam: 23 ft.; Draught: 7·6 ft; Displacement: 396 tons.

Indicated Horse power: 5,330; Speed: 26·5.

Armament: 3—4 pounders: 2 Machine guns.

Complement 56.

MARSHALL ISLANDS are a group in the western Pacific Ocean belonging to Germany. The group consists of a number of atolls ranged in two almost parallel lines The islands lie entirely within the German sphere of interest, and the boundaries were agreed upon between Great Britain and Germany on the 10th of April 1889. The area is estimatal at 160 sq. miles, with 15,000 inhabitants, who are apparently increasing, though the contrary wa believed. The administrator of the islands is the Governer of German New Guinea, but a mumber of officials reside on the islands.

MARIANNES is an archepelago in the north-western Pacific Ocean. With the exception of the island of Guam (United States) it belongs to Germanay, and administratively forms part of the New Guinea Protectorate. It consists of two groups, and the area, excluding Guam, is about 245 square miles, and the population 2,500, mostly descendents of the Tagol immigrants from the Philippines.

WANGOROD, is probably Wyszogrod. It is situated on the east bank of the Vistula in Russian Poland. It is a town in the Government of Plock, situated between Warsaw and Plock some 40 miles east of Warsaw.

ST. DIE is a French town in the district of Vosges, situated 20 miles north-east of Epinal.

MELLE is a Belgian town in the department of East Flanders situated some seven miles south of Ghent, on the river Scheldt. This Belgian MELLE is different from the French MELLE.

WANGOROD is probably Wyszogrod which is a town in Poland situated on the river Vistula, some 40 miles west of Warsaw.

S. 115, 117, 118 and 119 are all German destroyers built in 1902.

Length: 210 ft.; Beam: 23 ft.; Draught: 7·7; Displacement 413 tons; Indicated Horse Power: 6,415; Speed: 28 knots.

Armament: 3—4-pounders; 2 machine guns.
Complement: 56.

"WALDECK ROUSSU": is a French armoured Cruiser built in 1906.

Alternatives for Turkey.

When last we wrote upon Turkey, at the end of August, we placed before her very clearly the choice which she has to make. She must either listen to the counsel of the Entente Powers, or throw in her lot with Germany and Austria-Hungary. In the first case the Allies offer her a guarantee of the integrity and independence of her possessions, valuable financial assistance, and liberation from the economic yoke which Germany has imposed upon her. In the other, they tell her frankly that they will take the fullest advantage of the successes which their military and naval strength assure them in a contest with her. The alternative is in her own hands. The Allies offer her their friendship and their support on condition that she preserves her neutrality in the European war, and that she does not attack her Balkan neighbours. Germany, on the other hand, calls upon her to attack the Allies, and create diversions in Egypt, in the Balkans, in the Caucasus, and possibly in North Africa. Hitherto she has been halting between these two policies. She cannot halt between them indefinitely. She has taken of late a series of steps, none of which is in itself conclusive, but which viewed collectively appear to indicate that she intends to throw herself into the arms of Germany. As a sovereign State that is her indisputable right, but before she makes a decision which will be irrevocable we desire once more to warn her plainly that to join Germany is to expose her Empire to dismemberment and ruin. We are confident that in the long run the Allies will be the victors in the European war, and that their victory will be complete. If, as we believe, this expectation is fulfilled, they will not spare Turkey the just punishment which wanton intervention in a struggle that is not hers will bring upon her. Her ill-knit Empire is open to attack by sea and by land in many directions. It includes possessions which each of the Allies may reasonably desire to annex or to assign to the minor States which prove amenable to their advice, and populations whose disaffection towards the rule of the Committee and whose aspirations for self-government are notorious. Respect for subsisting treaties and a wish to prevent the extension of the European war have led the Allies to promise Turkey a great reward for standing aside and keeping at peace with the Balkan States. But if she attacks either, they will not forego the uttermost consequences which victory may bring them. They will break up the Turkish Empire, or allow others to break it up, should they deem its destruction to their advantage, as almost certainly they will do. We have neither the right nor the wish to dictate to Turkey. We owe it to her, as an old friend, and owe it to ourselves, to put before her in blunt and unmistakable terms what the policy of the Allies will be if she treats them as enemies.

We need not discuss all the recent acts of the Turkish Government which have made the Allies suspect that she intends to join their foes. She has affected to abrogate of her own mere motion the whole series of treaties which regulate the rights of European subjects in her dominions. The immediate result of the measure should be a warning to her. It reconstituted at once the Concert of Europe *ad hoc*. Germany was the first Power to protest against this Oriental application of the "scrap of paper" doctrine, and the United States of America added their voice to that of the Concert. This proceeding may have been mere bravado, intended in reality for domestic effect, although the closing of some of the post offices maintained by the Powers under the Capitulations suggests that the Committee really mean to treat these compacts as a dead letter. The closing of the Dardanelles, however it may be excused, is another ominous sign. The interruption of the negotiations with Greece and the dispatch of Burhan-ed-Din, a son of the ex-Sultan Abdul Hamid, to Albania as nominal leader of the Moslem insurgents do not suggest pacific intentions. The presence of some 2,000 German fighting men in Turkey is yet more significant. They include a large number of non-commissioned officers, gunners, and artificers, and many of them have arrived since the outbreak of the war. Then there is the ambiguous and prolonged hospitality extended to the Goeben and the Breslau. There are the "purchases" by Turks in Constantinople of cargoes of flour from Rumania, which are resold to the Deutsche Bank and then sent by railway to Germany through Sofia and Bukarest. Finally, there are the mobilization of a large force in Syria—said to amount to 120,000 men—the forced contributions from the Syrians, and the active campaign of intrigue in Egypt. As we have said before, the military authorities in Egypt know all about this precious scheme, and are ready to deal drastically with the emissaries engaged in it should occasion arise. We only mention it again as one amongst the many circumstances which are leading the Allies to mistrust the purposes of Turkey. There is still time for her to explain them away and to set her face resolutely towards the path of peace to which the Allies invite her. But the "sands are running out." She must decide soon, and upon her decision rests her future as an Empire and as a nation.—*The Times.*

The Glory of War.

By Douglas Jerrold.

(Abridged from an essay written in 1843.)

May we ask the reader to behold with us a melancholy show—a saddening, miserable spectacle? We will show him the embryo mischief that, in due season, shall be born in the completeness of its terror, and shall be christened with a sounding name, Folly and Wickedness standing sponsors.

We are in St. James's Park. The royal standard of England burns in the summer air—the queen is in London. We pass the palace and in a few paces are in Birdcage Walk. There, reader, is the miserable show we promised you. There are some fifty recruits, drilled by a sergeant to do homicide cleanly, handsomely. In Birdcage Walk, Glory sits upon her eggs, and hatches eagles!

Contemplate God's image with a musket. Your bosom still expanding with gratitude to nature, for the blessings she has heaped about you, behold the crown glory of God's work managed like a machine, to slay the image of God—to stain the teeming earth with homicidal blood—to fill the air with howling anguish! Is not yonder row of clowns a melancholy sight? Yet are they the sucklings of Glory—the baby mighty ones of a future Gazette. Reason beholds them with a deep pity. Imagination magnifies them into fiends of tickedness. There is carnage about them—carnage, and the pestilential vapours of the slaughtered. What a fine looking thing is war! Yet dress it as we may, dress and feather it, daub it with gold, huzza it, and sing swaggering songs about it—what is it, ninetimes out of ten, but Murder in uniform? Cain, taken the sergeant's shilling?

And now we hear the fifes and drums of her majesty's grenadiers. They pass on the other side; and a crowd of idlers, their hearts jumping to the music, their eyes dazzled and their feelings perverted, hang about the march, and catch the infection—the love of glory! And true wisdom thinks of the world's age, and sighs at its slow advance in all that really dignifies man, the truest dignity, being the truest love for his fellow. And then hope and a faith in human progress contemplate the pageant, its real ghastliness disguised by outward glare and frippery, and know the day will come when the symbols of war will be as the sacred beasts of old Egypt—things to mark the barbarism of by-gone war; melancholy records of the past perversity of human nature.

We can imagine the deep-chested laughter—the look of scorn that would annihilate, and then the small compassion—of the Man of War, at this, the dream of folly, or the wanderings of an inflamed brain. Yet, oh, man of war! at this very moment are you shrinking, withering, like an aged giant. The fingers of Opinion have been busy at your plumes—you are not the feathered thing you were; and then that little tube, the goose-quill, has sent its silent shots into your huge anatomy; and the corroding INK, even whilst you look at it and think it shines so brightly, is eating with a tooth of rust into your sword.

That a man should kill a man, and rejoice in the deed—may gather glory from it—is the act of the wild animal. The force of muscle and dexterity of limb, which make the wild man a conqueror, are deemed in savage life man's highest attributes. The creature, whom in the pride of our Christianity we call heathen and spiritually desolate, has some personal feeling in the strife—he kills his enemy, and then, making an oven of hot stones, bakes his dead body, and, for crowning satisfaction, eats it. His enemy becomes a part of him; his glory is turned to nutriment; and he is content. What barbarsim! Field-marshals sicken at the horror; nay, troopers shudder at the tale, like a fine lady at a toad.

In what, then, consists the prime evil? In the murder, or the meal? Which is the most hideous deed—to kill a man, or to cook and eat the man when killed?

But softly, there is no murder in the case. The craft of man has made a splendid ceremony of homicide—has invested it with dignity. He slaughters with flags flying, drums beating, trumpets braying. He kills according to method, and has worldy honours for his grim handiwork. He does not, like the unchristian savage, carry away with him mortal trophies from the skulls of his enemies. No: the alchemy or magic of authority turns his well-won scalps into epaulets, or hangs them in stars and crosses at his button-hole: and then, the battle over—the dead not eaten, but carefully buried—and the maimed and mangled howling and blaspheming in hospitals—the weak Christain warrior marches to church, and reverently folding his sweet and spotless hands, sings *Te Deum*. Angels waft his fervent thanks to God, to whose footstool—on his own faith—he has so lately sent his shuddering thousands. And this spirit of destruction working within him is canonized by the craft and ignorance of men, and worshipped as glory!

And this religion of the sword—this dazzling heathenism, that makes a pomp of wickedness—seizes and distracts us, even on the threshold of life. Swords and drums are our baby playthings; the types of violence and destruction are made the pretty pastime of our childhood; and as we grow older the outward magnificence of the ogre Glory—his trappings and his trumpets, his privileges, and the songs that are shouted in his praise—ensnare the bigger baby to his sacrifice. Hence, slaughter becomes an exalted profession; the marked, distinguished employment of what, in the jargon of the world, is called a gentleman.

But for this craft operating upon this ignorance, who—in the name of outraged God—would become the hireling of the Sword? Hodge, poor fellow, enlists. He wants work; or he is idle, dissolute. Kept, by the injustice of the world, as ignorant as the farm-yard swine, he is the better instrument for the world's craft. His ear is tickled with the fife and drum; or he is drunk; or the sergeant—the lying valet of glory—tells a good tale; and already Hodge is a warrior in the rough. In a fortnight's time you may see him at Chatham; or, indeed, he was one of those we marked in Birdcage Walk. Day by day, the sergeant works at the block ploughman, and chipping and chipping, at length carves out a true, handsome soldier of the line. What knew Hodge of the responsibility of man? What dreams had he of the self-accountability of the human spirit? He is become the lackey of carnage, the liveried footman, at a few pence per day, of fire and blood. The musket-stock, which for many an hour he hugs—hugs in sulks and weariness—was no more a party to its present use, than was Hodge. That piece of walnut is the fragment of a tree which might have given shade and fruit for another century; homely, rustic people gathering under it. Now, it is the instrument of wrong and violence; the working tool of slaughter. Tree and man, are not their destinies as one?

And is Hodge alone of benighted mind? Is he alone deficient of that knowledge of moral right and wrong which really and truly crowns the man, king of himself? When he surrenders up his nature, a mere machine with human pulses, to do the bidding of war, has he taken counsel with his own reflection—does he know the limit of the sacrifice? He has taken the shilling, and he knows the facings of his uniform.

When the born and bred gentleman, to keep to coined and current terms, pays down his thousand pounds or so, for his commission, what incites to the purchase? It may be the elegant idleness of the calling; it may be the bullion glitter of the regimentals; or, devout worshipper, it may be an unquenchable thirst for glory. From the moment that his name stars the Gazette, what does he become? The bondservant of war. Instantly, he ceases to be a judge between moral right and moral injury. It is his duty not to think, but to obey. He has given up, surrendered to another, the freedom of his soul: he has dethroned the majesty of his own will. He must be active in wrong, and see not the injustice; shed blood for craft and usurpation, calling bloodshed valour. He may be made, by the iniquity of those who use him, the burglar and the brigand; but glory calls him pretty names fer his prowess, and the wicked weakness of the world shouts and acknowledges them. And is this the true condition of reasonable man? Is it by such means that he best vindicates the greatness of his mission here? Is he, when he most gives up the free motions of his own soul—is he then most glorious?

A few months ago, chance showed us a band of ruffians, who, as it afterwards appeared, were intent upon a most desperate mischief. They spread themselves over the country, attacking, robbing, and murdering all who fell into their hands. Men, women, and children, all suffered alike. Nor were the villains satisfied with this. In their wanton ruthlessness, they set fire to cottages, and tore up and destroyed plantations. Every footpace of their march was marked with blood and desolation.

Who were these wretches?—you ask. What place did they ravage? Were they not caught and punished?

They were a part of the Army of Africa; valorous Frenchmen, bound for Algiers, to cut Arab throats, and in the name of glory and for the everlasting honour of France, to burn, pillage, and despoil; and—all for national honour—all for glory!

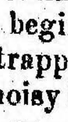
But glory cannot dazzle Truth. Does it not at times appear no other than a high-way man with a pistol at a nation's breast? A buglar, with a crowbar, entering a kingdom. Alas! in this world, there is no Old Bailey for nations. Otherwise, where would have been the crowned heads that divided Poland? Those felon monarchs, anointed to—steal? It is true, the historian claps the cut-purse conqueror in the dock, and he is tried by the jury of posterity. *He* is past the verdict, yet is not its damnatory voice lost upon generations. For thus is the world taught—albeit slowly taught—true glory; when that which passed for virtue is tested truly to be vile; when the Hero is hauled from the car, and fixed for ever in the pillory.

But war brings forth the heroism of the soul; war tests the magnanimity of man. Sweet is the humanity that spares a fallen foe; gracious the compassion that tends his wounds, that brings even a cup of water to his burning lips. Granted. Pretty is it to see the victor with salve and lint kneeling at his bloodly trophy—a maimed and agonised fellow-man,—but surely it had been better to withhold the blow, than to have been first mischievous, to be afterwards humane.

That nations, professing a belief in Christ, should couple glory with war, is monstrous blasphemy. Their faith, their professing faith, is—"love one another;" their practice is to—cut throats; and more, to bribe and hoodwink men to the wickedness, the trade of blood is magnified into a virtue. We pray against battle, and glorify the deeds of death. We say, beautiful are the ways of peace, and then cocker ourselves upon our perfect doings in the art of man-slaying.

But there always has been—there always, will be, war. It is inevitable; it is a part of the condition of human society. Man has always made glory to himself from the destruction of his fellow, and so it will continue. It may be very pitiable; would it were otherwise! But so it is, and there is no helping it.

Happily, we are slowly killing this destructive fallacy. Some are calculating the cost of Glory table: some showing what an appetite the demon has, devouring at a meal the substance of ten thousand sons of industry—yea, eating up the wealth of kingdoms. And thus, by degrees, are men beginning to look upon this god, Glory, as no more than a finely-trapped Sawney Bean,—a monster and a destroyer—a nuisance; a noisy lie.



What War Means.

Abolish war! What the devil is the world coming to? Those who wish to abolish war are lunatics. Why abolish an ancient custom—a custom that has existed in all ages and of which our forefathers were so proud? Was it not by war that our country became as it is, great and free? Was it not by war that all glory was won, and is not all our best ancient and modern literature about war, and is it not the theme of the poets and bards? Abolish war indeed! You might as well abolish another ancient institution, religion! And what next? Probably you would educate the poor and abolish our sacred system of modern government. You would commit the sacrilege of altering the spelling of our language, of introducing the Metric system, and altering the whole system of education and all those things which have made ours a great nation—greater than all other nations. You desire to kill nationality and international competition, and unite all nations. That would be suicide.

Our desire is to be the greatest of nations; and in order to do that we must have an army to prevent other nations becoming as powerful and as rich as ourselves. We must have a powerful navy to prevent foriegners invading our shores. Our army and navy must be the strongest in the world, so that we may be able to defeat all others, and maintain our own supremacy over all countries. We must be able to keep in bondage those savage countries we have heroically conquered, and on whose battlefields our forefathers fought and died. Those countries we shall civilise, and teach their inhabitants to be good children. They must be taught to reverence their rulers. We shall be very good to them, and not teach them too much, otherwise they might consider themselves our equals, or even superior to us. We must also proclaim our supremacy over all other nations on sea and on land. All greatness has been achieved by war, and by war it shall be maintained.

Mankind has gloried in war from the earliest times. But for war Cæsear would never have been heard of, and Homer and Virgil would have been small men, for it is their songs of war that have made them famous. Without these great men would not the world have been poorer? That which is natural is just. All animals fight amongst themselves, and man at best is but an animal. Not only is the abolition of war contrary to reason and the best interests of mankind, but also against the laws of nature. Its abolition would mean racial suicide. It would mean over-population, accompanied by famine and disease.

Ours is the best nation on earth. Our language, our religion, and our commerce are the best. It is our duty to do better than all other countries; and in order to be superior we must conquer the weaker nations, take their wealth, and keep their inhabitants as slaves. We should keep them in bondage until they know how to govern themselves; but they

should be prevented from learning the art of government, in taking part in political affairs, or even in civic matters.

The Army and Navy are healthy institutions. They make our young men healthy and muscular. It is in these institutes that athletes are made; and athletes make a nation.

Abolish war, and thousands of men, soldiers, contractors, and others are thrown out of employment. They die of starvation, and become a nuisance to the citizens by piling up the rates and taxes. But for war what would Messrs. Krupp and all the great shipbuilding firms and the makers of fire-arms do? What would the canners of beef and the makers of army biscuits and boots do? They would all starve, and patriotism and chivalry would no longer exist.

The abolition of war is an impossibility. It is a fool's dream. Let fools dream on while active men work. The makers of ammunition and fire-arms are rich men, and are wideawake. To prevent wide-world peace they have an army of agents who justly sow discontent among all nations and create enmity and rivalry. It is they who are chiefly instrumental in bringing about war. They are the greatest patriots, and delight in making public speeches and in creating enthusiasm for the fatherland. They have the monopoly of the press and create Public Opinion. Men are so stupid, and especially the poorer class, that there would be no public opinion but for the richer class. The aristocracy, therefore, are the cream of society. Besides being the more enlightened and educated class, they are also the promoters of commerce; and wonderful are the methods employed by them in advertising their guns and ships. It is because they advertise themselves as patriots (which they undoubtedly are) and set one nation against another that they succeed in making fortunes. And they deserve their fortunes.

It is also said that war is the cause of poverty. This is untrue. War weeds out the useless and the poor,—not that the poor are not necessary, for without them we could not live, as they are the creators of wealth. It rids us of the superfluous. During war, contractors make fortunes, and they are able to give the poor employment. All, therefore, have an opportunity of becoming richer. Is not war, in that case, an advantage?

Abolish war, and you will go to the devil? There would be unemployment and poverty. It would all end in chaos and bloodshed, and the world would be consumed in a great conflagration—R. M., in *The Spur*.



After the War.

[We published an extract from an article in the Russian Liberal organ the "Retch" on the principles to be followed in the settlement at the close of the war. We are now able to give the article at length.]

Under such an arrangement (the declaration of the three Powers that they would only submit terms of peace collectively) it is obvious that each member of the Triple Entente secured against the excessive appetites of the others. It is evident that only such a combination will be accepted by all as will not threaten the European equilibrium. Nay, one is justified in expecting that the attainment of a better and more perfect method of securing that equilibrium than has obtained hitherto will be made the direct object of the future peace.

On this object of the war all its participants have agreed from the very beginning without any consultation whatsoever between them and, so to speak, tacitly. The opinions uttered by British statesmen and the British progressive press as to the desirable outcome of the war fully coincide with those of the Russian press of the same political tendency. Thus, the "Morning Post" and the "Manchester Guardian" both declare with one voice that England demands nothing for herself, not even Heligoland; all she wants is a well-balanced, peaceful and free Europe; and that requires that the frontiers of the European States should coincide with the frontiers of nationalities.

Indeed, the war must be terminated in such a way that it shall leave no vengeful aspirations on either side. The change in the map of Europe must be final, and no nationality must be opposed in the satisfaction of its legitimate ambitions. This ideal is, however, irreconcilable with the existence of an Empire like Austria-Hungary. It is also irreconcilable with the hegemony of Prussia in Germany.

Further, it is irrecancilable with the division of Poland and the treaty of Bucharest. The unifications of Russia, Italy, Germany, Roumania, and Servia must be comepleted. France must recover what has been taken from her, and Bulgaria also. A hundred years' fight for the principle of nationality must finish with a decision free from all compromise and therefore final.

The International Organisation of Europe.

But this is not all. If the London Declaration really aims at the prevention in the future of the rise of any new hegemony, it is not enough to agree at the present moment on the removal of excessive ambitions. These ambitions may spring up once more in the future, and then there will again begin the old race of armaments and the old unceremonious fight with the elbows for places in the sun. It is necessary to remove the very roots of the ability to harm and to threaten the others. But how is this to be done? The only method which has long been studied and repeatedly recommended is the mutual limitation of armaments and the international organisation of, at least, Europe. There is, of course, nothing Utopian in this idea, which was already in 1899 made by the Tsar the basis of the deliberations at the Hague. Now the same hope is being expressed even by such responsible statesmen as Mr. Churchill. In an interview with an American journalist Mr. Churchill said: "If as a result of our victory Europe should be reconstructed in accordance with the principle of nationalities and with the wishes of the populations in disputed territories, we shall be able to hope for a great relief in the burden of armaments."

Circumstances have hitherto been unfavourable to the realisation of this idea, and Europe has had to satisfy herself with the obsolete and imperfect system of an equilibrium of two groups of Powers, which was a substitute for the still older system of equilibrium of all States taken together. Now that this system has obviously proved its untenableness by leading to the war which all had foreseen, which all feared, and to which everybody was irresistibly drawn, it ought to be officially condemned and abolished in favour of another which, too, perhaps, is not final, but is nevertheless a higher form of organisation.

The great problem of the great hour through which we are passing consists in the return to the organic and super-national from of organisation. The idea of such a world's organisation was, as a matter of fact, always present during the past periods of universal wars. It formed the subject of meditations of the exile on St. Helena and, before him, of the theorists and practical advocates of universal monarchy at all ages. Now, after the unparalleled, gigantic, and world-wide efforts and sacrifices, the soil is once more favourable for the reception of this seed. Remove the old predatory form from the idea, arm it with all the resources of modern science of international law, supply it with the support of the innumerable forces on which modern civilisation rests, and you will get the new idea of the super-national organisation of Europe.



Aliens in England.

The authorities are about to take further measures for the stamping out of spying and *sabotage* by alien enemies.

The public even now seem scarcely to realize the great gravity of this matter. A few figures may help to a better understanding of the danger. There are at this moment in the United Kingdom as many as 50,000 alien enemies, subjects of the German and Austrian Empires. Thirty-four thousand of these are known to be in the Metropolitan Police District, and the chief problem is, therefore, a London one. Between 6,000 and 7,000 of these alien enemies still in England are Reservists of serving age, and the great majority of them, as, indeed, of the total of 50,000 are Germans. Austrians form only a small fraction of the whole.

The figures for London have been swollen by many arrivals from the prohibited areas. They also include such potentially active enemies as many Reservists on their way from America to Germany, who failed to pass through this country in time. Thousands of resident Germans—waiters, barbers, and the like—have lost their employment since the outbreak of war; the adage concerning work for idle hands naturally occurs to the mind. Many of the East-end Germans are known to the authorities as ex-criminals; some of them are regarded as dangerous men. This type is mostly to be found in the Whitechapel district, which has the unenviable distinction of accommodating more alien enemies than any other area in London.

Many of the Germans still in London are unquestionably agents of the German Government, however loose the tie may be. Some are already safely under lock and key; these are chiefly men who were known to the authorities as spies before the outbreak of war. Others are suspicious characters; many of these are under detention for infringements of the new Act imposing restrictions upon aliens. They failed to disclose that they had in their possession arms, wireless telegraph apparatus, aeroplane equipment, motor-cars, carrier-pigeons, and other material which might be useful to a belligerent. The weapons seized by the police make an extensive armoury. They are more numerous than had been suspected. There are Mausers, rook rifles (strange weapons to be found in London suburbs), and pistols. Some of the rifles are of an old pattern and were obviously used in the Franco-German War of 1870.

Danger of Sabotage.

Spying at the moment is not the chief danger to be faced. Most of the useful espionage has now been done, and the same agents are free to engage in *sabotage*, if, of course, they can evade the watch of the ever-vigilant authorities. It has been remarked by the observant that German tradesmen's shops are frequently to be found in close proximity to vulnerable points in the chain of London's communications, such as railway bridges. Some such alien tradesmen have already been moved on. The German barber seems to have little time for *sabotage*. He is chiefly engaged in removing the "Kaiser" moustaches of his compatriots. They cannot, however, part with the evidences of their nationality altogether, for the tell-tale hair of the Teuton will show the world that new Smith is but old Schmidt writ small.

The danger is not one to cause a panic, but it certainly should not be underestimated. It is mainly due to the prompt and drastic but unsensational measures taken by the authorities at the beginning of the war that no serious harm has yet befallen. The Metropolitan Police, for instance, have never had so anxious a time. Many men in responsible positions have been working 16 to 18 hours a day for a fortnight or more, and they have got by now the measure of the problem. Although there were yesterday less than 100 suspects in the Olympia guardhouse, the authorities are tightening rather than loosening their grip of the alien enemy. They are performing on land the same service which the British flotillas are performing at sea, sweeping up the alien mines.

British Authors and the War.

The following striking declaration on the subject of the war by British authors, including, as they point out, several who have been ardent champions of goodwill towards Germany, was issued recently :—

The undersigned writers, comprising amongst them men of the most divergent political and social views, some of them having been for years ardent champions of goodwill towards Germany, and many of them extreme advocates of peace, are nevertheless agreed that Great Britain could not without dishonour have refused to take part in the present war.

No one can read the full diplomatic correspondence published in the White Paper without seeing that the British representatives were throughout labouring whole-heartedly to preserve the peace of Europe, and that their conciliatory efforts were cordially received by both France and Russia. When these efforts failed Great Britain had still no direct quarrel with any Power.

She was eventually compelled to take up arms because, together with France, Germany, and Austria, she had solemnly pledged herself to maintain the neutrality of Belgium. As soon as danger to that neutrality arose she questioned both France and Germany as to their intentions. France immediately renewed her pledge not to violate Belgian neutrality. Germany refused to answer, and soon made all answer needless by her actions. Without even the pretence of a grievance against Belgium, she made war on the weak and unoffending country she had undertaken to protect, and has since carried out her invasion with a calculated and ingenious ferocity which has raised questions other and no less grave than that of the wilful disregard of treaties.

When Belgium in her dire need appealed to Great Britain to carry out her pledge this country's course was clear. She had either to break faith, letting the sanctity of treaties and the rights of small nations count for nothing before the threat of naked force, or she had to fight. She did not hesitate, and we trust she will not lay down arms till Belgium's integrity is restored and her wrongs redressed.

The treaty with Belgium made our duty clear, but many of us feel that even if Belgium had not been involved it would have been impossible for Great Britain to stand aside while France was dragged into war and destroyed. To permit the ruin of France would be a crime against liberty and civilisation. Even those of us who question the wisdom of a policy of Continental ententes or alliances refuse to see France struck down by a foul blow dealt in violation of a treaty.

The Insane German Plea.

We observe that various German apologists, official and semi-official, admit that their country has been false to its pledged word, and dwell almost with pride on the frightfulness of the examples by which it has sought to spread terror in Belgium. But they excuse all these proceedings by a strange and novel plea. German culture and civilisation are so superior to those of other nations that all steps taken to assert them are more than justified, and the destiny of Germany to be the dominating force in Europe and the world is so manifest that ordinary rules of morality do not hold in her case, but actions are good or bad simply as they help or hinder the accomplishment of that destiny.

These views, inculcated upon the present generation of Germans by many celebrated historians and teachers, seem to us both dangerous and insane. Many of us have dear friends in Germany, many of us regard German culture with the highest respect and gratitude, but we cannot admit that any nation has the right by brute force to impose its culture upon other nations, nor that the iron military bureaucracy of Prussia represents a higher form of human society than the free Constitutions of Western Europe.

Whatever the world destiny of Germany may be, we in Great Britain are ourselves conscious of a destiny and a duty. That destiny and duty, alike for us and for all the English-speaking race, call upon us to uphold the rule of common justice between civilised peoples, to defend the rights of small nations, and to maintain the free and law-abiding ideals of Westrn Europe against the rule of "blood and iron" and the domination of the whole Continent by a military caste.

For these reasons and others, the undersigned feel bound to support the cause of the Allies with all their strength, in a full conviction of its righteousness and with a deep sense of its vital import to the future of the world.

The signatories are:—

Wm. Archer, H. Granville Barker, J. M. Barrie, Arnold Bennett, A. C. Benson, Edwd. Frederic Benson, Robert Hugh Benson, Laurence Binyon, A. C. Bradley, Robert Bridges, Hall Caine, R. C. Carton, C. Haddon Chambers, G. K. Chesterton, Hubert Hy. Davies, Arthur Conan Doyle, H. A. L. Fisher, John Galsworthy, Anstey Gurthrie F. Anstey), H. Rider Haggard, Thomas Hardy Jane Ellen Harrison, Anthony Hope Hawkins, Maurice Hewlett' Robt. Hichens, Jerome K. Jerome, Hy. Arthur Jones, Rudyard Kipling, W. J. Locke, E. V. Lucas, J. W. Mackail, John Masefield, A. E. W. Mason, Gilbert Murray, Henry Newbolt, Barry Paine, Gilbert Parker, Eden Phillpotts, Arthur Pinero, Arthur Quiller Couch, Owen Seaman, George R. Sims, May Sinclair, Flora Annie Steel, Alfrad Sutro, George Macaulay Trevelyan, George Otto Trevelyan, Humphry Ward, Mary A. Ward, H. G. Wells, Margaret L. Woods, and Israel Zangwill.

Speech by Mr. Lloyd George.

Vision of a new Britain.

Mr. Lloyd George's characteristic qualities were notably exhibited in his peech on the war in the Queen's Hall on September 18th. It touched many chords—irony, scorn, pathos, denunciation—and ended with a passage of prophetic eloqnence. The meeting was compcsed mainly of London Welsh, and was worthily presided over by Lord Plymouth. Among the first names in the roll of the honoured dead is that of his son, the Hon. Archer Windsor-Clive. No direct reference was made to the poignant bereavement which the chairman has sustained through the war, but the thought of it was in the minds of all when Lord Plymouth spoke of the heavy sacrifices that would have to be endured in the maintenance of the honour of the nation. "We must learn," said he, "to say with Mr. Rudyard Kipling, and say it with deep conviction, 'Who dies if England lives?'" The unaffected simplicity and pride of the words made them very telling, and the audience most sympathetically responded to the deep feeling with which their utterance was surcharged.

Mr. Lloyd George, who was received with great enthusiasm, said :—

I have come here this afternoon to talk to my fellow-countrymen about this great war and the part we ought to take in it. I feel my task is easier after we have been listening to the greatest battle-song in the world. (Cheers.) (This was a reference to "Men of Harlech," which was sung before he rose.) There is no man in this room who has always regarded the prospects of engaging in a great war with greater reluctance, with greater repugnance, than I have done throughout the whole of my political life. There is no man either inside or outside of this room more convinced that we could not have avoided it without national dishonour. (Cheers). I am fully alive to the fact that whenever a nation has engaged in any war she has always invoked the sacred name of honour. Many a crime has been committed in its name; there are some crimes being committed now. But all the same, national

honour is a reality, and any nation that disregards it is doomed. Why is our honour as a country involved in this war? Because in the first place we are bound in an honourable obligation to defend the independence, the liberty, integrity of a small neighbour that has lived peaceably, but she could not have compelled us because she was weak. (Cries of "Quite right!") The man who declines to discharge his debt because his creditor is too poor to enforce it is a blackguard. (Cheers.)

We entered into this treaty a solemn treaty, a full treaty to defend Belgium and her integrity. Our signatures are attached to the document. Our signatures do not stand alone. This was not the only country to defend the integrity of Belgium. Russia, France, Austria, and Prussia (hisses)—they are all there. Why did they not perform the obligation? It is suggested that this treaty is purely an excuse on our part. It is our low craft and cunning, just to cloak our jealousy of superior civilization which we are attempting to destroy. Our answer is the action we took in 1870. Mr. Gladstone was the Prime Minister. Lord Granville, I think, was Foreign Secretary I have never heard it alleged to their charge that they were ever jingoes. That treaty bond was this: We called upon the belligerent Powers to respect that Treaty. We called upon France, we called upon Germany. At that time, bear in mind, the greatest danger to Belgium came from France and not from Germany. We intervened to protect Belgium against France exactly as we are doing now to protect her against Germany. We are proceeding exactly in the same way. We invited both the belligerent Powers to state that they had no intention of violating Belgian territory. What was the answer given by Bismarck? He said it was superfluous to ask Prussia such a question in view of the treaties in force. France gave a similar answer. We received the thanks at that time of the Belgian people for our intervention in a very remarkable document addressed by the Municipality of Brussels to Queen Victoria after that intervention:—

The great and noble people over whose destinies you preside have just given a further proof of its benevolent sentiments towards this country. The voice of the English nation has been heard above the din of arms. It has asserted the principles of justice and right. Next to the unalterable attachment of the Belgian people to their independence, the strongest sentiment which fills their hearts is that of an imperishable gratitude to the people of Great Britain. (Loud cheers).

French Self-Sacrifice in 1870.

That was in 1870. Three or four days after that document of thanks the French Army was wedged up against the Belgian frontier, every means of escape shut up by a ring of flame from Prussian cannon. There was one way of escape—by violating the neutrality of Belgium. The French on that occasion preferred ruin and humiliation to the breaking of their bond. The French Emperor, French Marshals, 100,000 gallant Frenchmen in arms preferred to be carried captive to the strange land of their enemy rather than dishonour the name of their country. It was the last French Army defeat. Had they violated Belgian neutrality the whole history of that war would have been changed. And yet it was the interest of France to break the treaty. She did not do it. It is the interest of Prussia to break the treaty, and she has done it. ("Shame.") She avowed it with cynical contempt for every principle of justice. She says treaties only bind you when it is to your interest to keep them. What is a treaty? says the German Chancellor, "A scrap of paper." Have you any £5 notes about you? I am not calling for them. (Laughter). Have you any of those neat little Treasury £1 notes? (Laughter). If you have, burn them; they are only scraps of paper. (Cheers.) What are they made of? Rags. (Laughter). What are they worth. The whole credit of the British Empire. (Cheers). "Scraps of paper." I have been dealing with scraps of paper within the last month. We suddenly found the commerce of the whole world coming to a standstill. The machine had stopped. I will tell you why. We discovered, many of us (for the first time, that the machinery of commerce was moved by bills of exchange. I have seen some of them (laughter)... wretched, crinkled, scrawled over, blotched, frowsy—and yet wretched little scraps of paper move great ships, laden with thousands of tons of precious cargo from one end of the world to the other. (Cheers). What was the motive power behind them? The honour of commercial men. (Cheers). Treaties are the currency of international statesmanship. Let us be fair. German merchants and German traders have the reputation of being as upright and straightforward as any traders in the world; but if the currency of German commerce is to be debased to the level of that of her statesmanship no trader, from Shanghai to Valparaiso, will ever look at a German signature again. (Cheers.)

The Road to Barbarism.

This doctrine of the scrap of paper, this doctrine which is proclaimed by Bernhardi, that treaties only bind a nation as long as it is to its interest, goes under the root of all public law. It is the straight road to barbarism. It is just as if you removed the magnetic pole whenever it was in the way of a German cruiser (Laughter.) The whole navigation of the seas would become dangerous, difficult, impossible, and the whole machinery of civilization will break down if this doctrine wins in this war. We are fighting against barbarism, and there is only one way of putting it right. If there are nations that say they will only respect treaties when it is to their interests to do so we must make it to their interests to do so for the future. (Cheers.)

Just look at the interview which took place between our Ambassador and the great German officials. When their attention was called to this treaty to which they were parties they said:—"We cannot help that." Rapidity of action was the great German asset. There is a greater asset for a nation than rapidity of action, and that is honest dealing. (Cheers.) What are her excuses? She says that Belgium was plotting against her; that Belgium was engaged in a great conspiracy with Britain and with France to attack her. Not merely is it not true, but Germany knows it is not true. What is her other excuse? France meant to invade Germany through Belgium. Absolutely untrue. France offered Belgium five Army Corps to defend her if she were attacked. Belgium said:—"I don't require them, I have got the word of the Kaiser. Shall Cæsar send a lie?"

All these tales about conspiracy have been vamped up since. A great nation ought to be ashamed to behave like a fraudulent bankrupt. It is not true what she says. She has deliberately broken this treaty, and we were in honour bound to stand by Belgium. (Cheers). Belgium has been treated brutally—how brutally we shall not yet know. We know already too much. What had she done? Had she sent an ultimatum to Germany? Had she challenged Germany? Was she preparing to make war on Germany? Had she inflicted any wrong upon Germany which the Kaiser was bound to redress? She was one of the most unoffending little countries in Europe. There she was peaceable, industrious, thrifty, hardworking, giving offence to no one. Her cornfields have been trampled down. Her villages have been burned to the ground. Her art treasures have been destroyed. Her men have been slaughtered; yes, and her women and her children, too. What had she done? Hundreds and thousands of her people, their neat, comfortable little homes burnt to the dust, wandering homeless in their own land. What was their crime? Their crime was that they trusted to the word of a Prussian King.

Outrages in Belgium.

I do not know what the Kaiser hopes to achieve by this war. I have a shrewd idea what he will accomplish, but one thing is made certain, that no nation in future will ever commit that crime again I am not going to enter into these tales. Many of them are untrue; war is a grim, ghastly business at best, and I am not going to say that all that has been said in the way of tales of outrage is true. I will go beyond that, and say that if you turn two millions of men, forced, conscripted, and compelled and driven into the field, you will certainly get among them a certain number of men who will do things that the nation itself will be ashamed of. I am not depending on them. It is enough for me to have the story which the Germans themselves avow, admit, defend, proclaim. The burning and massacring, the shooting down of harmless people. Why? Because, according to the Germans, they fired on German soldiers. What business had German soldiers there at all? (Cheers.) Belgium was acting in pursuance of a most sacred right, the right to defend your own home. But they were not in uniform when they shot. If a burglar broke into the Kaiser's palace at Portsdam, destroyed his furniture, shot down his servants, ruined his art treasures, especially those he made himself—(laughter and cheers)—burned his precious manuscripts, do you think he would wait until he got into uniform before he shot him down? (Laughter.) They were dealing with those who had broken into their households. But their perfidy had already failed. They entered Belgium to save time. They have not gained time, but they have lost their good name.

The Case of Servia.

But Belginm was not the only little nation that has been attacked in this war, and I make no excuse for referring to the case of the other little nation—the case of Servia. The history of Servia is not unblotted. What history in the category of nations is unblotted? The first nation that is without sin, let her cast a stone at Servia—a nation trained in a horrible school. But she won her freedom with her tenacious valour, and she has maintained it by the same courage. If Servians were mixed up in the assassination of the Grand Duke, they ought to be punished. Servia admits that. The Servian Government had nothing to do with it. Not even Austria claimed that. The Servian Prime Minister, is one of the most capable and honoured men in Europe. Servia was willing to punish any one of her subjects who had been proved to have any complicity in that assassination. What more could you expect?

What were the Austrian demands? She sympathized with her fellow-countrymen in Bosnia. That was one of her crimes. She must do so no more. Her newspapers were saying nasty things about Austria. They must do so no longer. That is the Austrian spirit. You had it in Zabern. How dare you criticize a Prussian official? And if you laugh it is a capital offence. The colonel threatened to shoot them if they repeated it. Servian newspapers must not criticize Austria. I wonder what would have happened had we taken up the same line about German newspapers. Servia said: "Very well, we will give orders to the newspapers that they must not criticize Austria in future, neither Austria, nor Hungary, nor anything that is theirs," (Laughter.) Who can doubt the valour of Servia, when she undertook to tackle her newspapers editors? (Laughter.) She promised not to sympathize with Bosnia, promised to write no critical articles about Austria. She would have no public meetings at which anything unkind was said about Austria. That was not enough. She must dismiss from her Army officers whom Austria should subsequently name. But these officers had just emerged from a war where they were adding lustre to the Servian arms—gallant, brave, efficient. (Cheers.) I wonder whether it was their guilt or their efficiency that prompted Austria's action. Servia was to undertake in advance to dismiss them from the Army the names to be sent on subsequently, Can you name a country in the world that would have stood that? Supposing Austria or Germany had issued an ultimatum of that kind to this country. (Laughter.) "You must dismiss from your Army and from your Navy all those officers whom we shall subsequently name." Well, I think I could name them now. Lord Kitchener (cheers) would go. Sir John French (cheers) would be sent about his business. General Smith-Dorrien (cheers) would be no more, and sure that Sir John Jellicoe (cheers) would go. (Laughter.) There is another gallant old warrior who would go—Lord Roberts. (Cheers.)

It was a difficult situation for a small country. Here was a demand made upon her by a great military Power who could put five or six men in the field for every one she could; and that power supported by the greatest military Power in the world. How did Servia behave? It is not what happens to you in life that matters; it is the way in which you faced it. (Cheers.) And Servia faced the situation with dignity. (Loud cheers.) She said to Austria:—"If any officers of mine have been guilty and are proved to be guilty I will dismiss them." Austria said "That is not good enough for me." It was not guilt she was after, but capacity. (Laughter.)

Then came Russia's turn. Russia has a special regard for Servia. She has a special interest in Servia. Russians have shed their blood for Servian independence many a time Servia is a member of her family, and she cannot see Servia maltreated. Austria knew that, Germany knew that, and Germany turned round to Russia and said;—"I insist that you shall stand by with your arms folded whilst Austria is strangling your little brother to death." (Laughter.) What answer did the Russian Slav give? He gave the only answer that becomes a man. (Cheers.) He turned to Austria and said:—"You lay hands on that little fellow and I will tear your ramshackle empire limb from limb." (Prolonged cheers.) And he is doing it. (Renewed cheers.)

History of Little Nations.

That is the story of the little nations. The world owes much to little nations (cheers) and to little men. (Laughter and cheers.) This theory of bigness—you must have a big empire and a big nation and a big man—well, long legs have their advantage in a retreat. (Laughter.) Frederick the Great chose his warriors for their height, and that tradition has become a policy in Germany, Germany applies that ideal to nations. She will only allow six-feet two nations to stand in the ranks. But all the world owes much to the little five-feet-high nations. [Cheers.] The greatest art of the world was the work of little nations. The most enduring literature of the world came from little nations. The greatest literature of England came from her when she was a nation of the size of Belgium fighting a great empire. The heroic deeds that thrill humanity through generations were the deeds of little nations fighting for their freedom. Ah, yes, and the salvation of mankind came through a little nation. God has chosen little nations as the vessels by which he carries the choicest wines to the lips of humanity, to rejoice their hearts, to exalt their vision, to stimulate and to strengthen their faith, and if we had stood by when two little nations were being crushed and broken by the brutal hands of barbarism our shame would have rung down the everlasting ages. (Cheers.)

But Germany insists that this is an attack by a low civilization upon a higher. Well, as a matter of fact the attack was begun by the civilization which calls itself the higher one. Now, I am no apologist for Russia. She has perpetrated deeds of which I have no doubt her best sons are ashamed. But what empire has not? And Germany is the last empire to point the finger of reproach at Russia (Hear, hear.) But Russia has made sacrifices for freedom—great sacrifices. You remember the cry of Bulgaria when she was torn by the most insensate tyranny that Europe has ever seen. Who listened to the cry? The only answer of the "higher civilization" was that the liberty of Bulgarian peasants was not worth the life of a single Pomeranian soldier. But the rude barbarians of the north they sent their sons by the thousands to die for Bulgarian freedom. (Cheers.)

Tribute to the German People.

What about England? You go to Greece, the Netherlands, Italy, Germany, and France and all these lands could point out to you places where the sons of Britain have died for the freedom of these countries. (Cheers.) France has made sacrifices for the freedom of other lands than her own. Can you name a single country in the world for the freedom of which the modern Prussian has ever sacrificed a single life? (Cheers.) The test of our faith, the highest standard of civilizaton, is the readiness to sacrifice for others. (Cheers.) I would not say a word about the German people to disparage them. They are a great people; they have great qualities of head of hand and of heart. I believe, in spite of recent events, there is as great a store of kindness in German peasant as in any peasant in the world, but he has been drilled into a false idea of civilization (hear, hear) efficiency, capability. But it is a hard civilization; it is a selfish civilization; it is a material civilization. They could not comprehend the action of Britain at the present moment. They say so. "France they say. "we can understand. She is out for vengeance, she is out for territory—Alsace, Lorraine. (Cheers.) Russia, she is fighting for mastery; she wants Galicia." They can understand vengeance, they can understand you fighting for greed of territory; they cannot understand a great Empire pledging its resources, pledging its might, pledging the lives of its children, pledging its very existence to protect a little nation that seeks for its defence (Cheers.)

God made man in his own image, high of purpose, in the region of the spirit. German civilization would re-create him in the image of a Diesler machine—precise, accurate, powerful with no room for the soul to operate. That is the higher civilization. What is their demand? Have you read the Kaiser's speeches? If you have not a copy, I advise you to buy it? they will soon be out of print —and you won't have any more of the same sort again. (Laughter and cheers.) They are full of the clatter and bluster of German militarists—the mailed first, the shining armour, Poor old mailed fist—its knuckles are getting a little bruised. Poor shining armour—the shine is being knocked out of it (Laughter.) But there is the same swaggar and boastfulness running through the whole of the speeches. You saw that remarkable speech which appeared in the *British Weekly* this week. It is a very remarkable product. as an illustration of the spirit we have got to fight. It is his speech to his soldiers on the way to the front.

Remember that the German people are the chosen of God. On me, on me as German Emperor, the Spirit of God has descended. I am his weapon. His sword, and His Vice-gerent. Woe to the disobedient! Death to cowards and unbelievers!

There has been nothing like it since the days of Mahomet. Lunacy (laughter) is always distressing, but sometimes it is dangerous, and when you get it manifested in the head of the State and it has become the policy of a great empire it is about time it should be ruthlessly put away. (Cheers.) I do not believe he meant all these speeches, it was simply the martial straddle which he had acquired. But there were men around him who meant every word of it. This was their religion:—Treaties: they tangle the feet of Germany in her advance; cut them with the sword. Little nations: they hinder the advance of Germany; trample them in the mire under the German heel. The Russian Slav: he challenges the supremacy of Germany in Europe; hurl your legions at him and massacre him. Britain: she is a constant menace to the predominancy of Germany in the world; wrest the trident out of her hand.

A Diet of Blood and Iron.

More than that, the new philosophy of Germany is to destroy Christianity—sickly sentimentalism about sacrifice for others, poor pap for German months. We will have the new diet, we will force it on the world. It will be made in Germany (laughter) a diet of blood and iron. What remains? Treaties have gone the honour of nations gone; liberty gone. What is left? Germany—Germany is left—Deutschland über Alles. That is al that is left. That is what we are fighting, that claim to predominancy of a civilizatien, a material one, a hard one, a civilization which, if once it rules and sways the world, liberty goes, democracy vanishes, and unless Britian comes to the rescue and her sons it will be a dark day for humanity. (Loud cheers.)

We are not fighting the German people. The German people are just as much under the heel of this Prussian military caste, and more so thank God, than any other nation in Europe. It will be a day of rejoicing for the German peasant and artisan and trader when the military caste is broken (Cheers) You know his pretensions. He gives himself the airs of a demi-god walking the pavement—civilians and their wives swept into the gutter; they have no right to stand in the way of the great Prussian Junker. Men, women. nations—they have all got to go. He thinks all he has got to say is, "We are in a hurry." (Laughter.) That is the answer he gave to Belgium! "Rapidity of action is Germany's greatest asset," which means, "I am in a hurry. Clear out of my way." You know the type of motorist, the terror of the roads, with a 60-h.p. car. He thinks the roads are made for him, and anybody who impedes the action of his car by a single mile is knocked down, The Prussian Junker is the road hog of Europe. (Loud cheers.) Small nationalities in his way hurled to the roadside, bleeding and broken; women and children crushed under the wheels of his cruel car; Britain ordered out of his road. All I can say is this: If the old British spirit is alive in British hearts, that bully will be torn from his seat. (Prolonged cheers.) Were he to win it would be the greatest catastrophe that befell democracy since the days of the Holy Alliance and its ascendancy.

"Through Terror to Triumph."

They think we cannot beat them. It will not be easy. It will be a long job. It will be a terrible war. But in the end we shall march through terror to triumph. (Cheers.) We shall need all our qualities, every quality that Britain and its people possess—prudence in council, daring in action, tenacity in purpose, courage in defeat, moderation in victory (cheers)—in all things faith, and we shall win. (Cheers.) It has pleased them to believe and to preach the belief that we are a decadent, degenerate nation. They proclaim it to the world, through their professors (laughter), that we are an unheroic nation skulking behind our mahogany counters, whilst we are egging on more gallant races to their destruction. This is a description given to us in Germany—"a timorous craven nation, trusting to its Fleet." I think they are beginning to find their mistake out already, and there are half-a--million of young men of Britain who have already, registered the vow to their King that they will cross the seas and hurl that insult to British courage against its prepetrators in the battlefields of France and of Germany to. And we want half-a-million more, and we shall get them. (Cheers.)

But Wales must continue doing her duty. I should like to see a Welsh Army in the field. (Cheers.) I should like to see the race who faced the Normans for hundreds of years in a struggle for freedom, the race that helped to win Crecy the race that fought for a generation under Glendower against the greatest captain in Europe—I should like to see that race go and give a taste of its quality in this great struggle in Europe. And they are going to do it. I envy you young people your opportunity. They have put up the age limit for the army. But I have marched, I am sorry to say, a good many years even beyond that. But still our turn will come. It is a great opportunity. It only comes once in many centuries to the children of men. For most generations sacrifice comes in drab weariness of spirit to men. It has come to-day to you—it has come to-day to us all in the form of the glory and thrill of a great movement for liberty that compels millions throughout Europe to the same noble end. It is a great war for the emancipation of Europe from thraldom of a military caste which has thrown its shadows upon two generations of men and which has now plunged the world into a welter of bloodshed and terror.

Promise of the Future.

Some have already given their lives. There are some who have given more than their lives, they have given the lives of those who are dear to them. I honour their courage, and may God be their comfort and their strength. Those who have fallen have died consecrated deaths. They have taken their part in the making of a new Europe—a new world. I can see signs of it coming through the glare of the battlefield. The people of all lands will gain more by this struggle than they comprehend at the present moment. They will be rid of the greatest menace to their freedom.

That is not all. There is another blessing, infinitely greater and more enduring, which is emerging already out of this great contest—a new patriotism, richer, nobler, more exalted than the old. I see a new recognition amongst all classes high and low, shedding themselves of selfishness—a new recognition that the honour of a country does not depend merely upon the maintenance of its glory in the striken field, but in protecting its homes from distress as well. It is a new patriotism which is bringing a new outlook over all classes. The great flood of luxury and of sloth which had submerged the land is receding, and a new Britain is appearing. We can see, for the first time the fundamental things that matter in life, and that had been obscured from our vision by the tropical growth of prosperity.

May I tell you in a simple parable what I think this war is doing for us. I know a valley in the north of Wales between the mountains and the sea—a beautiful valley, snug, comfortable, sheltered by the mountains from all the bitter blast. It was very enervating, and I remember how the boys were in the habit of climbing the hill above the village to have a glimpse of the great mountains in the distance, and to be stimulated and freshened by the breezes which come from the hill tops, and by the great spectacle of that valley. We have been living in a sheltered valley for generations. We have been too comfortable, to indulgent, many, perhaps, too selfish, and the stern hand of fate has scourged us to an elevation where we can see the great everlasting things that matter for a nation—the great peaks of honour we had forgotten—Duty, Patriotism, and—clad in glittering white—the great pinnacle of Sacrifice, pointing like a rugged finger to Heaven. We shall descend into the valleys again, but as long as the men and women of this generation last they will carry in their hearts the image of these great mountain peaks, whose foundations are not shaken in the convulsions of a great war. (Cheers).

Amid great enthusiasm a number of young Welshmen at once left the hall for the special recruiting station prepared in the precincts of the hall, where they enrolled themselves. The recruiting station was speedily filled by those eager to respond to the call of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. Asquith on German culture.

Mr. Asquith in the course of a stirring address to a public meeting held in Edinburgh on 18th September with a view to induce the youth of the nation to take service in the present war, said as follows :

German Culture and the German Spirit.

But, faint as is this denial of this part of our case, it becomes fainter still, it dissolves into the thinnest of thin air, when it has to deal with our contention that we and our Allies are withstanding a power whose aim is nothing less than the domination of Europe. (Hear, hear.) It is, indeed, the avowed belief of the leaders of German thought, I will not say of the German people, of those who for many years past have controlled German policy, that such a domination, carrying with it the supremacy of what they call German culture—(laughter) and the German spirit. is the best thing that could happen to the world.

Let me ask for a moment. What is this German culture? What is this German spirit, of which the Emperor's armies are at present the missionaries in Belgium and in France? (Laughter.) Mankind owes much to Germany, a very great debt, for the contributions she has made to philosophy, to science, and to the arts. But that which is specifically German in the movement of the world in the last thirty years has been on the intellectual side the development of the doctrine of the supreme and ultimate prerogative in human affairs of material forces, and on the practical side the taking of the foremost place in the fabrication and the multiplication of the machinery of destruction.

"A Very Purblind Philosophy."

To the men who have adopted this gospel, who believe that power is the be-all and end-all of the State, naturally a treaty is nothing more than a piece of parchment, and all the old-world talk about the right of the weak and the obligations of the strong is only so much threadbare and nauseating cant, For one very remarkable feature of this school of doctrine is, whatever be its intellectual or its ethical merits, that it has turned out, as an actual code for life, to be a very purblind philosophy. The German culture, the German spirit, did not save the Emperor and his people from delusions and miscalculations as dangerous as they were absurd in regard to the British Empire. We were believed by these cultivated observers—(laughter)—to be the decadent descendants of a people who by a combination of luck and of fraud—(laughter)—had managed to obtain dominion over a vast quantity of the surface and the populations of the globe. This fortuitous aggregation—(laughter and cheers),—which goes by the name of the British Empire, was supposed to be so insecurely founded and so loosely knit together that at the first touch of serious menace from without it would fall to pieces and tumble to the ground. (Cheers.)

Our great Dominions were getting heartily tired of the Imperial connection. India—(loud cheers)—it was notorious to every German traveller—(laughter) was on the verge of open revolt. And here at home we, the people of this United Kingdom, were riven by dissension so deep and so fierce that our energies, whether for resistance or for attack, would be completely paralysed. What a fantastic

dream! (Hear, hear.) And what a rude awakening! (Laughter and cheers.) And in this vast and grotesque and yet tragic miscalculation is to be found one of the roots, perhaps the main root of the present war.

Brands on the Brow of German Culture.

But let us go one step more. It has been said "By their fruits ye shall know them," and history will record that when the die was cast and the struggle began it was the disciples of that same creed who revived methods of warfare which have for centuries past been condemned by the common sense as by the humanity of the great mass of the civilised world. (Cheers.) Louvain, Malines, Termonde—these are names which will henceforward be branded on the brow of German culture. The ruthless sacking of the ancient and famous towns of Belgium is fitly supplemented by the story that reaches us only to-day from our own headquarters in France of the proclamation issued less than a week ago by the German authorities who were for a moment—and happily for little more than a moment—in occupation of the venerable city of Rheims. Let me read it, for it should be put on record. Let me read the concluding paragraph of the proclamation :—

"With a view to securing adequately the safety of the troops and to instil calm into the population of Rheims, the persons named below"—eighty-one in number, and including all the leading citizens of the town—"have been seized by the Commander-in-Chief of the German army. These hostages will be hanged at the slightest attempt at disorder. Also, the town will be totally or partly burned, and the inhabitants will be hanged for any infraction of the above. By order of the German authorities."

(Hisses.) Do not let it be forgotten that it is from a Power whose intellectual leaders are imbued with the idea that I have described, and whose generals in the field sanction and even direct those practices—it is from that Power the claim proceeds to impose its culture, its spirit—which means its domination—upon the rest of Europe. That is a claim, I say to you, to all my fellow-countrymen, to every citizen and subject of the British Empire whose ears and eyes my words can reach—"that is a claim that everything that is great in our past and everything that promises hope or progress in our future summons us to resist to the end. (Loud cheers.)

The Magnitude of our Task.

The task—do not let us deceive ourselves—will not be a light one. Its full accomplishment, and nothing short of its full accomplishment—(cheers)—is worthy of our traditions or will satisfy our resolve. It will certainly take months. It may even take years. I have come here to-night, not to ask you to count the cost, for no price can be too high to pay when honour and freedom are at stake, but to put before you, as I have tried to do, the magnitude of the issue, and the supreme necessity that lies upon us as a nation. nay, as a brotherhood and a family of nations, to rise to its height, and acquit ourselves of our duty.



Italy and the War.

Her Interests on Sea and Land.

Mr. Churchill's Views.

The Press Bureau issued during the mail week the following text of the interview recently accorded by Mr. Churchill to Signor Calza-Bedolo for publication in the "Giornale d'Italia" :—

Question.—What impression was made in England and upon the British Government by the Italian declaration of neutrality?

Mr. Churchill.—We always thought it was impossible for Italy to fight with Austria or to fight against England, and in all the Admiralty arrangements for the Mediterranean since I have been here we have always acted on the certainty that Italy would be neutral, and measured our naval force only against Austria.

Question.—There has been a great deal of talk in Italy of the possibility of active intervention by Italy in the war in case of a change in the Adriatic situation. Is there any probability of a change in the adriatic situation in consequence of the Franco-British naval operations?

Mr. Churchill.—You see, the naval situation in the Adriatic is rather like that in the North Sea. The Austrian Fleet is hiding. It lies hidden in its hole, and until it is convenient to dig them out it is difficult to get a decision. I do not see how any change in the Adriatic situation would result from the naval operations, but the great changes that will come will result from the collapse of Austria on land. The greatest feature yet apparent in the course of the war is the collapse of Austria as a military factor. That collapse appears to be irreparable, and that is a tremendous event in the history of the world.

Question.—Do you think it probable that there will be the possibility of such an arrangement as will give a guarantee to the position of Italy and leave her free from any fears of hostile predominance?

Mr. Churchill.—I think the great events of this war that will affect Italy are taking place on the land rather than on the sea. Italy would have nothing to apprehend navally from the victory of England and France. She would always be strong enough to deal with Austria on the sea, unless, of course, a victorious Germany came to the aid of Austria. If Germany succeeded in the war and the English power was broken. Germany could, of course, send as many ships as she liked to join the Austrian Fleet and could send them much quicker than Italy could build them. But still, I repeat that for Italy this is primarily an affair of the land rather than the sea.

No Danger from Africa.

Question.—There appears to be at this moment a danger of an Islamic movement in the North of Africa, promoted by Germany, that would eventually menace the British, Italian, and French interests equally on the northern shore of the Mediterranean. Do you think it possible that on this basis there would be room for an agreement between the three chief Mediterranean Powers?

Mr. Churchill.—The great issues of the hour are in Europe, not in Africa, and if they can be satisfactorily regulated so far as Europe is concerned, Africa is an easy matter.

Question.—The argument is put forward by a few that there has hitherto been no decisive engagement between the German and British Fleets and consequently they regard this as a success. Do you think there is any foundation for this belief, and whether the fact that the German Fleet still remains in being is in any way likely to affect the outcome of the war?



Sir V. Chirol and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald.

A Severe Indictment.

In a letter to the *Times* Sir Valentine Chirol makes a very vigorous attack upon Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, than whom, he says, no one in the United Kingdom bears a heavier responsibility for the incredibly fierce hatred of England throughout Germany, which has not only intensified the bitterness inseparable from a state of war, but will prove an appalling obstacle to the re-establishment of any tolerable relations between the two people long after peace, at however distant a date, has been officially restored between Great Britain and the German Empire.

After this country had been committed to a struggle which was clearly destined to involve our whole national existence (continues Sir Valentine.) Mr. Ramsay MacDonald published, on the 13th August, in the *Labour Leader*, a manifesto, subsequently republished and distributed broadcast as a separate leaflet, containing a long and violent indictment of the policy of the British Government, which incidentally he described as "a pretty little game in hypocrisy." Against Sir Edward Grey in particular he made two definite charges which, whatever he may say, stand out conspicuously from a context that in no way modifies their gravity. The first charge figures as the final of seven conclusions on which he lays special emphasis. It runs as follows :—

(7) When Sir Edward Grey failed to secure peace between Germany and Russia, he worked deliberately to involve us in the war, using Belgium as his chief excuse.

The second charge, to which special prominence is given by large and heavy type, is that if France had decided to attack Germany through Belgium, Sir Edward Grey would not have objected, but would have justified himself by Mr. Gladstone's opinion.

A third charge, to which the eye is caught by the same device, is directed equally against the Prime Minister and Sir Edward Grey. "Both," he says, "withheld the full truth from us" in regard to the later offers made by Germany with a view to securing our neutrality.

Effect Abroad.

What was the effect which such gross charges of duplicity against British Ministers were likely to produce on Mr. MacDonald's own fellow-countrymen, who, without distinction of party, were rallying round the King's Government with unquestioning and whole-hearted patriotism? None. What was the effect that they were certain to produce abroad, and especially in Germany? It was this. They were greedily welcomed as affording just the materials that were required for bolstering up the German propaganda, not

only in Germany but throughout neutral countries all over the world, of which the chief aim and object was to represent Great Britain as the villain of the piece. Is it a mere coincidence that the German Chancellor himself, in framing his appeals for sympathy with a peace-loving Germany, reluctantly dragged into war by the machinations of her enemies, invariably bases his denunciations of Great Britain's perfidy on just the same sort of arguments which Mr. MacDonald employs? Is it a mere coincidence that following Mr. MacDonald's lead, the whole German Press has concentrated its worst venom upon Sir Edward Grey as the embodiment of British bad faith, with peace always on his lips and war in his heart? It has been my business, though no longer in a journalistic capacity, to study the German Press and the Press of some of the neutral States very carefully during the last seven weeks. There is scarcely an important German paper which has not reproduced Mr. MacDonald's manifesto, in part or in whole, to justify its own diatribes against England. So much value is, indeed, attached to it for the purposes of German propaganda that it has evidently been imported in considerable quantities into Germany in the leaflet shape as it is being actually distributed from there to neutral States with a view to "spreading the truth." I have seen it also reproduced or translated in the pro-German newspapers of neutral countries with the same sort of comments and the same purpose.

The fact is never mentioned in Germany that Mr. MacDonald can no longer be regarded as the mouthpiece of the political party he is the spokesman of the guilty conscience of England, which the Government cannot stifle. Germans take note that, whereas official communications are issued in England for transmission abroad controverting the same charges that Mr. MacDonald brings against British Ministers when those charges are made by the German Chancellor or other responsible Germans, the British Government has failed to take any sort of official cognisance of Mr. MacDonald's own responsibility for having been the first to utter them, but that, on the contrary, he continues apparently to retain so much of the confidence of the King's Ministers that he is still considered worthy to sit on official committees and commissions. It is surprising that the Germans and their friends should infer that Ministers are afraid either to challenge the powerful influence which he is still assumed to posses in this country, or to meet in a British forum charges brought by one of their countrymen to which they are ready enough to return a glib answer for merely foreign consumption?

We may be rightly proud of the tolerance we display towards even the most extreme licence of speech in ordinary times, though I, too, think that, in regard to the Home Rule controversy to which Mr. MacDonald refers, that licence has frequently been carried to dangerous and reprehensible lengths. But, grave as was the Home Rule controversy, it was a domestic controversy. Mr. MacDonald's case is a very different one. In time of actual war—the most terrible war in which we have ever been engaged—Mr. MacDonald has sought to besmirch the reputation of his country by openly charging with his graceful duplicity the Ministers who are its chosen representatives, and he has helped the enemy State—and helped it not unsuccessfull—to poison against his country the wells of public opinion, not only in Germany, but in neutral States whose attitude towards Great Britain might at any moment materially and decisively affect the issue of the war. Such action oversteps the bounds of even the most excessive toleration, and cannot be properly or safely disregarded by the British people.

Mr. MacDonald's Reply.

Replying to the above, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald says: It is not quite clear from Sir Valentine Chirol's letter whether it is a serious contribution to this discussion or not. If it is, is it not necessary for Sir Valentine Chirol to restrain himself so that his criticism keep within the bounds of well-known fact? Three British Ministers have resigned their positions as a protest against the policy which led to his war. To one of them has been attributed and widely circulated in Germany a detailed and tohrough going attack on that policy, on an attack which affects German opinion none the less though the speech was never delivered. But the only thing which really encourages Germany at the present movement is apparently an article which I happen to have written in a weekly Socialist paper! Nor is that all. I am the person who is mainly responsible for Germans animosity to England, and your leading article goes the length of hinting that the Kaiser's order to his army before Mons reflects my opinions, and that he might have been more civil to us had it not been for me! I am under the impression that I read about German hostility against the British Embassy in Berlin the night that war was declared and that days before my article appeared similar stories, written by British people in various parts of Germany were published in the newspapers. Were all these stories concocted in Fleet-street and was there no substance in any of them until my article appeared with Germans decorations in Germany?

"No one in these islands (says Sir Valentine Chirol) bears, I believe, at the present movement a heavier responsibility than does Mr. MacDonald for the incredibly fierce hatred of England throughout Germany, which has not only intensified the bitterness inseperable from a state of war, but will prove an appalling obstacle to the re-establishment of any tolerable relations between the two peoples long after peace, at however distant a date, has been officially restorted between Great Britain and the German Empire."

I am afraid that, will all the respect I bear to Sir Valentine Chirol, the attempt made there to state facts and to form a judgment upon them is so ludicrously absurd that in it I can recognize neither myself, my opinions, nor my sins, and it only shows the boundless credulity and the utter subordination to imaginative impulsiveness under which many who in normal times are moved by both commonsense and reason are now labouring. I read the Kaiser's order before the attack of Mons after your own leading article, and in the expectation of finding something justifying your observations. All I did find was a reference to "treacherous English," a phrase which, under ordinary circumstances, I should have recognized as the hackneyed expression which has been thrown at our heads by Continental writers, bankrupt both in words and in ideas, for the last century. But even that is apparently the creation of my article in the *Labour Leader*!

Finally, I confess to no feeling but that of amazement when I read Sir Valentine Chirol's opinion that what I have written "will prove an appalling obstacle to the re-establishment of any tolerable relations between the two peoples" and remembered that up to now the attack has been on the grounds that I held pro German sentiment—which I do not—that I wanted to "spare the feelings of the destroyers of Louvain," and so on. I am very glad that I really agree with Mr. G. W. Prothero, but I am profoundly greatful to him for one sentence in his interesting little and otherwise inaccurate letter. It is this: "Is not this pother about Mr Ramsay MacDonald'sutterances a little calculated to make a mountain out of a molehill?" It really is; and so far as I am concerned, as commonsense and proportion now seem to be lost sight of, I have said all that is necessary at the present moment.

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The Indian field Ambulance Corps.

Speech by The Aga Khan.

[FROM THE "PIONEER" CORRESPONDENT.]

London, 2nd October.

The Indian Field Ambulance Corps, which is shortly to go forward to the front under the command of Colonel R. J. Baker, I. M. S. (retired), may be said to have been publicly inaugurated by the stirring speech of His Highness the Aga Khan at a crowded and representative meeting at the Polytechnic, Regent Street, yesterday afternoon Mr. M. K. Gandhi, to whose suggestions on arrival from South Africa the Corps largely owes its existence, presided in his capacity as chairman of the Indian Volunteers' Association. He spoke appropriately in opening the proceedings, and announced a gift from his Highness of £200 to provide extra comforts for the Corps when on active service. The Aga Khan, who was received with the most enthusiastic applause, spoke as follows:—

"I am unable to tell you the feelings of pride and joy with which I address my own fellow countrymen here whose spontaneous desire to actively serve the King-Emperor in this supreme hour in the destinies of Europe and the Empire has found scope in the formation of the Indian Field Ambulance Corps. For weeks past, first under Dr. James Cantlie—(cheers)—and now under Colonel Baker—(cheers)—you have been preparing yourselves by diligent training for the task now definitely allotted to you by the War Office and by the Red Cross Society. It will be the proud privilege of most of you to go to the front to minister to the medical and hospital needs of soldiers of our own nationality engaged for the first time in history in fighting on West European soil for the great Empire to which we belong. (Cheers) It is in fact a unique occasion. You represent a spirit which is universal amongst our countrymen in India and here. Some of them in provincial centres being fewer in number have not facilities for combined training equal to yours, but I believe they are no less eager to serve the Empire; and I am glad to know that in some of the University towns young Indians have been attached for training to the Red Cross Section of the Officers' Training Corps. A few have quietly offered themselves for Lord Kitchener's New Army, and I believe they have been welcomed and are welcomed on passing the same physical tests as are applied to their English comrades. I can only say that I envy them the opportunity of combat and I envy you the equally necessary, though not equally dangerous, if

perhaps not so picturesque service of which they have taken advantage. I should be very proud and happy to be one of their number, which I may add is by no means improbable. (Cheers) Do not forget, however, that the services you are about to render are in some ways even more glorious than those of the men in the fighting line. You have to expose yourselves constantly to danger, and you cannot actually take a part in the fighting, so that you will not have the benefit of the excitement that combatant work brings, that helps one to go through. From the very first day when the war commenced our noble and high-souled Chairman, Mr. Gandhi—(cheers)—whom those who know his work in South Africa cannot help but revere—(cheers)—urged that there should be no picking and choosing but that we as Indians must at once go and do any work that came to our hands.

Ready for any Service

"That spirit of patriotism finds expression in the intimation of your Committee to the India Office placing your services unconditionally at the disposal of the authorities as a proof of India's desire to share the responsibilities no less than the privileges of membership of this great Empire. That you should be actuated by these high standards of public duty is in accordance with the confident expectation of those who, like myself, have been closely familiar with the thoughts and the noble aspirations of my educated fellow-countrymen After all, you but mirror in a different environment the wave of loyal enthusiam which has swept through our Motherland, and to which I shall make further reference. I feel confident that these patriotic conceptions will accuate all who have undergone training when the time comes for most of you to proceed to the Continent, and for the others to remain behind, for, as you are aware, some are sure to be wounded and many more are sure to come back ill and broken in health. For these reasons I feel sure that many who are remaining behind will be required to go to the front later on. I feel confident that the many wastages that will occur will be easily replaced by further volunteers who will be trained in this country. In this hour of India's and the Empire's difficulties happily no differences of race and creed exist in India;they do not count (cheers);—and the Indian blood that will be shed on the fields of France and Belgium, and I hope, Germany—(loud cheers)—will not have been shed in vain if it leads to a permanent disappearance of racial and religious antagonism or any other suspicion in India. (Cheers). We are absolutely united in the common purpose of taking our full share in the trials and sorrow of the Empire, nd in contributing to the sacrifice entailed by the unconquerable determination of the British Empire and her Allies to win through. (Cheers).

"You are well aware that though I have always been convinced that Germany would be a most dangerous enemy of Turkey and all other Moslem countries, for she was the one that was most anxious to annex by peaceful penetration Asia Minor and Southern Persia—(laughter) she has been at the same time posing for years past, to serve her own ends, as a sort of protector of Islam—(Heaven forbid that we should have such an immoral protector!) (cheers)—and is only too eager to turn to mischievous account such unguarded expressions from Englishmen of eminence. Happily so far as the Moslem and other subjects of the King-Emperor are concerned these efforts of our enemies are absolutely futile. We will never break down the strong wall of loyalty, based on the certainty and consciousness that not only our truest interests, religious as well as civil, are guaranteed to us by British rule more securely than they could ever be otherwise, but that our ultimate aspirations to rise in everything to the standard of Europe and America can only be obtained through permanent association and union with British rule. (Cheers.)

England's Surprise.

"Gentlemen, I have been only a few days now in this country, having just come from South Africa, with which our distinguished President's name is so intimately associated; and I was, I must say, rather surprised to see that there was in this country a feeling of pleasant surprise, but still it was a distinct form of surprise, at the manimity and loyalty of India in this time of crisis. Gentlemen, that feeling of surprise was not shared by any Indian who knew his country or who had travelled amongst the people of India or who realised how the people of that country were deeply attached to the King-Emperor, and, in spite of any passing clouds, of the permanent confidence they had in the goodwill and in the good sentiments of the British people as a whole towards India, (Cheers.) There has been, epecially amongst the educated classes of India, a feeling towards British rule which has always reminded me of the feeling of Cordelia towards Lear before the tragedy. It is a feeling and a sentiment that is too proud to show its loyalty and affection when all goes well, but England's needs will be India's opportunity to shed her last drop of blood and spend her last penny to save and to help the Empire. (Cheers.) The educated classes of India have not been fair weather friends, and no one in the world who has any sense of justice can deny that to a man they have shown their united loyalty to the Empire in this great crisis of its history.

An end to Misunderstandings.

"But, Gentlemen, when this war is over, let it be the end of misunderstandings. (Cheers.) Let us begin with a clean slate. Let us not in future either on one side or the other allow our natural pride or the feelings that stopped Cordelia from showing her sentiments towards Lear come in our way. Let us not have any more misunderstandings, or let us reduce them as far as possible in the future, For, after all, whatever happens to this country, if this country is ever weakened, India's aspirations and India's future go to pieces. On the other hand, whatever happens in the future India can always be an inehxaustible source of man power, of wealth, and of natural resources for the British Empire. (Cheers.) Let us hope, and more than hope—let us work when the war is over, that the same good will and that the same energy that we are now showing towards helping the Empire will be devoted towards what I may call a permanent reconciliation, and an end of all the misunderstandings of the last twenty years or so. Throughout India—and I can claim to speak with some knowledge, having travelled practically all over the country once every year—the final settlement that was come to in 1858 has been loyally accepted. Instinctively and subconsciously, which are infinitely more important motives of action in times of great crises in human affairs than conscious and reasoned conclusions—instinctively, subconsciously, our people have accepted British rule, and have realised that their future development to its fullest can only be possible under the King-Emperor and within this Empire. On the other hand they have never forgotten the spirit of the Queen's Proclamation—(cheers)—and it is for the English people also not to forget the letter and spirit of that Proclamation, but to keep it as it was meant by Queen Victoria, whom John Bright, I believe, described as the most truthful person that he had ever met. Let it be accepted in its entirety, in its letter. Let the future of India develop on our side by loyalty and devotion towards the Sovereign, towards the Empire, and towards England, but at the same time let the people of England realise that that must be the bond of union between us, a bond of union which I hope will last for ever. (Loud cheers.)

"One small and humble personal explanation. If I do not get anything of a more combatant nature I hope to come with you as your interpreter, if I may. (Cheers.) I know English, French, German and Hindustani, and I do not think you will find many interpreters so useful; so that I will earn my bread if I am there. If I do not go it will be because of some *force majeure*, and not through any want of effort on my own part." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Gandhi and the Moslems.

The Chairman, in the course of some concluding remarks, said: "We Hindus have to live side by side with Mahomedans. Their sorrows must be our sorrows; their joys must be our joys. I entirely believe in the doctrine that the Hindus and Mahomedans of India are the two eyes of Mother India. If one is hurt the other is equally affected, and India without Mahomedans or without Hindus would be only a one-eyed mother, and India divided between those two sectons, who would war against one another would only see with one eye, and then but faintly and dimly. With reference to the other part of His Highness's speech, I am sure we shall treasure the message he has delivered this afternoon. We shall always be conscious that we have undertaken a high duty. The camp life that we shall have to lead will knit us Indians from different parts of the Empire together in a common bond. We shall be comrades and feel as one soul as perhaps we have not been able to do in India itself. Let us then conserve all the energy we may have at our disposal in order to discharge the mission that we have undertaken." (Cheers.)



The Indian Troops at Marseilles.

(From the "Times" Special Correspondent.)

Marseilles.

To-day it has been my great good fortune to assist at the making of history. I have seen the troops of one of the world's most ancient civilizations set foot for the first time on the shores of Europe. I have seen proud Princes of India ride at the head of thousands of soldiers, Princes an men alike fired with all the ardour of the East, determined to help win their Emperor's battles or die. And, of far greater significance to my follow-country men than the mere making of history, I have seen welded before my eyes, as it were, what may well prove to be the strongest link in that singular and wonderful chain which we call the British Empire.

The haze that betokened a hot September day had just begun to lift from the bay, when suddenly an interminable line of steamships crept along by the romantic Chatean d'If and adjacent islands. The telescope showed that all were riding high in the water, and awakening Marseilles knew that the long-expected ships with the Indian troops aboard had arrived.

With a precision and expedition that made every observer marvel, the armada of transports swung into harbour and moored alongside the appointed quays. A French officer was lost in admiration. Afterwards he confided to me with delightful frankness that the British Army and Naval authorities were the finest organizers in the world, and that Great Britain alone of all the nations was capable of carrying out a project of the kind with such success.

The Landing.

The strong southern sun had by now dissipated the mist, and as each dark-painted liner glided to her moorings, the troops packed on deck as close as pit-props on a Baltic schooner, and with *pagris* flying in the breeze, were thrown up in relief, presenting an imposing and, for a Briton, unforgettable picture. The camera may hint at the strangely stirring scene in black and white, but nothing less than the brush of a master could convey an adequate portrayal to the present generation and to posterity. It does seem a pity that an event so vitally important to our own and our Allies' destinies should only live in the columns of newspapers.

Across the Indian Ocean, up the Red Sea, and through the Mediterranean the same propitious conditions prevailed, and the troops, Indian and English alike—for many of our sunburnt foreign service troops have also come over to join in the great fight for liberty and right—tepped ashore in magnificent condition. Military surveillance of the port was, of course, very strict, but the good people of Marseilles were bent on having a glimpse, however distant, of what was passing, so that every road within a mile of the docks was a mass of excited Latins, and every second-storey window and every roof within a like area was a coveted vantage seat. Daily for a couple of months now Marseilles streets have echoed to the tread of a remarkable medley of soldiers—picturesque Zouaves and Turcos from Algiers, white-turbanned, swarthy Moors from Morocco, coal-black negroes from Senegal, and a score of different units from France itself—and all have been received with heartiness. But the welcome the high-spirited Marsellais extended to the Indians stranscended all others in spontaneity and warmth.

Hour after hour fully a score of steamers discharged their cargoes, and I am certain happier fighting men never landed in a country where death or glory was to be their goal. Had not the Emperor of India paid them the highest tribute in his Imperial power by asking them to join his white soldiers in crushing the military despotism that was rendering impossible peace and progress in Europe, and therefore upsetting the political balance of the empires and kingdoms of the whole earth? Yes, the King-Emperor had done this, and the soul of every Indian of every race represented in that mighty throng was filled to overflowing with a pardonable joy.

The Indians were made to feel at home almost as soon as they came ashore. The French soldier immediately set about shaking every brown hand that came within reach, and examining in a professional manner, but not without curiosity, the rifle, the bayonet, and general accoutrement of his newly-made comrade-in-arms. The uniform he unhesitatingly pronounced more practical and superior to his own. But what impressed and interested him most was the curved *kukri* of the little Gurkha, who with dramatic action described more graphically than by words its many uses. All the troops are in khaki, with only slight differences in design.

Complete in every detail.

Not the least extraordinary feature of the wonderful expeditionary force is that not only is it an army from another continent, but an army complete in every detail and ready to take its place in the firing line at a moment's notice. How it will immediately make its presence felt and prove of immense help to the Allies can best be realized by those who, like myself, have seen it on the march. I have been observer of most of the European armies in peace and in war, but never have I seen troops with a finer *entrain* than those swung past me on the reads in the environs of Marseilles this afternoon. It is no exaggeration of language to say that the regiments brought over from India are composed of noble and majestic specimens of manhood.

Everything necessary for campaigning has been brought, even to the shovels and picks to dig the trenches, paraffin lamps to light the sleeping places, and praying mats.

Throughout the forenoon while the troops were landing excitement had been steadily rising in the city, and the defiling of the British and Indian soldiers through the street in the afternoon *en route* to their rest camps was the signal for the whole of Marseilles to give vent to frantic enthusiasm. Sikh, Punjabi, Baluchi, or Gurkha was no matter to the dense, struggling crowds; they cheered all to the echo.

First came a detachment of stalwart Sikhs, for the greater part head and shoulders above the spectators. Immediately the police guarding the route were swept aside, the ranks were rushed, men and women shook the laughing soldiers by the hand and young girls showered flowers upon them, pinning roses in their tunics and in their turbans. Tricolours were distributed wtih prodigality, and it seemed that within a minute or two every second soldier was proudly flying a flag from his rifle. Old ladies with bitter memories of '70 pressed forward the better to admire these handsome bearded men with gleaming eyes and flashing white teeth, and it would be difficult to conjure up anything more deeply touching than the sight of those frail women patting the bronzed giants on the back and calling down blessings on their heads.

So it proceeded for hours, the only difference being that the townspeople waxed in enthusiasm. When the sturdy little Gurkhas, still smiling, of course, came marching along to the strains of "The Marseillaise," played marvellously well on a weird collection of reed instruments, the crowds considered that they could better show their regard by allowing the soldiers the right of the cobbled streets.

Accordingly men, mountain battery mules, and officers' horses marched along under the very awnings of the café *terrasses*, men and women meanwhile standing on chairs and tables waving hats, sticks, and handkerchiefs, and expending every ounce of lung energy in shouting "Vivent les Anglais, Vivent les Indiens." The quick-witted Indians voiced that gratitude by replying "Veeve France," and by making repeated use of a phrase in Hindustani, the intonation of which was suspiciously reminiscent of the British soldier's dearly-beloved "Are we downhearted? No!"

Jumping for Joy.

I have often heard of a man jumping for joy. This afternoon I have watched hundreds younger Indian troops perform the operation, to the amazement and delight of thousands of on lookers. From sheer patriotic exuberance they would leap two or three feet in the air and wave the Union Jack and the French flag, with as deep faith in the force and sense of the action as children at home on Empire Day or Alsatian pilgrims to the Strasburg statue in the Place de la Concorde. Several princes, distinguished by finely chiselled features and by gold ornaments flashing in their turbans, rode on magnificent chargers, exhibiting every sign of pleasure at reception accorded them.

At one part of the route taken by the Sikhs a little incident created much amusement among the spectators. A particularly striking company, all men over 6ft., was passing and the crowd clapped their hands loudly in addition to cheering. Presumably in the belief that they were intended to respond in similar fashion, the whole of the company slung their rifles and vigorously clapped their hands till they were tired. The British officers, who walked at the head of their regiments, were singled out for special ovations.

It was amusing experience to stand in the crowd and listen to the remarks when our own British regiments that had come over with the Indians passed. Bronzed by the Oriental sun, clean limbed and keen-faced, the French people at once put them down as officers, every one of them, and it was some time before I could wean these around me from their belief. They would have been better pleased had I not disillusioned them.

In the failing light of an autumn evening I wandered on the outskirts of what must be one of the most picturesquely situated camps ever pitched. To-morrow, side by side, Briton and Indian will go out, heads high and hearts beating true to one King-Emperor and one Empire, to battle with the common enemy, the enemy of civilization itself.

Our Indian troops, comparable as they are to any martial force in the world, have only one fear, and I have done my best to explain to them that it is absolutely groundless. It is that the war may be over before they get to the front!

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The War through German Spectacles.

The German View.

(Press Association War Special).

Amsterdam, Septr. 18th.

The following statement, issued, according to a telegram from Berlin, by the German General Headquarters Staff last evening, shows the view of the present military situation in France which German authorities are presenting to the German public:—

So far there has been no decision in the battle between the Oise and the Meuse, but certain signs indicate that the power of resistance of the enemy is relaxing. The edevours of the French troops to break through the German right wing collapsed without any great effort by our troops.

In the centre the German army is gaining ground slowly but surely. On the right bank of the Meuse sallies from Verdun have been easily repulsed.

The following messages regarding the fighting in France have been officially circulated from Berlin dated 19th September by wireless :— In continuation of the communication despatched yesterday regarding the operations in the western theatre of the war, headquarters report that the French Thirteenth and Fourth Army Corps, together with a portion of a further division were finally defeated yesterday south of Noyon, the French losing several batteries. The enemy made attacks on several positions across the battle front, but they were broken with sanguinary losses. On the storming of the Château Brimont, near Rheims 2,500 prisenors were taken. Fighting in the open field resulted in the enemy losing more prisoners and guns, the number of which it is not yet possible to state.

Septr. 20th.

The general situation in the west remains unchanged. The Allied armies have been forced to take up a defensive attitude along the entire line of battle, and their attack against strong partly fortified positions must proceed slowly, Preparations have been made for an attack upon the line of outpost forts south of Verdun.

In Alsace our troops are closely massed against the French along the frontier.

Septr. 21st.

Main headquarters report that in the attack against the French and British armies advances have been made on some points.

In the region of the Vosges French attacks on the Donon, near Senones, have been repulsed.

A Russian General Put in Chains.

The official wireless news from Berlin received by the Marconi Company dated Berlin, September 20, includes the following:—

The Russian General Martos, who ordered that all the male inhabitants of East Prussia should be shot and that villages should be destroyed, has been brought into Halle in chains. He will be tried by court-martial. A Russian Major has been condemned to death after trial by court-martial. He is alleged to have committed infamous act.

The success of the War Loan is assured. Three and a half milliards of marks (£175,000,000) have already been subscribed, but this figure will be increased. The result of the loan surpasses all expectations, and affords striking proof of the financial capacity as well as the patriotic spirit of the German nation.

A Russian Threat of Reprisals.

With reference to the treatment of General Martos in Germany, an official statement was issued in Petrograd yesterday (says a Press Association telegram). The Headquarters Staff, after positively denying the German charges, adds:—"This novel manner of waging war will certainly find echo from the Russians, who will not lose an opportunity of applying it to prisoners who represent the corrupt military standard which German senior officers employed in such a marked manner at Czenstochowa and Kalish."

The German Report.

September 23.

Except for a statement regarding Rheims Cathedral, the official wireless message from Berlin contains no reference to the battle in France but the following :—

"Verdun has been successfully bombarded. Colonel Rousset, in 'La Liberté,' states that the strength and actual position of the German army are unique in the history of warfare."

The German Case.

The official wireless message from Berlin September, 25th. says :—

The statement made by the French Government that the German troops systematically, directed their fire against Rheims Cathedral without military necessity is a distortion of fact. The French statement that the Cathedral has been ruined by bombardment is denied, and it is stated that the spiral is still standing.

An army order expressly forbade the bombardment of the Cathedral with other than field artillery, and that only in case the enemy established observation stations on the Cathedral. This was done, and in consequence the German infantry suffered enormous losses.

A strong protest is raised against the slander that German troops destroy monuments of historical interest or architectural beauty without the strictest necessity owing to their rage for destruction.

"No actual decision yet."

The following has been circulated through German wireless stations and received by the Marconi Company dated Berlin, September 24:

Main headquarters reports with regard to operations in the western theatre of the war on September 23rd that on the right wing of the German Army on the south side of the Oise the battle is at a standstill. The efforts of the French to encircle us have not had any result. On the east wing, as far as the Forest of Argonne no battle of Great importance took place. East of the Forest of Argonne the town of Varennes has been captured by us, and our attack is proceeding. The sections of the Army engaged in attacking the outpost forts south of Verdun have defeated and driven back fierce counter-attacks from Verdun and from Toul, and prisoners, machine-guns, and cannon have been taken. The fire of our heavy artillery has been opened with evident success against the outpost forts of Troyon, Les Paroches, Camp des Romains, and Lionville. In French Lorraine and on the Alsatian frontier French scouts were driven back in certain places. To sum up, no actual decision has yet resulted anywhere.

No news is to hand from Belgium and from the eastern theatre of the war. Main headquarters further reports that it has ascertained that one mortar shot was fired against the Cathedral of Reims, as it was otherwise impossible to drive away the enemy's observation posts which were noticed there with field artillery.

Three British cruisers Aboukir, Hogue, and Cressy were sunk by the German submarine U 9 on the morning of September 22nd. At the time of the attack the majority of the British sailors were in their bunks and not a single shot was fired by any of the cruisers. In recognition of their services an Iron Cross has been awarded to each member of the crew of the U. 9.

It was the German submarine U 21, commanded by First Lieutenant Hersing, which sunk the British cruiser Pathfinder in the Firth of Forth on September 5th.

A prominent Bavarian Socialist, Michael Schwad, who is serving with the Landwehr, has been awarded the Iron Cross for bravery in the field.

It is officially reported from Vienna that the Austrian forces have now been concentrated in their new position for several days, but they have waited in vain for any serious Russian attack. This proves the inaccuracy of the statement made by the Russian General Staff that their troops were victorious, that General Dankl's army had been defeated, and that Austrian troops were completely broken, and were being pursued by Russians. Equally untrue are the reports which have been circulated abroad concerning famine in the country, and the depressed state of public feeling, and the illness of the Emperor. The public as well as the Army have entire confidence in the final victory of Austrian arms over their powerful enemy.

During the past few days Austrian troops have been engaged in several unsuccessful battles with Serbians. The 42nd Landwehr Division, consisting of Croatians, displayed extraordinary courage in the field, and received the congratulations of the Hungarian Minister for National Defence and of the commander of the 15th Army Corps. It is officially stated that in the recent battles near Innenburg the Russian losses in killed and wounded were 92,000 and 150,000 prisoners.

A further message relating to operations in France states that there has been no fighting during the past few days except for some unimportant artillery engagements. In spite of the unfavourable weather, however, the German troops are in excellent condition.

German Silence.

25th September.

The wireless message officially circulated from Berlin says :—

Main headquarters reports that there are no actual successes to record to-day in the western theatre of the war, except for a few small engagements which resulted in favour of the German arms.

No news is yet to hand from Belgium or from the eastern theatre of the war.

Germany and Peace.

(Reuter's Correspondent.)

New York, 25th September.

A message received from Berlin by wireless via Sayville states that the "Berliner Tageblatt," in an article which is believed to be inspired, says that in view of the enormous sacrifices made by Germany Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg and General Count von Moltke could only agree to make peace after Germany's future position had been made quite unassailable. This point of view, the "Tageblatt" contends, is supported by public opinion throughout Germany.

Fall of Outpost Fortress Claimed.

The official wireless message circulated from Berlin says :—

Main headquarters reports with regard to operations in the western theatre of the war for yesterday as follows :—

26th September.

The resumption of our operations has led to new engagements on our extreme right wing without any decision being arrived at present except for a few partial advances by both sides. Nothing has happened in the centre of the battle line.

The outpost fortress of Camp des Romaines, near St. Mihiel, south of Verdun, was the first to fall to-day, and a Bavarian regiment, commanded by Von der Tann, hoisted the German flag on the fortress. From this spot our troops have crossed the Meuse. For the rest there are no alterations of any kind either in the east or the west.

A military expert in Paris explains that the excellent entrenchments of the Germans make the slow progress of battle very probable. Uhlans have blown up the bridge between Amiens and Arras.

The German Version.

The official wireless message circulated from Berlin says :—

27th September.

Main headquarters reports that by making use of their railways the French and English troops have commenced very extensive advances against the extreme right wing of the German army. A French division advancing towards Bapaume in the course of these operations was repulsed by weaker German forces which they encountered.

Elsewhere, too, the enemy's advance has been brought to a standstill. In the centre our advance troops have came to grips with the enemy in certain places. The outpost forts south of Verdun, which were attacked by our troops, have now suspended their firing, and our artillery are engaged again with forces which the enemy have brought into position on the western side of the Meuse.

Elsewhere the situation remains unchanged.

Prince Oscar of Prussia contracted acute heart weakness, due to over-exertion during the battle and he was brought to Metz, where he is undergoing special treatment.

The reports as to quarrels among Prussian and Bavarian soldiers, the escape of imprisoned French soldiers, and the sinking of a German cruiser and two torpedo boats in the Baltic are officially denied.



The Turkish Attitude.

We take the following from the letter of the *Pioneer's* Egyptian correspondent dated Cairo, October, 12th :—

The news of the despatch to Constantinople by Germany of four howitzers and one thousand tons of ammunition, which was cabled out here this week, has given rise to many rumours as to the intentions of Turkey. Every letter from Syria tends to show that the greatest activity reigns there in military circles. The families of the Government officials have all been sent into the interior and the officials themselves are preparing to follow at a moments notice. Every horse and mule fit for service has been commandeered, even out of private stables belonging to foreigners and a cordon has been placed round Mount Lebanon to prevent possible conscripts and their horses taking refuge there from the neighbouring vilayets. About £12,000,000 is said to have been collected in the form of "badalia" (exemption money) and whole villages have been called upon to supply fixed quantities of clothing for the troops, of whom it is understood about a million and a quarter are stationed between Aleppo and Akaba.

Refugees arriving from Syria affirm that there are any number of Germans attached to the Turkish troops and this, taken with the above despatch of howitzers and ammunition, is a clear indication that the Wilhelmstrasse is at the back of all this Turkish activity. Whilst the latter is undoubtedly intended to act as a menace to Egypt it is fairly clear that no deliberate act of aggression on the south is contemplated. Howitzers would be useless against Egypt since they could not be transported across the intervening desert. The despatch of these weapons and the levy of warm clothing made on the Syrians seems to show that action is contemplated in cold climes and against a nearer enemy, in other words against Russia or Greece. The manner in which the Arabs have been pressed into the army is possibly due to the Turkish fear of an Arab rising, which has long been threatened and which would seriously jeopardise their chances of success in the north.

The Turkish Cabinet Divided.

It has long been known that the Turkish Cabinet is divided on the question of the attitude the country is to take up during the present war, and a short time ago a rumour was current that Enver Pasha, the Minister of War, who is all for Turkish intervention on behalf of Germany, had been shot. The details of the story that circulated connected a member of the Sultan's family with the deed, but at the time little credence was attached to the rumour. It now transpires that it was substantially correct. It appears that Prince Izzedin, the heir to the throne, who came to Egypt two years ago on a special mission to King George, asked the Ministers to his house about the middle of August with a view to discussing with them the then situation. It was understood that the conference should be kept secret and that only the Cabinet should attend.

Enver's Quarrel with Prince Izzedin.

Enver Pasha, however, took General Von Sandars, the German Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish Army, with him. Prince Izzedin was somewhat annoyed at this, but made no reference to the question, beyond expressing his feelings to the Grand Vizier. The discussion was opened by the Prince, who said how pleased he was that Turkey had declared her neutrality and explained the reasons why he held this view. The Grand Vizier, the Ministers of Interior and Commerce and the Sheikh-ul-Islam endorsed what he said, but Enver Pasha disagreeing called upon General von Sandars to explain how intervention would benefit Turkey. Prince Izzedin, however, interrupted and said the General had no right to express his opinion or to oppose the views of the heir to the throne or the Ministers. The War Minister retorted that the General would speak as a Turkish and not as a German Officer, but the Prince replied that it was entirely due to a mistake on the part of Enver Pasha that Von Sandars was present at all at this meeting. Enver apparently then lost his head and made an offensive remark, to which the Prince replied that his head was swollen by his position. Thereupon Enver rose to leave the room and in his rage touched his revolver in a threatening manner. Prince Izzedin thinking that Shefket's and Nazim's fate was to be his, drew his own pistol and fired several shots, one of which wounded Enver in the thigh and another hit General Von Sandars on the shoulder.

The War Minister and his German protége then retired, but the Ministers stayed with the Prince. It now remains to be seen whether the pacific intentions of the heir to the throne and of the Grand Vizier will in the end prevail or not. As the *Tribuna* said in one of its last issues to hand, the *Entente* can offer Turkey her integrity in return for the maintenance of a neutral attitude, but it is difficult to see what more tempting bait Germany can offer in order to provoke the Porte to action. Indeed Turkey's intervention, if it comes to pass, will have been entirely prompted by the self-interested motives of the clique of which Enver is the admitted leader. Opinion in Egypt has during the past week or so become very pronounced on the question and the Vernacular Press unanimously recommends Turkey to maintain her neutral attitude and to do nothing to alienate the good relations which exist between England and Turkey, as it is on the continuance of these good relations that the future of the Ottoman Empire such as it now is depends.

The Foreign Post Offices.

The action of the Porte in abolishing the foreign post offices is likely to react somewhat seriously on Turkish commerce. For the time being no foreign ships will carry Turkish mails, and the French Post Offices in Alexandria and Port Said decline to accept postal matter for the Turkish Post Offices. In Syria the French Post Office has been transferred to the interior of the French Consulate, and the Russian, which is similarly located at the Russian Consulate, remains open. The German and Austrian offices have been shut, but the British still keep open. The Turkish authorities so far have not intervened, and it is to be presumed that they are afraid to do so, as they probably now foresee what the real effect of the abolition of the foreign Post Offices will be.

TURKISH SYMPATHIES.

The Jerusalem correspondent of the *Daily Mail* writing on 8th September says as follows:—

"While a few educated Moslems are on the side of the Allies, the bulk of Islamic sympathy is for the Germans. Ever since the visit of the Kaiser to Turkey in 1893, the German Emperor has been regarded as the protector of Islam in the world. The masses believe him to be Moslem at heart, but Christian in appearance for political and geographical purposes. A Moslem newspaper declared the other day that the Kaiser had sworn to say his Friday prayers in Paris very soon. But beside this farfetched creed of the masses, Turkish officials are openly in sympathy with the Germans. The Military Governor of Jerusalem, who is a staunch supporter of Young Turkish ideals, called the journalists of the city round him and actually prohibited them from publishing any telegrams that were unfavourable to German success.

Mobilisation is not as keenly carried out now as it was at the beginning of August, and several hundred troops have been sent back home. The condition of the soldiers is deplorable. They provide their own food and clothing, the Government supplying their rifles and other arms. Horses, mules, foodstuffs, clothes and shoes are being requisitioned for military purposes. Receipts are given in return for these, but no one believes in the credit of the Turk.

Syria, Damascus, Beyrout, Aleppo Haifa, Nablous (shechem), and Jerusalem have become great military camps. The recruits are taken out every day and drilled. The fez has been superseded by the German fashioned hat, which sits shabbily on the head of the native soldier's. It is significant that this radical change in the Turkish soldiers headgear has called for little comment from fanatical Moslems, who have always maintained that the fez is the distinguishing mark of a Mahomedan believer.

The prestige of European Consuls is waning very fast. England is believed to be at the bottom of all this trouble; consequently English residents come in for a large share of the Moslem's spite and hatred. The departure of all the English colony from Palestine owing to want of money (the large majority of English residents are missionaries) has caused the wildest conjectures. Some said a massacre of Christian is contemplated; others that England intends to occupy Palestine, invading it from the borders of Egypt.

Trade is at a standstill owing to the closing of the banks.

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Turkey and Great Britain.

Viceroy's Communique.

Simla, Oct. 31st.

The following *communiqué* has been issued at Simla:—

News has been received by telegram, dated the 29th October, from the British Consul-General at Odessa, to the following effect:—Two or three torpedo boats raided this port before dawn this morning and sank the Russian gunboat Donetz in the harbour. Part of the crew have been killed and wounded. The Russian steamships Vitiaz, Liazaref and Whampso have been damaged. The French ship Portugal has been damaged, two of the crew killed and two wounded. Further shells fired on the town damaged the sugar factory, with some loss of life. The Governor of Odessa states that the raiding vessels were Turkish.

News has also been received that the Russian Stationnaire at Constantinople has been sunk and that a naval attack has been made on Theodosia. These attacks on Russia have been made without declaration of war and with no shadow of provocation or pretext.

As these acts of war against Great Britain's ally are likely to affect seriously the relation of the British and Turkish Governments, His Excellency the Viceroy thinks it desirable that the princes and peoples of India should be made acquainted without delay with the following facts, indicating the consistently aggressive attitude of the Turkish Government adopted at German instigation, which has culminated in the incidents above reported:—

The attitude adopted by the Turkish Government in regard to the German man-of-war, Goeben and Breslau, aroused great misgivings in London, Paris and Petrograd. These ships were flying from French and British fleets in the Mediterranean and took refuge in the Dardanelles, where by the rules of international law and under Turkish treaties they should either have been laid up by the Turkish Government, their crews not being repartriated until the close of the war, or made to leave for the open sea at the end of 24 hours.

Instead of this the ships were allowed to remain in shelter and to exercise belligerent rights on a French ship; and then it was suddenly announced that they had been purchased by Turkey, who retained the German crews and dismissed the British Admiral from his executive command of the Turkish fleet. At the same time the passage of the Dardanelles was sown with mines and all British merchant vessels in those waters, or coming through from the Black Sea were held up, first on the pretext that their cargoes were wanted for troops whom Turkey was mobilising and then that the presence of mines rendered it unsafe for vessels to proceed. This was not only a totally unjustifiable interference on the part of a neutral State with the trade of Great Britain, involving both shippers and merchants in heavy loss, but it paralysed the movements of all British shipping in the Black Sea, amounting at the time to 60 or 70 vessels, since not only was it impossible to get through into the Mediterranean, but there was nothing to prevent the Goeben and Breslau from passing into the Black Sea and destroying all the shipping collected there. The Dardanelles have now been closed in defiance of international treaties.

Another reason for grave disquietude has been the unfriendly treatment by responsible Turkish officials in Baghdad and Mesopotamia of British subjects, and the open incitement of the population by Turkish official circles against Great Britain and her Allies. Notwithstanding all this provocation, His Majesty's Government intimated that if Turkish were substituted for German crews on the Goeben and Breslau, if British merchant shipping were not impeded, and if Turkey would honourably carry out the duties of a neutral State, not only would all these illegalities and hostile acts be overlooked but that a solemn and written guarantee would be given that Great Britain would scrupulously respect the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, assurances were given that at the conclusion of peace Great Britain would see that no conditions were laid down which would impair that independence and intergrity and that economic conditions of a character favourable to Turkey would be obtained.

In spite of these assurances, the attitude of Turkey towards Great Britain became increasingly provocative. Evidence continued to reach His Majesty's Government of military preparations in Syria, which could have had no other purpose than to faciliate an attack on Egypt, and of active propaganda carried on by Turkish and German agents among the Bedouin Arabs in the regions adjoining, the Egyptian frontier. The Mosul and Damascus army corps have since their mobilisation, been constantly sending troops south preparatory for an invasion of Egypt and the Suez Canal. From Akaba and Gazi a large body of Bedouin Arabs have been called out and armed to assist in this venture. Transport has been collected and roads have been prepared up the frontier of Egypt. Mines have been despatched to be laid in the Gulf of Akaba to protect the force from naval attack and the notorious Sheikh Aziz Shawish, who has been so well known as a firebrand in raising Moslem feeling against Christians, has published and disseminated through Syria and probably India, an inflammatory document urging Mahomedans to fight against Great Britain. It is also reported that Dr. Pfueffer, who was so long engaged in intrigues in Cairo against the British Occupation and is now attached to the German Embassy, Constantinople, has been busily occupied in Syria trying to incite the people to take part in this conflict.

Similar intrigues were set on foot elsewhere and reports were even received of the despatch of Turkish emissaries to India with the object of stirring up anti-British feelings among Indian Mahomedans. A striking illustration of the extent to which intrigue has been carried on is furnished by the case of a German employe in the Alexandria City Police, who latterly returned from leave *via* Constantinople saying that he has been exempted from military service. He was arrested on suspicion on landing, and on his person were found a detailed map of the Suez Canal, a sheet of numbered cypher messages concealed in his Tarboosh and other compromising correspondence. He had also entrusted to a member of the ship's company two boxes of detonators for exploding dynamite or nitroglycerine. Further a steady stream of German officers and men, both naval and military, together with all kinds of war material, has flowed increasingly into Constantinople, which has been converted to all intents and purposes into a German military base. German officers are known to have penetrated far into the interior of the Turkish Empire in the endeavour to stir up agitation among the inhabitants against Great Britain and her Allies. All these movements, it is impossible to doubt, have been carried on with the direct connivance of the Ottoman authorities and can point to only one conclusion.

Finally the deliberate intention of the Turkish Government to provoke Great Britain to War is shown by the instructions which are known to have been issued by the Turkish Minister of War to the Commandant at Jaffa, not later than the 18th October, on the subject of the measures to be taken by him in the ontbreak of hostilities. These instructions not only alluded to His Majesty's Government as the enemy but they also included an order to break the flagstaff of His Majesty's Consulate and to remove the insignia of Great Britain. The greatest Mahomedan power in the world and the faithful and consistent friend of Turkey, whom she has steadfastly helped to maintain her position in Europe and to recover her stability, which was shaken in the Balkan War, would see with the greatest regret that Turkey had been decoyed into ranging herself on the side of England's enemies and into adopting an attitude as

unjustified as it would be ungrateful. But it cannot be denied that the present situation shows that there is a chauvinistic element endeavouring to drive Turkey into war with England for the benefit of Germany and of Austria the secular enemy of the Turkish State.

To The Editor of "The Comrade" Delhi.

A copy of the following public announcement is forwarded, and it is requested that publicity may be given to it ;—

In view of the outbreak of war between Great Britain and Turkey, which to the regret of Great Britain has been brought about by the ill-advised, unprovoked and deliberate action of the Ottoman Government, His Excellency the Viceroy is authorised by His Majesty's Government to make the following public announcement in regard to the Holy Places of Arabia including the Holy Shrines of Mesopotamia and the port of Jeddah, in order that there may be no misunderstanding on the part of His Majesty's most loyal Moslem subjects as to the attitude of His Majesty's Government in this war in which no question of a religious character is involved. These Holy Places and Jeddah will be immune from attack or molestation by the British Navy and Military forces so long as there is no interference with pilgrims from India to the Holy Places and Shrines in question. At the request of His Majesty's Government, the Governments of France and Russia have given them similar assurances.

By Order,

(Sd.) E. F. DE MONTMORENCY,

Delhi, 2nd November, 1914.

Personal Assistant to the Chief Commissioner,

Delhi.

NIZAM'S MANIFESTO.

The following is an English translation of a manifesto, published in the "Gazette Extraordinary" of the Hydrabad State, by order of His Highness the Nizam G. C. S. I. It begins with the Minister's introduction as follows : "The wise and statesmanlike *Farman*, which His Highness has been pleased to issue for the guidance and peace of mind of his beloved subjects, in view of the recent events in Europe and the turn taken by the war, is published in this *jarida* for general information. It is to be hoped that the Subjects of this State will realize the importance of these directions in their own best interests, and the interests of their country and their master and the Sovereign, and carry them out fully and completely."

(Sd.) Salar Jung,

Minister to His Highness the Nizam.

The following are the words of the *farman*:—

In view of the present aspect of the war in Europe, let it be generally known that at this critical juncture it is the bounden duty of the Muhammadans of India to adhere firmly to their old and tried loyalty to the British Government, especially when there is no Moslem or non-Moslem power in the world under which they enjoy such personal and religious liberty as they do in India ; and when, moreover, they are assured by the British Government that as it has in the past always stood the best friend of Islam, so will it continue to be the Islam's best friend and will always protect and cherish its Moslem subjects. I repeat and reiterate that in the crisis before us, the Muhammadan inhabitants of India, especially the subjects of this State, should, if they care for their own welfare and prosperity, remain firm and whole-hearted in their loyalty and obedience, swerve not a hair's breadth from their devotion to the British Government whose cause I am convinced is just and right, keep sacred the tie which binds the subject people to their rulers, and, lastly, that they should in no case show themselves to be beguiled by the wiles of any one into a course of open or secret sedition against the British Government. Finally, I give expression to the hope that, as, I, following the tradition of my ancestors, hold myself ever ready to devote my own person and all the resources of my state and all that I possess to the service of Great Britain, so will all the Muhammadans of India, especia ly my own beloved subjects, hold themselves whole-heartedly ready in the same way.

The Turkish Navy.

The following ships may now be said to comprise the Turkish navy.

Names.		Tons.	Completed.	Primary Armament.	Speed.	Crew.
BATTLESHIPS.						
GOEBEN	...	22,640	1912	10 *11-in.*	28	1,013
Assari-Tewfik	...	4,613	1870	3 *9-in.*	13	300
K. Barbarossa	...	9,901	1894	6 *11-in.*	17	...
Messoudieh	...	9,120	1876	2 *9·2-in.*	17	600
Turgut Reis	...	9,901	1893	6 *11-in.*	17	...
CRUISERS ETC.						
BRESLAU	...	4,500	1912	12 *4·1-in.*	27	373
Berkie-Satvet	...	740	1907	*2 4-in.*	22	...
Hamidieh	...	3,800	1904	*2 6-in.*	22	300
Heibetnuma	...	1,960	1893	3 *5 9-in.*	14	...
Lutfi-Hamayoun	...	1,313	1894	4 *6-in.*	13	...
Medjidieh	...	3,432	1904	2 *6-in.*	22	300
Peik-i-Shevkot	...	740	1907	2 *4-in.*	22	...
Peleuk-i-deria	...	840	1891	2 *4-in.*	20	111

Also seven 14-knot gunboats (510 to 420 tons) built in France in 1912-13 and about twenty other gunboats of various classes. The mine-layer, Nusrat, 380 tons, 15 knots, was built at the Germania Yard, Kiel, in 1912. There are also some seventeen destroyers, ranging in size from 145 to 610 tons displacement, and from 25 to 35 knots speed.

♣

The Russian Fleet in the Black Sea.

The following table will show the strength of the Russian Fleet now in the Black Sea.

BATTLESHIPS. Name.		Tons.	Completed.	Primary Armament.	Speed.	Crew.
Evstaff	...	12,733	1911	4 *12-in.*	16	731
I. Zlatoust	...	„	1910	„	„	636
Panteleimon	...	12,582	1902	„	17	686
Rostislav	...	8,880	1900	4 *10-in.*	16	624
Sinope	...	10,180	1890	6 *12-in.*	16	325
CRUISERS.						
Kagul	...	6,675	1905	12 *6-in.*	23	570
Kozarsky g. b.	...	400	1891	9 *1·8-in.*	23	60
P. Mercuria	...	6,675	1907	12 *6-in.*	23	...

There are also twenty-five destroyers, ranging from 240 tons to 1,050 tons displacement, and seven submarines and a mine-layer, the Krab. At Nikolayev, the chief Russian Naval port in the Black Sea the Dreadnoughts Maria Imperatritsa of 22,500 tons was launched last year and Alexander III, of the same class, was launched this year, but they had not been completed up to May of this year. A third sister ship the Ekaterina is also in building at Nikolayev, but not yet launched, and two cruisers, the Lazareff and the Kakhimoff each of 7,600 tons are in a like condition at this dockyard, where the construction is conducted in conjunction with the British firm of Messrs. Vickers, Ld., just in the same manner as the famous Scotch firm of Messrs. John Brown and Co., supervise the work at the Admiralty Dockyard at Petrograd.

The Forfeiture of our Security.

The Order of Forfeiture.

I

The following notice was handed over to the Keeper of "The Comrade and The Hamdard Press" by Major Beadon, the District Magistrate of Delhi, on the 3rd of November.

NOTICE.

In pursuance of section 4 (1) of the Indian Press Act, 1910.

To

The Keeper of "The Comrade and The Hamdard Press, Kucha-i-Chelan, Delhi."

Whereas, in exercise of the power conferred by section 3 of the Delhi Laws Act, 1912 (XIII of 1912) the Governor General in Council has been pleased to declare by Notification No. 1068, dated the 1st of October, 1912, that the powers or duties conferred or imposed on the Local Government under the Indian Press Act, 1910, (I of 1910) shall be exercised or performed by the Governor General in Council, and not by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, and

Whereas, it appears to the Governor General in Council that the printing press known as "The Comrade and The Hamdard Press, Kucha-i-Chelan, Delhi," in respect of which security to the amount of Rs. 2,000 has been deposited in accordance with the provisions of section 3 (1) of the Indian Press Act, 1910, has been used for printing and publishing the issue of the newspaper called "the Comrade" bearing date the 24th of September, 1914, and

Whereas, the said issue of the said newspaper contains an article entitled "The Choice of the Turks," printed at pages 233 to 240 of the said issue, the whole tenour of which article, and in particular the words indicated and described in the schedule annexed to this notice, is in the opinion of the Governor General in Council likely or has a tendency, directly or indirectly, whether by inference or suggestion or otherwise, to excite disaffection towards His Majesty and the Government established by law in British India,

Now, therefore, take notice that the Governor General in Council in pursuance of section 4 (1) of the Press Act, 1910, declares the security of Rs. 2,000 deposited in respect of "The Comrade and the Hamdard Press, Kucha-i-Chelan, Delhi," and all copies of the issue of the newspaper, callled "The Comrade" bearing date the 26th of September, 1914, wherever found to be forfeited to His Majesty.

By order of the Governor General in Council,

(Sd.) H. WHEELER,

Secretary to the Government of India.

Home Department, (Political) Delhi, 2nd November 1914.

Duly served on Farooq Ali s/o Major Yusuf Ali Khan this third day of November 1914.

(Sd.) H. C. BEADON,

D. M.

SCHEDULE.

Description of words in the issue of the newspaper called "The Comrade" bearing date the 26th September 1914, referred to in the foregoing notice.

Page.	Column.	Line.
233	Second	18-19.
234	First	51-55 and 76-80.
236	First	56-61.
237	First	49-52.
237	Second	6-8, 40, 54-65 (read with the quotations reproduced on p. 237 second column and p. 238 first column).
238	Second	47-49, 55-58, 67-75, 77-84.
239	First	1-4, 17-22, 59-62, 64-69, and 83-86.
239	Second	1-3.
240	First	61-64, and 79-83.
240	Second	1-6.

(Sd.) H. WHEELER.

Secretary to the Government of India.

Application *re* the Security.

II

The following application was presented to Major Beadon, the District Magistrate of Delhi, by Mr. Mohamed Ali :—

In the Court of the District Magistrate of Delhi.

Sir.

The petition of Mohamed Ali residing in Kucha-i-Chelan, Delhi, humbly and respectfully sheweth :

(1) That your petitioner desires to declare and hereby declares that he is the keeper of a press for Lithograph printing at Kucha-i-Chelan, Delhi.

(2) That your petitioner desires to declare and hereby declares that he is the printer and publisher of the periodical works entitled the 'Hamdard' the 'Khuddam-ul-Ka'aba' and the 'Old Boy' printed and published at Kucha-i-Chelan, Delhi.

(3) That, apart from doing ordinary job work for others, your petitioner desires to use his printing press for the purpose of printing only such literature as would promote knowledge and its wide diffusion, and would educate the people of this country in their rights and help them to realize their responsibilities as loyal subjects of His Majesty and useful and progressive citizens of the Empire.

(4) That the periodical works mentioned in para 2 above have consistently maintained the standard which your petitioner has set up for his press and have never to his knowledge been in any way complained of by the responsible officers of Government.

(5) That your petitioner prays that in view of the facts set forth in paras 3 and 4 above you will be pleased to dispense with the deposit of any security under Section 3 (1) of Indian Press Act (1 of 1910) and that you will be further pleased to authenticate the aforesaid declarations of your petitioner under Section 6 of the Press and Registration of Books Act (XXV of 1867).

(Sd.) Mohamed Ali.

The Argument.

III

Mr. Mohamed Ali's application for exemption from the deposit of security for a Lithograph Printing Press under the proviso to section 3 (1) of the Press Act and the authentication of his declaration under Section 6 of the Press and Registration of Books that was in part heard on the 5th instant, and a statement was taken by the District Magistrate in the course of which Mr. Mohamed Ali said that he had not till then christened the Lithograph press nor decided whether he would continue the management of the *Comrade* and *Hamdard* Press of which the security has just been declared forfeited, or make other arrangements. He would use some of the Lithograph machines of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* Press but he would add some others also. His press would be situated in part of the building in which the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* Press was situated. The District Magistrate asked whether this press would be the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* Press *redivivus*, to which Mr. Mohamed Ali replied that he could not answer that question unless he knew the precise and full interpretation of that phrase. The District Magistrate wanted to ascertain these facts with a view to judge whether he should proceed under section 3 (1) of the Press Act or under section 5, the latter section dealing with the deposit of security a second time when the security previously given in respect of the same press had been declared forfeited under section 4. Under Section 3 (1) the amount of security that can be demanded may vary between Rs. 500 and Rs. 2,000, and the proviso to that section allows the Magistrate, if he thinks fit, for special reasons to be recorded by him, to dispensed with the deposit of any security. Under section 5 the security must be taken in all cases, the amount varying between Rs 1,000 and 10,000 at the discretion of the Magistrate. Mr. Mohamed Ali argued on the 6th instant against the application of section 5 to his case on the grounds that (1) the Keeper of the Press was not the same as the Keeper of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* Press and that (2) the press did not bear the same name, and could not bear it, as the *Comrade* could not be printed by a lithograph press. He pointed out that even if these differences did not exist the Magistrate had no jurisdiction under the Act to go behind the statement of the keeper that it was not "such a press" as was dealt with by section 5 of the Act. There were two sets of declarations and securities under the Act, those for printing presses and those for newspapers. Sections 3, 4, 5 and 6 dealt with printing presses and sections 8, 9, 10 and 11 dealt with newspapers. For newspapers Section 10 corresponded to section 5 for presses, and there was a marked difference in the phraseology of the two sections. While section 10 covered not only the same newspaper as had had its first security declared forfeited, but also "any other newspaper which is the same in substance as the said newspaper," section 5 confined itself to the same press only and did not extend to "any other press which is the same in subatance as the said press." This marked difference between the phraseology of the two sections must indicate an equally marked difference in the intention of the legislature, and Mr. Mohamed Ali submitted that section 5 as it stood left no discretion to the Magistrate to go behind the declaration of the keeper of the press as section 10 had left him a clear discretion to go behind the declaration of the publisher of a newspaper. But even assuming, against the clear wording of the section, that the Magistrate had such a discretion, if the Magistrate in the exercise of that discretion refused to accept the keeper's declaration that it was not the same press, it was only right and just that the Magistrate should state in his order wherein lay the identity of the press, in its name, in its keeper, in its situation, or in its engines, machinery, types, stones, implements, utensils, and other plant or materials used for the purpose of printing. Supposing that the Magistrate pronounced that the identity of the press lay in its machinery etc., Mr. Mohamed Ali invited him to consider the consequences of such a decision. If the press or any part of it was sold, or otherwise transferred, after its first security had been declared forfeited, whosoever acquired this *damnosa hereditas* would have to be dealt with under section 5 and not under section 3 (1) because he would be declaring himself to be the keeper of "such a press." Would this taint be removed only by boiling down the lead of the type and scrapping the iron of the machinery and re-manufacturing them, or would the original sin be the heritage of him also who acquired type cast from the same lead and machinery re-manufactured out of the same iron? Where and when would this visitation end? Would not the possession of a single "space" or "en quod" by the most loyal purchaser from the keeper of a press which had been unfortunate enough to come within the reach of this all-embracing piece of legislation make him liable to deposit Rs. 10,000 when making a declaration as the keeper of a press in which that "space" or "en quod" was used ? The thing was absurd, and whatever else the legislators might have meant they certainly could not have meant anything so absurd and preposterous. It was not for him to say what exactly they had meant; but the Magistrate should not merely say that the application must be dealt with under section 5 and not under section 3 (1), but should also indicate in his order what the petitioner must do to make section 3 (1) applicable to his declaration. He prayed for this all the more because no person throughout this vast empire other than the District Magistrate of Delhi had any jurisdiction in the matter. From his order there was no appeal. Besides, there was no High Court to give decisions binding on all subordinate courts, and if the District Magistrate of Delhi decided that section 3 (1) was inapplicable there would be two divergent decisions on the same point within such a narrow area as that which included both Delhi and Lahore. At Lahore two presses publishing two Urdu papers had applied under the same conditions, except that in one case the keeper was different, and in the other it was the same keeper also, only the names of the presses being different. In both cases security was demanded under section from 3 (1) and not under section 5. The Keeper of the *Zemindar* Press had chosen to make a declaration under section 5 and had altered nothing after the forfeiture of the original security; but to his knowledge the other two presses had merely changed their name and in one case the keeper also, and had been absolved of the original sin for which the first security had been declared forfeited. In this case, "The *Comrade* and The *Hamdard* Press" had lost its security for printing an article in the *Comrade* in type. The lithograph press for which he now declared, said Mr. Mohamed Ali, had never printed a single letter of a single word of that article, and with the best will in the world could not be done so. Even if the type and machines that printed that article of the *Comrade* were thereby tainted for ever, what had the lithograph stones of the *Hamdard* and its lithograph machines done to merit this eternal punishment? Mr. Mohamed Ali also stated that the *Hamdard* and the other publications printed with the help of these machines were never complained of, and in fact the *Hamdard* was more than once officially praised to his knowledge for its moderation. It had not printed a translation of the article of the *Comrade* to which exception was taken by Government even when he was pressed by some of his sub-editors because he desired to take no risks in the case of a paper sometimes read out to the illiterate masses as well as read by the educated classes. He trusted that the Magistrate would apply Section 3 (1) to his application and not section 5, and that in view of the past record of the *Hamdard* and other Urdu publications of which he was the printer and publisher the deposit of any security would be dispensed with under the proviso to section 3 (1). The Magistrate said he would pass orders on the 9th instant as the application had raised a very knotty point.

TETE À TETE



The Alternatives.

In our last issue we unreservedly placed before our readers the alternatives that confront us in regard to the future of the *Comrade*. Either the enormous sums in arrears still due to us should be paid up speedily to enable us to carry on, or we should stop publication altogether at the end of this year. After the huge financial loss we have already suffered, it has become impossible for us to go on as we have done so far with the certain prospect of still greater loss in the future. This is the plain fact of our situation. What it would cost us to have to write our own epitaph we need not say. We know as well that it would be an equally painful and distressing eventuality to most of our readers. The only way to avert it is to help us at once in realising our dues and making sure for the future that the *Comrade* would not be starved to death by those on whose support we have every right to count. Several of our readers have written to us expressing deep sympathy and concern and making anxious inquiries as to whether the situation is altogether irretrievable. An English friend, who is a constant reader of the *Comrade*, in the course of a letter writes :—"I am very sorry to learn from the last issue of the *Comrade* of the bad luck you are having with that paper. Of course regular financial support is a *sine qua non* for newspaper enterprise, still I have been told that no English paper in India can be expected to do more than barely pay its way for the first 10 years of publication. Advertisements and job-work are esssentials required for success. Though one often differs from the remarks in some of your articles, the paper is the best printed and got up of any Indian organ. Written for educated Mohammedans, it has kept free from objectionable seditious learnings—as two Civilians who were talking about the *Comrade* with me lately had to admit." A Mussalman friend writes from Bankipore :—"Your leader, The Two Alternatives', in the *Comrade* of the 24th October has caused us very great concern. The *Comrade* is the only advocate which we possess. It will be most ungrateful on our part if we let the only paper worth the name die for want of funds. That is a very sad commentary on our much talked-of recent awakening. What a return we are making for your splendid advocacy of our cause and for your most whole-heartedly throwing yourself in works which were so often attended with palpable dangers! This must be a sad and most heart-breaking lesson to all disenterested workers. For my part I voluntarily offer my poor services to you. I know this is of little value and am ashamed to think that I can give you nothing better, but I hope if others of more weight and experience come forward to work as voluntary agents for you something might be done towards the realisation of your huge dues. I shall try my best to realise your dues in the Patna District provided you arm me with your authority and send me a list and other particulars of your defaulters. You might as well send me the list of the whole province, for I hope I can get a few men who will be most willing to work for you and who can be made to realise the great loss that will be occasioned by the *Comrade's* death to the community. I do not know whether this device will answer but I think you should try it. At least there is no reason why you should not avail yourself of the services of voluntary agents and sincere well-wishers." Need we assure our friend that we will readilg and gratefully accept all such help. In fact the realisation of the arrears can only be achieved through the help of our readers, and if only their sympathies were to take a practical turn the fate that awaits the *Comrade* may still been averted. A young friend writing from an important educational institution says that the *Comrade* is loved and studied there with much eagerness, but that its threatened extinction through lack of funds is not taken seriously. That is a grievous mistake. We have stated the plain, literal facts. Perhaps our earlier warnings were taken in a similar spirit of indifference, with the result that we have at length been driven to the only dicision now open to us. A Barabanki friend, whose interest in the *Comrade* has been as great as it has been practical, writes : "The *Comrade* has lately been very irregular—most irritatingly so, but it has never been so popular as it is today. You will be gratified to hear that our Hindu friends read it with geat eagerness..... I have just been reading the Alternatives. I only hope you are not serious. If the *Comrade* dies the new movement among the Mussalmans will perish with it. It is entirely due to the *Comrade* that the Mussalman community has emerged from the *johuzoorism* of years. Let me know if the situation is really as grave as it is painted. I can't contemplate without a shudder the dealth of the *Comrade*. I shall be relieved to hear that the *Comrade* shall live and not die. I wish it lay in my power to place it beyond death or disaster." We assure our friend that we have never been in the habit of crying "wolf," and we have been pulling on through enormous difficulties as long as we could. But now we have reached the end of our tether. If the *Comrade* is to be saved from death, we should be helped in recovering the thousands that make up our outstanding dues. Failing this, there is no other alternative but to give up the struggle that has literally grown hopeless.

"That Very Feather!"

Last Week we offered a fairly lengthy explanation and apology for our irregularities and then gave some details of the "irregularities" of our readers. In the course of that article we recalled the fact that some, at least, of our shortcomings did not exist when we were in Calcutta two years ago. We then intended to explain our difficulties in connection with press management, then the difficulties of office management, and, lastly, the difficulties of the editorial staff. The last two explanations have already appeared in full, but paragraphs in which we explained the difficulties of press management were significantly omitted, possibly by some extremely intelligent press hand, for reasons which will be obvious when our readers peruse the missing portion which we now insert below. After describing the state of affairs in Calcutta we said:—All this, however, now reads like strangely pleasant dream, or at least a story from a dim and idyllic past. Now for the reasons of this great and much to be deplored change. If some of them are personal, others, and the more numerous, are connected with the place of publication. The *Comrade* never claimed to be the ripe fruit of mature journalistic experience, and it is a marvel to us, even if we say so, that we did not betray the touch of the amateur more often than we have done. But whether amateurs or not in journalism, we never pretended, nor could pretend, to be anything but the veriest tyros in the matter of running a printing press. A kind friend, who has himself risen to a great eminence in journalism from the lowest rungs of the ladder and knows not a little of printing, warned us, when we were launching our little bark, against attempting the passage of the choppy seas of a printing press of our own, and advised us to rely on an outside press even if we had to get our paper printed at some place removed several hundred miles from our editorial offices. Well, we did not follow this advice and know only to-day how valuable it was. Our printing bill used to be a heavy one, but if we then complained of scarcity we now suffer from a devastating famine. A cloud of locusts that darkens the atmosphere is eating up everything, and there is hardly a blade of grass left after their appetite and greed are satisfied. Had our preoccupations been less than they have been we could have done something to avert the starvation which we now have to face. But those preoccupations being what they were, we found that those to whom we entrusted the management of the press involved us in awful waste when they were incompetent, and robbed us with both hands when they were fully conversant with press management. So far the defect lay in us, but had the press been started elsewhere than in Delhi, the consequences of our own shortcomings would have been much less disastrous. But as we found soon after our coming to Delhi and more than once stated in these columns, this place has about the same facilities for printing a paper like ours as a modest sized village in Bengal. Hardly a thing that one requires for printing purposes can be procured except by ordering from a Presidency town, and not a single compositor, machine man or daftari of any value can be secured locally. Lucknow, Allahabad and Lahore are the nearest places from which press hands have to be brought, and the raw recruits whom one trains up locally generally seek fresh fields and pastures new the moment they fancy they know something. And when the summer and the rains come, the inking rollers sedulously imitate the consistency of a jelly and consume more ice and electric power for fans than the poor proprietor ever allowed himself. We believe in the possibilities of the new capital as firmly as Lord Hardinge and some of his colleagues; but we cannot mistake the prospects of the future for the stern realities of the present. We have therefore, to endure every hardship that pioneering entails, and surely it is not unreasonable if we request our readers to make allowances, if not for us, then at least for Delhi." (This is what we wrote, but what the press managed to omit. Hitherto we were under the impression that press hands could not distinguish a reproduction from the *Times* from a

trade advertisement, and a leading article from a court summons. But in this case evidently a genius in the press has used the "blue pencil" even in the case of a leading article. Or is it, like the misquotation in some Anglo-Indian contemporaries to which we referred last week, the result of "an unconscious process of the elective affinities"? If so, it recalls the fate of the lover who moaned the mischance in verse:

جس مین باندھا تھا نامہ دلبر کا وھی رگڑا کبوتر کا

(The feather in which I had tied the letter to my love, alas and alack, that very feather of the carrier-pigeon fell off from its wing.)

A Chess-Board Strategy.

Dr. Lasker, the famous chess champion, has contributed the chess master's view of German strategy in France to the *Vossische Zeitung*. He says:—"The plan of the Germans in France is to assure the advance positions and to secure to the troops more freedom of movement. For that purpose an attack on the forts is necessary, and at the same time a defensive attitude must be taken up against the French army. It is probable that this phase will last for several weeks. In order to imagine this phase upon the chess-board we must picture those stages in a game which follow immediately upon a successful attack. Then, as is well known, there comes a critical moment. Although one result has been reached, the struggle is thereby in no way decided. By the pushing forward of the pieces their position has become worse, and the adversary, who has suffered losses, suddenly obtains an advantage. He, therefore, also attacks, and it often happens that the advantage obtained by this counter-attack is again lost. For this reason the chess player often says that nothing is more difficult than to win a game that is won, but this idea is also but partly true, for a master of the game will yet in the end maintain his victories by a new development of his strategy. If he has so far attacked, now he restricts himself to defence, newly orders his fighting forces, and knows how to hold the success obtained. He leaves it to his opponent to make desperate attacks, brings to nought the other's artful plans by calm consideration, and before he ventures again on the offensive he first builds up his well-assured position. This is now just the strategy of the German General Staff at the moment, and it will so remain for the next two to three weeks. The row of fortresses from Verdun down to the south hinder the movements of the armies of the German Crown Prince, General von Heeringen, and the Bavarian Crown Prince, and for that reason there can be no talk of a decisive battle yet. And what will further happen may be thus represented under the analogy of a game of chess. The attacks of the French will resemble the springs of a cat, and the German army will be able to stand against them without great losses. Just as at chess, system and method will finally triumph; and even though the operations of the Germans may cost time, they will in the end checkmate the French as certainly as the operations of castle and king against king." Dr. Lasker's exposition of the present German strategy is not very lucid, but he seems to assume that the Germans will stand on the defensive from east to west in France until they have again attacked and broken through the line of defences from Verdun to Belfort.

The Martyrdom of Belgium.

Dr. Sarolea, Belgian Consul in Edinburgh, and editor of *Everyman*, issued a moving appeal for his native country, Belgium, from which we quote the following:—"The Belgian refugees who are coming over to our shores are only a small section of the sufferers. The vast majority are either too poor, or too old, or too young, or too ill to cross the Channel. Nor must we forget that there are hundreds of thousands of the sufferers who are still living within the territory occupied by the Germans. When, as we earnestly hope, part of that territory is evacuated, within a few weeks, by the enemy, the appalling amount of misery and destruction will be revealed, and we must be prepared to tackle at once the work of relief and reconstruction. There is little enough danger of overlapping! £150,000 in all has been subscribed. I am convinced that the number of those urgently in need of relief exceeds one million. £150,000 distributed amongst one million sufferers would yield about 3s. per individual case. British generosity is unbounded, but Belgian misery is infinite. I have just spent five weeks in my native country, and what I have seen in those days baffles description. My nerves are still shattered and my imagination is still haunted, and will be haunted till the end of my days, by the harrowing events which in the course of those five tragic weeks followed with such staggering rapidity. I still see before my mind's eye emerging in a starlit sky the sinister cigar-shaped monster raining bombs on defenceless Antwerp. I see in the huge almshouse of Malines, down in the murky catacombs, oozing with moisture, two hundred old men and women awaiting in a frenzy of terror the arrival of the Huns. I see from the high railway bank overlooking the battlefield of Hofstade a hail storm of shrapnel bursting around us and setting fire to one village after another. Other belligerent nations may suffer from unemployment. In Belgium alone there has been created a whole nation of unemployed. In other countries trade and industry are dislocated. In Belgium they have come to a complete standstill. Out of a population of eight millions, seven millions are under the heel of the invader. Railwaymen are starving, for railways have ceased to work. Office clerks are starving, for banks and offices are closed. Public officials are starving, for no salaries can be paid. The Belgian Government is beleaguered in Antwerp. Journalists and printers are starving, for newspapers and books have ceased to appear. Millhands and coalminers and ironworkers are starving, for mills and coal mines and ironworks are closed. It is true that the Germans have reopened the gigantic works of Cockerill, and have even offered the Belgian ironworkers an increase of wages of 50 per cent. But I doubt whether the 15,000 ironworkers of Cockerill will be induced by this diabolical bribe to manufacture the German guns which will mow down their Belgian brethren. A few days ago King Albert, in the course of an interview, was dilating on the recent barbarities committed by the enemy. I pointed out to his Majesty that retribution was coming, that victory was near at hand. His Majesty's confidence in the final issue was as absolute as my own, but no anticipation of a final victory could comfort him in the present universal distress of his subjects and the appalling ravages of the war. 'When victory comes to our arms, what will remain of my miserable people?'"

Goethe and Patriotism.

Goethe was hardly able, perhaps, quite to continue "business as usual" during the battle of Jena. The French cannon burst over his house and the bayonets of the Prussians in flight gleamed over his garden-wall. Later the French Marshal Augereau was quartered in the poet's house, with directions to secure it from pillage. Some drunken soldiers, however, before the Marshal's arrival broke into the house and forced Goethe to come from his bed to drink with them. The French spared Goethe's precious manuscripts, though they drank twelve casks of his wine in three days. Goethe was much blamed at the time by patriotic Germans for his want of patriotism, his indifference to the fate of his country, and his open admiration of Napoleon. But he held that conquest of territory was an accidental achievement, that political independence was a minor matter, and that true greatness does not depend on these, but on intellectual conquests. When Eckermann reproached Goethe for not having written war songs like Korner and Uhland, he replied: "How could I take up arms without hatred, and how could I hate without youth? We cannot all serve our country in the same way. I have only composed love songs when I have loved, and how could I write songs of hatred without hating?" Goethe's father showed a very different spirit. When French soldiers were quartered in his house during the Seven Years' War Councillor Goethe could not conceal his anti-French spirit, and was placed under arrest for expressing the wish that the Prussians had "blown all the French to the devil" in one of the engagements. But the young Goethe, then ten years old, made friends with the French commander, learned French from him, and accompanied him to the French theatre which the French troops established in Frankfurt-on-Main during their stay.

Sir E. Grey in German Eyes.

Sir Edward Grey, says the *Morning Post*, is at present the *bête noir* of German politicians. That the war was originated by the English all Germans have now been taught to believe. The Hamburg *Fremdenblatt*, a very influential journal, devotes a leading article to the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in the course of which it describes Sir Edward Grey as being the exponent of the policy begun by King Edward VII. There can be no doubt, this newspaper says, that Sir E. Grey is a "political capacity," and it declares that no purpose is served by characterising him as an impostor or as a political adventurer, as Germans have got into the habit of doing. "He is, it is true, our enemy," the journal writes, "and unquestionably our most dangerous enemy, but his animosity to Germany is not due to innate antipathy or to blind malice; he hates Germany simply and solely because he is an out-and-out Englishman, and nothing but an Englishman." The only concern of the English, the *Fremdenblatt* continues, is to make sure that the good things of the earth belong exclusively to them. "The little group which rules England with the power of its money succeeded most cleverly in influencing English public opinion and English statesmen against Germany. It was not for nothing that King Edward VII. assembled around his table the princes of finance and of commerce from the City. All these men, whose money bags were being reduced in weight by Germany's industry and skill, had King Edward's ear." Personally, the *Fremdenblatt* says, Sir Edward Grey is an irreproachable

gentleman, but because he is such a thorough Englishman he thinks exactly as do the rich shopkeepers among this countrymen. The German nation had to be rendered absolutely incapable of competing further in the world's markets. Therefore England not only conspired with Germany's arch-enemy, she collected the enemies of Germany throughout the world, "as one hires murderers." "She was not dainty in her choice," the paper observes, "for she has allied herself with the Russians, whom she hates, and with the Japanese, whom she despises." "Sir Edward Grey," the Hamburg journal concludes, "is nothing but the impersonation of Englishism. This lean, cold egoist, with his aquiline nose and the glance of a bird of prey, who barely understands French, who never reads a foreign newspaper, and whose unspeakable English conceit has deterred him from becoming personally acquainted with foreign countries—this man has incited the pack of enemies against us because he imagined he was thereby doing the best service in his power to his country."

Fight for Booty.

According to a message from Rome, a telegram from Berlin says that Dr. Solf, the German Secretary for the Colonies, in the course of an interview referred to the fate of the German possessions. He dealt specially with Samoa, "the Pearl of the Pacific," as he styled it, where he planted the German flag when he was Governor ten years ago. "Now," he continued, "the time has come to reap the harvest. Must Samoa pass into the hands of the invaders? Fortunately the fate of the German colonies will be decided on the European battlefields, where I hope decisive victory awaits us. Our worst enemies are the English. Our task as regards them is more difficult than many of our countrymen imagine. Germany does not fear England by land, but on sea she must face the most powerful fleet in the world, with the addition of the Japanese. Our greatest expectation is merely to damage our enemy there, although Nelson won Trafalgar over much superior forces. We have also to fight the disloyal methods of England in damaging our commerce and industries. We must fight to the end on the battlefield and in the economic domain, and impose peace and security for at least a century. Against our Continental enemy we fight for victory. Against England we fight for booty. That booty must be in proportion to the enormous sacrifices which our people now endure."

"But one Enemy."

German bitterness against England is manifested to a remarkable extent by the comments of German papers over German "victories." Writing in his German-American newspaper, the *Staats Zeitung*, Mr. Hermann Ridder declared on the 24th September that the destruction of the three British cruisers in the North Sea showed that Germany was beginning to recognise her most irreconcilable enemy. Too much, he said, had recently developed from the insideousness of British diplomacy to permit of anything but the most retaliatory measures against Great Britain. He continued:—"The operations of the German submarines and when the time comes, of the German dirigibles, will bring home to the British people the fact that the war is not simply a commercial scheme in which our allies go to death in order that British purses may wax fat. There is but one enemy from now on—the irreconcilable, determined, commercially-motived enemy, England. Against her the German attack will be directed. A breach has been opened. Three British cruisers have been sent to the bottom. That is only the beginning of the end. When England started out to effect the destruction of German commerce and German culture in Europe and the world at large she struck her own death knell."

The German Casualties.

It appears that many Germans have been expressing a well-founded fear that their casualties in the present war will be much greater than they were in the war of 1870-1, and the "Fremdenblatt," in order to reassure them, gives a list of the casualties in the chief battles of the Franco Prussian War. The total list at that time, it says, amounted to 6,243 officers and 123,453 men. As against this the "Fremdenblatt" finds consolation in the fact that the first twenty-two casualty lists in the present war amount only to 872 officers and 20,354 men. It is impossible, however, to attach any value to this comparison, because it is well known that the Germans stopped the publication of their complete casualty lists before the heavy fighting really begun—before, that is, the Battle of Mons-Charleroi. Estimates of casualties, therefore, can only be guesswork. It may be mentioned that in Paris before the Battle of the Aisne the French casualties from the beginning of the war were being put at 300,000 and the German as high as half a million. Some idea of the losses among the German princely houses may be judged from the statement that Princess Frederick of Saxe-Meiningen has within a few weeks lost her father-in-law, husband, son, cousin, and nephew. Prince Frederick was killed at Namur. His son, Prince Ernest, fell at Maubenge. The house of Lippe has also suffered heavily; both Prince Frederick William and Prince Ernest have been killed.

German Bewilderments.

The news of the sending of troops to Europe from India appears to have caused great bewilderment to the German press. The Germans had evidently been taught to believe that the entanglement of England in a European war would be a signal of revolt to India, and they now find it hard to explain how England could possibly send British and Indian troops from India to France. The *Frankfurter Zeitung*, usually a sensible paper, says:—"If this report is correct, then it shows, above all, that the British Government is very much afraid of the Indians, and for this reason is removing the Indian troops in order to prevent them from making common cause with a revolution. In any case these Indian warriors will hardly have any influence on the outcome of the war."

German Officers' Cat-o'-Nine-Tails.

It will be remembered that at the beginning of September, when the German cruiser Magdeburg was wrecked in the Gulf of Finland, the Russians reported that they found on board a number of cat-o'-nine-tails, one for each officer, and suggested that these had been used for disciplinary purposes on the crew. The *Kolnische Zeitung* quoting this statement from the Russian press with the heading "A Pretty Story," scornfully observes—"We must not, we suppose, be astonished that the Russians know nothing about the cleaning of uniforms [by beating], and that when the use of whips is in question they can only argue from their own practice to that of others."

A formidable Name.

The most formidable name that has yet appeared in the war news is that of the Polish town of Przemysl; and yet it is quite easy when you know. The "z" represents the sound which the late Sir Isaac Pitman spelled "zh"—the sound of "s" in leisure. The rest of the letters in Przemysl are pronounced in the normal Continental way, from which the English language alone has departed very far. One may attempt to spell it phonetically thus: "Przhay-meessl"—with the stress on the first syllable. The only difficulty is the excessive allowance of six consonants to two vowels. The stress accent in Polish, as in Welsh, is always on the last syllable but one of a word.

Half the trouble in the reading of Polish names arises from this letter "z" with the sound of "sh" or "zh." For example, the name of the related language and people of Bohemia, Czech, is pronounced (as near as one can represent it to English ears) "check." How many English people would recognise "Szekspir" as the most famous of English names? Yet it is just the Polish way of spelling Shakspere.

Fighting in Galicia.

Many of the war news with which we have hitherto been served remain more or less unsolved puzzles, but most of the bulletins issued from Petrograd have literally constituted the "fog of war." They invariably read very emphatic, decisive, almost as dazzling in their glare as lightning, and yet they somehow seem to be mere records of history still to be made. They have announced a succession of victories in Galicia, each more complete and decisive than the one that had gone before, but the Austrian armies still seem to be "in being," and the Russian advance has not prospered much further than Lemberg. The *Vorwarts* prints a message from Vienna which throws some light on the difficult character of the country where the Austrian armies in Galicia have been fighting. Letters received from Poles in the field say that the country impeded the progress of the guns to a remarkable extent. Each gun had to be dragged by ten horses, four being the usual number, and planks had to be pushed under the wheels of the gun carriages in order to prevent the guns from sinking. Besides this, the letters complain that the Russian infantry fought from behind very strong and carefully prepared entrenchments. It is added that the Russian commanders had employed the peasantry to prepare these entrenchments in the rear of the first Russian lines, so that when the Russians were at first driven back by the Austrians they found thoroughly good positions ready for them as they retreated. An interesting description by an eye-witness of the evacuation of Lemberg has reached the *Berliner Tageblatt*. He describes the panic which fell on the town on the news that the Russians were at hand, and then adds:—"Luckily the Russians had decided to spare Lemberg. In order to avert looting, immediately after the entry of the Russians into the city, guards

were posted in front of all the great places of business." The correspondent also argues that the advance of the Russians through the smaller Galician towns up to Lemberg had been assisted by the treachery of the Ruthenian element of the population. "Shortly before the evacuation of Lemberg," he says, "a number of Ruthenian traitors had been executed in the town."

Italian Neutrality.

The Rome correspondent of the General News has received from a member of the Italian Government the following statement on the subject of Italian neutrality:—"We shall preserve our neutrality as long as Italian interests are not threatened. Italians set great store on being regarded as an earnest and loyal nation. One may decline to follow a friend into a dangerous adventure, but one may not profit by the embarrassments of that friend to stab him in the back. Until yesterday Italy was Austria's ally. She cannot dishonour herself to-day by attacking her old ally simply because the latter is no longer able to defend herself. Honour and loyalty before everything. Our neutrality has already been of immense service to France and her Allies. It has enabled her to empty her garrison on the frontier of the Alps and to employ against the Germans half a million men whom she would otherwise have had to leave to act against us. What more can be asked of us? It is wrong to confound us with other neutral States. Others may emerge from their neutrality without dishonour. We cannot. The neutrality of the others is important. Ours has saved France. In one eventuality only we should abandon our neutrality, namely the disappearance of Austria and the resultant effect upon her Italian provinces. But Austria will not disappear; she will continue to live because of British and French interests in her continued existence. We should never allow her Italian provinces—the Trentino, Trieste, Istria, and Dalmatia—to be ceded to other States. If they should be no longer in Austrian possession, they would be ours."

Wars and Armament Firms.

It is a commonplace amongst pacifists that the "armour-plate" interests and the "armour-plate" press foment wars. To a certain extent it is true that the manufacturers of armaments and the papers they own carry on the militarist propaganda, but, according to a writer, who seems to have closely studied the question, the "armour-plate" interests do not want big wars. They want little wars and rumours of big wars. This keeps a good steady trade going with plenty of orders, improvements every year, credit good and bills regularly paid. By way of evidence it is said that during the crisis before the present outbreak the only papers in Berlin which opposed war were the Socialist *Vorwarts* and the *Post*, owned by Krupps of Essen, and the *Tagliche Rundschau*, another paper of the "armour plate" press. One can readily sees the point of view. In a big war Governments are using armaments more than they are buying them, and future profits are a mere gamble against defeat. Perhaps the "armour plate" interests have not overlooked the possibility that Armageddon may put them out of business altogether.

School boys and the War.

The Schoolboys all the world over must at this time be greatly enjoying the pucker on the brow of their school-masters who have to dragoon them through their lessons in Geography. This war will end by changing the map of Europe—so we are told—and in some places also the maps of other parts of the world. Meanwhile Central Europe is in the melting pot and school publishers of geography manuals must have had their activities considerably curtailed. A well-known English firm is reported to have suspended the issue of a new school atlas, which was on the point of publication, because the maps of Europe and its countries will possibly require drastic alterations when the war is over. A representative of the firm pointed out that no school would order any stock maps of Europe at present, and he expressed the confident opinion that English schools were more carefully supervised than any others with respect to prospective equipment, "and," he added, "the publishing-houses have always to be a year in advance of the schools." Those who are anxiously pondering over the form the final settlement would take, may do worse than apply for an "anticipation" copy of the map of Europe from any of these enterprising British firms.

War.

Hans is an opposite quotation from "Tristram Shandy" which throws light on the realities of war:—"'Tis one thing, brother Shandy, for a soldier to hazard his own life, to leap first down into the trench where he is sure to be cut to pieces; 'tis one thing from public spirit and a thirst of glory to enter the breach the first man, to stand in the foremost rank and march bravely on with drums and trumpets and colours flyng about his ears. 'Tis one thing, I say, brother Shandy, to do this; and 'tis another thing to reflect on the miseries of war, to view the desolations of whole countries and to consider the intolerable fatigues and hardships which the soldier himself, the instrument who works them, is forced (for sixpence a day if he can get it) to undergo." "Need I be told, dear Yorick, as I was by you in Le Fevre's funeral sermon, 'that so soft and gentle a creature, born to love, to mercy, and kindness, as man is, was not shaped for this'? But why did you not add, Yorick—if not by Nature that he is so by Necessity? For what is War? What it is, Yorick, when fought, as ours has been, upon principles of Liberty and upon principles of Honour—what is it but the getting together of quiet and harmless people with their swords in their hands to keep the ambitious and turbulent within bounds?"

What they believe in Germany.

The following letter written at a fashionable hotel in Berlin on September 28th by an American lady, wife of an Austrian diplomatist, has been published by the *Times*. The writer had only a short time previously left London for Berlin and Vienna. The letter is interesting especially as reflecting the state of mind of the upper classes in the German capital. It would seem that the Germans know of the war only through the official bulletins:—"We arrived here two days ago after a most comfortable easy journey. We spent one night at Bentheim on the frontier. It was wonderful to get over the border, and when we arrived at the nice, clean, little German hotel we found the proprietor and his family gathered round the piano, singing National Anthems, and though it was one in the morning, C— and I joined in and sang lustily, remaining to have supper with some German officers, who were full of interesting news. We came through to Berlin with many wounded, but had comfortable compartments, and arrived here on the second of scheduled time. Everywhere smiling, confident faces and grave courtesy. The crops all garnered and the land tilled for next season, and the factory chimneys smoking as in times of peace. Plenty of men, young and strong, everywhere. Dozens of taxis in the streets run by men, of course, like the trams. In fact, Berlin looks just the same as in peace time, as the streets are full of men, the shops all open, also theatres, opera, and art exhibitions. F—says it is the same in Vienna and there are dinner parties constantly. Last evening we dined with a gay crowd at the Bristol, everyone in gala dress and as you can imagine coming from England, I had a *succes fou*. After dinner I was literally surrounded by generals, ambassadors, diplomats, and officials, who chuckled with mirth when I told them what we believed in England about famine, revolution, &c., and —'s remark about getting to Berlin. When I told them that in London nothing was known of the greatest battle of modern times or of ancient—really, when in East Prussia the Germans surrounded and captured 150,000 Russians, they could not understand it. They say it is equal to Napoleon's greatest victory, and there is not one Russian left in Germany except 100,000 prisoners. The Austrians have over 50,000 prisoners and have won three victories over the Russians, but retired from Lemberg, being out-numbered three to one, to wait for German reinforcements. Now they are in a splendid position! The Serbs are practically crushed and suffered fearful annihilation!! When I think of the daily reports of Austrian decimation by Serbs!! My stock of provisions is a source of endless mirth. S., who knows japs, explained to an old General that 'her father, who is an intelligent man, is thinking of coming over to rescue her from famine and revolution in a yacht!!' They shouted with glee, and then added, 'Poor England; what a terrible awakening for her.' My dear, when the Germans get to Paris—leave England. I can't tell you why, but if you love your children get out! F. says the same. Tell Mrs. G. too. I can hear you laugh in derision, but don't. Believe my words. Egon J. told me yesterday, 'The Germans can't help winning.' Even —— in The Hague told us it would take a week to get to Vienna. The night train runs through on time with *wagons lits*, 14 cars only! F. arrived yesterday. So happy to have us here, and the family are mad with joy. F. was afraid of drifting mines in the Channel or would have sent for us long ago!! Tell your 'clever' friend the Pole that there has never been a sign of riot in any part of Austria—they are united

to a man, more than ever before, and all looks well for us, really well, though the Russians outnumber us three to one. Germany's financial condition is marvellous. They never required a moratorium even, and money just pours in for the war loan. The Americans here are mad with enthusiasm over the German nation. They say she cannot be beaten, and woe to France and England. They have food for years, so don't worry about famine ! ! They haven't begun to call out the reserves, and they have millions more to put in the field. R.—— and B.—— are well, and none of the people we know in Austria have been killed or wounded yet. I am so happy and so confident, and have the greatest admiration and respect for this marvellous nation. Their stories of French and Belgian atrocities are awful. Eyes of the wounded gouged out, &c. Too horrible. Here even the Russian wounded are so well cared for that their names and numbers are over each bed with an X-ray picture of their wounds. Is this not remarkable for order and system ? C—— and I go round doing the goose-step and shouting 'Deutschland uber Alles' ! ! We are having the time of our lives, and both look rosy and years younger ! ! The past weeks in England are only a nightmare. N——is crazy to write to the editor of *The Times* and tell him something of conditions here. He says it is pathetic to keep the English people in the dark as they do ; but as a neutral he dares not. The three English cruisers were sunk by one torpedo, and every man on board has received the Iron Cross. Winston Churchill must be foaming at the mouth ! ! ! Hip, hip, hurrah ! ! ! There were 1,800 British lost. The people here are disgusted with the restrictions put on enemy aliens in England. Here they have very few restrictions, and Nurse D—— might prefectly have come with me. What a pity she didn't !——'s parting remark to me at the —— office in London has become classic here ! You remember he said to me, 'Well, you will find Vienna in chaos and the empire breaking up.' People shout with glee over this : it is so absurd, it is pathetic almost ! Tell P——only one Zeppelin has been disabled so far !" The *Times* declares to have received a great many letters with regard to this letter and says :—"As some of our correspondents, being surprised by the contents of the letter, doubt its genuineness, we may say that the letter is an absolutely authentic private letter. We are fully informed regarding the personality of the writer and of its recipient, and of all the persons referred to in the letter, their names having been deleted by us for obvious reasons."

Mr. Mohamed Ali's Interview.

Mr. Mohamed Ali, Editor of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* interviewed by a representative of the Associated Press and Reuter, on the subject of the action of Turkey and of the Allies said that the worst which he had feared for some months past had to his deep distress at last come to pass. He had expressed his own views which he believes to be shared by the vast bulk of Mussalmans in the columns of the *Comrade* when writing on the *Times* article on "The Choice of the Turks" and there was nothing that he could add to it or take away from it ? The Turks have now made there choice and it can cause Indian Mussalmans nothing but the deepest pain to find the armies of the servant of the holy places of Islam and of the King-Emperor, who rules over the largest number of Mussalmans, facing each other as enemies. But now that their worst forebodings had come true he had no hesitation in saying that the anchor of Indian Mussalmans holds as he stated in the columns of the *Comrade*. They must commend their souls to God and place their services at the disposal of the Government for the preservation of the peace and tranquillity of India. So long as as the Allies did not attack Arabia and endanger the protection of Islam's holy places by a really independent Moslem power, the conflict between the Turks and the Allies would have only a secular character. They should and he felt sure that they would consider the preservation of peace and order in India as much a duty of their own as of any officer of the Government but it is equally certain that the feelings of Indian Mussalmans in this awful crisis would be of the deepest distress. As he had already stated their position is that of the children of parents who had quarrelled with each other. Right may be on one side or the other, but the sorrow and suffering is in any case that of the children. Mr. Mohamed Ali's advice to the Mussalmans is that whatever their feelings, it was their clear duty to assist their Government to the fullest extent of their power in maintaining the peace of India at this supreme crisis, although it was his firm belief that the peace of India is as safe to-day as it has ever been.

The Comrade.

Indian Moslems and the War.

WHAT was dreaded most by every Mussalman in India and what had long kept them in a state of intolerable anxiety and suspense has at last come to pass. Great Britain is at war with Turkey. The reasons which have led England to break off diplomatic relations with the Porte are set forth in the *communiqué* issued by the Viceroy. It is no time to examine the grounds detailed in this document even if we had the will. Except for stray, brief Reuter's messages hinting at German intrigues in Constantinople and overt manifestations of Turkish attitude, we know nothing of the actual state of affairs in Turkey and of the forces that have guided the counsels of her statesmen. In an atmosphere of obscurity and mist it is idle to search for the necessary light that would enable us to understand the situation. According to all indications allowed us from afar, the omens were all unpropitious. There were reports of Turkish mobilisation, of the calling up of every able-bodied man fit to bear arms. There were stories of wholesale requisitioning of foodstuffs, clothing and other provisions, of horses and mules and carts. Various English correspondents had written about extraordinary military activity at various centres and particularly about military concentrations in Thrace, in Erzroom and near the Egyptian border. All these measures, if true, point to a deliberate policy and design; and though there have been persistent reports of extraordinary German pressure being exerted at Constantinople, we can not say whether the Ottoman Government has been altogether the victim of German hypnotism. At all events, the Sultan's Ministers have themselves to bear the responsibility for all to which their acts may lead; and, unless they are a set of lunatics on imbeciles, they must be supposed to have weighed the consequences.

Whether the Turkish Government is right or wrong in the decisions at which it may have arrived, whether it has been wheedled into its present attitude by German lures or coerced by German threats, or whether it has made a deliberate and careful choice after striking the balance between loss and gain and honour and interest, we are neither competent to judge nor have any desire to speculate about. The plain fact with which we are immediately concerned is the outbreak of hostilities between Turkey and England and the manner in which this unfortunate situation would affect the Mussalmans of India.

Now, we are useing no conventional language when we say that war between Turkey and England is a calamity that the Indian Mussalmans would have given anything in the world to avert. They had hoped and prayed all these anxious days that it would somehow be averted, and had even gone out of their way to press advice on the Sultan and his Ministers in terms which would have seemed in some instances impertinent and inexcusable but for the stress of the deep anxiety and emotion under which they were framed. But the fates were disposed otherwise. The catastrophe they had feared so much has happened at last, and what is now left for them is to pray to God that they may be equal to this terrible and supreme trial.

It would be hypocricy to disguise the facts that love of Turkey and her people is to the Indian Mussalmans a deep and abiding sentiment and that millions of them reverence the Sultan as their Caliph. The unity of culture and faith has consecrated these feelings of sympathy and devotion, and they have remained strong and vital forces through the ages. The Turks have often blundered in the past and have sometimes been misled into dangerous courses through the folly of their rulers ; but the Indian Mussalmans, though they always condemned them freely for their follies and blunders, could never help grieving with them in their griefs and suffering extreme misery and anguish whenever disasters have overwhelmed them and wrought their secular ruin. It would not, therefore, be supposed that the Indian Mussalmans would be indifferent to the fate of Turkey even though she might herself bring it upon her head. Their plight then can be well imagined in the situation in which they find themselves to-day. Through a cruel conjunction of circumstances their feeling of Islamic fraternity and their reverence for their Caliph have been brought into direct conflict with their sense of plain secular duty.

For such heavy trials, however, his religion has amply equipped the Mussalman. Whatever his feelings may be, his path is simple and clear and not a shadow of doubt can darken his sense of the duty that he owes to his country and his sovereign. We have more than once stated fully and without reserve what the attitude of Indian Mussalmans would be in the event of an Anglo-Turkish war. We need not repeat those assurances again. From the point of view of Indian Moslems as loyal and peace-loving subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor, we are confident no further assurances are needed on their part. The strain on their feelings may be great and terrible, but they can never forget that they

form a large and responsible section of the people of India and are subjects of the British Crown. What these two conditions prescribe they realise to the full. They are ready to do their part in a manly and ungrudging spirit and bear any sacrifices that the exacting and growing demands of the situation may from time to time entail. They have no difficulty in recognising that this is a mere secular conflict having unfortunately arisen out of the hopeless muddle of the European situation. They may sympathise with the Turks in their difficulties, but are not bound by any temporal or spiritual obligation to back them in every mundane quarrel of theirs which might as often as not be the fruit of a bad and blundering policy. Whatever the Turkish case may be in the present crisis, the Indian Mussalmans are fully aware that it does not bear any religious character. We regret that in their hurry to convince the Government of their loyalty some otherwise sane and sensible Mussalmans have attacked the Sultan of Turkey, and declared him to be unfit to be the Servant of the Sacred Places. The Sultan in his capacity of the Servant of the Sacred Places, is not required to inflect his temporal interests, and we emphasise this because when he believes, whether rightly or wrongly, that his temporal interests require him to act in a particular manner he must not expect that our temporal interests will invariably require us to act in the same manner as the Servant of the Sacred Places. Our religious duties are and must of necessity be the same. But our temporal interests may differ and in that case the Turks must pursue their interests and leave us to pursue our own. Such a contingency has now arisen to our deep grief and we must face the facts however ugly they may be. That, we make bold to say we are prepared to do. And as long as the Holy Places of Islam are free from hostile menace and the principle of the absolute and free Islamic protection over them remains intact, no Mussalman in India would shrink from any sacrifices that he may be called upon to undergo in the best interests of his country. The declaration made by his Majesty's Government abont the safety of the Moslem holy places has, we are sure, been received with relief and gr tification by Indian Mussalmans In order to remove the least shred of anxiety in this connection we trust the principle of full, independent Moslem control over these places will be affirmed in the same unequivocal manner. The Moslem can be trusted to act on the precept of Jesus Christ whom he reveres as a Prophet of God, and render nnto Caeser what is due to Caeser.

During this unhappy war many moments of dark anxiety and grief are bound to arise, and the whole period of its duration would be for the Mussalmans a time of acute and awful distress. The situation would make fearful demands on their patience and fortitude and we hope they will come out through the ordeal with an enhanced reputation for dignity and self-control. We trust that their friends in the Anglo-Indian press would abstain from causing any wanton and unnecessary offence to their feelings and thus adding to their difficulties and burdens, which are none too few or light as they are. The temptation to rant against the Sultan and his people proved irresistible to some of our contemporaries even in the Balkan war when our own empire was neutral. It may be still more irresistible to-day. We trust, however, that these journals have a better sense of their responsibilities at this crisis, and clearly realise the danger of uttering inconsiderate or reckless words which may put an intolerable strain on Moslem feeling Indians Mussalmans know their duties. No one need be anxions on this score. They only wish that their unique plight in this crisis may win just consideration if not sympathy from those who profess to be their well-wishers and friends.

The Third Lesson.

The Previous Lessons.

On the third of November the keeper of "The *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* Press" and his legal adviser were asked by the District Magistrate of Delhi to meet him, and when they met him he handed over to the keeper of the Press the Notice which we publish elsewhere. It was an order of forfeiture of the security deposited by Mr. Farooq Ali as the keeper of our Press some months ago. This is the third lesson taught to us. The first was taught us when in July, 1913, the Pamphlet entitled "Come over into Macedonia and Help Us" and all copies of the issues of the *Comrade* in which it had been reproduced, and of the *Hamdard* in which its translation was published, were declared forfeited under section 12 of the Press Act. The second lesson was taught when in August, 1913, immediately after our applying to the Calcutta High Court to set aside the order of forfeiture, the District Magistrate of Delhi cancelled the order exempting us from the deposit of any security which he had passed in October, 1912, and ordered the keeper of the Press to deposit Rs. 2,000, the maximum amount of security that can be demanded under section 3 (1) of this Press Act. In each case the lesson has to be taught to us for our efforts to have justice done to the Turks, though in demanding security from us in August, 1913, the District Magistrate was also influenced by our action in getting justice done to the unfortunate Mussalmans of Cawnpore. If in such cases there can be better and worse, we must be thankful that we have not been made to suffer like a contemporary of ours. But even if we had been hit just as hard as the *Zamindar*, it would have been a futile proceeding to complain. The Press Act being what it is, the poet's interpretation of his sighs and wails to his "cruelty-creating" object of love has often proved to be equally applicable to the grievances of journalists.

الجز حسن طلب ای ستم ایجاد نہیں ہی تقاضای جفا شکوہ بیداد نہیں

(My wails are no more than an excellent method of asking for more, O, inventor of cruelties! It is only a demand for more unkindness, not a complaint of cruelty.)

The same poet whose name, existence and work cast a glory over our city and will survive every vicissitude of fortune through which this monumental capital of India may pass truly analysed the diverse feelings of human beings, and his analysis of chagrin to which we owe the order of forfeiture to-day warns us against giving expression even to the most subdued complaint.

شکوہ کی نام سی بی مہر خفا ہوتا ہی * یہ بھی مت کہہ کہ جو کہئی تو گلہ ہوتا ہی

(My unkind love gets wroth with the very name of complaint. Nay, say not even that, for if thou sayst that it becomes a complaint.)

If, then, we say anything on the subject it is more in the nature of an explanation which we feel we owe to ourselves as much as to the Government of His Majesty the King-Emperor for the accusation implied in the order of forfeiture is as grossly unjust to our intelligence as to our sense of duty. We ask the officials for nothing but a hearing, and we cannot imagine that the solid sense of fairplay which has characterized the British nation throughout the long course of history could have deserted them in a crisis in which every virtue of the race even more than every able-bodied male must be mobilized. *Nacim*, better known as Nawab Yousuf Ali Khan Bahadur, who ruled over the Rohilla State of Rampur during the Mutiny and saved British dominion in the North-Western Provinces during that great cataclysm, may well speak for us now.

فسانۂ غم دل ہی یہ کچھہ سوال نہیں نہ دو جواب سنی جاو کچھہ ملال نہیں

(It is but a narrative of the grief of my heart, not a request. Vouchsafe no reply; only hear me; I shall not take it ill.)

The Effect of Forfeiture.

If our readers do not yet comprehend the all-comprehensive character of section 4 (*1*) of the Press Act, it cannot be our fault, nor that of the High Court of Calcutta. Under that section "whenever it apppears to the Local Government that any printing press in respect of which any security has been deposited as required by section 3 is used for the purpose of printing or publishing any newspaper, book, or other document containing any words, signs or visible representations which are likely, or may have a tendency, directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise" to do a number of things enumerated in six clauses of the sub-section, "the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the keeper of such printing-press, stating or describing the words, signs or visible representations which in its opinion are of the nature described above, declare the security deposited in respect of such a press and all copies of such newspaper, book or document wherever found to be forfeited to His Majesty." That is exactly what the Government has done by means of the notice served on Mr. Farooq Ali, the keeper of "The *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* Press." Sub-section (2) of section 4 lays down that "after the expiry of ten days from the date of the issue of a notice under sub-section (*1*) the declaration made in respect of such press under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall be deemed to be annulled." As the notice was issued by Mr. Wheeler on the 2nd November, though not handed over to the keeper of the Press till the afternoon of the 3rd by Major Beadon, the District Magistrate of Delhi, we may take it that on the expiry of ten days, that is after midnight of the 12th of November, the declaration made by Mr. Farooq Ali some months ago will be annulled, and either a declaration will have to be made for another Press under section 3 (*1*), or a fresh declaration will be made for "The *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* Press." That is to say, *if* the *Comrade* is to continue its existence and also continue to be printed at its own Press. As no other Press is ever likely to undertake the responsibility of printing it under existing circumstances, we may take it that the existence of the *Comrade* now depends on its having its own Press, whether a new one, with or without a security which may extend to Rs. 2,000 or the old one, with a security that may extend to Rs. 10,000.

Obviously the matter cannot lightly be dismissed, for the financial condition of the *Comrade* so frankly explained in our last issue makes the deposit of security of even a couple of thousand rupees the last straw on the camel's back. Half a dozen high officials have for some time past been drawing at least a part of their salaries from the public exchequer for reading every issue of the *Comrade* from cover to cover, and we do not mean it as a compliment to ourselves if we say that no doubt the "Governor-General in Council" (which may or may not mean the Viceroy) by whose order the security of our Press has been declared forfeited was fully aware of the extent to which the order of forfeiture would damage the *Comrade* when he authorized Mr. Wheeler to issue the notice to the keeper of our Press. Every person is presumed by law to intend the likely consequences of his acts, and what is true of a criminal is equally true of a Council. We are, therefore, not presuming too much when we say

that the "Governer General in Council," whatever the phrase may really signify, must have intended that the *Comrade* should cease to exist. In that case, may we not ask : باي ذنب قتلتني

(For what sin didst thou kill me ?)

What we Have not Done.

Section 4 (*1*) applies, in the first place, to the case of inciting to murder or to any offence under the Explosive Substances Act, 1898, or to any act of violence. Instead of doing that we have consistently supported the cause of peace even in Europe and have prided ourselves on being in the right with two or three than in the wrong with two or three hundred millions who have been clamouring for war. But as Mr. Wheeler's notice does not mention incitements to murder, whether by soldiers or civilians, as among our many sins, we need not trouble ourselves with that.

In the next place, this section applies to the case of seducing any officer, soldier or sailor in the Army or Navy of His Majesty from his allegiance or his duty, and far from doing that we have reminded Indian Mussalmans in the same article to which Government has taken exception that they must be ready, if need be, to shed the blood of their own blood in Egygt or Turkey, just as they had not hesitated are this in shedding the belood of their brothers on the border at the bidding of England. But Mr. Wheeler's notice does not accuse us of this offence either, and we pass on.

Similarly, we have not been accused of putting any person in fear or causing annoyance to him, and thereby inducing him to deliver to any person any property or valuable security, or to do any act which he is not legally bound to do, or to omit to do any act which he is legally entitled to do. The suggestion that Egypt may be evacuated to shame the Germans cannot certainly come under this head.

Again, we have not been accused of encouraging or inciting any person to interfere with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of law and order. On the contrary, we stated in the very first issue of the *Comrade* after England's participating in the war that—

> "Even if England may not need us, we have need of her. Believing in political purity rather than in political prudery, we have entered the lists with her biggest bureaucrats in India in time of peace. But in time of war the clash of steel in civic battles must cease and the voice of controversy must be hushed, and if we cannot hastily command in others an enthusiasm for this war which we ourselves do not feel, let us once and for all assure the Government that so far as we and those within the orbit of our influence are concerned, they can sleep in peace. Let alone provincial satraps and the still greater despots of their districts, their meanest, if not their humblest, policeman will find us at his beck and call whenever civic excitement has to be allayed. More than this we cannot proclaim. Less than this we shall not confess. This is and has always been our creed and to that we shall adhere."

So much for law and order, and if even this does not convince we have documentary evidence that we placed our services at the disposal of the Local Government and received its full and generous appreciation of our offer. Lastly, it goes without saying that we did not convey any threat of injury to a public servant, or to any person in whom that public servant was believed to be interested, with a view to inducing that public servant to do any act or to forbear or delay to do any act connected with the exercise of his public functions. We have, alas, long ceased to be on such intimate terms with public servants of any importance as to be able to induce them by cajolery to do any act or to forbear or delay to do any act connected with the exercise of their public functions, and those with whom we have, been most intimate and for whom we have done much and forborne to do still more, have unfortunately sometimes proved to be most anxious to do us harm, often officially and still oftener demi-or semi-officially. As for threats, with what could we who do not even possess a walking stick or an air-gun intimidate them ?

The Charge Against us.

We have hitherto purposely left out one clause of this sub-section, and it is just that which includes the charge against us. But that is the most comprehensive and the vaguest clause. The offences under it are not connected with overt acts such as murder or desertion or wrongful acquisition of property or valuable security, but relate only to certain feelings which the offending publication may create or excite. If a publication incites its readers to commit murder or a make bomb, or puts a person in fear or causes him annoyance to such an extent that he thereby delivers to any person any property, or encourages a person to break the law, or intimidates a public servant in a manner to induce him to neglect his duty or act against its dictates, we may have an opportunity of testing the character of the publication by seeing if the murder has been committed, the bomb manufactured, the property delivered, the law broken or the public servant's duty neglected. Panic-stricken officials may imagine anything no matter how horrible and far fetched, and unscrupulous officials may pretend to fear the most unlikely consequence ; but if the consequence itself for fear of which the machinery of the Press Act had been set in motion does not come to pass the world at large could know how to appraise the fears of the officials. That may or may not explain why the other five clauses of section 4 (*1*) are seldom—in fact, never—used. But, at any rate, clause (*c*) of section 4 (*1*) is the happy hunting ground of the bureaucrat in search of a short-cut for sending to perdition men who do not please him. The sections in the Penal Code which were incorporated in this clause are vague enough, but the way in which they have been incorporated in it makes them vaguer still. The offences included in this clause are:

(1) the bringing into hatred or contempt of—
- (*i*) His Majesty, *or*
- (*ii*) the Government established by law in British India, *or*
- (*iii*) the administration of Justice in British India, *or*
- (*iv*) any Native Prince or Chief under the Suzerainty of His Majesty, *or*
- (*v*) any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India ; *or*

(2) the exciting of disaffection towards—
- (*i*) His Majesty, *or*
- (*ii*) the said Government, *or*
- (*iii*) any such Prince or Chief.

This is a formidable enough list, and we are much relieved to find that, unlike the order of forfeiture of the Macedonia Pamphlet, the present order does not accuse us of exciting at one and the same time the diverse and dissimilar, and, in fact, mutually exclusive, feelings of hatred and contempt, whether conjointly or in the alternative. We may, therefore, rest assured that Government does not believe that we have excited either hatred or contempt, or both against any of the five objects enumerated above. What we are accused of in Mr. Wheeler's Notice is the exciting of "disaffection towards His Majesty and the Government by law established in British India." We are relieved to know that no Native Prince or Chief has been alleged in any way to have been adversely affected by our article. Perhaps our readers would like us to refute this charge on this occasion; but although we have a most excellent defence we do not desire to disclose our hand. At the proper time and in the proper place we shall certainly do so, and unless we desire to bring the administration of justice in British India into hatred and contempt we shall add that we have every hope of getting back every one of the two thousand rupees of our security that has been confiscated.

What we need not, however, postpone is an examination of the charge itself, for such an examination would in itself be a sufficient refutation of such a serious accusation. Now Explanation I of this section, while it does not define it, says that the expression "disaffection" includes disloyalty and all feelings of enmity, and we may presume that the condemned article exhibited at least some instances of our disloyalty and feelings of enmity towards His Majesty and the Government established by law in British India. On the other hand, Explanation II states what the expression "disaffection" does *not* include. It says, "Comments expressing disapproval of the measures of the Government . . . . with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, or of the administrative or other action of the Government . . . . without exciting or attempting to excite . . . . disaffection do not come within the scope of clause (*c*)." Therefore, we must presume that our accusers have carefully examined our article and not included in the words stated or described in the notice to the keeper of our press any "comments expressing disapproval of the measures of the Government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means."

Now we come to the condemned article itself. We are told in Mr. Wheeler's notice that the "whole tenour" of that article "is likely or has a tendency, directly or indirectly, whether by inference or suggestion"—and to cut the long string of "allusion, metaphor and implication" short—"or otherwise, to excite disaffection." That, we are told, is the opinion of the Governor General in Council, and as such it has to be referred to with extreme respect. But had it been the opinion of Mr. Wheeler himself or of any of the law officers of the Crown, we would have asked them to consult an occulist immediately and change the glasses that they use. Whatever may be the case with bureaucrats, ordinary human beings with some pretensions to common-sense would not veiw the condemned article in that light. Such a judgment shows an utter lack of understanding of what passes under the brain-caps of human beings. It betrays a warped intelligence wholly unable to comprehend the psychology

of normal men. There may be stray passages in the article which show some British transactions in a bad light; but unless we are told that during a war the law requires us to put the glass to the blind eye when viewing the seamy side of some British transactions, we maintain that this judgement clearly contravenes the view embodied by the legislature in Explanation II which excludes from the connotation of "disaffection" comments expressing disapproval of the measures of Government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, or of the administrative or other action of the Government without exciting or attempting to excite disaffection.

Beating the Bat.

In a paragraph of that article which bore the cross-heading "What Must We Do?" we said:

> "What shall be our attitude towards our Government is a simple question and presents to us no difficulty. He who goes by principles and not by consequences should have not the slightest hesitation in answering it. We have of our free will and as masters of our destinies chosen to remain in this country as the subjects of our King and Emperor and the fellow-citizens of our neighbours. We have done this because the benefits of his rule and their co-operation exceed whatever discomforts we may have felt at any time or we may be likely in future to feel. To be more particular, we had taken no pledges from England that she shall not shed the blood of our brothers even in an unrighteous war. That was not in the bond. In fact, we have not hesitated ere this in shedding the blood of our brothers on the border at the bidding of England. We have therefore given a pledge of obedience to English behests as binding as that which guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium and more binding than that which assured Egypt of its complete and early evacuation. This much must be presumed of all reasonable and intelligent beings. When we entered the field we must have known all the rules of the game. And whatever the fortunes of the game, we must abide by the rules and take both defeat and victory in the manner of sportsmen. Sir Syed Ahmad's clean cut logic must come to the rescue of every one who finds his situation distressing. He said in his own inimitable way: 'Our attitude towards the Government established in this country must be governed only by one consideration —the attitude of that Government towards ourselves.' Every other consideration is foreign to the subject, and whether we fight the Turks or the Russians, our services we must place at the disposal of our Government and our souls we must commend to God."

To say of such an article that its whole tenour is likely to excite disaffection against His Majesty and the Government established by law in British India is to beat the bat at its own game. Blindness could go no further.

God Help the Writer of History.

To get to closer grips we must quote the condemned passages particularised in the schedule attached to the Notice. The first of the passages quoted by Mr. Wheeler runs as follows :—

> "Turkey, hated and oppressed all her life by one of the Entente trio, neglected and in practice deprived of her rights by the other two since the eighties of the last century, spoliated by two of the Alliance Powers and only flirted and played with by the third, all of a sudden discovers herself to be a person whose affections are of some consequence and are neither to be slighted nor altogether taken for granted."

If this is sedition, then God help the writer of history. For our part we are content to leave the decision to the Faculty of History at the University of Oxford, for it was at the feet of the men who compose it that we learnt our respect for facts and the method of comprehending their bearing. They at any rate cannot be accused of being pro-German.

Premium on Espionage.

In another place, contrasting its threats to Turkey with the tactful tempting of Italy by the *Times* to do against Germany exactly that which Turkey has been so heartily condemned for doing against Russia, we said :

> "Let us now turn to the tact displayed by the *Times* in trying to help the Turk to make his choice. Although we have already expressed it as our emphatic opinion that from the Turk's own point of view—after all the only point of view that the Turk could appreciate—it is better that he should maintain the strictest neutrality in the present struggle, it is with a pang of regret that we peruse the *Times* article on 'The Choice of the Turk' and fail to find the least trace of the possible existence of a third alternative besides the two, neutrality and support of Germany—the alternative of supporting the Ally of the Crimean War and of the Berlin Conference. To the extent that the Turk has wantonly destroyed the capital of goodwill that stood to his credit in England in the days of Palmerston, of the 'Great Elchi' and of Disraeli, he stands guilty and condemned. [But how many Mussalmans are convinced that not an iota of responsibility lies at the door of the England of fanatical Gladstone, of cynical Salisbury, of sleepy Lowther, and of a whole host of present day Ministers, both of the silent and the blabbing varieties, for the deplorable estrangement of to-day?] But let that pass. This is not the time to apportion praise or blame. We have launched our bark on this perilous sea for another and a more practical purpose. Whosoever may have been responsible for the present state of Anglo-Turkish relations, we desire that instead of there being no trace of a possibility of Turkey throwing in her lot with the English, there should at least be no trace of the possibility of her throwing in her lot with the enemies of England. But for that, is the tact of the *Times*—the other quality—the most effective method ?"

The lines we have now enclosed within brackets have been declared to be seditious, and the only test that we can suggest of our loyalty is to pick out a dozen Mussalmans at random and ask the C.I.D. to ascertain in the customary manner which way they are convinced. To pay the C.I.D. to ascertain the convictions of Indian Mussalmans and to mulct us in a heavy fine for giving the authorties exactly the same information free of charge seems to us to be putting an undue premium on espionage and unduly discounting journalism. How it can be seditious, and in what way His Majesty and the Government established by law in British India are affected by this passes at least our understanding.

Sympathy and Sedition.

We do not like to quote from our article more than is absolutely necessary, and we trust readers would pay due attention to the context. But even if the following sentence stands by itself, can any one call it seditious ?

> "And if ever a judge was guilty of gross partiality it was the Powers to whom Turkey appealed repeatedly in her need and appealed invariably in vain."

If this is really seditious, then we ask His Majesty's Ministers to lay a charge at once against Lord Lamington, formerly Governor of Bombay, and the Hon. Aubrey Herbert, M.P., and Mr. Walter Guinness, M.P., who repeatedly spoke in Parliament on the wrongs of Turkey and the indifference of the Powers to her urgent appeals. Their speeches were cabled to India and published broadcast here. Are we then to believe that what is sympathy for the weak and the suffering in a Tory M. P. is sedition against the strong in an Indian journalist ?

Legal Legerdemain.

Dealing with Turkey's losses in the recent war and comparing them with those of France 44 years ago, to which M. Ernest Lavisse, the eminent French historian, had alluded in an eloquent article, we said :

> "If France can remember the loss of five thousand square miles and a million and a half of her population for forty-four years, and cannot forget that her 'permanent duty towards the lost provinces' is summed up in the one word 'Revenge,' a schoolboy's sum in arithmetic ought to tell us how long Turkey should keep the memory green of fifty thousand square miles and four and a quarter million people. The poet thought only of a single life when he wrote :
>
> عرفی اگر بگریه میسر شدی وصال * صد سال میتوان به تمنا گریستن
>
> (Urfi, if union could be secured through tears, it would be possible to weep through a hundred years).
>
> [But what is the life of an individual, specially in the East, to the life of a nation ? For nearly six hundred years the Turks have ruled over Europe, and the House of Osman may well shed tears over its recent losses for a thousand years if it can shed nothing more manly. But its tradition, even as its traducers must admit, has always been to shed blood instead of tears, whether it be its enemies' or its own,] and without the efforts of eminent historians to explain to them their 'permanent duty' to their lost country hundreds of thousands of little children in schools remember twice a day, with all the fervour of patriotic song, the Balkan hills where the sun is still bleaching from day to-day graveless bones of their fathers and brothers, their mothers and sisters. How could they dry their tears before the blood of their martyrs is dry on the Balkan soil? Chauvinists! Why, the Turks would be something more than angels, if not something less than brutish beasts, if they could forget their loss, or the divine truth : 'In Revenge there is Life.' Being men, they have not forgotten it, and within a week of mobilization enough of them had flocked under the flag to satisfy the first requirements of the army."

The notice has particularised the lines we have now enclosed within brackets. If this should have caused annoyance or remorse anywhere in Europe it should have been among the Balkan Allies of the last war against Turkey, and particularly in Greece. Where His Majesty and the Government established by law in British India come in is beyond our non-official comprehension. And we should give much to know the name of the laywer who deceived the Governor General in Council with such legal legerdemain.

As Subjects of the Holy Tsar.

The same applies to the following extract of which it is not quite clear which four lines Mr. Wheeler particularises.

> "Hitherto we have discussed the question of a conflict between the Turks and the Greeks. Let us now turn to the question of a conflict between the Turks and one or more of the Allies. Against Russia the Turks have innumerable grievances, for after the Hungarians and the Poles had stemmed the tide of Turkish advance the Russians found them an easy prey and have ever since been assailing them in their retreat from the walls of Vienna."

Even if we were the subjects of the Holy Tsar, we do not think we could have been called seditious for stating a bare historical fact such as this. But, thank God, we are not the subjects of the Tsar or we would have found this to be an excellent opportunity to organise a rebellion against an unchanging tyranny wholly unlike British methods of governing, instead of working, as we are doing, to the knowledge of Government, for the continued existence of Pax Britannica, and we are amazed at the selection of this passage even more than those that have gone before as a particularly offensive sample of our sidition.

Worthy of the Legion of Honour.

Again what shall we say of the next choice bit of sidition?

> "Is the Turk likely to stand up for France to-day or spare the French when he can regain the suzerainty over Tunis?"

Would a Frenchman or even an Algerian Turco-have been punished for writing this to-day? After the acquittal of Madame Caillaux we should imagine that the man who could state anything so commonplace would have been awarded the Legion of Honour for being so eminently ordinary in a country where originality is worshipped above truth.

Mystic Words.

The next passage is a puzzle, for the schedule attached to the Notice particularises on page 237, second column, line 40 only, and if it is not the cross-heading "Turkey, England and Egypt," it must be only the words, "As regards England, her attitude towards Turkey in the," which mean even less than the cross-heading. Mr. Wheeler would perhaps condescend to explain which of these mystic words contains the poison that would kill the loyalty of three hundred and fifteen million Indians, or, at least, of seventy million Indian Mussalmans.

The Head and Front of Our Offending.

Then we come perhaps to the head and front of our offending. The next passage declared to be pointedly seditious, when read with the quotations reproduced on page 237 second column and 238 first column, runs thus:—

> "We have never disguised our views about the British Occupation of Egypt and have no desire to recant to-day. But no purpose would be served by going over old ground once again, and it might be thought that we desire to excite the Turks and Egyptians or the Mussalmans of India with a view to embarrass the authorities in India and in England. So we refrain. But we do not like to play hide-and-seek with the authorities or with our readers. If we are asked whether the Turks or the Egyptians would have a moral justification in urging on the British the evacuation of Egypt our reply must unequivocally be that in view of the following clear and emphatic pledges of British statesmen we cannot consider such a request unjustifiable. Now that Europe seems to have regained her respect for old pledges and guarantees, the following should be read with interest."

The quotions that followed were from the speeches and writings of Sir Beauchamp Seymour, (1882) Mr. Gladstone (1882, 1883, and 1893), Lord Granville (1883 and 1884), Lord Dufferin (1883) Lord Derby (1885), Lord Salisbury (1887 and 1889) and Sir Eldon Gorst (1908). What have we said in all this to excite disaffection against His Majesty or the Government by law established in British India? If sedition does not lie in our own words, then, is it seriously contended that it lurks in the words of His Majesty's Ministers, of the Admiral Commanding the British Fleet at Alexandria, or of the Agents of His Majesty in Egypt? If so, what an irony of fate that His Majesty's Government is considered by the Governor General in Council to be likely to be brought into hatred or contempt by the words deliberately spoken by the most distinguished members of His Majesty's Government. We can defend our own words and actions, but it is too much to ask us to defend the actions and words of His Majesty's Ministers and dignitaries of State, and we decline the invitation. What would have Englishmen said if the Kaiser had punished the *Vorwärts* for sedition merely for reproducing their treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium signed among others by the King of Prussia?

"Quite Contrary."

In the original passage which we prefixed to the pledges given by British Ministers and others we had stated that if we were asked whether the Turks or Egyptians would have a moral justification in urging on the British the evacuation of Egypt our reply must unequivocally be that in view of the clear and emphatic pledges of British statesmen we could not consider such a request unjustifiable. This was our crime, and for this reply we are mulcted in a fine of Rs. 2,000. But the "Mary" of the English nursery rhyme could not have been half so "contrary" as the intelligence which, while condemning our moral justification of a certain Turkish action, condemned in the same breath our opinion that such action on the part of Turkey was wholly inexpedient at the present juncture. We must apologise for reproducing so long an extract from our article, but we are compelled to do so in the face of so cruel and unjust an accusation, and we appeal to every Briton who claims to be a just and upright man to judge between us and those who have accused us of disloyalty and enmity towards His Majesty and the Government established by law in British India. The portions enclosed within brackets are those which the Government Notice characterises as particularly seditious.

What should the Turks do?

> "So much about moral and legal justification. But the matter does not end there. Every act that is not illegal or immoral is not on that account obligatory. The expediency of an act has also to be taken into consideration. When morality and expediency are opposed to each other no one who values principles can say that morality must be sacrificed to expediency. But where morality is not opposed to expediency, he who does what is both expedient and morally permissible does better than he who does what is inexpedient though morally permissible. [For the Turks or Egyptians to demand by force the evacuation of Egypt is to our mind morally permissible but wholly inexpedient at this juncture.] Before England intervened in the Egyptian troubles she asked the Suzerain to join her in the enterprise. Abdul Hamid Khan did not join England and France also held back. That does not by any means deprive Turkey of her rights as a Suzerain of Egypt, and it certainly did not deprive France of the power to intervene later—a power that she exchanged for a "free hand" in Morocco. [But when British intervention was not forcibly opposed by Turkey nor by the Khedive himself, it is more expedient to ask for the fulfilment of British pledges in a friendly manner rather than a hostile manner.] Had Mr. Redmond asked for the Home Rule Bill, the whole Bill and nothing but the Bill at this juncture as the price of peace in Ireland, England would have been compelled to purchase peace on his own terms. But England's difficulty was, in a sense other than that generally understood, Ireland's opportunity, and in acting as he has done Mr. Redmond has made the best of Ireland's opportunity. Mr. Balfour's churlish attitude on a recent occasion will bring in its train its own Nemesis and we feel certain that Mr. Redmond's bread cast upon the waters will return to him not after so very many days. [We say the same to Egypt and Turkey. Howsoever just their demands, howsoever great their need, howsoever long they may have waited for the fulfilment of British pledges, howsoever weak the present day statesmen's sense of the solemnity of promises made in the sight and hearing of the entire world, if they give England one more opportunity to redeem her pledges and fulfil her promises they would do that for which none will blame their generosity of heart, even though some may blame their judgment.] England has gone to war with the noblest sentiments on the lips of her statesmen. No one can predict the end of such a struggle. [But if England emerges out of this supreme trial of her manhood, resources and organisation a stronger and a still more beneficent Power, then the Turks and the Egyptians just as much as the Irish and the Indians will pin her down to her promises even if she showed the least disposition to wriggle out of them. No one can say that even such a struggle would be final. The settlement may only prove—as so many settlements have proved—the seed of another and still more terrible war, and unfulfilled promises have an inconvenient habit of coming home to roost. Nations do not generally trust twice without good grounds and unredeemed pledges provide their own punishment. In asking the Turks to defer the pressing of their demands by force we wish to remind them

that] something is even to-day due to the Allies of the Crimean war and the supporters of the Berlin Congress. Palmerston and Disraeli's assets of military and diplomatic support ought to be able to balance the liabilities of the foolish word recklessly uttered and the wise word heedlessly left unsaid by some of their successors."

Caution.

"We are not unappreciative of the temptations and trials of the Turks; but even here a word of caution must be uttered. They must not be lured by the blandishments of those opposed to England and her Allies. They must remember that "War is Deceit." We desire from the bottom of our heart that this may be the last of the wars, and that human intelligence and human sense of justice may never know such constantly recurring eclipses. [But we are bound to admit that as things are to-day there are some things worse than war. We shall not, therefore, pretend to believe that the Turks must have peace at any price. They must beware of entering into a quarrel, but once in it they must not come out of it till the claims both of honour and self-interest are satisfied. God knows they will have enough occasions to fight, for they have to contend against numerous army corps of prejudice and passion. That is all the more reason that they should fight only their own battles and not those of another. At present the fear is that they may be led into the firing line in a quarrel only outwardly their own. The Turks are not wanting in gratitude. In fact, few nations could equal the Turk in those characteristics which have extorted for him even from his enemies the title of "The Only Gentleman in Eastern Europe." To quote the old Arab saying mentioned by Gibbon, their women know not how to grant favours and their men know not how to refuse. Every Indian whom we know who has had any relations with them is loud in praises of their courtesy, which is as natural to the peasant as to the prince. But if courtesy is one of their great qualities, they also possess the defects of that great quality. In matters of business they are imposed upon, and often imposed upon knowing that they are being imposed upon. Now nothing is a more serious business than war in which a nation can destroy in a month in the way of life, energies and resources what it had taken a generation to build. The Turk knows not what fear is, but life can be valueless only to those in the lowest scale of humanity. It is a rich treasure and a divine gift which we are not permitted by our Maker to squander. We must learn in war even more than in peace the importance and value of economy in human life. As regards material resources, the Turks have never had even so much as could balance their peace requirements. All these considerations point the way in the direction of peace. This is not all. Almost every other great nation of Europe has had peace for a generation or more. Even Russia with her immense resources did not find herself equal to a second war three years after her first in which she had to fight only a small island kingdom. She has launched this new enterprise no less than a decade after her last war. France, Austria and Germany have each enjoyed nearly half a century of peace. England has not fought in a continental war for a century, and her little war against two little peasent States of South Africa, which was enough to prostrate her for many years after, was fought no less than fifteen years ago. Servia and Montenegro alone are fighting soon after their last war. But only a child could believe that they are paying their own way. [Turkey must therefore proclaim a moratorium against her warlike instincts and her clamant revenge. But if she cannot do so, and must enter this terrible business, let her make sure that the quarrel is her own, that her good nature and courtesy are not being imposed upon,] and that she is not hatching a cuckoo's egg believing all the time that it is her own."

Samples of Sedition.

Does this indicate disaffection, disloyalty, and feelings of enmity towards His Majesty and the Government by law established in British India? If so, words have changed their meaning or men have lost their senses. In particular we ask for the esoteric significance of the following sentences *which have been selected as particularly seditious*:—

"For the Turks or Egyptians to demand by force the evacuation "of Egypt is to our mind morally permissible but wholly inexpedient "at this juncture" (p. 238, col. 2, lines 47-49).

"But when British intervention was not forcibly opposed by "Turkey nor by the Khedive himself, it is more expedient to ask "for the fulfilment of British pledges in a friendly manner rather "than in a hostile manner." (*ibid*, lines 55-58)

"In asking the Turks to defer the pressing of their demands "by force we wish to remind them that something is even to-day "due to the Allies of the Crimean War and the supporters of the "Berlin Congress (p. 239, col. 1, lines 3-6)

"Turkey must therefore proclaim a moratorium against her "warlike instincts and her clamant revenge. But if she cannot do "so, and must enter this terrible business, let her make sure that the "quarrel is her own, that her good nature and courtesy are not "being imposed upon, and that she is not hatching a cuckoo's egg "believing all the time that it is her own". (*ibid*, lines 59-64)

Abuse Your Enemies.

If this is sedition, we cannot complain if the following is also sedition :—

"We cannot withhold our admiration from the German nation that is facing the odds against itself with such courage and determination, and we sometimes find it hard to repress the expression of disgust against the campaign of vilification that is being carried on with greater vigour and persistence than is deserved by German actions, harsh and ruthless though they undoubtedly are."

But in that case Field Marshall French, who knows to fight with the sword better than with the pen, and has rebuked those who exaggerate German harshness and ruthlessness and deny him courage and organisation, is equally seditious. Verily we are emending even divine commandments to-day, and instead of learning to love our enemies have learnt to abuse them. However, abuse cannot kill, and by abusing our enemies we shall not certainly be breaking another divine commandment, which says, " Thou shalt not kill!"

The next passage which is condemned has been carefully detached from its context, but anyone can see that this cannot be done without lacerating the whole paragraph. We, therefore, take leave to reproduce another long extract. We wrote :

"[Lest any one should suspect us of being isolated in having these views and expressing them in order to excite others, let us assure him in advance that he is woefully misled if he believes that a vast majority of Indians think otherwise. Had the country not been demoralized by the constant condemnation of unpalatable truths and the repeated rewarding of cheap lies, everyone in India would be confessing such admiration and sympathy openly.] But admiration and sympathy are one thing, making the cause of Germany our own is another. *If any cause can be ours it is the British, and if Germany counts on us she is grievously mistaken. It would be bad business for Turkey also to lavish on Germany the lives and energies and resources that she needs for her own quarrels and that Germany never spared for her when she was beset by still greater perils.* We do not wish to be cynical, and selfishness has not yet come to be regarded by us as a virtue. But self-preservation is the first law of nature and nature is inexorable and ruthless in punishing disobedience to her decalogue. *Germany has done nothing yet for the Turks to deserve the sacrifice of a single Anadol, much less a street riot in a single town or village of India by the Moslem sympathisers of Turkey with a view to embarrass their own Government.* This is what we had felt impelled to tell that level-headed Turkish statesman, Talaat Bey, in private, and through him that astute diplomat, His Highness Prince Said Halim, and that soul-inspiring soldier, Damad Enver Pasha. This is what we said to the Turkish nation publicly in brief on a recent occasion. This is what we say to-day in greater detail and without the least effort at disguise."

The passage within brackets is condemned, but no allowance has been made for the passages which we have now italicised. And this is called justice !

Setting the Example.

As the above passage closes with a reference to a message which we sent to Turkish Ministers, we should like to reproduce it here, and to say that it was sent by Dr. Ansari and Mr. Mohamed Ali with the knowledge and through the assistance of Sir Charles Cleveland, the Director of Criminal Intelligence Department, who fully approved of it, although he had no hand in framing or initiating it. It was sent on the 23rd August, and was, so far as we know, the very first message sent to Turkey from India on this subject, the Calcutta cable and others following it after an interval. It ran thus:—

" His Excellency Talaat Bey,
"Minister of the Interior,
"Constantinople.)

"Having most carefully considered the situation, we "emphatically believe it would be disastrous for Turkey "and the entire Moslem world if Turkey does not "maintain the strictest neutrality. We entreat you "think a thousand times before launching into war. In

"case of war between Turkey and England our condition "also will be extremely sad. Please convey this our "respectful and earnest message to Sadr-i-Azam (Grand "Vizier) and Enver Pasha.

"Ansari,
"Mohamed Ali."

And yet the *Comrade* excites disaffection, disloyalty and enmity against His Majesty and the Government by law established in British India. After this what can we say but echo the question of the poet:

چاہ کا نام جب آتا ہی بگڑ جاتی ہو * وہ طریقہ تو بتادو تمہیں چاہیں کیونکر

(You get wroth at the mention of love.
Then tell us the way we should love you).

It is at times such as this that the iron enters into a man's soul and his reason deserts him. It is such a condition of mind that *Ghalib* has depicted for us in his well-known verse.

وفا کیسی ؟ کہاں کا عشق ؟ جب سر پھوڑنا ٹھہرا * تو پھر اے سنگدل تیرا ہی سنگ آستاں کیوں ہو

(What fidelity and what love! When it has come to battering one's head, why then should it be the stone of *thy* threshold O, stone-hearted one!).

What we did was in the interests of Turkey, of Islam and of Indian Mussalmans, and if it was also meant to help Government, it was our plain duty to help it. We do not even after the treatment now meted out to us regret what we did on that occasion, and should occasion ever arise again we would still do it. Our only regret is that we could not induce the Turkish Cabinet to keep Turkey out of the vortex of war. But it does confound one a good deal and perplex him when such efforts are branded as sedition and enmity.

Our Anchor Holds.

If any doubt still exists about our motives or the tendency of our writing it ought to be cleared up by the last two passages particularly condemned by Government and the conclusion that followed them. We wrote:

The test of Conscience and Courage.

"But the truest test of conscience and of courage for England is not so much to declare war on Germany for a breach of Belgium's treaty rights as to evacuate Egypt of her own free will even before a diplomatic demand is formulated by Turkey or Egypt. Nothing would shame Germany so well as this act of clear justice. The embarkation of the last English soldier from Alexandria will put the fear of God into the heart of the Kaiser more assuredly than the disembarkation of the last English soldier available in the Empire at Boulogne or Havre. The Uzbegs had troubled the Moghals a great deal on the borders of India when Shah Jahan sent Aurangzeb to punish them. The battle was at its hottest when the hour of evening prayer arrived. With characteristic coolness Aurangzeb spread his prayer mat on the ground in the thickest part of the battle and bent his head in silent submission before the Lord God of War. The Chief of the Uzbegs was an unobserved witness of this simple scene, and when Aurangzeb had finished his prayers, he came and laid down his arms before him. "To fight against such a man", said the Chief of the Uzbegs, "is madness. I'll have none of it." [If this is really a war of Right against Might, of Conscience against soul-crushing Militarism, of the Sacredness of Treaties and the Dignity of Law against their treatment as mere "Scraps of Paper" and Moral Impediments in the advance of Brute Force, and Clean Hands are sincerely adjudged better than Countless Hordes, then England must go to the Land of the Sphinx and solve the new riddle of this war in the only way it can be solved. She must leave Egypt. Need we say this will win over to her side the Mussalmans of the world better than all the threats of the tactful *Times* and the promises of destroying Turkey's contracts with Germany *after* Germany has herself been destroyed.] This is the claim of self-interest. This is the demand of honour. This way lies the path of duty. Whatever may have kept England in Egypt thirty or twenty years ago, to-day England is there because she prefers the route of Lesseps to India to that of Vasco da Gama. Germany needed only a temporary right of way through Belgium. England should in all conscience be satisfied with a permanent right of way through Egypt. But to come as friends of the owner of the land and to protect him from unruly tennants, and then not to be satisfied even with the right of way through his fields but to claim a practical ownership is neither friendly nor honourable. Let England have the *iter*, but the *dominium* must remain with Turkey and the usufruct with the Khedive. Will not England be satisfied with the easement ?

No Bribes !

"We have already filled many pages, but before we conclude let as repeat that, *whatever England may do to Turkey or Egypt, our anchor holds.* All truly loyal people have closed the chapter of civic controversy with the officials and into that book they are likely to look no more. Whatever our grievances, whatever reforms we desire, everything must wait for a more seasonable occasion. Even if the Government were to concede to us all that we ever desired or dreamt, if, for instance, the Moslem University were offered to us on our own terms, or the Press Act repeal were to be announced, or even if Self-Government were to be conceded to us, we would humbly tell Government this is no time for it, and we must for the present decline such concessions with thanks. Concessions are asked for and accepted in peace. We are not Russian Poles. We need no bribes !"

After perusing all these passages which have been declared to be particularly seditious, all that we can say of our crime and its punishment is that:

اس گہ پر مجھی مارا کہ گنہگار نہ تہا

(I was killed for the crime that I was not a criminal.)

An Appeal to Christianity.

In this war few evidences of Christian charity have hitherto been given, but we shall not be so unjust or uncharitable ourselves as to suggest that Christianity does not exist in Christendom to-day. We appeal not to the official conscience of bureaucrats and parliamentarians for has not the poet said :—

شرع و آئین پر مدار سہی * ایسی قاتل کا کیا کری کوئی

(One may depend on law and constitution ; but what is one to do with such a murderer?)

We appeal to the Christian principles of both and ask them to consider every word that we have written and then say if justice has been done to us in this matter. To us the whole thing appears to be the result of petty chagrin, and some persistent intriguers have managed to obtain a half reluctant consent from those in authority by playing on their exaggerated fears. But at no time was Burke's warning, that little minds and great empires go ill together, more needed than to-day, and nowhere more than in India.

Timely?

We ask, was this the time to wreak vengeance for criticism of the bureaucracy which acquired all its pungency and sting through its essential sanity and truth? Apart from the justice of it, was it expedient to exasperate the Mussalmans of India immediately on the declaration of war against their co-religionists? To quote Nawab Yousuf Ali Khan Bah dur of Rampur once more,

وفا شعاری ناظم یقین نہیں نہ سہی
پہ کون شخص ہی اسکا بھی کچھ خیال نہیں

(Even if you distrust the fidelity of *Nazim*, let it pass.
But do you not even heed what kind of man he is?)

God knows we have enough to do in these days to keep events in their proper perspective. Of course we get no credit for it, and we ask for none. But when will stupidity cease ? We have had a series of blunders each more thoughtless and petty in its origin than the other. Under the circumstances, it would be well if Lord Hardinge became for the time being the dictator of India in a crisis which cannot adequately and safely be met with the brains and the hearts used to deal with nothing more serious than street brawls and none too satisfactorily even with them. Although democratic at heart and in every pore of our body, we are not sticklers for form.

Ah God, for a man with heart, head, hand,
Like some of the simple great ones gone
For ever and ever by;
Whatever they call him what care I,
Aristocrat, autocrat, democrat, one
Who can rule and dare not lie !

So much by way of our justification and appeal to the British nation. A word now to our subscribers. In our last issue we had told you that unless our dues were paid considerably before the expiry of that period, and the paper put on a sound financial basis, the *Comrade* would cease to appear at the end of this year. We had said that it was to us a painful alternative as perhaps even you could realize. But it was the only one that was possible and it was no use regretting the impossible. After four years of vigorous living we should not regret the task of writing our obituary, for one can live intensively as well as extensively, and we had lived in four years

as much as some do in forty. We had played our part at least to our own satisfaction and we should have bowed ourselves away cheerfully enough when the curtain was rung down. When we wrote this we meant every word of it, but we did not know at the time that the poor player would not be allowed even to strut his hour upon the stage before he was heard no more. But a hand more powerful than ours has pulled down the curtain even before the play was over and the actor had made his exquisite farewell speech before plunging the dagger into his bosom and ending another of the daily tragedies of life. But if it be so, so be it. What matters when and how? The readiness is all. Unless you play the Messiah and breathe new life into us we go the way of things past their appointed hour. But let there be no sadness of farewell. The poet had already anticipated us when he said :

غالب خستہ کي بغير کون سي کام بند ہين * روئي زار زار کيا کيجئي ہاي ہاي کيون

(What is there that cannot go on just the same without *Ghalib*?
Then wherefore weep fast falling tears and why make moan?)

To us it is a satisfaction that our last breath was spent in the cause of truth, justice and righteousness, and what is true of men is also true of institutions:

ولا تقولوا لمن يقتل في سبيل الله اموات بل احياء ولكن لا تشعرون *

(And of those that are killed in the way of Allah say not they are dead. Nay, they are alive, although you do not know it.)

We began our career with the words of hope and courage that have appeared for close upon four years on our title-page:

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

Whatever truth we had we have declared freely and shared it with all. Everywhere that we could we have proclaimed it, and even if truth has not always been proclaimed from the house-tops, untruth has not been even whispered. No; we shall not die in the real sense of life and death. We have lived because we have dared, and we shall still dare and we shall still live.

Magisterial Makeshifts.

Just as we were going to press we came to know of the order passed by the District Magistrate on the application of Mr. Mohamed Ali. We give it in full below :—

"The declaration of Mohamed Ali S/o Abdul Ali Khan that he is the keeper of a press situate in Kucha-i-Chelan, Delhi, having been duly made in accordance with Section, Act XXV of 1867, the question arises as to the furnishing of security agreeably to the provisions of Act III (? 1) of 1910. The petitioner claims that an order should be passed by me under section 3 (*1*) of the Act, but I have also to consider whether an order under Section 5 is not more appropriate.

"The file in my office shows that a certain press known as the *Comrade* and *Hamdard* Press situated in Kucha-i Chelan, Delhi, was opened by Mohamed Ali as the registered keeper in October 1912. About the time (in 1913) that he left British India, one Sadiq Ali Khan became the registered keeper and finally one Farooq Ali registered himself as such. The press in question undertook the printing and publishing of at least two papers, the *Comrade* and *Hamdard*, of which Mohamed Ali has been and is the Editor.

"The security (Rs. 2,000), which was lodged under Section 3 (*1*) of the Act originally by Mohamed Ali was continued by transfer in the names of Sadiq Ali and Farooq Ali in turn, and this security* has been forfeited under Section 4 (*1*) by the order of the Government of India as recently as November 3rd 1914. With these facts on official record I have examined the petitioner Mohamed Ali and have recorded his statement which he has signed. He is not willing to admit that the press which is the subject of his declaration is the press (known as the *Comrade* and *Hamdard* Press), the security of which has forfeited. The new press, he alleges, has not yet been named, but it is located admittedly in the same building as that in which the *Comrade* and *Hamdard* Press is at the present moment, the machinery is admittedly the same machinery as is now being used by the *Comrade* and *Hamdard* Press under the benevolent provisions of Section 4 (*2*), and the keeper of the new press is the man who was the first registered keeper of the *Comrade* and *Hamdard* Press.

"The *Comrade* and *Hamdard* Press, owing to the unsatisfactory tone of some of its productions, has been for many months under close observation : there is quite sufficient on official record to show that although Sadiq Ali and Farooq Ali have been its registered keepers they have been in reality the petitioner's representatives. It is a somewhat significant fact that the petition which introduced this declaration under my consideration was made out in the name of Sadiq Ali Khan and was signed by him, but before presentation in Court the name and signature of Mohamed Ali was (*sic*) substitued and those of Sadiq Ali Khan erased.

"Now the petitioner urges that the keeper of the "new" press can be required to furnish the enhanced security only if the declaration refers to "such press" as has been subjected to an order under Section 4 (*1*). A considerable amount of forensic argument has been applied to the meaning of the words "such press" which it would be wearisome to set forth in detail, but of which the general trend is that any deviation in form, name, location or substance from those of the former press would render the petitioner immune from the more drastic provisions of Section 5.

"The petitioner urges that as an applicant on whom the Press Act weighs heavily, he is entitled to avail himself of any flaw in the wording of the Act, and that Section 5 is so worded that the Magistrate cannot demand the enhanced security, so long as the declarer does not admit his liability.

"I need not deal with these arguments and contentions. My duty as controlling Magistrate *in this case* is not to decide hypothetical questions of law, but to decide one issue of fact and that issue is whether or no the press referred to in the declaration of the petitioner is a press, the security given in respect of which has been declared forfeit under Section 4.

"To decide this question of fact I have visited to-day the premises in Kucha-i Chelan accompanied by the petitioner. He conducted me to the *Comrade* and *Hamdard* Press building where work was in full swing. He stated that his declaration before me referred *to only three of the machines in the building*. One of these machines is new, but the other two were being worked, one (or both) of them being used at the moment for printing the *Hamdard*.

"It is quite clear to my mind that the press which petitioner declares to be kept by him is indistinguishable from the press which is known as *Comrade* and *Hamdard* Press: So I am forced to reply to the issue framed in the affirmative.

Accordingly I find that the petitioner in respect to his declaration has qualified for treatment under Section 5, Act I of 1910 and I direct that before utilising his press, he shall furnish a security of Rs. 10,000 (Ten thousands only).

"(Sd.) H. C. Beadon,

"District Magistrate."

We find that Major Beadon has altogether avoided the questions of law involved in the case. He has failed to show in his order that he had considered the important question whether he was entitled to go behind the applicant's declaration under section 3 (*1*) of the Press Act and apply section 5 to it as if that section applied not only to the case of a press of which the security had admittedly been confiscated but also to the case of any other press which was the same in substance. Section 10 gave him full discretion to examine the declaration of the publisher of a newspaper with a view to ascertain whether the newspaper was or was not the same in substance as the one of which the security had been forfeited. In the case of a press he had no such discretion and in recording the statement of the applicant and inspection of the premises and machines of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* Press was absolutely *ultra vires*. He has altogether avoided in his order the expression of any opinion on the applicant's contention that he must accept and authenticate the declaration as made before him without any further enquiry, obviously because he could not base the justification of his action on any provision of the law. We know that judges and magistrates are not there to deal with hypothetical cases but to decide those they have before them. But judicial decisions have to be based on legal principles which have to be explained in the judgment or order if there is any doubt or ambiguity about them. If judges and magistrates cannot do so, why not toss up for the result rather than leave things to the whims of judges and magistrates? The result, in fact, may possibly be no worse. Orders of forfeiture were bad enough because the reference to the High Court had already been proved to be illusory. But orders on applications regarding security are far worse because there is not even the fiction of an appeal to the High Court. Local Governments have known that they are practically the masters of the situation, and no one should be surprised if they are arbitrary in their orders of forfeiture. But magistrates are masters of the situation in theory as well as in practice, and no wonder Major Beadon paid no heed to Mr. Mohamed Ali's contention that the magistrate had no jurisdiction to question the correctness of a declaration falling under section 3 (*1*) of the Press Act, and to apply section 5 to it when the declaration was not made under the latter section. Again, he refused to lay down wherein lay the identity of a press, in its name, location, keeper or machinery

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The learned Magistrate is clearly wrong in this. Mr. Mohamed Ali's security (Promissory Notes for Rs. 2,000,) was duly returned to him some months ago by Mr. Connolly, who was acting for Major Beadon when the latter was on leave in England. Mr. Farooq Ali deposited Rs. 2,000 seperately in cash some time before Mr. Mohamed Ali got back the Notes.

etc., obviously because it would have been preposterous to make the machinery etc., a *damnosa hereditas* suffering eternal punishment for the original sin of printing an article to which it occured to some one in office to object under an Act which made the publication even of the Bible, the Vedas and the Quran an offence. If he had declared that the "sameness" of the press did not lie in the machinery but in something else, the utility of the Press Act as an engine for crushing all opinion unpalatable to the bureaucracy would have disappeared that instant. Secure in the fact that there could be no appeal from his decision a magistrate could pass any order he pleased, and Major Beadon's order does not in the least come as a surprise to us.

With reference to his visit to the premises of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* Press and inspection of the machines, etc., we fail to see the purpose thereof unless Major Beadon wanted to be able to swear that he had done so. How did it, and how could it effect his order? Mr. Mohamed Ali's own statement was clear enough on the point and there was nothing to see in particular. The *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* Press is still working in full swing, and Major Beadon could only expect to find the *Comrade* and *Hamdard* Press indistinguishable from itself. It must work till the 12th as it has hitherto worked, for the law allows ten days for making new arrangements. How then on the 9th instant could it have been different under section 3 (*1*) and yet the same under "the benevolent provisions of section 4 (*2*)"? Whatever changes the law required for a change of identity would have been made when the period of ten days allowed by section 4 (*2*) had expired at midnight on the 12th. This was explained in anticipation to Major Beadon, but he had already completed the order on his return from the Press and the finger of fate having writ moved on. Not a line or word could now be altered by any human being in an Empire of four hundred million souls. Such is the law. It is not in the bond.

But there is something more serious than all this. To refuse to apply section 3 (*1*) to the declaration and not to explain under what circumstances that section becomes applicable is to revert to the days of the college of pontiffs in ancient Rome when only the pontiffs knew the law that they applied. Such retrogression is preposterous in the 20th century and tends to bring the administration of justice into contempt.

Major Beadon was wrong in some of his facts also, as for the example his statement that Mr. Sadiq Ali's security was transferred to Mr. Farooq Ali. That was not so and if any benevolent provision of the law allows him to correct his own mistakes, we hope he would do so after a perusal of his office file. And it is hardly a profitable task, and may sometimes be even puerile to try to decipher what had already been erased in an application before it was presented. If it could have any legal significance surely another application could have been prepared to avoid the searching of lynx-eyed law. But as it was, no attempt was ever made to make the writing erased illegible. As these are mere details it would serve no purpose to discuss them any further.

There is one point, however, which the learned Magistrate may learn even from a journalist. The keeper of a press is not necessarily also its proprietor, and if the two are not the same the keeper of a press must needs be the representative of the proprietor. Messrs. Sadiq Ali Khan and Farooq Ali were never the proprietors of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* Press. As Mr. Mohamed Ali has always been the proprietor, the two other keepers mentioned in his order by Major Beadon could not avoid being the representatives of the proprietor to that extent. So is the Manager of the *Comrade*. So also is the Manager of the *Hamdard*. The same is also true of the Superintendent of the Press. Are not the keepers of the *Pioneer* the *Times of India* and the *Englishman* Presses—to name only a few—the representatives of their respective Proprietors, some of whom may not be within the jurisdiction of even the Government established by law in British India. If this simple fact is borne in mind the discovery of Major Beadon from the office record is no better than the discovery of America if a Magistrate of Delhi followed in the footsteps of Christopher Columbus some centuries after that traveller or the discovery of Moliere's barber that he habitually spoke prose!

In our opinion the Press Act is too defective a piece of legislation even from the point of view of the class of officials that underestimate the value of a free Press in India, and it was time that Local Governments and Magistrates were freed from the duty of devising legal fictions and other disingenuous makeshifts.

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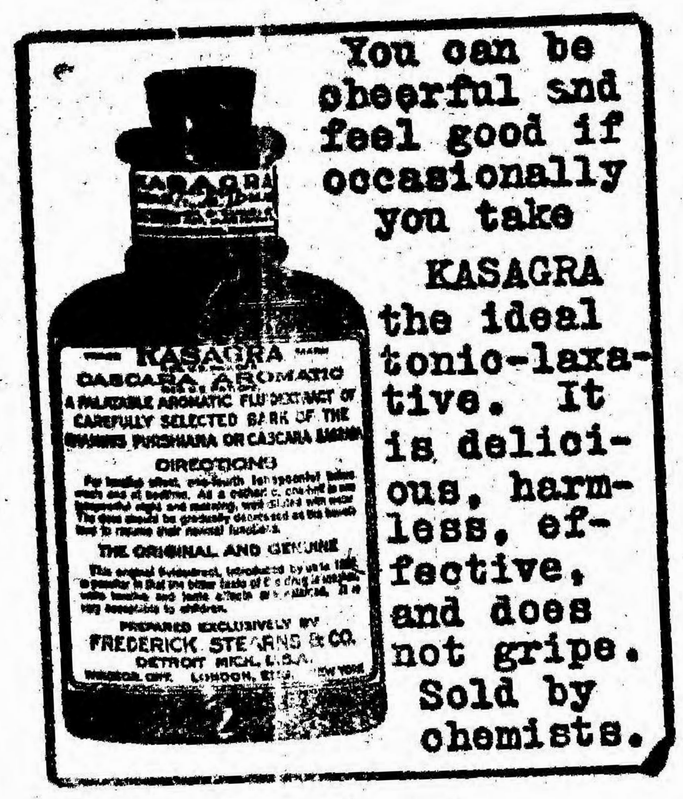
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