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The Egyptian Gazette
The English Daily Newspaper. Est. 1880
Editor & Manager - - - R. SNELLING
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Published by the "Egyptian Gazette" at Alexandria and Cairo.

FRIDAY, JUNE 20, 1919.

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JUSTICE AND MORALITY.

It is an irony that now that peace is coming Pacifism is the foe of peace just as it was the foe of war. But it is only fair that some distinction should be drawn between that Pacifism which was in its essence treasonable (which loathed the very idea of military victory and did its very best to avert the issue of the war, which intrigued for the Stockholm Conference, and for any and every chance of evading victory, which vituperated against the knock-out blow and will-to-win policy, and clutched at any straw and hope to avert the military defeat of Germany), and that newer Pacifism which has no treasonable past whatever, and yet, from the highest and sincerest humanitarian motives, now joins the main stream. Quite free from any suspicion of disreputable Pacifism, which has sought from the very first to mitigate the consequences to Germany of her own vast crime, the newer Pacifism, with a clean past, takes higher ground, and must be followed there. Let us start with one proposition: That on the morrow of the burning of Louvain, of the massacres of Malines, Termonde and Aerschot, of the sinking of the Lusitania, of the murder of Edith Cavell, or of any of the outstanding landmarks of German infamy, no voice could have been raised in the British Isles (for even Pacifism was prudently silent on these mornows) which would not have been drowned in a roar of incredulous execration if it had suggested that a Peace of Justice meant to peace in which Justice should fear to be just lest it stimulated the hatred of Germany. But so amazingly has the conception of justice changed during the war that now the time has come for us to impose our just peace, we find that Justice has ceased, in many minds, to connote any retributive attributes whatever, and has practically become accepted as a synonym for mercy. Indeed, by further extension, it has come to imply the very negation of justice, as literate mankind hitherto has understood the name and the thing, by the implication that it is in itself an inferior ethic, and a discredited barbarism belonging to what is called "the old dispensation." But to most of us, who believe that justice is the very foundation of all morality—who cannot see how any new morality can be superior to the old (which was based on justice) until, at any rate, the old morality has been vindicated and we can start afresh—to us who believe that the most salutary moral law is that man shall bear the consequence of his own acts, and that there is no hope for human society if the old standards of right are not upheld before we begin to erect higher standards still, this change in the moral values of Justice is bewildering. Totally rejecting the theory that retributive justice is immoral, and that a "Higher" morality favours the indulgence of oblivion to unrepented wrongdoing, we believe that any lenient peace to Germany would simply end the reign of justice as we knew it, and inaugurate a new era of muddled morality which would leave us without any clear standards of right and wrong at all. The "Higher" morality may be the "Newer," but we do not see that it would be the better or the truer. And we want to know how that change in moral values has come about, and what guarantee there is that the new conception of justice is any better than the old.

The change in the idea of justice is to be attributed in a large measure, surely, to what is incontrovertibly a moral defect, and not a sign of superior morality at all: to a moral indignation that is so easily fatigued that it cannot "stay the course" of its moral resentment until justice is done. The essential thing about the Lusitania (to use one word merely as a symbol for the million words that would still not exhaust the catalogue of German infamy) is not that it happened four years ago, but that it happened. The essential fact about the 17,000 murdered merchant seamen is not that their murders were spread over quite a long period, but that they were murdered. We could point to several people, now upholding the new morality of a justice too weak to be just, whose moral indignation at those crimes was healthily expressed in the terms of that old morality which, in 1914, let us remember, had to be defended and upheld, and not abandoned and thrown on the scrap-heap. In fact, the main difference between us and them, between the old and the new, is that we remember these things vividly and not palely, and they forget. And just as their moral sensibilities have not been robust enough to defy the passage of time, so their moral understanding has been confused where ours has been strengthened and simplified by the bewildering horror of all these awful years. The standards of human conduct have been so degraded, the world has become so brutalised by familiarity with horror and gigantic crime, that they turn in despair to almost any escape from the welter (instead of sticking to the clear path of the old morality to see us through), and so have invented a totally new conception of justice in order that by-gones may quickly become bygones and we may "bury the past" with the utmost speed. Hence they have been driven to invent also a general human crime in order to call out for a general human amnesty—to confuse human nature with German nature in order to muddle us all up in a futile and indiscriminate mess of condemnation and pity. They have been driven to picture the war not as the offspring of one deliberate racial purpose, but as having its origin in the general frailty of mankind; and so (by that simple postulate) they have made it easy, as they think, to advocate a "general reconciliation of mankind," when mankind simply has no right even to wish to be reconciled to an unrepentent perpetrator of colossal wrong. The clear division between us is marked at this point, for what they call the higher morality seems to most of us only the lower morality and a definite evasion of moral duty—not a moral advance at all, but a distinct retrogression and a definite backsliding upon even the old standards.

And we believe it is not new moral strength, but merely old-fashioned moral cowardice, which calls out that if the Germans are forced to accept these terms they will then be entitled to nourish a fiercer hate and prepare a blacker revenge. Is civilised mankind really so helpless, and its sense of what constitutes civilisation so vague and diffident, that it must succumb to such a threat, a threat merely showing that its task is not yet done and that the German beast is not yet subdued? If that is the spirit in which Germany is to take her punishment, and even be counselled to take it, then obviously she does not know the first letter of the alphabet of repentance. And to give such counsel, or to suggest that if we insist on our peace terms we shall transpose right and wrong and put the Germans in the right for the next war, is merely an attempt to blackmail justice, and should be so described and denounced. But if Justice is to be so impotent as to fear to be just, and if we must acquiesce in her impotence because the criminal threatens what he will do when he has served his thirty years; and if the reparation demanded is only a fragment of the total sum of wrong that is irreparable, and yet even that much may not be asked, why trouble about any morality whatever, new or old? In short, if what Germany has done matters so little that we are practically asked to forget all about it, what on earth does it matter what we do to Germany?

TRAGIC WAR RECORD.

20 SONS IN THE ARMY.

A war record of a painful character is made in Paris. When war broke out, Vanhee, a French cultivator at Reninghe, near Ypres, had twenty-two sons and fourteen daughters. Twenty of the sons fought on all fronts, and fourteen were killed; three were discharged on account of their serious wounds; one went through the operation of trepanning; another returned blind and deaf; a third had both legs amputated; and a fourth, who, when war broke out, was a valet de chambre of Pope Pius, was four times wounded. In 1917 the widow of one of the sons was killed by a German shell at Dunkirk. The father of this family and one of his daughters met a tragic end. In October, 1914, they went to Lille to take part in the centenary celebrations of a relative. Met on their return by a German patrol, they were shot.

AN ARAB'S LOVE FOR LONDON.

Mohamed Salah, 22, a French subject described as a motor driver, was charged at the West Ham Police Court, with secreting himself on the s.s. Soldiers Prince, at Antwerp, and going to sea without the consent of the master or owners of the vessel. The defendant, a Tunisian Arab, was found on board the vessel after she had sailed from Antwerp, and as the ship was not returning to Belgium the captain ordered him to be given into custody on arrival in England. Mr. Metcliffe Cousins sent the defendant to gaol for four weeks and made the order for deportation. This having been interpreted the Magistrate asked "Does he understand?" The Interpreter.—Yes, but he says he would sooner stay in London. The Magistrate.—London has quite enough people without him.

UPPER EGYPT UNREST.

THE DEIRUT OUTRAGE.

CERTIFICATES FOR BEING "PEACEFUL."

Several witnesses for the defence in the above case were examined on the twentieth day of the trial and most of their evidence was short. Lieut. Frank Prance an Inspector of native recruiting, gave evidence that one of the accused had a good character and pro-English feelings. Cross-examined by the Prosecutor, Lieut. Prance said that he had not been in Deirut since January last.

Several successive witnesses deposed that they had seen or been with various of the accused during the day of the murders. One of these deposed that a crier deputed by the omda announced that there would be no Court on that day so that people could attend the demonstrations. One witness heard of the murders in the afternoon. In cross-examining, he admitted that the cousins of one of the accused had asked him to give evidence. Another saw no people coming from the station; this witness lived about 200 yards from the station. One witness admitted that there were three "difficult" days at Deirut. These were Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday.

The witness who stated that he was in prison in Port Said at the time of the murders, has been found not guilty by the Court and released.

Accused Khalil Abu Zeid, an agriculturist, deposed that he only returned from England on January last, after five years' absence. He was asked to organise demonstrations and although at first he said it was useless, he argued eventually on condition that no low-class people were included. He was told that he could not stop the train without the staff & so he asked the stationmaster for it. The latter refused to give it up at first but eventually did so. Accused was surprised to find the crowd on the train when it came in. He ran to the engine driver to give him the staff and two English soldiers both of whom were wounded, tried to move the lever. He then threw the staff to the engine driver, and ran away. He took no part in the removal of the blood stained stones.

Accused M. Eff. Hilmi deposed that he heard there was to be a demonstration and he said he would try and stop it. On March 18, accused received a message at 9.10 a.m. from the stationmaster; this was the first he heard what was going on at the station. He then met Dr. Shukir, witness for the prosecution, who told him that the train was delayed and he was afraid something would happen to the English officers. Accused told him to send the police along, he mentioned several persons he met on the way to the station, amongst them some men of the Camel Corps who refused to go. When he arrived at the station he found the first class carriage wrecked and the bodies of some officers in the luggage van. He was attacked by the mob. He understood that the mob was going to remove the bodies and he stopped them. He then got hold of the staff and told the engine driver to start; a further delay of eight minutes ensued. None of the English were alive when accused arrived. He then reported the matter by telephone.

In cross-examining, accused admitted that he consented to a demonstration, but denied that he asked for one. He did not know any of the men on the station by name.

Several of the accused produced guarantees that they were "quiet and peaceful schoolboys." Some of the accused were spoken of as harmless men, another "used to take part in demonstrations, but was not dangerous." The case is proceeding.

BRITISH GENEROSITY.

PROTEST FROM NOTTINGHAM.

Nottingham lace operatives are taking steps to bring to the notice of Parliament the proposed transfer from Nottingham to France of lace machines to replace those destroyed by the Germans.

They raise no objection to the acquisition by French manufacturers of new machinery, if obtainable, but urge that the disposal of existing machinery will lead to a great deal of unemployment in Nottingham. They suggest that the Germans should be made to give up their machines to France.

A Petrograd message reports that thieves succeeded in entering the former residence of the ex-Tsar by boring a hole in the wall, and stole various articles to the value of upwards of £1,000,000.

"Depart from evil and do good and dwell forevermore. Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness: He is gracious and full of compassion and righteous."
Psalms 37: 27.
Psalms 112: 4.