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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 Week.

London, Dec. 21.

Indian Peril.

The second article appears in the *Times* on the "Indian Peril." It deals with the causes and consequences of unrest, which it attributes mainly to the stream of misrepresentation and falsehoods sown broadcast, with which the press and the law are powerless to cope. One of the consequences is contempt of all authority, enormous increase in serious crimes, and growing insecurity of life and property. Only under a Government aloof from and above jarring racial and religious elements can there be the faintest hope of the creation of a United India in some happier future. The failure of politicians at Home to realise the peculiar relations of the British Government to the vast masses of India explains much that is deplorable. If the rapid undermining of all authority continues the day will arrive when the teeming millions of the uneducated will have been taught such hatred of the handful of Britishers, and such disregard of authority, that they will offer an insoluble problem in Government. The vast mass of the population is totally unfit to take part in self-government, but if disaffected it could make all Government impossible. The recent great change is due to the intervention between Government and the masses by a small but steadily growing disaffected minority who are devoting their slender educational equipment to misrepresenting the aims and results of British rule and spreading broadcast the seeds of disaffection. The encouragement given to the propagandists by the inaccuracies or worse of careless writers and speakers in England concludes the article, is incalculable.

London, Dec. 23.

A third article in the *Times* on the "Indian Peril" deals with Nationalism emphasising the part played by Western education in the creation of Nationalism. The article admits that among 1,670,000 English literates in India are men of whom any country might be proud, who deplore the tendencies which they plainly see, but their numbers do not increase and their influence is diminishing in India and is not felt in England where determined efforts are being made to capture opinion for Nationalist purposes. The article declares that it is difficult to find a trace of the real democratic spirit among the "literati," who are not representative of India which remains an essentially aristocratic country in a sense of which Britishers at home and in the Dominions have long lost knowledge. Some of our mistakes in India, the article declares, have been due to this lack of knowledge. Were we to abdicate in favour of the Nationalists, there would not be materials to administer a democracy. The success of the present political movement would entail, an attempt to govern by the narrowest of oligarchies which, external aggression apart, would instantly crumble to pieces and violate every principle cherished by politicians at home who support disaffection. The article mentions Tripoli and the Balkan wars which it says assisted the national movement, raising Moslem Extremists to power in the counsels of the community. South African grievances, it continues, are an even greater source of danger. The fact that Britishers in South Africa support the reasonable demands of the Indians, that Englishmen freely subscribe to funds for the sufferers, and that the three pounds tax is doomed cannot be made clear, and irremediable harm has already been done. Moreover party strife at home, the Ulster situation, violent strikes and the Sufferagette movement can be exploited for propagandist purposes.

London, Dec. 23.

The *Times*, in the fourth and last article on the "Indian Peril" discusses the duty and policy of the Government in the present situation. It describes the check to the progress of social reforms owing to the diversion of energy and funds from the cause of the real people of India, and the resulting general lawlessness. The journal remarks:—"How many rising storms have been quieted by the tact and soothing influence of British officials is not guessed in England." Referring to the recent bank failures the *Times* expresses the fear that some ignorant victims may throw the blame on the Government and exhorts the conscientious democrat at Home to reflect upon the tumultuous forces latent in 295 millions wholly uneducated and inheriting, partly, strong fighting instincts. The welfare of 293 millions not the momentary gratification of a handful of literates must be the first duty of the Government. If they succeeded in the alienation of the masses India would become ungovernable, and it is certain that any visible weakening of the British Government of India would involve wholesale alienation. Our Government must concern itself less with politics and more with economics, must unite conflicting elements and reversing the Latin adage "unite to govern" must unflinchingly enforce law and order, realising that misplaced leniency may be cruel in the long run. There are now Native States showing a higher standard of security than some British districts. The higher branches of education must be improved, technical education

must be built up, and the preposterous misuse of English literature must be eliminated. The judicial system urgently needs overhauling. The article emphasises the loyalty engrained in the peoples of India and advises the Government frankly to explain its objects and firmly to administer the Press laws. It also advises politicians and publicists at Home to the reasonable care to ascertain the truth. The great question is, says the *Times*, can a democracy govern a vast Eastern Empire? The ruin or progress of India depends on the answer, which must be forthcoming in a few years.

Turkey.

Constantinople, Dec. 21.

General Limat von Sanders has assumed the command of the First Turkish Army Corps. With reference to the attitude of the Triple Entente, it is generally felt that the question has lost its acuteness and that it is improbable that Russia will insist on further satisfaction. It is thought that the arrangement with General Sanders may be modified in a manner which will completely close the incident.

Constantinople, Dec. 26.

The Russain and German Ambassadors jointly called upon the Grand Vizier yesterday to enquire regarding the progress of reforms in Asia Minor. Turkish official circles are optimistic, and hope that the matter will reach a satisfactory settlement in a few days. It is believed that the difficulty will be surmounted by the Porte appointing two European Inspectors-General for the six Eastern vilayets, thus obviating the possibility of conflicts which might result from the appointment of a single European adviser with Ottoman inspectors.—*Reuter.*

Paris, Dec. 26.

In a statement before the Foreign Committee of the Chambers yesterday, M. Donmergue dwelt on the importance of continuity in foreign policy. He affirmed the Government's resolve to pursue the line of action of its predecessors in co-operating with Britain and Russia. He gave details of the agreement which has just been concluded between France and Turkey assuring the security of French interests in the East, and recounted the measures taken to develop French culture in Syria. He mentioned that French contractors had obtained a promise for the building of important railways in Anatolia. Armenia and Syria over 2,400 kilometres long; also for the construction and exploitation of ports at Jaffa, Caiffa, and Tripoli in Syria, and Heraclea, and Ineboli on the Black Sea. He pointed out that the French capital invested in Turkey amounted to 3,000 million francs; hence the French Government could not remain indifferent to the detachment of several important provinces from the Empire.—*Reuter.*

London, Dec. 18.

Aegean Islands.

The Triple Alliance has not replied yet to the British proposals regarding the Aegean Islands and Albania, but they have apparently been received favourably. Greece, however, is very resentful as she contends that both South Albania and the islands occupied by Italy are purely Greek and have become New Crete's centres of incessant agitation.

Constantinople, Dec. 23.

In view of the discussion proceeding between the Powers on the subject of the proposal regarding the division of the Aegean Islands, the Porte has circularised the Powers, reiterating the Porte's standpoint, and emphasising that a solution which does not restore the Islands facing the Asiatic Coast, will be absolutely unacceptable to Turkey.

Rome, Dec. 19.

Albania.

It is semi-officially announced that the International Commission for the Delimitation of the Southern Frontier of Albania has concluded its labours, and has unanimously agreed to the proposed by Great Britain in conformity with the views of Italy and Austria-Hungary.

London, Dec. 23.

Reuter learns that Greece is still officially unaware of British proposals regarding Albania and the Aegean. It is pointed out in Greek quarters that the proposed southern boundary gives Albania 140,000 Greeks out of a total of 220,000.

Allahabad, Dec. 21.

Bagdad Railway.

The *Pioneer's* London correspondent cables: "The *Daily Telegraph's* Berlin correspondent says that according to the semi-official *Lokalanzeiger* the three cornered negotiations between France, Germany and Turkey with regard to the Bagdad Railway, which are being interrupted by the Christmas holidays, have unfortunately not progressed as far as might have seemed desirable. In particular it is stated that there are important differences of opinion as to the construction of a harbour at Suddia and the discussion on this matter will not be resumed before the new year."

Cairo, Dec. 23.

Egypt.

The first elections to the New Legislative Assembly have resulted in a sweeping victory of the Government. Less than twenty Opposition candidates were successful out of a total of 66 elected, *plus* members nominated by the Government.

Teheran, Dec. 26.

Persia.

It is understood that Russia intends shortly to withdraw a considerable number of troops from North Persia. Persia has agreed to increase the Persian Cossack brigade at Tabriz from six hundred to twelve hundred with four Russian officers and eight Russian non-commissioned officers.

Allahabad, Dec. 27.

Imperial Delhi Committee.

The report by the Imperial Delhi Committee showing the progress made in connection with the affairs relating to the new capital has just been completed. The project estimated by the Engineers is also practically ready.

Turkey and Greece.

London, Jan. 2.

Reuter learns that Greek official circles are in no way perturbed over the purchase by Turkey of dreadnought which was being built for Brazil, as it will not be ready for six months and Greece will have plenty of time to consider her course of action. Confidence is expressed, however, that the Greek Government will not shrink from any action necessary to ensure the country's safety. The possibility is hinted at of Greece declaring war on Turkey in order to prevent the vessel leaving England. According to diplomatic opinion, the incident may raise, in an acute form, the whole question of the disposal to other nation of the powerful warships ordered by the South American Republics.

Constantinople: The Dreadnought which Turkey has brought will be called "Sultan Osman."

Athens: M. Venizelos, Premier, speaking in Parliament to-day, confirmed the purchase of the dreadnought by Turkey. He was unable to inform the House as to what steps Government were taking or had already taken to ensure Greek supremacy in the Aegean. He could only assure the Chamber that Greece was determined to maintain her supremacy and that the Greek naval authorities were absolutely calm.

France is anxious over the purchase of a dreadnought which Turkey has been enabled to acquire; thanks to a loan raised in France. The "Temps" says that Turkey does not conceal her intention of declaring war on Greece in April and urges the closing of British and French money markets to Turkey.

Roi de Janiero: A semi-official *communique* states that Brazil was no party to the sale of the "Rio de Janiero" to Turkey, and that the builders are to supply another dreadnought to Brazil. Vice-Admiral Huetbacellar has been arrested for publishing a letter criticising Government's action in parting with the "Roi de Janiero."

Constantinople: Though the Turkish population is generally satisfied with, the purchase of the Brazilian dreadnought financial circles are perturbed. The Ottoman stock has dropped a point and the appointment of Enver Bey as Minister of War is barely soothing.

Constantinople: The Young Turk, Enver Bey, has been appointed Minister of War, and Colonel Djamal Bey, Minister of Works.

Constantinople: It is stated that the dreadnought "Roi de Janeiro" and the battleship "Reshadieh" also being built at Armstrong's will be ready for delivery in six months.

The South African Crisis.

Victoria (British Columbia), Dec. 18.

Strong criticisms have been passed on the Dominion order prohibiting the entry of artisans and labourers until March 31st.

It is acknowledged that the measure was designed to prevent a glut in the labour market and relieve the Hindu inimigration problem.

It prevents, however, the entry of workmen from Australia and New Zealand, while Chinese, arriving by the same steamer, enter by paying a hundred pounds sterling poll-tax.

London, Dec. 19.

The release of Messrs. Gandhi, Polak, and Kallenbach is confirmed.

Durban, Dec. 20.

Mr. Gandhi and the other Indian leaders arrived this afternoon. They were welcomed at the station by several hundred Indians who garlanded them and hauled the carriage through the Indian quarter to the offices of the Indian Association.

London, Dec. 20.

Mr. Gandhi, interviewed by Reuter's representative, said that the appointments of Mr. Esselen and Colonel Wylie should be counterbalanced by appointments from men of European nationality known to possess no anti-Asiatic bias. Unless the Government acceded to this proposal, it was impossible to accept the Commission or to

give evidence, in which event the Indians would resume their activities in order to seek arrest and re-imprisonment.

Durban, Dec. 22.

At a meeting of five thousand Indians held here yesterday, addressed by Messrs. Gandhi, Polak and Kallenbach, a resolution was passed against Indians giving evidence before the Commission of Enquiry as it did not include a representative of the Indians. The resolution also urged the Government to appoint a European member acceptable to the Indians and undertook that, if this demand were granted and passive resisters discharged, passive resistance would be suspended pending the finding of the Commission, otherwise Indians would prosecute the struggle with renewed vigour.

Mr. Gandhi, wearing the dress of an indentured labourer as a sign of mourning, aroused great enthusiasm by suggesting that unless the Government granted their demands all should be ready on the first day of the new year to suffer battle and imprisonment. Mr. Gandhi announced that he would eat only one meal a day as a further sign of mourning.

Delhi, Dec. 22.

The following *communique* has been issued :—

The Government of India have been in communication with the Secretary of State since the Commission was appointed by the Government of South Africa, to investigate the disturbances in Natal and the causes which led up to them with a view to their representation before the Commission.

They have now selected Sir B. Robertson, Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, to appear before the Commission on their behalf. He starts at once for Durban to arrive in time for the next meeting of the Commission on January 12th.

It will be recollected that Sir B. Robertson held the post of Secretary, and officiated as member of Council in the Commerce and Industry Department from 1907 to 1911, and has, therefore, special knowledge of Indian grievances in South Africa.

Pietermaritzburg, Dec. 22.

Mr. Gandhi's wife and three other women passive resisters were released from gaol this morning. They were pulled through the town in carriages by enthusiastic Indians.

Mr. Gandhi, on arriving from Durban, was garlanded and congratulated. In his reply, he urged Indians to eschew luxuries as a sign of mourning. Addressing a larger meeting afterwards, he said that Durban Indians were more united than ever in their determination to insist upon the demands formulated at the meeting on Sunday. The meeting endorsed the resolutions passed at the Durban meeting, and decided to prosecute the passive resistance movement unless the Government yielded.

A telegram from Durban states that a cousin and son of Mr. Gandhi and eight other passive resisters, who were arrested for crossing the Transvaal border on September 16th, and initiating the present campaign, were released to-day.

The *Cape Times* says that the requests of Mr. Gandhi and others formulated at the meeting at Durban, though reasonable, constitute a courteous ultimatum, and the journal urges Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues to hesitate before committing themselves to a course which will alienate sympathy in South Africa and oversea, and appears to aim at embarrassing the Government.

Durban, Dec. 22.

The Indian leaders have written a letter to the Government recapitulating their demands. Firstly, they ask for the appointment of the two new members of the Commission preferably Sir James Rose Innes and Senator Schreiner, secondly, the immediate release of the imprisoned passive resisters, and thirdly, freedom for the leaders to visit the sugar estates and collieries for the purpose of collecting evidence. The letter points out that, while the finding of the Commission, if enlarged as suggested, will be accepted as finally settling the dispute as regards the allegations of ill-treatment of the strikers, the Commission's recommendations regarding the original grievances will not be accepted by the Indian community in derogation of its demands. The letter concludes by reiterating that failing compliance with their demands as leaders they will not countenance violence, even by way of retaliation, the passive resistance movement will be resumed and Indians will march across the Transvaal border towards Pretoria previously. It is expected, however, that the marchers will be much more numerous, the leaders asserting that from ten to twelve thousand will take part.

London, Dec. 23.

The Durban *Mercury* says that the Government would lose nothing in the general estimation by conceding the demand for the enlargement of the Commission as suggested by the Indians and for the liberation of the passive resisters. But should the Government refuse, the Indians would be wise to give their evidence before the Commission in view of the Government of India sending Sir Benjamin Robertson.

At a meeting of the Indians in London, presided over by Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, a resolution was passed urging the Imperial Government to secure the appointment of representatives of India and of the Imperial Government on the Commission in South Africa.

A meeting of Indian women at Johannesburg passed a resolution requesting Government to accede to the Indian demands and urging the leaders to persevere to the bitter end. In an interview with Reuter's representative regarding the article in the *Cape Times* Mr. Gandhi said nothing was further from his wish than to give the letter the form of an ultimatum. He had not the slightest wish to embarrass the Government.

Nagpur, Dec 22.

Sir Benjamin Robertson, Chief Commissioner, came here unexpectedly from his tour in the Chanda district and proceeded at once to Delhi.

Sir Benjamin Robertson is now in Delhi, conferring with the Government of India regarding the South African question before he leaves for Durban. The question as to who will officiate as Chief Commissioner during his absence is now under consideration.

Durban, Dec. 23.

In an interview with Reuter's representative Mr. Gandhi totally repudiated the allegation that the agitation in Natal was largely fictitious, and had been engineered by disloyalists in India, who wanted a pretext to embarrass the Government of India. His best helpers, he said, were Europeans, mostly British subjects, who knew the inwardness of the struggle as fully as himself. If the Commission of Enquiry found him guilty of complicity in such criminal folly as was alleged, he would undertake to retire not only from the movement, but also from South Africa.

Durban, Dec. 24.

It is reported from Volksrust that thirteen male and three female Indians have been sentenced to three months' hard labour for attempting to cross the Border.

On the 23rd December, His Excellency the Viceroy, replying to the joint address of the Associations representing the various Indian communities of Calcutta, said :—

As you know, there is at present one (troublesome problem) open which we all feel deeply, but for which I am still hopeful that an equitable solution may be found, and I feel that I ought to take this opportunity of saying what great importance I attach to the recognition by the leaders of the Indians in South Africa of the Commission appointed by the Government of the Union. The fact that a public and judicial enquiry will be held by a Commission of whom the President is a Judge of Appeal and universally esteemed and respected to investigate the allegations that have been made, to enquire into their causes, and to make recommendations, presents an opportunity that the Indians have not had before to submit to the verdict of the world the justice of their grievances. I cannot urge too strongly upon the leaders the urgency of accepting the Commission and off setting to work at once to prepare their case for submission to it.

AN ANXIOUS PROBLEM.

The Government of India feel such deep interest in the result of this Commission that we have appointed a distinguished official, Sir Benjamin Robertson, whom I think many of you know, to be present before the Commission as the representative of the Government of India. This is one of those anxious problems to which I have just referred, but all these difficulties and problems mean a just and right adjudication between conflicting interests, in the decision of which, in the very nature of things, satisfaction cannot be given to all. But as in the past so in the future it will be my constant endeavour to bring to my task a spirit of fairness and just dealing with a true sense of duty and responsibility ; and if, when I come to lay down the reins, I can feel that your sentiments continue to be such as those you have expressed to-day, I shall indeed be a happy man.

Durban, Dec. 24.

The Government has rejected Mr. Gandhi's demands for the addition of representatives of Indian interests of the Natal Commission and for the release of all the imprisoned passive resisters.

Pretoria, Dec. 24.

Replying to the letter of the Indian leaders to the Government recapitulating their demands, General Smuts said he was unable to accept the conditions under which Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues proposed to give evidence before the Commission and suspend passive resistance pending the Commission's finding, particularly the condition involving the appointment of additional members of the Commission in the interests of the Indian community.

The Commission was intended to have an impartial and judicial character, and in constituting it, the Government consulted neither the Indian community, the coal owners, nor the sugar planters in Natal, nor could the Government, for a moment, follow the course proposed which would give colour to unwarranted reflections upon two of the members of the Commission.

The course proposed by the letter, in the event of the Government's non-compliance, was deeply regretted, not the least in the interests of the Indian community which could not but be profoundly affected by the lawless character of the leaders' procedure, the gratuitous infliction of grave sufferings on innocent people, both Whites and Indians, and the consequent exasperation of public opinion throughout the Union.

Durban, Dec. 25.

Mr. Gandhi and others telegraphed yesterday to Lord Ampthill declaring that the people are so indignant that if an attempt is made to advise the acceptance of the present commisstion they will kill their leaders. "Unless there is very prompt agitation in England to support our demands," says the telegram, "the Government is not likely to accede to them."

In an interview with Reuter's representative regarding General Smuts's reply to the letter of the Indian leaders, Mr. Gandhi said he had privately communicated with the Government and thought that a way out of the deadlock was possible. The Government could without loss of prestige respond to the prayer of Indians for a representation of their interests on the Commission and he would leave no stone unturned to prevent renewal of passive resistance. He asserted his loyalty to the Imperial and Union Governments. He was deeply pained to learn that employers on the coast, for some of whom he entertained a high regard, had suffered losses.

It is understood that Mr. Gandhi has asked Mr. Smuts for an interview.

It is alleged that there are signs that the movement is weakening among the rank and file.

Durban: In a letter to the Press, Mr. Gandhi denies that the march to Pretoria has been postponed because the mass of local Indians cannot be relied on to join in; on the contrary, he says the difficulty is to delay it and he has been obliged to send special messengers to issue leaflets in order to advise Indians that the march is postponed.

Referring to resolutions at the Indian National Congress, Mr. Gandhi says while the Congress is justified in asking and is bound to ask for full citizen rights throughout the Empire, South African Indians have made it clear that they are bound to recognise local prejudice and his workers will not be a party to any agitation for the unrestricted immigration of British Indians into the Union on the attainment of political franchise in the near future.

In an editorial, the London "Times" says that the change in Gandhi's attitude is welcome. Indian leaders have been clearly impressed by Lord Hardinge's appeal in Calcutta. "We fear, however, that relaxation of the tension is temporary. The sole prospect of a stable settlement lies in a determined effort by the Imperial Government. The question involves the claim of the self-governing Dominion to manage its own affairs and affects. These issues are vital to the Empire and no Government, calling itself Imperial, can afford to adopt a merely negative attitude towards them.

Pretoria: The Labour Party conference to-day, unanimously passed a resolution protesting against the system of indentured labour and condemning the use of the police and military to compel Indians to work. The conference was convinced that the presence of the Indian population in South Africa would always lead to grave difficulties and urged Government to take immediate steps to induce repatriation with adequate compensation.

A telegram to the "Times" from Durban says that confidential negotiations between Gandhi and Government continue on the point of representation on the commission of strikers on sugar estate and passive resisters.

Mr. Gokhale has received the following cablegram from Mr. Gandhi, dated the 2nd January.

"The Rev. Messrs. Andrews and Pearson have arrived, and were accorded a most cordial reception by the Indian community. They had a very rough passage. We are now trying to secure the addition to the Commission of at least one European member in whose impartiality we have confidence, the planters, if necessary, being allowed to nominate one on their side. I sincerely hope India will support us in this. Pray ask all not to be over anxious on our account. We discovered on our release that large numbers of our community had shown unexpected powers of endurance of suffering, and we were astonished at the unlooked for ability shown by indentured Indians, without effective leadership, to act with determination and in perfect co-operation and discipline. We require cheerful in our calamity preparing for and awaiting events."

Mr. Ghokale has also received the following cablegram from Messrs. Polak and Kalenbach:—"We move among Europeans, including responsible Pressmen, who privately or publicly recognise the justice of the Indian demands in regard to the Commission."

Our London Letter.

London, 19th December, 1913.

You have, no doubt, heard already by cable of the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali's withdrawal of his resignation of the London Moslem League Presidentship. The members of his London Committee were duly informed of this step taken by their late President in an official letter, signed by Mr. Ameer Ali himself and the "sympathetic strikers," Messrs. C. A. Latif and A. S. M. Anik; but the outside world came to know about it through the *Times* of last Friday? The great national organ has again treated this rather farcial episode in its usual solemn funeral-like tone. The Right Hon'ble gentleman and his faithful colleagues have taken this step, we are told, "in response to the telegraphic appeals and resolutions of the United Provinces League, the Punjab League, the Moradabad League and other organisat tions in India and in view of the delicate questions that confron the Mussalman Community." The average mind fails to understand the nature of the "delicate questions that confront the Mussalman Community," which were evidently not in existence a month ago, when these gentlemen, in a body, severed their connection with the London League. It is now generally felt that the somewhat undignified manner in which the Right Hon'ble gentleman tendered his resignation and the equally unbecoming way in which he has withdrawn it have, on the whole, produced a scene in this Comic opera, which will certainly not enhance the prestige of the London League in any degree. The eyes of all thinking men are now naturally turned towards the approaching All-India Moslem League Council meeting at Agra and it is earnestly hoped, in the interest of the Indian Mussalman Community, that a definite and decisive line of future action will be then laid down.

The Islamic Society.

The Society owes no little debt of gratitude to Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, who has made himself financially responsible for the weekly prayers on Fridays, until the Society's funds permit their securing permanent rooms in London. The attendance is increasing every week and Indian Moslems, Turks, Egyptians, Persians and Englishmen are flocking every Friday to Lindsey Hall in Kensington, where the Jooma-Namaz is held. The Khwaja Kamal-ud-din's sermons are thoroughly appreciated and listened to most attentively by all those present. Lord Headley generally recites the subsequent Dua in English and his genuine and enthusiastic advocacy of Islam exercise a most invigorating influence on the members of the congregation. His Lordship's four little sons were present with him at this morning's Namaz and, in spite of their tender age, followed the proceedings with real interest.

The Khwaja Kamal-ud-din has issued invitations to the members of the Islamic Society for the Majlis-un-Nikah, at the Mosque in Woking, on the 21st instant, when Princess Saliah of Egypt will be married to Ata-ur-Rahman Shaikh Jelal-ud-din Mohamed Jerunkevite, a Russian nobleman, who has recently embraced Islam.

The three vacancies on the Committee of the Islamic Society have been filled by Mr. Syed Abul Hasan Razavi, B.A., M.R.A.C. (Ciren), of Hyderabad, Deccan, Mr. Murtada, B.A. (Cantab) of Cairo and Hoosein Manzalauvi Bey of Constantinople.

Indian Moslems.

Reconstitution of the London League.

The London All-India Moslem League has been reconstituted. The resignations of the President, Mr. Ameer Ali, of Mr. C. A. Latif, the Vice-President, and of Mr. A. S. M. Anik, the honorary treasurer, have been withdrawn. At a meeting of the committee held last evening the Aga Khan was elected to the honorary presidency, in pursuance of a telegraphic intimation from India of his willingness to accept that office. The meeting passed a cordial vote of thanks to the officers for withdrawing their resignations, and also to the Aga Khan.

These satisfactory developments are a result of eager and anxious discussion among Indian Mohamedans since we announced on October 31st that the London All-India Moslem League had been split by the attempts of the advanced section of "Young Moslems" to impose their will upon the League. The hope we then expressed as being entertained by the Aga Khan—that the London League might be reconstructed on lines maintaining its position of co-ordination and co-operation with the League in India—has now been fulfilled.

This happy outcome of the differences, which were brought to a head by the demands made by Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Wazir Hasan for the acceptance of an advanced policy, is mainly attributable to the support given to the hitherto recognized leaders by the best and most responsible Mussalman opinion in India. Among many other messages requesting Mr. Ameer Ali to continue to guide the League here were emphatic resolutions from two of the most active and important provincial leagues in Northern India, those of the United Provinces and the Punjab. Before yesterday's meeting Mr. Ameer Ali, Mr. Latif. and Mr. Anik issued a joint letter to the members of the committee announcing their readiness to continue to give the League their services in the work of Mussalman development.

The rally of moderate Moslem opinion to the more experienced leaders has no doubt been contributed to by the refusal of Lord Crewe, and afterwards of Mr. Asquith, to grant interviews to the two "delegates," Mr. Mahomed Ali and Mr. Wazir Hasan, when they were in this country—a fact well known in India, though it has not been made public hitheto in this country.—*Times.*

TETE À TETE



Honour where Honour is due.

It is seldom that the Honours List excites interest in the breast of anybody except the Jo-Hookams or the Government which decorates itself lavishly every half-year on the analogy of the pious boy who recited *fatiha* over his daily allowance of sweets and unctuously ate them up himself. But the only two K.C.S.I.'s of the New Year's Day List are highly significant. There are somethings that one would very much like to say and yet does not say because it is inexpedient to do so. If, however, someone else happens to say the same thing, one feels all the pleasure of speech without any of its awkwardness. The Mussalmans of India and particularly those involved in one way or another in the recent happenings at Cawnpore and London must have felt grateful to the *Pioneer* for a good many things it has blurted out every now and then in moments of irresponsible chagrin. It has certainly justified its name and has by its pioneer work in this connection spared others the indiscretion of exultation. The latest occasion is the comment of our contemporary on the recognition of the services of Mr. Syed Ali Imam to the Government of Lord Hardinge. His Excellency the Viceroy has never recommended any one more deserving of such honour, nor has His Majesty the King-Emperor conferred a title in India which has been better received by the people of this country. There is no honour to which Sir Ali Imam cannot add lustre, nor is there an office of responsibility to which he cannot add dignity. His position as the Indian Member of the Government of India is one of great delicacy; but no greater compliment can be paid to him than this, that no one can count on the least favouritism in his discharge of duty, while all feel confident of securing fair-play. Neither the bond of religion nor other personal ties give his co-religionists and a vast number of personal friends of all classes, sections and creeds the least security that these matters count with him even a feather's weight when he is dealing with the affairs of State. He is, as he publicly said soon after his appointment, first and foremost a Minister of the Crown. But his being an Indian gives him that inestimable advantage of knowing the country intimately which none of his colleagues can share with him in anything like equal measure. His presence on the Executive Council must have assisted His Excellency the Viceroy materially when dealing with grave problems of Indian administration, and the Cawnpore settlement alike justified the new departure of Lord Morley, the choice of Lord Minto, and the confidence of Lord Hardinge. It seems most probable that at Cawnpore Sir D.C. Bailie gave Sir Ali Imam—for in deference to the one and only "Sir Syed" he does not like to be called Sir Syed Ali Imam—that ready assistance which greatly facilitates such settlements even though its absence may not make them impossible, and the then officiating Lieutenant-Governor has amply earned the goodwill of Mussalmans and in fact of all Indians. We hope an officer of Sir D. C. Bailie's ripe experience will be available for selection when the United Provinces get an Executive Council. We wish him and the new Indian and Moslem Knight, who possesses true knightly courage and knightly courtesy, still higher honours. The Privy Councillorship of Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson has caused universal gratification in Indian circles, for no recognition of the many merits of that lover of India could fail to be received with hearty rejoicings in this country. An added zest is given to this joy by the pain that it must have caused in some quarters not well disposed towards Indians. We expected some tearing of hair and gnashing of teeth in a newspaper office not a day's distance from Delhi; but the New Year resolutions were evidently strong enough to dictate unusual self-restraint. We also congratulate our fellow-citizen Haji Buksh Ellahie Saheb on his C.I.E. well earned by his philanthropy. But gold is gold even without the guinea stamp, and if unalloyed gold comes to the fund of public charities, the public too can impress it with its guinea stamp. The omissions, however, are as notable as some of the honours conferred on New Year's Day. When the editor of our gay and bright contemporary, *Punch*, whose witty verse runs easily like a copious stream, and has run for a number of years without leaving the source dry, deservedly becomes a Knight one wonders why the Government of India is so chary of honouring Literature and Art, as to have neglected the Tagores, and to be oblivious of the very existence of a Hali and an Iqbal. It is true that Art and Literature do not hanker after titles. But should titles always go to those that hanker after them, and do not Art and Literature decorate the decorotions themselves? Even if Governments are unfamiliar with the names of men like Hali, a large portion of the world is all the better for their existence and this is their best reward.

Sir Henry Cotton's Appreciation.

We are sure Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali would be amply gratified by the following judgment passed on their work by Sir Henry Cotton who is in a better position to judge the impression made by it on the British public than those people who import their own prejudices into their retrospects and prognostications. He writes to Mr. Mohamed Ali:—"On looking back over your visit to England you must realise that your failure to obtain an interview with the Secretary of State was a matter of comparatively small importance. Of course, it would have been better to have had an interview, but it would have led to no result, and the real value of your visit lies in the general clearing of the air in regard to the attitude of Indian Moslems, and in the close relations you were able to established with the press organisation in this country. In a very short space of time you accomplished an unusual amount of important work and have every reason to be satisfied with the general effect it produced. It remains to prosecute the campaign in India, and no doubt in subsequent years you will be able to renew it here." We hope it will be possible for these gentlemen to go to England before long to renew their work. What England and India both need is a hundred such missions in the next few years.

Aligarh Affairs.

Memories, like the tails of animals, are short or long, and sometimes the length depends entirely on convenience. But we daresay people have not forgotten that not so very long ago we had to discuss in more than one issue of the *Comrade* the doctrine of some gentlemen that Aligarh affairs should remain State secrets, and the College itself should be an Isis hid by the veil. Recently, however, everybody seems to have accepted our own view of the matter that the wellbeing and progress of a public institution are hindered more by secrecy than by publicity, and that a public institution thrives best in open air. But we must say even we did not expect such rapid conversion of those who seemed to hold different views, nor can we admire the zeal of the new convert with which Aligarh affairs are being discussed to-day in the *Institute Gazette* and other vernacular papers. An important meeting of the Trustees took place on January 1st, at Aligarh, and judging from the conclusion of that meeting we decided that it would be more expedient to publish only the resolutions passed by the Board of Trustees and give no further details of the discussion. But the *Pioneer* of the 4th instant publishes under the general heading of "Indian Telegrams [From our own Correspondents]" two short but very misleading accounts of what took place at the meeting, and it is our plain duty to correct the impression likely to be created thereby on the public mind. With the exception of the resignation of H. H. the Nawab Saheb of Rampur from the Visitorship of the College, which was indeed a very great misfortune and, therefore, had to be dealt with immediately, there was nothing that necessitated a special meeting of the Trustees, particularly as only a month hence the Annual Meeting was to be held. Considering the result of the Special Meeting, we believe the Honorary Secretary himself must be regretting the haste with which he called the last meeting and tacked on affairs of little or no importance to the resignation of His Highness the Nawab Saheb. As regards the latter, it was unanimously decided that a deputation should wait on His Highness praying that he should withdraw his resignation, and a dozen or so members were selected. After that the Trustees began to consider with as much seriousness as they could command a number of threadbare axioms. The first was that the Honorary Secretary should maintain good relations with Government and its officials, and it was unanimously accepted with the addition of the significant explanation that in this matter the old practice of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk was to be continued. The second axiom that came up for discussion was that discipline should be maintained in the College and the Honorary Secretary's responsibility in the matter should remain intact. Once more the significant explanation that the tradition of three former Secretaries was to be followed was unanimously added, and it was further explained that the Honorary

Secretary's concern with discipline was that of the executive officer of the entire Board of Trustees. The third axiom discussed was that the dignity of the office of the Honorary Secretary should be maintained, and it will be difficult for the outside world to decide whether it was more tragic or comic that a majority decided that the dignity of the office of Trustee and Governor of the College should *not* be maintained. We leave it to the *Pioneer* to lead the way in commenting on this self-abasement and humility of the Board of Trustees. One thing must, however, be made clear before we proceed further. The Trustees were more anxious for peace than for justice, and unanimously refused to enter into any facts adduced for or against the conduct of the Honorary Secretary, the Trustees or the students. Therefore none of the resolutions of the Special Meeting can have the least practical significance, and it was explained quite early in the meeting that they were not votes of confidence in the Honorary Secretary nor would their rejection be considered a vote of censure on that officer. Many Trustees thought that such resolutions were absolutely unnecessary, but all agreed that their rejection would probably be misunderstood, and now that the Honorary Secretary had submitted them for discussion, and they formed part of the Agenda of the meeting, it was desirable that they should be passed.

Undergraduates and Politics.

Another resolution referred to the connection of students with politics, and the Trustees were careful enough to say that what they wished students to refrain from was taking part in practical politics. An undergraduate's education would be incomplete if such a large subject as Political Science, or Political Philosophy, as it is variously called, was rigorously excluded from his studies, or if current politics did not supply occasionally a subject for academical discussions in the College Union. A careful study of the subject along with History is the best corrective of what we are inclined to call "indolent patriotism" which is impatient of the demand of sustained work which real patriotism must always make, and is therefore eager to discover short-cuts. Nation-building is a wearisome task, but youngmen cannot realise it unless they study the growth of nations and of the principles of nationalism with all the patience and humility of the true student. Besides, too carefully wrapping up the undergraduate in cotton wool lest his loyalty catch cold is in reality preparing him for becoming a ready victim to the first wind of political passion to which he may get exposed on leaving the College quadrangle. This, like the other resolutions we have mentioned, was no more than the declaration of the policy which has hitherto been pursued, and if these declarations serve the purpose of *clearing the air*, we have every reason to feel satisfied with the action of the Trustees. But we fail to see any justification in all this for the remark of the *Pioneer* that the discussion of these resolutions was a great "trial of strength between the forces of what may be described as new and old Mohamedanism" and, that their passage without a dissentient voice was a triumph for the *Pioneer's protégés*. Mohamedanism is, at the least computation, more than thirteen hundred years old, and the nomenclature of the *Pioneer* would not commend itself to anybody. But the suggestion that, because the presence of Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Wasir Hasan was anticipated, they would intervene in the debate in order to oppose well-worn axioms betrays a peculiarly warped judgment characteristic of the *Pioneer's* self-satisfied ignorance.

The Servants of the Ka'aba and Aligarh.

In connection with disciplinary measures deemed necessary for keeping Aligarh undergraduates aloof from practical politics, the officiating Principal of the College—who would do well to confine himself to things of which he has some knowledge and which fall within the scope of his official duties—had raised the question whether the Society of the Servants of the Ka'aba was merely religious or political also. When the matter came before the Trustees at their last meeting it was asked whether the College authorities had any right to sit in judgment on societies outside the College. The Honorary Secretary pointed out that he had no desire to pass any judgment on the character of the Servants of the Ka'aba Society, and he was only concerned with the studies of the undergraduates on which their attention should be concentrated during their College days. Two members of the Society explained that it made no demands on the time of students or any other class of its members, and as the "Votaries of the Ka'aba" had to place their services as whole-time men at the disposal of the Society, in return, if necessary, for maintenance of themselves and their families, obviously nobody could take the pledge of the "Votaries" without first ceasing to be a student. No effort was made to enlist students in any part of India even as Servants. All the same, it was agreed on all hands that for the future Aligarh students should be prohibited from becoming members of *any* society not controlled or organised by the College. On this there was no difference of opinion and Aligarh was saved a stupid but mischievous quarrel with the Ulama and the Moslem public to which Dr. Ziauddin was, let us assume, thoughtlessly leading it.

A Self-Denying Ordinance.

Instead of framing in the prescribed manner a motion on the subject, the Honorary Secretary of the Aligarh Trustees submitted for their pronouncement in the last meeting the question of the Honorary Secretary's rights and duties as regards politics and other "external" activities. We believe we are fully justified in saying that the submission of such questions in the place of regular motions consisting of definite proposals is subversive of the rights of such members as do not attend a meeting but are entitled under the rules to submit written opinions which are counted as votes. We believe that the attendance of some 45 out of a total of 102 Trustees in the last meeting constitutes a record, and, for reasons which we would rather not give, we are not likely to get anything like such good attendance at the two customary meetings of the year. If better attendance is desired—and surely no one can doubt that it is exceedingly desirable—the way to bring it about is to abolish the life-tenure of Trusteeship and the system of co-option. Short of these necessary changes better attendance can be secured only by the abolition of the system of voting by proxy. But the decision arrived at at the last meeting on the question submitted by the Honorary Secretary was the decision of a majority of only those who attended the meeting and of those whose proxy votes they had taken good care to secure, for the motion of Mr. Justice Shah Din was never circulated, and therefore never voted upon except by a little more than a fourth of the entire body of Trustees who attended in the afternoon. The decision was this. The Honorary Secretary is not to take any part in politics—and this without any qualification such as *practical* politics proscribed for students—and he is to refrain from such "external" activities as may be harmful to the College. There was considerable difference of opinion among the Trustees, and some of the young representatives of "Old Mohamedanism" of the *Pioneer's* creation voted with the minority consisting of what that "Grey-beard," the Hon. Captain Malik Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana, following the lead of equally "sane and sober" Anglo-Indian journals, would call "hot-headed youngsters." The very first result of this decision would be that the Honorary Secretary would no longer be allowed to please his beneficent and benign friends by organising abortive hole-and-corner political meetings at Delhi or elsewhere. The next result would be hardly less disastrous. He would be unable to offer himself as a candidate for the Legislative Council of the Province as he did a year ago without success. We wonder whether even the luxury of a sermon on loyalty would now be permitted to him. As for "external" activities "harmful" to the College, what greater guidance can this resolution of the Trustees offer to him than the resolution about discipline? Nobody in his senses would approve of a disregard of discipline or suggest that the relations of the Honorary Secretary with Government and its officials should be any but pleasant. Similarly, nobody would like the Honorary Secretary to mix himself up with any activities, whether "internal" or "external", which are "harmful" to the College. But the question is, is anybody in the least wiser after the adoption of all these excellent resolutions? No motion suggestive of a vote of confidence in the Honorary Secretary was placed on the agenda of the meeting, and no such resolution was ever passed, all correspondents and editors and sub-editors of all the papers in the world notwithstanding. Nothing that he had done in the past was extolled, condoned or censured. But nothing was decisively suggested for his future guidance either, except the categorical prohibition of the Secretary's taking any part whatever in politics. If he thinks that this excused him for any inaction, real or imagined, in the Cawnpore affair, is he not then bound to regard the resolution as a censure on him for organising the abortive meeting at Delhi? But in fact it did neither, for the Trustees set their faces from the very begining against touching the unsavoury mess served for their consumption through the *Institute Gazette* and other Urdu papers. What the resolution has done is to curtail most seriously the freedom of the Honorary Secretary and to make the office considerably less attractive for the ablest men in the community. We question the bindig force of the decision, because it amounts to a restriction of the rights of the Honorary Secretary which involves a change in the rules for which a two-thirds majority in the Annual Meeting of the Trustees is necessary. But even as a "pious wish" the resolution is not likely to last beyond a couple of years, and in this sense constitutes a censure on the present Honorary Secretary which the Trustees had no right to pass. Whatever Nawab Ishak Khan Sahib did or left undone in the way of politics was his own affair and the affair of the public, for he never pretended to act politically as the Honorary Secretary of the College. If his politics is approved by the public he would receive all the rewards of public approval. If it is disapproved, he must be equally prepared for public censure. Whether he is the Secretary of the College or not is beside the point. The curious feature of the whole thing is that perhaps he is inclined to regard this restriction of his rights as a personal triumph. In calmer moments we fear he will be disillusioned and will regret that he ever submitted the question for the decision of his colleagues.

Aligarh Old Boys' Association and the Trustees.

IN February, 1907, Mr. Ghulam Husain, a senior undergraduate of Aligarh, was accused by a Police constable of handling him roughly when on duty at the local Exhibition. Without any inquiry the then Principal, Mr. Archbold, who quarrelled with the Trustees themselves two years later and resigned, expelled Mr. Ghulam Husain from the College. When it was discovered that this had roused the temper of his comrades, Mr. Archbold converted the sentence into a fine of Rs. 20. Some time after peace had thus been patched up, Mr. Archbold ordered Mr. Ghulam Husain to give up residence in the College Hostels on the ground of the alleged offence of going beyond the bounds fixed for him as a punishment along with the fine, although Mr. Ghulam Husain was seen walking not far from the College in company with the Assistant Tutor himself. On this the undergraduates held a demonstration, and in consequence of this seven of them were expelled from the College, whereupon all the undergraduates went on a strike and the College was closed for some time. Sir Jonh Hewett paid his first visit to the College as its official Patron under these abnormal conditions, and insisted on the appointment of a Commission of inquiry which the Trustees did not appoint in a regular meeting and the personnel of which did not find favour with the Moslem public. Nor did the report of the Commission commend itself to the community. This was only natural if we remember that Nawab Viqar ul-Mulk, who on the death of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk was elected to the office of the Honorary Secretary the same year, wrote a strong minute of dissent. The strikers were in the meantime accused of mixing themselves up with political agitation, and with considerable wisdom denied the charge and offered to return to the College. Mr. Archbold was prevailed upon to withdraw his order of expulsion of the prominent strikers, and the College was re-opened. This is all ancient history now, but almost the only member of the then College Staff, Mr. Towle, seems to have a long though somewhat misleading memory, for he revived the regrettable incidents of 1907 last winter when, on his way to a friend's place to recuperate his health, Mr. Ghulam Husain broke his journey at Aligarh for a couple of days and out of a feeling of respect called on his old tutor, Mr. Towle. We can imagine the shock of surprise with which he heard Mr. Towle's order that he should not stay in the College as an Old Boy even for a day. Mr. Ghulam Hussin pleaded that six years had passed since the petty incident of his alleged quarrel with a policeman and Mr. Archbold's anger on his going beyond the bounds. He had since entered life and had earnestly worked for the good of his Alma Mater. He asked how long his alleged sins would continue to be visited upon him. Mr. Towle promised to consider the question and let him have a definite answer. Subsequently to this Mr. Ghulam Husain reminded Mr. Towle more than once but was only informed that the matter was under consideration. After this he attended the Annual Re-union of the Old Boys at Easter and left Aligarh after a few hours' stay in a building set apart by the College authorities for lodging the Old Boys on the occasion. It now appears that even to this Mr. Towle took objection, and the Honorary Secretary of the College commenced a correspondence with the Honorary Secretary of the Old Boys' Association on the subject of the rules of the Association regarding Old Boys who had been expelled from the College. The upshot of it was that the Honorary Secretary now asked the Trustees to resolve that no student expelled from the College should be enlisted as a member of the Old Boys' Association without the sanction of himself and the Principal. Evidently it does not matter to him in the least that the Old Boys' Association is an independent body with a membership of some thirteen hundred Old Boys, and an annual income of about eighteen thousand rupees and that no constitutional means exist for enforcing the decisions of the Trustees on this Association. The rules of the Association, passed immediately after the strike of the undergraduates in 1907, provided for the admission of expelled students as members of the Association on a simple majority of votes. Neither Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk nor Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk objected to them, nor was any objection raised by Mr. Archbold or Mr. Towle. A Sub Committee of Old Boys, including the Proctor of the College, drafted new rules, and very wisely made the rule relating to the admission of expelled students more rigorous by making it dependent on a majority of two-thirds instead of a simple majority of votes. And yet, paradoxical as it may seem, both the new Honorary Secretary and the Principal now find the new rule objectionable. The *Pioneer* refers to the last Session of the League as being "packed with many of the fervent friends and admirers" of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali, as if the League's membership is not open to all literate adults; and yet the *Pioneer* finds consolation in the alleged triumph of a party opposed to these gentlemen in the Board of Trustees as if the Board of Trustees is not "packed with many of the fervent friends and admirers"—of the *Pioneer* and its pets and *protegés*. In spite of the obvious considerations which were placed before the Trustees, and the almost unanimous opposition of Old Boys who are Trustees of the College, a majority of the Trustees mainly composed of the *Pioneer's clientèle* accepted the resolution as submitted by the Honorary Secretary. Let us hope that he does not accept this decision as a personal triumph, for he can ill afford to pick a needless quarrel with the Old Boys' Association at a time when he needs peace and rest.

"The Policy of Revenge."

IN spite of the decision of the majority, the Trustees appeared unanimous in condemning what Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami described as "the policy of revenge" sometimes pursued by College tutors in order to ruin the future careers of students whom they disliked in their College days. He referred to the great ovation given by the entire University on occasions to undergraduates who had been "sent down" for some youthful peccadilloe but had subsequently brought honour to their Alma Mater as well as to themselves. He contended that the doctrine of "eternal punishment" in such cases was absurd. Well, the case which led the Honorary Secretary to raise this question does not appear to us to be far removed from the state of affairs referred to by Major Bilgrami. Going beyond College bounds is not an offence involving such moral turpitude that a young man may not wipe it off in six years of such literary work as Mr. Ghulam Husain has done. He is second to none as a journalist, and weilds a pen that is the envy of his friends and comrades and the despair of his foes. Our readers have often offered praise where praise was certainly not due, forgetting that the *Comrade* had on its staff a writer as brilliant as Mr. Ghulam Husain. His stirring appeals for funds in the columns of the *Comrade* have helped in a large measure to fill the coffers of the ill-fated Moslem University. Yet after all this lapse of time, Mr. Towle is anxious to revive an all but forgotten incident from which the then Staff of the College did not come out unscathed. Although our readers are sure to judge the matter on the lines indicated by Major Bilgrami, we may add for Mr. Towle's information that Mr. Ghulam Husain was never "expelled from the College." The College sent up his name as a candidate for the B. A. examination *after* the final sentence was passed, and he appeared in the examination several months after as a candidate sent up by the College, and subsequently took the B. A. degree of the Allahabad University as a succesful candidate in every way approved by the College. If we understand aright, the expulsion of a student means the end of his College and University career on the score of his being one of the "undesirables." We hope this will satisfy everybody and the matter will be dropped. If not, the Honorary Secretary and his advisers will be responsible for the consequences of a struggle between the Trustees and the Old Boys which should not be entered upon with a light heart.

What of the Future?

IF we had any desire to humiliate the Secretary we could quote the words of those of his friends and partisans who induced him to respect the rules and procedure of the Trustees and to abide by the result of his own errors. But under the present circumstance we heartily desire that Nawab Ishak Khan Saheb should be given another opportunity to win the confidence not only of all his colleagues, but of the entire community by devoted, fearless and unselfish discharge of his overous duties as Honorary Secretary of the College and successor of Syed Ahmed Khan and Viqar-ul-Mulk. We trust he would be able to work smoothly with the Syndics in future, that they would make this easier for him by forgetting the past, by refraining from any undue criticism of details and by assisting him in the solution of the main problems of Aligarh which require unity of will, purpose and action, and that he too would forget the past, let bygones be bygones, and refrain from mistrusting his colleagues and from pressing for the revival of a dictatorship which to-day even a Syed Ahmad Khan would find both difficult and undesirable. Some designing and some well-meaning Trustees desired to patch up quarrels between the Honorary Secretary and such Syndics as had complained that they had been repeatedly insulted by him, and ordered that they should embrace one another. This is not the first occasion on which this panacea for all ills was discovered at Aligarh. We have some faint recollection of an occasion on which an irreverent and far from modest youth who was almost the same age as H. H. the Aga Khan and the Hon. the Raja of Mahmudabad had touched the feet of the Honorary Secretary in a public meeting in the most approved oriental fashion. Like plague inoculation which is a preventive for six months only, the effect of this remedy applied in April did not last beyond September. Let us hope that the more scientific western remedy of shaking hands would have more lasting effect. If the disagreement is due to differences of principles, then these make-believes are futile and more worthy of children than of the *buzurgan-i-quum*. But if the disagreement is due to malice implanted in the heart of any of those who have gaily enough shaken hands to-day, the settlement is not characteristic of Islam, as one grave and reverend signor proudly declared, but of infidelity in the truest sense of the word. Possibly the correspondent of the *Pioneer* shares our fears, for although he says that "all points of difference are amicably settled," he adds with transparent scepticism the significant qualification: "at least for the present."

We are anxious to believe that the settlement would last at least two years, but the information that we possess on an important aspect of these wretched squabbles is so ominous that we are a prey to greater doubts and anxieties than before. Could not Lord Hardinge earn some more Moslem gratitude by interesting himself personally in the affairs of Aligarh and giving such relief to Aligarh and its friends as he brought to the Mussalmans of Cawnpore and those that befriended them? The root-evil is in both cases the same, and His Excellency will not find it any more difficult to discover the real friends of Aligarh than he found to discover the real friends of Cawnpore Mussalmans.

A "Stormy" Meeting.

It is somewhat surprising, and no less significant, that the *Pioneer's* Aligarh correspondent or correspondents, while mentioning that "almost all the important resolutions put forward by the Honorary Secretary were passed by large majorities," and adding that at times the meeting was "stormy" and the Honorary Secretary's resignation was imminent, do not say anything about the resolutions that were not passed and thus damped the triumph of the Honorary Secretary with an "almost," nor mention who was the author of the "storm." We have no desire to humiliate the Honorary Secretary, nor do we like to rob him of any satisfaction that he may have found in the meeting on New Year's Day. But it is necessary that there should be no mistake about facts. The Honorary Secretary proposed that the should be *ex-officio* member of the Syndicate in charge of the Boarding House, and sought to set aside the recent decision of the Syndicate in appointing to the vacancy Mr. Abdul Majid Khwaja B.A. (Cantab.) Bar-at-Law, late Law Professor of the College. Mr. Mohamed Ali asked for the ruling of the chair in favour of his contention that, as the motion involved a change in the rule which empowered the Syndicate to elect *any* Syndic to the office of Member in charge of the Boarding House, and authorised the Secretary to discharge the duties of the office only if no other member had been elected, the motion could not be discussed in any but an Annual Meeting of the Trustees. Many efforts were made by stalwart partisans to misinterpret the words of the Honorary Secretary's resolution but to no purpose. Another resolution was still more important and still more re-actionary as it sought to revive the dictatorship of the Honorary Secretary which Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk himself had nobly worked to control by means of a Syndicate. Unlike him, the present Honorary Secretary has not been able to carry his colleagues of the Syndicate with him, and each recurring Syndicate meeting has proved a "Crisis." A few narrow-minded partisans who wish to revive the old Cabal of the days of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk whom they always wished to "run," have been misguiding the present Honorary Secretary, and one of them openly desired that the Syndicate should be a sort of Cabinet selected by the Honorary Secretary from among his most zealous partisans, forgetting that the Secretary ought not to be the leader of a party but the possessor of the confidence of *all* his colleagues. The advice of these partisans led the Secretary to threaten the Syndicate with his resignation shortly after he had taken over charge of his office, if Mr. Mohamed Ali was elected to the office of the Syndic in charge of Secular Instruction. Mr. Mohamed Ali was, however, elected, but resigned immediately afterwards, partly in recognition of the superior merits of Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, who had returned to India after his own name had come up before the Syndicate, and partly in deference to the wishes of the Honorary Secretary. But instead of showing similar consideration for the feelings of his colleagues, the latter opposed the election of every one who did not come within the party orbit when vacancies were being filled last October. His opposition, however, proved unavailing, and the Syndics now elected against his wishes did not feel inclined to resign immediately afterwards in deference to his wishes, as that "irreverent" and "hot-headed youngster", Mr. Mohamed Ali, had done before. This led the Honorary Secretary to move in the last meeting of the Trustees that if the Honorary Secretary desired to appeal to the Trustees from the decision of the Syndicate, the Syndicate's decision should remain inoperative in the interval, but that the Honorary Secretary should be free to take whatever action he pleased in that matter. In other words, the Syndicate should merely record the will of the Honorary Secretary, and nothing should intervene between the omnipotence of the Secretary in what he chose to call an "emergency," and its subsequent ratification by the Trustees on pain of the Secretary's threatened resignation. Now the main function of the Syndicate was to intervene on such occasions, for the hundred odd Trustees could seldom meet, and no Honorary Secretary after Sir Syed Ahmed Khan could safely be trusted with absolute autocracy. The proposal of the Honorary Secretary was objected to on the ground that it involved a change in the constitution of the College which could only be considered in the Annual Meeting. This objection of Mr. Mohamed Ali was also upheld by the Chairman, who fortunately happened on both occasions to be the Judge of a High Court. On these two decisions the Honorary Secretary threatened to resign, and whatever "storm" there was, was the creation of the "Old Mohamedanism" which has evidently much to learn in the way of respect for law and the orderly conduct of meetings according to well-established procedure. The virtue of taking a "beating" in a "sporting" manner is perhaps too new-fangled and too much to expect from old world autocracy.

Turkish Activities

A Constantinople letter received by the last mail has the following about the activities of the Hilal-i-Ahmar:—"In the Kadirgah Hospital a course of instruction for ladies who intend to act as nurses in case of war is being given. In the very near future a school for male nurses will also be started by the Hilal-i-Ahmar. A Hospital is also going to be established either in Fatih or Jirrah Pasha for practical instruction. On the first day of the last Kurban Bairam small artificial flowers were distributed in the whole city. This is the Hilal-i-Ahmar Day. Owing to its being the first effort, and also because of the financial crisis due to the war only £tq 560 were collected. This is no doubt a small sum, but if we remember that this amount was collected from the Hammals and the poorer classes of the capital in one day, it gives great satisfaction and inspires the workers with many hopes for the future. This will be done every year and in all parts of the Empire. If the same thing is done in India, a very great and useful service will be done." Other items of important news contained in the letter are the following:—(1) Enver Bey is in good health. He will be leaving next week for Berlin to undergo a third operation for appendicitis. (2) The "Reshadieh" and three other naval units of importance will be added to the fleet by the end of February. The Admiralty has made a contract with Messrs. Armstrong and Vickers to establish a ship-building yard, a floating dock and an arsenal in the gulf of Ismid and to repair and put in proper order the existing one in the Golden Horn. (3) The Porte has not agreed to appoint Europeans to control the reforms in Anatolia and the present policy is to oppose any such proposal. (4) The state of the Balkans is unsettled and it wil be no wonder if there is a volcanic irruption there next spring. It may cause a general conflagration in the West as a punishment for its wilful injustice towards the East and Islam. (5) Europe is boycotting Turkey financially; but Russia's threats are empty. International relations are very critical. (6) Kemal Omer Bey will be leaving for India before the end of the month. He is late owing to unavoidable reasons. They had to ask for the permission of Sir Edward Grey about it and you know how long and troublesome the negotiations are especially in such delicate matters. So Kemal Bey has already started or will be starting very soon.

Islam in England.

We have received the following letter from Khwaja Kamal-ud-din Saheb from England, which we feel sure would be read with great interest in India:—"The following ladies and gentlemen have declared to me their embracement of Islam after the noble example of the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Headley. Their Moslem names I give against their original names. (1) Rt. Hon'ble Lord Headley—Sattar-Rahman Shaikh Rahmatullah Farook. (2) Viscount Gug De Poitier (a French nobleman) Mawahibur-Rahman Shaikh Salah-ud-din Ahmed Poitier. (3) Captain Stanley Mc-grade—Shaikh Abdurrahman. (4) Mr. Jerouke-wite (a Russian nobleman) Ata-ur-Rahman Shaikh Jalal-ud-din Mohamed. (5) A lady from the Upper Ten (in London) (Name not to be disclosed)—Zainab. (6) Mrs. Clifford—Ayesha. (7) Mrs. Violet Ebrahim—Fatima Ebraheem. (8) Mrs. Mee—Amatur-rahman Qamrunnissa. (9) Miss Lilly Ransim—Amatullah Haleema. There is another lady, Mrs Giffird, but she has not seen me yet and no name has been given to her. There are also some twelve children of the above-mentioned persons." We can speak from first hand information now about the work of the Khwaja Saheb, and the highest compliment that we can pay him is that he reminds us of what we have read of the early missionaries of Islam who left hearth and home, and family and country, and wealth and comfort at the call of duty, and had one absorbing passion only, namely, the desire to carry the message of Unity and Submission to every living soul. His massive figure and rugged and unkempt appearance inspire you with the singleness of purpose of one for whom the world exists only for one divine purpose. He is no orator, but he impresses you with his absolute sincerity as no orator can do. Islamic missionaries never possessed an organisation worth speaking of, but their individual zeal succeeded where mere organisations failed altogether. Now that we have secured this individual zeal in the Khwaja Saheb, let us provide the organisation as well. He must be provided with ample funds so that he may not have to worry himself with financial difficulties. This can be done in two ways. Direct monetary contributions such as some kind friends have already sent from Bombay, and as a noble Moslem Ruler of a State has ordered as a permanent monthly grant; and enlisting as subscribers of *Muslim Review*, the organ of the Khwaja Saheb's Mission which is enlightening Europe and Christend m on the subject of Islam as it is believed in by Mussalmans and not supposed to be by Christians and atheists. In a later issue we shall discuss the subject at greater length, but we trust this appeal would induce all Mussalmans to contribute their mite to further the work which the Khwaja Saheb is so selflessly and vigorously doing.

The Comrade.

The Moslem League Ideal.

THE weather prophets of "Anglo-India" had been publishing forecasts of the Agra Session of the All-India Moslem League indicating thunder and lightning and a deluge of rain, and as usual the wish was father to the thought. Can we repress a feeling of sympathy for the prophets now, that the events have proved them to have been more than usually foolish? Disappointments of so terrible a character should by rights provide us with more than one obituary notice from Bombay, Calcutta, Lahore and Allahabad for our agony columns. In situations such as this, the traditional *denoument* is "death due to heart-failure" or "suicide while temporarily insane." If, however, we are cheated of our "copy," we may be constrained to argue absolute heartlessness and permanent insanity in the prophets that have survived so clear a proof of their folly and falsehood. We are not permitted to say whether there was or was not some pale sheet lightning or "occasional local showers" in the Subject Committee. But in the League meetings themselves there was hardly even a "breeze."

However, it is an interesting question which of the two the weather prophets have to answer for more, their folly or their falsehood. Had not "Anglo-India" been an island almost entirely cut off from the mainland of India, we would have had no doubt whatever on the subject, for India knows only too well that the magnates who used to speak for and in the name of the Mussalmans until so recently as a couple of years ago, and were the shining stars of the Moslem firmament, are to-day pulled up sharply if they begin to talk in representative accents, and shine with no greater brilliancy than the handles of fired-off rockets. But "Anglo-India" still holds aloft the charred and blackened stumps as if they were torches that could light up the path of progress.

Our esteemed contemporary, the *Pioneer*, publishes in its issue of the 2nd instant a letter written by "a Mohamedan gentleman of high social position," whose features we leave our equally irrepressible correspondent "Bambooque" to identify. Having written the letter, as it is stated, "on the eve of the holding of the All-India Moslem League Session at Agra", this Mohamedan gentleman of high social position indulged in some interesting anticipations. "Signs are not wanting to show," wrote the aristocrat, "that the sane and sober class . . . . are going to assert themselves and wrest from the usurpers the power and strength they have appropriated to themselves."

So it seemed that Mr. Sandgrass was at last "going to begin"! But alas, so shaken is the confidence of this puissant "sane and sober class" in their own puissance that our "Mohamedan gentleman of high social position" provided himself *á la* "Daily Mail" with more than one loophole of generous dimensions if, in the event of the conflict ending in what is on such occasions euphemistically called a "reverse," the order of the day was *sauve qui peut*. "It may be," wrote the doubting prophet, "that at the coming League Session the voice of steady guidance and sober wisdom may be drowned in the noise of irresponsible and hot-blooded youth, or perhaps that voice may keep its counsel and better not speak in the pandemonium that will be created." However, as things finally turned out, the "sane and sober class" did not succeed in wresting from "the usurpers the power and strength they have appropriated to themselves," nor did their voice "keep its counsel" and deny itself the pleasure of speech. There was no "pandemonium" except such as "the sane and sober class" themselves created, for they know as well as any other the sweet uses of "stirring up the masses."

It was feared at one time that efforts would be made to go back on the decision arrived at barely nine months ago as regards the ideal of a self government suited to India, and that the big drum of the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali would be beaten with a vengeance. A day or two ago the United Provinces League, after a tough fight between technicalities and a sense of discipline, had decided that technicalities had won the day, and the ideal of self-government must wait for another year like an under-trial criminal when the U.P. League would decide whether it is to be the ideal of the U.P. League also, or is to be hanged by the neck till it is dead, and a much-needed lesson in discipline taught to what Mr. Ameer Ali and the *Times* call "the Lucknow Committee." But when the Subject Committee met to frame the resolutions for the Session Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Qazilbash was the only one who desired an alteration in the ideal of the League. We have no desire to refer to the discussions in the Subject Committee for such discussions are never meant to be published. But some one—and evidently a reactionary—has betrayed the confidence and supplied to the Press correspondents an incorrect and wholly misleading account of these discussions, and we shall be failing in our duty if we did not correct such wilful error. We believe that this was perhaps the first occasion on which Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Saheb attended a meeting of the All-India Moslem League, and we admire his courage in facing an audience such as the one assembled at Agra with a proposal which if accepted would have made the Moslem community extremely ridiculous. We admire still more the obvious honesty of Shaikh Ghulam Sadiq Saheb, and can genuinely sympathise with his conservatism though we cannot agree with it. But we must say we were not impressed with the zeal of the new convert with which one or two other gentlemen ran down the views of Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Saheb. Their attitude was too reminiscent of the *Muallafat-il-Qulúb* who swelled the ranks of the True Believers *after* the taking of Mecca. A politician must of necessity be an opportunist; but opportunism is by no means the same thing as absence of convictions. Here we must make what amends we can to the Hon. Mian Mohamed Shafi who took an early opportunity to re-iterate the faith he had expressed on his Presidential Address of the last Session in the ideal of self-government suited to India. Those who feared that he would swallow the words of nine months ago and confess his defection from last Session's political creed had obviously misjudged him. Far from making any attempt at backsliding Mr. Shafi emphasised his firm adherence to the League's creed, and although there were some members who might have opposed its adoption had they taken the trouble to attend the Lucknow Session last Easter, there was not one except Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Saheb who showed the least desire to move that the League's creed should be reconsidered. We, however, reserve for another issue our observations on Mr. Shafi's curious misreading, of the Presidents' views on the subject, which robs his *tajdid-i-'ahd* (renewal of faith) of much of its grace, if not sincerity.

Another noticeable feature of the discussion was the silence of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali, who must have felt the needlessness of asserting what Lord Crewe had doubted, namely, the fact that they represented the political attitude and temper of Indian Mussalmans even more clearly than the Liberal Cabinet represented the political attitude and temper of Great Britain.

On the creed of the League the seal was set by the President, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah, Kt., than whom a better choice could not have been made for this occasion. Sir Ibrahim has the inestimable advantage of the accumulated experience of twenty years of public life in perhaps the most business-like Province of India. His sturdy common-sense and clear insight give him an almost uncanny shrewdness, and all classes of people in that mosaic of communities, Bombay, recognise him as an indispensable figure alike in the Corporation, and the Legislative Council. Nor does Government place less reliance than the people of his Province in the judgment of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah, whom the Government of Bombay are as anxious to make their own nominee as the people to make him their elected representative. His Presidential Address is in many respects unique, and takes us back to the famous Amritsar Session of 1908 when the Hon. Sir Ali Imam leapt at one bound into lasting fame. We shall not subject this address to the mutilation and dismemberment of extracts and quotations, and must request our readers to read it in its entirety. We refer them particularly to the Presidents' own political faith, which we share in full, and which has the sanction of no less a person than His Majesty the King-Emperor. With a faith such as his, Sir Ibrahim would have been the last to quarrel with the League's ideal, and although self-government suited to India appears to him vague and indefinite, as compared with self-government on colonial lines which the Congress had adopted in the Allahabad Convention, he frankly acknowledges that the League *must* have had good reasons for adopting it in the form in which it is embodied in the League's Constitution.

The reasons to which Sir Ibrahim alludes will be apparent if we seek the assistance of contemporary history. When the Congress adopted the ideal of self-government, it had already been split up into two rival camps of Moderates and Extremists at Surat, and the latter were insisting on the Congress' declaring itself for an immediate programme of absolute Swaraj without the ægis of the British Crown. The creed of the Congress was therefore the creed of the Moderates, and was in reality only a negation of the Extremists' creed. The League's creed is, on the contrary, the creed of its so-called Extremists—who are, however, far more numerous than the self-styled moderates—and it is a positive assertion of something to which the community could well aspire at a time when it had fully found its self-consciousness but was still unconscious of the object of its aspirations. In the Congress a group of men were taking a road that was dangerous, and the leaders of another and a much larger group directed it to a safer path. In the League, on the other hand, all were anxious to go somewhere, but no one knew whither to go. The well-known verse of *Hafiz* expressed the situation best—

خبرم نیست کہ منزل گہ مقصود کجاست
این قدر هست کہ بانگ جرسی می آید

(I know naught of the destined goal. All that I know is that the sound of the caravan bell is heard.)

Thanks to H. H. the Aga Khan and Mr. Wazir Hasan, the direction in which the caravan must march is now known. The Congress ideal negatives one form of self-government even more clearly than it asserts another. The League's ideal only negatives the opposition to *all* forms of self-government which autocracy and bureaucracy imply, and this it negatives equally clearly. But when it comes to positive assertion, it can only assert the hypothesis of a self government suited to the peculiar requirements and changing conditions of India. The future

cannot be cast in a rigid mould, and so incommensurable a thing as Life cannot be measured by a foot-rule. The League's is a voyage be of discovery. It knows that it cannot rest where it is, and it must seek and discover uncharted lands in the same direction in which the most progressive part of humanity has sought and discovered them. But the very hypothesis of uncharted lands suggests numerous perils of the sea, and if success is to be attained caution must be combined with courage.

Of such as still doubt the wisdom of striving towards the only goal consistent with self-respect and national dignity we shall only ask: Are you content with the life of Lotos-eaters, and satisfied with the ideal—if ideal it can be called—contained in these drowsy verses:

"Let us swear an oath, and keep it with an equal mind,
"In the hollow Lotos-land to live and lie reclined
"On the hills like Gods together, careless of mankind.

Or would you rather drink life, like Ulysses, to the lees, and with the restlessness that leads to progress, "roam with a hungry heart?" Is experience to be another name for retrogression, or is it to be—

"An arch wherethro'
"Gleams that untravelled world, whose margin fades
"For ever and for ever when you move"?

Will you say:

"Surely, surely, slumber is more sweet than toil, the shore,
"Than labour in the deep mid-ocean, wind and wave and oar;
"Oh rest ye, brother mariners, we will not wander more"!

Will you not rather say:

"Come my friends,
"'Tis not too late to seek a newer world,
"Push off, and sitting well in order smite,
"The sounding furrows; for my purpose holds
"To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths
"Of all the western stars, until I die,
"Tho' much is taken, much abides, and tho'
"We are not now the strength which in old days
"Moved earth and heaven; that which we are, we are:
"One equal temper of heroic hearts,
"Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
"To strive, to seek, to find and not to yield"?

This was the question, and Moslem India has on two separate occasions answered it in the spirit of determined men and not of sleepy Lotos-eaters. But now that all semi-external attempts to alter the League's creed have so ignominiously failed, it is necessary to emphasise caution even more than courage, and we heartily support Sir Ibrahim's advice in this connection.

The League and its London Branch.

I

Although it is undoubted that "Anglo-India" was extremely anxious that the All-India Moslem League should go back upon the decision at which it had arrived last Easter as regards its ideals, and a bastard "split" conceived by the *Jo-Hookams* of Moslem India was expected to see the light of the day in the "second Surat" after nine moons' gestation, no one can deny that genuine differences of opinion could also exist on the subject and assume formidable proportions. But we do not know how any one can convince us that equally genuine differences of opinion could exist on the subject of the Right Honourable Mr. Ameer Ali's demands, and how they could culminate in a "split" in the League. No one can deny Mr. Ameer Ali's great ability and the services he has rendered to Islam as the author of several valuable works on Moslem faith and history. In fact it would be an impertinence for most of us even to bear testimony to these undoubted services. Nor is it likely that any one will question the zeal and energy with which Mr. Ameer Ali worked in England for securing for Mussalmans separate electorates in Indian legislatures, though here honours were divided, and some of the proposals of Mr. Ameer Ali in this connection did not commend themselves to many of his co-religionists. These matters, however are not in question and those who intrude them in the present discussion prove either their incapacity for clearly judging political issues or their desire to cloud those raised by Mr. Ameer Ali in order to bring discredit on those with whom the right honourable gentleman chose to quarrel.

II

Now Mr. Ameer Ali demanded for the present an annual subvention of Rs. 1,800 for the London Branch from the All-India Moslem League, and while requiring "adequate guarantee that the support would be regularly and punctually forthcoming," desired it to be absolutely unconditional. Before Mr. Wazir Hasan became the Honorary Secretary of the All-India League the annual subvention was only Rs. 750; but soon after his appointment he increased it to Rs. 1,000, and was contemplating a further increase of Rs. 800, as Mr. Ameer Ali desired, when the latter sent his premptory demand. His letter of the 22nd October which we have already published is, we are sorry to have to say, characteristic of the temper of its author. Needless self-laudation, unjust depreciation of the merits of other workers, assumptions as regards the absence of "factitious methods of advertisements" in his own work which only served to betray him, false complaints of want of appreciation of his labours by his community, vain threats and unimpressive warnings—all these accompany this premptory demand. Mr. Wazir Hasan could well have deferred replying to this letter; but Mr. Ameer Ali wanted that before he left England in three weeks' time the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Moslem League "will be good enough to inform us of the views of his Council." And because he did so in the most unexceptionable manner, the President of the London Branch deemed it fit to resign his high office.

The London Branch has never been self-supporting. In addition to the All-India League's subvention, H. H. the Aga Khan has been liberally assisting it, and we think Mr. Ameer Ali has been in receipt of funds from other leading Indian Mussalmans also. We believe the annual subscription of the London Branch is five shillings, and although there are several hundred Mussalmans in Great Britain, the total realised from members' subscriptions does not exceed £ 8 or a modest sum of Rs. 10 a month. This is because most of the Mussalmans in Great Britain resent the manner in which the Right Honourable Syed Ameer Ali acts as the dictator of the London League and brings out, after the least difference of opinion, his threadbare resignation. With reference to this, Dr. Abdul Majid, L.L.D., Lecturer at the Colonial Institute, Dr. Ansari who left England only in 1911, and Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami could unfold a tale which would be far from edifying. A recent instance of such differences of opinion was the London League's action over the Cawnpore affair. While Moslem India was seething with indignation the London League took no action whatever. But when Lord Hardinge announced a settlement of the question, the right honourable gentleman was among the first to come out with a resolution of thanks. Having no share in the grievance he must needs take the lion's share in expressing gratitude! But that was not all. He pressed on the London League a resolution of thanks to—Sir James Meston! Even the worm turns, and the Committee stoutly opposed the resolution. The right honourable gentleman was outvoted and in this extremity he turned for support to—Mr. Wazir Hasan! He asked the Committee whether it would pass the resolution if the Honorary Secretary of the parent League approved of it. We honour the Committee for their reply. They said that they were prepared to hear anything that Mr. Wazir Hasan had to say on the subject, but they must have an opportunity of criticising his suggestion if they felt disposed to do so, and would no more abide by an *ex-parte* judgment of the Indian League's Secretary than by the dictatorial pronouncement of their own President. For once the ever-ready resignation was not brought out, for it had the greatest possible chance of being accepted. When the Mussalmans resident in Great Britain assembled at the Waldorf Hotel, at the invitation of Mr. Sadiq Hasan, the universally honoured and admired son of Khan Bahadur Shaikh Ghulam Sadiq, and subsequently at Caxton Hall, at the invitation of the Committee formed at the previous meeting, they were all of one mind in condemning the manner in which Mr. Ameer Ali exercised his dictatorship, though they acknowledged submissively enough that the office-bearers would have to act in a semi dictatorial manner in a League most of the members of which were only students. With a view not to offend Mr. Ameer Ali's susceptibilities they did not pass a resolution openly complaining of his manner of dictating to the members, but merely desired that under the auspices of the London League a meeting of all Moslem Indians resident in Great Britain should be convened, and steps should be considered for increasing the number of its members. Had Mr. Ameer Ali called such a meeting, he would have learnt things that it is necessary he *should* learn.

من تو سهي جهان ميں هي تيرا فسانه كيا
كهي هي تجهكو خلق خدا غايبانه كيا

But fearing a general condemnation Mr. Ameer Ali ignored this resolution of the meeting, and merely acknowledged the resolution asking him to withdraw his resignation, although here too he ignored the qualifications with which that request was carefully hedged.

III

While on the subject of the London League's financial position, it may not be out of place to mention that, considering the amount of work it does, its scale of expenditure is too high. A shorthand typist, who does ten times as much work for Mr. Ameer Ali privately and for the various concerns in which he is interested as for this moribund League, is employed permanently on the League's establishment. When Mr. Ameer Ali resigned last October—although he continued to work as before on the pretext that the accounts of the League were not wound up even after a month and a half—he had to look out for other resources wherefrom to pay his stenographer. The Red Crescent work was at a standstill. But there was still the proposal of a Mosque in London, which was so dear to him that he was even prepared for its sake to let the Woking Mosque be leased out to Christian lodgers, rather than be handed over to Khwaja Kamal-ud-din for divine worship, for fear it may jeopardise his own project. He therefore tried to place the stenographer's salary on the London Mosque Fund; but thanks to the Committee the attempt failed and precautions were adopted to resist similar raids in future. Those who have been intimately connected with the London League also know that a considerable portion of the League's income is consumed by a subsidy secretly paid to a journalist who had at one time worked in India and is now one of the roving horde

of hacks that run in and out of Fleet Street and Printing House Square. This amount does not in all probability appear on the books of the League, but a similar amount received from some Indian Moslem donor does not appear on the credit side either, so that the London League's Committee have no opportunity of objecting to a subsidy paid in return for puffs such as the *Times*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Morning Post* and the *Daily Graphic* have recently published.

IV

Now Mr. Wazir Hasan's reply to Mr. Ameer Ali's peremptory demand for a guaranteed permanent subvention was no more than this:

> I do recognise that an efficient League can be maintained here only at considerably increased cost, and I have discussed this matter with H. H. the Aga Khan, who, I am glad to say, would be prepared to accept my considered suggestions in this behalf.
>
> As regards the parent League itself, you cannot be unaware of the fact that if it has starved you here, it has had to starve itself also in India. But now that it is coming more and more into line with the wishes of the community, it is tapping new financial resources, and I hope on my return to succeed in a great measure in collecting together a large fund to serve as a Reserve Fund for our political work. Naturally the London Branch must be supported out of it, but our efforts to convince the members about your requirements here would succeed in proportion to the support which the London Branch gives to the work of the parent League and its projects.

We would venture to ask at this stage what there was in this reply to a distinctly offensive communication at which Mr. Ameer Ali could flare up—after three days' earnest search for supposed insults. Now note Mr. Ameer Ali's reply:

> You also indicate that the subvention from the Central League to the London League would be in proportion to the support the latter gives to the "work and projects" of the Central League. So far the London League has cordially supported all projects which, in its considered judgment, it deemed to be for the benefit of our people and has refrained, with the object of maintaining an appearance of solidarity, from giving expression to its disapproval of resolutions which it considered inexpedient in the best interests of the community. From this course it will not deviate under my presidentship.
>
> The condition which you now wish to impose on the discretion and judgment of the London League I regret I cannot accept. It is my settled conviction, repeatedly declared in public, that the Mussalmans of India, whilst claiming a full recognition of their legitimate interests and due consideration of their feelings and susceptibilities, should cultivate a sense of proportion and work in harmony and a true spirit of accord with each other and the Government.
>
> So long as I am connected with this League I will submit to no outside dictation, nor allow it to adopt any programme without the fullest consideration of its consequences to our community.

V

This introduces the second and more important demand of Mr. Ameer Ali. As Mr. Mohamed Ali had pointed out at the meeting of the London League's Committee, no periodical subvention can ever be unconditional, unless it is to be a recurring gift. But in that case, he who asks for a free gift does not usually adopt the tone that Mr. Ameer Ali thought fit to adopt in his letters of the 22nd and 27th October. Even Mr. Ameer Ali could not have ventured to appeal to the world on the question of an unconditional subvention. But there was another demand artfully held back and this preposterous demand now showed to the world the entire hand of the right honourable gentleman. In 1908 when the London Branch was founded it was modest enough to call itself a branch, and the very first words of Mr. Ameer Ali's first annual report were "The London Branch", which also appeared on the cover of the report. More recently, however, Mr. Ameer Ali dropped this modest nomenclature and stood forth as "The All-India Moslem League, London." This, we presume, was one of those imperceptible silent "reconstitutions of the London League on a basis of co-ordination" of which Mr. Ameer Ali is so fond. He is a historian of considerable repute and we ask him whether it was not precisely this process of imperceptible silent "reconstitution" of Bengal, Deccan and Oudh "on a basis of co-ordination" which led to the disintegration and downfall of the once mighty Moghal Empire. There was this difference, however, between the two processes. The satraps of the Moghal Empire, although equally impatient of "outside dictation" or discipline—as the same thing may variously be called—took good care all the same to obtain from a weak Emperor a warrant for their own independence and insubordination. Rather than be such a weak Emperor, H. H. the Aga Khan has preferred to resign his own office, so that he leaves the All-India Moslem League and its London Branch to settle the matter without making him responsible for the consequences. But he has shown clearly enough that dictatorial and even semi-dictatorial methods are now out-of-date, and he, at any rate, is genuinely glad that it is so.

VI

On the 27th October—Mr Ameer Ali unexpectedly felt, or declared that he felt—after full three days' cogitation in the course of which he showed his readiness to give a complimentary dinner to Mr. Wazir Hasan, and subsequently applied to the Lord Chancellor even for participation in a political dinner—that he had been insulted by Mr. Wazir Hasan in the letter of the 24th on the subject of the dinner. In that case, if he did not feel inclined to deal directly with Mr. Wazir Hasan, it was open to him to report the matter to the All-India League, which would no doubt have publicly censured Mr. Wazir Hasan if he had in fact insulted Mr. Ameer Ali. This he did not do, but in a wholly unexpected manner turned on his own League and threw his resignation in its face. Naturally the surprise of his League was unbounded. In the Committee meeting, when his resignation was considered, not one word escaped any member in condemnation of Mr. Wazir Hasan. The sense of the meeting was that Mr. Wazir Hasan's explanation was both full and satisfactory. But even if Mr. Ameer Ali was not satisfied, why, asked the members, should he treat the London League as a Whipping Boy and visit on them the sins of Mr. Wazir Hasan? Mr. Wazir Hasan had already begged him to withdraw his resignation, and in the meeting even offered to withdraw the personal portion of his own letter in spite of his very full and adequate explanation. But Mr. Mohamed Ali at this stage thought it necessary to obtain both from His Highness the Aga Khan and Mr. Wazir Hasan the declaration that neither of the distinguished office-bearers could commit the All-India Moslem League to any new principle, particularly when it conflicted in the clearest manner with the existing rules of the Indian League. Thereupon everyone present begged Mr. Ameer Ali to refer the question of the unconditional subvention and the independent status of the London League to the All-India League for authoritative decision, and to withdraw his resignation pending the final settlement. But relying on the past success of such bluff, and leaning, alas! on the now broken reed of the Moslem oligarchy, Mr. Ameer Ali spurned all such prayers. He had three well-known partisans at Lahore, Allahabad and Moradabad, and no wonder that they rushed to his aid without waiting for a moment for the publication of the full facts of the case, or as it happened, the correction of Reuter's wholly misleading and incorrect cable. As for any regard for the central organisation, it is too much to expect a sense of discipline from those who preach it from the house-tops in these paradox-loving days. Of this we make no complaint. But the rest of India was silent in spite of the provocation supplied by Reuter's serious error. Lord Roberts who had justified the Tripolitan massacres on the score of exigencies of war, when the whole civilized world, including all England, condemned it, was pressed into service as a friend of the Mussalmans, and presumably also their guide and philosopher.

VII

Now, if Mr. Ameer Ali was deliberately of opinion that it was inconsistent with his dignity and destructive of the usefulness of the London League to accept a conditional subvention from India and the status of a branch of the All-India League, he should not have waited on the flimsy pretext of winding up the League's accounts, but should have made his resignation immediately effective, and left it to the All-India Moslem League to accept or reject his terms. Or he could have withdrawn his resignation pending the Indian League's decision, and submitted the matter officially for its consideration and settlement in a few weeks. But the fact was that the silence of India disillusioned Mr. Ameer Ali very soon, and he only sought an opportunity of withdrawing his resignation *after* the departure of Mr. Wazir Hasan, but *before* the All-India League's Agra Session. This was so obvious that Mr. Mohamed Ali felt sure enough to cable to the *Comrade* from Marseilles to the same effect. Four days after this Messrs. Ameer Ali, Latif and Anik wrote to the London League Committee withdrawing their resignations, and three days later Reuter cabled the *Times'* version of the last scene in this opera-bouffe, which we publish elsewhere in full. Now here is a curious "re constitution." Mr. Ameer Ali resigned on the 29th October and Messrs. Latif and Anik, following the principles of Larkinsim, went on a "sympathetic strike." But the resignations could not take effect, for Mr. Anik was proving his abilities as an expert accountant by delaying over accounts of some hundred odd pounds for a month and a half. Everything, therefore, went on as a usual as if Mr. Wazir Hasan and his so-called insults and dictation had never existed. No change whatever occurred in the rules or membership of the London League or the All-India League, but less than six weeks later, Messrs. Ameer Ali, Latif and Anik appear as usual on the scene one fine morning to announce the unusual fact that the entire universe had altered overnight. "The London All-India Moslem League has been reconstituted", clucks the *Times* as if over a new-laid egg that had been hatched in the Printing House Square incubator. But on examination the egg appears to be the ancient product of 1908, re-labelled "Fresh" in 1911, and "New-laid" in 1913.

VIII

If this make-believe pleases Mr. Ameer Ali we have no reason to object. But legal fictions have the habit of occasionally over-riding the law and from being invented *adjuvandi causa* became innovations used *corrigendi causa*. To this we shall always strongly object, and it is with this object that we emphasize the facts of the case. With reference to this question, Mr. Wazir Hasan's opinion contained in his reply to Mr. Ameer Ali's last letter is well worth reproduction. He wrote:

> You have, however, introduced in your letter a matter of principle which is of the most far-reaching importance, namely, the relationship of the All-India Moslem League—which I find you refer to on one occasion as the Lucknow League—and the London Moslem League. This is a subject which is happily wholly independent of our respective personalities, and I hope you will forgive me if I address you on the subject with some emphasis. I also hope you will not regard anything that I say as a reflection on yourself; nor I hope, will you consider anything that I may say about the work of the League in India as having any reference to myself, for I have no desire for self-laudation.
>
> Now, I maintain that the policy of the Moslem League must be laid down in India and nowhere else, although naturally, and rightly, it must be laid down in consultation with the London branch whenever it is possible for us to avail ourselves in time of its assistance and advice.

It is only in this manner that any work can possibly be done, and I cannot see how else a practicable programme and procedure of work can be arranged. This is very different from *my* dictating a policy to *you* and I need hardly assure you that such an idea never crossed my mind.

As regards the subvention from the All-India Moslem League to the London branch, I do not see what objection you have, or can have, to my pointing out the very obvious fact that it would be, as you say, "in proportion to the support the latter gives to the work and projects of the Central League." This is a matter of principle, and, as such, I believe, absolutely incontestable. What is more, it is a matter of fact and has to be accepted. Whether the London League has, as you say, "cordially supported all projects which, in its considered judgment it deemed to be for the benefit of our people," is a matter on which it would be idle for me to express an opinion. But it may be that the "considered judgment" of the London League may differ from the "considered judgment" of the All-India Moslem League, and I presume that in matters in which your League has not yet supported the All-India League its "considered judgment" did differ from that of the All-India League. Here is, therefore, an opportunity which you should welcome of a discussion between two responsible representatives of the All-India League and the London League, and I have every hope that such a discussion would result in mutual satisfaction, and that the interests of our community will thereby be promoted. However, as I have said before, everything is subject to the guiding principle that in the last resort the opinion of the All-India Moslem League must prevail, and its policy must be laid down in conformity with the wishes of the entire community, and in India, and not according to the wishes of any individual, not even of the most eminent among us, in this country.

Mr. Wazir Hasan's opinion was not the expression of his individual thoughts but stood on the firm basis of the League's Constitution. The London League forms part of "The Organisation of the All-India Moslem League", according to section 8 of its rules. "The London Branch of the All-India Moslem League" is declared in section 30 to be deemed to have been affiliated to the All-India Moslem League "within the meaning of these rules," and the All-India Moslem League may, therefore, disaffiliate it under section 31. It is rules of this character that the Honorary Secretary is called upon to enforce, and under section 36 he "shall exercise all powers and discharge all duties laid down by and incidental to the enforcing of these rules." And yet Mr. Ameer Ali demanded that Mr. Wazir Hasan should personally acknowledge publicly that the London League was not a branch but an association independent of the All-India Moslem League and of co-ordinate status! Even if the London League may tolerate such autocracy in its office-bearers the All-India League cannot submit to it.

IX

Mr. Ameer Ali had been pressed to submit this matter for the decision of the All-India Moslem League; but instead of doing so, he commenced an intrigue with the Provincial Leagues, with the result that while the Madras League snubbed him in the most effective and dignified manner by declaring that a decision of this question lay outside its own province and only in the cognizance and jurisdiction of the parent League, the parent League was not approached even by the declared partisans of Mr Ameer Ali. The rules of the League are therefore unchanged, and so long as they remain unchanged no other interpretation is possible than the obvious one which the Honorary Secretary has put upon them. One thing however, has happened and the President of the Agra Session, who cannot be accused of any kind of partisanship, while considering the incident of Mr Ameer Ali's resignation as closed, made the following emphatic declaration:—

> There is, however, one point in connection with the recent discussion which requires to be emphatically laid down. The London League must be regarded as a branch of the Parent League, as its very name indicated, and must work on the line of policy laid down in India. Differences of opinion must be welcomed, but differences of principles cannot be allowed. Constitutional means are open to each Branch of the League to raise questions of principle, but in that case the required procedure must be implicitly followed.

X

It is interesting to note the *Pioneer's* comment on the final settlement of the question. "In other words", writes our contemporary, "the policy of the London League is to be shaped by the League in India. Mr. Ameer Ali must no longer be allowed to 'paddle his own canoe'; he must take his orders—from the *Comrade* and Lucknow. . . . Having resigned rather than submit to such dictation, is he now in humble and contrite spirit going to Canossa?" Now the *Pioneer* evidently considers itself cheated of its dues because in the first place, no shoes were hurled about at Agra where a "second Surat" had been predicted, and not even a "split" occurred: and in the second place because, even before the Agra session commenced, Mr. Ameer Ali thought better of the matter and withdrew his pretensions at the same time that he withdrew his resignation. Now if anything is certain, it is this that resignations no longer constitute a virtue, and few are prepared to recognise them even as a necessity. He who tenders a resignation in the belief that with its acceptance the world would come to an end is very soon likely to be taught that the world is at least as presumptuous as he, and thinks nobody to be indispensable. But whatever the general practice, we feel sure that Mr. Ameer Ali will not take his tip from the *Pioneer* and say in the spirit of defiance, "*Non Canossamus.*" The joke has been tried too often, and it has now ceased to be even amusing.

مړ د هوندې پرېږدئ که جنازه ځدمر ګيا
مرني کې اني روز اړانا خبر غلط

(To send us wandering in search of the funeral procession by falsely announcing one's death every day!)

Mr. Ameer Ali has to take orders neither from the *Comrade* nor from Lucknow. He has to take orders from a power—and it is undoubtedly a greater power to-day than it was ever before—from whose dictation no public man can pretend to be free. It is the power of the public voice, a voice that may at times be husky with excitement, or unsteady according to the influences to which it is susceptible, but which is nonetheless, sufficiently clear to-day, and which with the growth of education and enlightenment is bound to grow clearer and clearer every day. The London Branch, from its very nature cannot be treated in the same manner as Provincial Leagues. Its unequal composition makes its position one of peculiar delicacy. Financially London cannot support the All-India Moslem League and is itself far from self-supporting. For the most part the London League members are young students from whom the direction of the League's policy cannot obviously be expected. A claim, therefore, of independence or co-ordination can only be the personal claim of Mr. Ameer Ali, and as such, it means either a claim to dictatorship or a confession of impatience of all control. Now, as Mr. Jinnah explained at Bombay, in the course of his speech as Chairman of the meeting convened under the auspices of the Zia-ul-Islam, to welcome Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali back to India, "the fact is that the Mohamedans have passed the stage of political infancy and have grown up to the stage of manhood, and therefore, can no longer be controlled by dictatorial policy from without or within; they will not obey even the semi-dictatorial policy of a few individual leaders as they did a few years ago." But the Mussalmans are to-day as anxious as at any time previous to this to co-operate with all leaders of public opinion, and they will listen to advice from genuine well-wishers as respectfully as people who have begun to think for themselves can ever do. There is room enough in the councils of the community for men of the undoubted ability and great experience of Mr. Ameer Ali. If he is willing to co-operate with them, they will work at all times as loyal comrades.

XI

But Mr. Ameer Ali's conception of co-operation must undergo some modification before any useful work can be done. Throughout the stay of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali they were not even once informed of any meeting of the London League, and were subjected to considerable amount of rudeness on the only occasions on which they attended such meetings. On the last of these occasions Mr. Mohamed Ali was asked to leave the meeting; but as Mr. Wazir Hasan's presence was tolerated and His Highness the Aga Khan was pressed to attend, although both of them were as much non-members of the London League as he, Mr. Mohamed Ali successfully insisted on taking part in the meeting. Surely Mr. Ameer Ali could not have forgotten that what he calls the Lucknow League more than once invited him to preside at its annual sessions, and Mr. Wazir Hasan even borrowed the sum of Rs. 6,000 which was remitted to him for the expenses of the journey. If the Secretary or a Councillor of the League took the trouble of going to London without requiring the London League to pay their expenses, could they expect to be turned out even from its meetings as non-members? Co-operation involves a bilateral consideration, and if Mr. Ameer Ali desires it the All-India League will certainly not close its doors on him. But it expects similar consideration for its own office-bearers and members, and those who desire that the two Leagues must loyally co-operate with each other should take steps to make Mr. Ameer Ali realize the full significance of co-operation.

Phantom Figures.

VIII.

The Opium Officer.

That the two Departments that bring most money to the revenue, and which carry on their work with freedom from mistakes and washing of official linen in public, should be officered entirely by members of the Domiciled community and Indians, is a strong refutation of the stale argument about the need for importing candidates from Great Britain to fill up vacancies in every branch of the public service. The European who (very wisely) settles down in India finds himself worse treated in the matter of employment for his sons than either Mohamedan or Hindu parents. However, by declaring his children to be "Statutory Natives" he is graciously permitted to find occupation for them as Postal or Opium officers.

One cannot help thinking that the Supreme Government of that day relied on the sentimental dislike some Europeans might feel against classifying their offspring under the designation just mentioned, for the dislike and dread of most officials towards those of their countrymen, who elect to abide permanently in India, is one of the foolish political fads possessing the mind of your average Civilian. With the abolition of the Opium Department yet another opening will be closed for young Europeans and Eurasians anxious to earn a livelihood in the land of their adoption. Threatened men, however, live long, so one may describe the *afyun-wallah* Sahib in the hopes that his departmental demise may be postponed yet awhile. When the poppy ceases to be grown and the state finally abandons a source of profit under the mistaken notion of benefiting the vertuous Chinee, a sketch of the Opium officer, as he was in the flesh, may have a melancholy interest for students of "things which have been to begin with," the pay of the opium officer is hardly a living wage; supposing him to follow the customs and maintain the same style of comfort as do other Sahibs. Luckily the necessity for spending many months out in camp helps to keep his head just above the waves of impending debt, and he usually has acquired the useful knack of making his eight annas go as far—or further—than most other folks' rupee.

There are alleviations for the somewhat minor position occupied by the Opium Officer—whether he be a Sub-Deputy or merely an Assistant in the Department. More than any other official, (save perhaps the Canal Officer), he is brought in close touch with the varieties of rural India; the habits, means of livelihood, and characteristics, of that patient, hardworking individual known as the ryot. He gains opportunities for seeing the problem of administration from both points of view, that of the rulers and that of the ruled, and if blessed with ordinary intelligence and a dislike for the devious methods common among certain types of the Indian subordinate official, could render valuable help to Magistrates and Police officers, were he sure that such assistance would be thankfully received. Frequently its being preferred is either resented, or regarded as troublesome meddling by a person not directly concerned with executive functions. Being thus thrown for the major portion of his time among dwellers on the Indian countryside, a man in the Opium imbibes a taste for some pursuit or hobby connected with the past, or present, life of the Indian agricultural population. He may take up the study of folk-lore; of collecting antiquarian details; hunts after ancient coins; or researches into the natural history of animals found within his jurisdiction. We knew one Mohamedan Opium Officer who was skilled in tracing the origin of the rude ballads, sung at village gatherings by the Hindu peasantry of the Gorakhpur Division. Another—an Eurasian—who was an antiquarian of no mean pretensions and further a naturalist credited with several original discoveries of the life and peculiarities of beast and insects to be met with in the District where he was employed. A third individual had made himself into a capital amateur photographer and also a skilled mechanic. The freedom from the excessive burden of desk work which now deprives, (*pace* Lord Crewe), members of most Indian Departments of time and taste for indulging in useful and occupation outside their official duties has resulted in transforming the majority of Opium men into from mere performers of routine labour, and the work of their appointment into entertaining companions, whose conversation comes as a welcome change from the customary gossip of a small station. Even in the matter of departmental toil they differ from other "flies on the wheel" of Government. At certain seasons of the year, they have to undergo the trial of high pressure conditions, not having more than half an hour to themselves between the hours of dawn and dusk I refer to annual weighments and the distributing of advances for next years' sowing of the poppy; a plant possessed of many beneficial features which are conveniently ignored by, faddists of the Anti-Opium Party. As a splendid and sustaining stimulant during prolonged physical exertion; as a prophylatic in tracts infected by malaria; and as a help in some kinds of fever, besides acting a first rate anodyne in cases of severe bodily pain; the disredited poppy can claim to be pronounced a "boon and a blessing" to Indians—if not to all men. This, however, is not the place for arguments against the abolition of opium growing, but a sketch of those engaged in watching over its cultivation. "Weighments" commonly go on at the hottest time of the year, when a fiery *loo* is attaining full force and an April sun blazes with tantalising glare for the best portion of the day. Surrounded by a crowd of sweltering, and not over fragrant, rustics—not a curled and scented darling among them—the Opium Officer pursues the meticulous, if important, business of checking the amounts brought to the Go-down by hundreds of cultivators and seeing that each man's quota is duly recorded, and the account between him and the Department truly adjusted. After a fortnight or more—according to the area under opium in a District of such incessant work he surely earns the slack time which succeeds weighments, and is richly entitled to a holiday in the Hills: always supposing his finances allow a luxury of that sort. Throughout the monsoon he might be described as resting on his official oars, not having much correspondence beyond a few routine papers and Reports to bother him. When the rains approach their end, he once more bursts forth into spasmodic vigour, and hurries from headquarters to a Tahsil bungalow in order to issue advances to intending cultivators, employing his powers of argument, and persuasion to keep the opium area up the expected standard. In one respect he is fortunate as compared with his follows in the Police, Public Works, and other Branches of the Public Service, in that he is not called upon to please many masters. If he is a Sub-Deputy, his only "boss" is the Agent,—a Civilian, of course, of which class, but one now remains since the closing down of the Patna Agency. Consequently he is delivered from those visits of inspection, and the necessity for keeping a numbers of big-wigs of various degree informed as to his work, resembling a Free Lance rather than a official subordinate to a shoal of superiors. Still an Opium Agent has great powers for good and ill where the officers under his charge are concerned. Probably given that billet as a satisfactory way of disposing of his demands for something in his own line of work, the Agent—at all events during his first year of office—knows very little of the internal working of the Department or the peculiarities of poppy cultivation, and manufacture or the existing Regulations.

If he is a sensible man he contents himself with quietly going insight into the manner his officers are working, and in letting them find in him a sympathetic adviser and friend, not a tyrant seeking whose prospects he can mar or utterly ruin. To the credit of the Civil Service, an Agent of the latter type is rare, an exception to the general rule, so when the Department happens to suffer from an infliction of this kind, it becomes all the more noticeable. One province we know endured a trial inseparable from the chief authority being vested in a person manifestly unfitted to have gentlemen—either Europeans or Indians—under his control, and many are the stories related of his arbitrary acts; his refusal of leave (justly due), on any frivolous reasons, and—worst of all—a practice he had of listening to tales from Indian subordinates—*gomashtas, mohurrirs, et hoc genus omne*—against the immediate a superiors of his favoured spies. It would hardly be possible for an European in a responsible post to lower himself more in the estimation of those under than did the individual in question during his tenure of an Agency. When no more fields bloom with white poppy flowers and a policy of Pharisaical righteousness for suppressing an imaginary vice—so long as this does not affect the pockets the British tax-payer—has finally terminated a Department so valuable for Indian revenues, the last Opium Officer will be able in retirement on his humble pension to ponder over the infatuation of the Government, and mournfully recall his morning rides in the cold weather; his free chats with zamindars and their tenants; the *Sturm und Drang* of weighments, and the delight of finishing his advances with a knowledge that he too—in his way—was materially helping to postpone the evil day of new and increased taxation where India and its inhabitants are concerned.

DEMOCRITUS.

Short Story.

Syed Rahman.

Bhundi was a quiet little station in Bengal. Its yearly excitement was a four days' meet at Christmas. This giddy period and the occasional change of its officials were the only things that kept the European inhabitants from falling into a state of coma. They prided themselves, without rancour, but with a quiet conscious feeling of merit, on the fact that never had an Indian been posted among them in any of the Government offices, and that their small club house showed an uninterrupted row of white faces. So it was with no little consternation and a hasty seeking of reasons that they heard their next Assistant Magistrate was a young Mohamedan just appointed. Syed Rahman was a boy, just a nice fresh boy, a very good specimen of English Public school and Varsity training. He played most games well, cricket and racquets enthusiastically, rode to hounds, danced well, bridged better, sang college choruses in a boyish baritone; and I don't believe had ever paused to consider whether there was any difference between himself and his many English chums. In fact there was none because none had ever been made.

His chums had deeply bemoaned the fact that Bengal was to be the scene of his official career. They solemnly advised him to work the powers that-be and get out of it. He heard various reports of hideous unhealthy districts with but one or two wretched officials living in solitary state. So when he heard that Bhundi was healthy, had a Club, boasted a race-course and a four days' meet, he mentally shook hands with fate and took there two ponies and a complete social equipment.

He hastened to call and had no luck, finding everyone out. But in court the next day he came across the kind old Judge. Campbell was of a fast dying type of Civilian, a Sahib and as good a judge of men as of horses. He summed up the well-mannered lad and found him very similar in ideas and conversation to his own son in a British regiment. Thereupon he pitied him greatly and, with large-hearted hospitality, invited him to share his batchelor abode. Rahman accepted gladly and gratefully. "Are you sure I shan't be putting you out, Sir, I should like it. Tents are very jolly, but I really believe one can have too much of them." He arrived next day and Campbell surveyed his traps with approval. Neat, useful trunks, backed by gun cases, a cue case, bats, polo sticks, golf clubs. It pleased the old man to see that he looked after his ponies before even enquiring which room he was to occupy, and that at dinner he gently, respectfully, but firmly, lectured his host on the condition of his stables; just as his son had done. He spent his first three evenings in putting them right with his own hands. By this time Campbell realised that he had done himself a good turn; Rahman was young, enthusiastic and amusing, and added to these qualities a truly oriental tact which made him a delightful companion. When the strenuous settling-in was finally accomplished, he began to take an interest in social life. Enquired particulars as to the Club, etc., and wondered briefly whether there were any men of his own age in the place. It was at this juncture that Campbell took upon himself a father's duty. He began by taking Rahman to the Club hoping that the boy's youthful charm would soften the ladies and his sporting instincts interest the men. In some measure he was successful with the latter, but the former were stonily aloof. Rahman jumped to this at once and enquired the reason. Over the after-dinner cigar Campbell very very kindly told the boy of race prejudice, Anglo-Indian susceptibilities, and numerous other delicate matters. Told to this lad they seemed, even in the old man's ear, ridiculous, though many a time the bumptiousness of some "England returned" student had made the arguments seem sound, the prejudices right. The boy's proud eyes never wavered, they held Campbell's right through, surprised, hurt, then a little savage, till the old man, leaning forward, held out his hand with a final word. "To me" he said, "you are as my own son, in no way different." "You are very good, Sir," said the boy "I realise now how good," and the brown eyes softened gently. "Are there no men of my own race sufficiently advanced to receive me and understand my ways," he added. "Of course, lad, many, fine fellows too some of them; but—not exactly here; still there are one or two delightful men, orthodox, who I'm sure would gladly see you in their houses." Here the matter dropped. Rahman did not give up the Club; that, he felt, was unsporting. But he avoided the society of the ladies entirely. He was rewarded, for the men liked him better and better, and very soon there was not one who remembered at any time when talking to Rahman that he was addressing an alien. The ladies, too, would gladly now have been friendly, but the lad's pride forbade any intercourse there. There was no sporting ground on which they were equal, and other terms he rejected. He lived on with Campbell perfectly happy, content to have spent his life thus. This, of course, could not be. Repeated invitations from his dead father's people made him journey off up to Lahore the first month's leave he got. When he returned, Campbell felt instinctively that all was not well. He seemed to have grown older and the Judge wondered what had done it. Not disillusionment, he knew, for Rahman told his friend the first evening of his return how agreeably surprised he had been. His people were orthodox, but advanced. The men were sportsmen and sahibs. They kept a bobbery pack of Rampur hounds, they preserved their jungles, they made him look a baby at polo. They were jolly fellows too, full of anecdote and puns. The ladies also he found charming, though a good deal more orthodox than the men. He repeated this slowly twice, and the Judge wondered if here lay the rub. Every one had been most kind to him and he was very glad he had studied Urdu and Persian as extra languages. His father had wished it. But trouble lay at the back of his eyes and he rode too hard at all hours. It worried Campbell. He more than liked the boy—their year together had consolidated their friendship. One morning upon the pile of letters on the tray was one for Rahman addressed in Urdu character of a distinctly feminine type and still smelling of *atar*. The boy took it up first, looked surprised, opened and began to read it. To Campbell watching him closely his eyes were always an index. The surprise faded into delighted consternation, which gave place to perfect tenderness; but at the close of the letter the trouble came back doubled and perplexity seemed to take a share. Without any remark Rahman went off to office; but during lunch hour he tried raw country breds in the hot sun, and he was riding instead of playing racquets in the evening. When Seaforth, one of the boy's special friends, came into the Club for bridge, he answered the Judge's enquiry with, "I left Chips still taming his ponies to their furlongs in impossibly quick times. I retired defeated and weary." Campbell brought the rubber to an abrupt close by declaring three in "no trumps," instead of doubling his opponents, and hurried off home.

In a long chair in the verandah sat Rahman, moody and stormy. He did not see Campbell till the latter was standing beside him. Then he jumped to his feet, and with his usual politeness, offered the older man his chair, which was accepted.

They both puffed in silence for a bit, then as it grew dark Rahman suddenly burst forth, "I think the Mohamedan custom of *purdah* is ridiculous. It leads to all sorts of deception and intrigue. Besides it's barbaric." "Do you think so?" said Campbell, flicking the ash off his cigar with his little finger, "I personally find as much deceit among the women in Europe. Take a suburban or a country town in England. Until education fits them to take their place and hold it I think the *purdah* is as good a sphere as any. The mere breaking through *purdah* shows no real advancement and does not, so far as I can see, broaden their outlook. We have plenty of chances of judging specially in Bengal. It is when education and the right sort of upbringing is conjoined with the coming out, that we see a very fine example of womanhood." "But surely if they do not start by breaking down this ridiculous system there can be no advance." "What makes you think that? A woman brought up in *purdah* is not fitted to take her right place in the world, and why force her into a false position, and thus create a whole generation of beings such as I alluded to"? "But—but" broke in the younger man. "Let me finish," said Campbell, "I consider the Mohamedan community in a very strong position. They can see the error of both the *purdah* system and the freedom of women with ill-regulated minds. This being the case the younger generation of daughters must surely score. They can from their youths be trained properly, given the wide education of men and some profession to occupy their minds when household duties are done. An intelligent woman, I speak of our class, has finished all her domestic duties in a couple of hours. Then, again, marriage is not a profession and never while it is so looked upon will it be a success. You must have heard in England of the great demand for divorce to be made easier; you must have noticed the disturbed state of very many married couples. Do you want your people to go through this, or to avoid it wisely? If your women are domestic dolls now, which assertion I rather doubt, is it better to let them remain such in character expecting more from them or to wait till they can take their rightful place as women; beings with a mind, a soul, an intellect as sound as any man's"? A long silence ensued during which Rahman paced up and down the verandah, and in the dusk it was not possible for Campbell to see what effect his words were having. Suddenly the boy stopped. "I believe," he said, "that I agree, still don't you think a girl of 15 or 16, if taken out of *purdah* and really well educated for four or five years, would not remain a doll in mind? I speak of a superior sort of girl, one whose mind, even at that age, might be filled with some sense of what a great sphere a woman's is"? He paused questioningly. "I spoke in generalities." said the Judge, "No doubt there are individual cases and of course a lot would depend on the sort of society that the girl had after her training was finished. If she is to be associated with a very ordinary circle of people, let us take this station for example, I should think it very probable that her five year's training would not be enough. Her only companions of her own sex would be women whose minds do not rise above the petty domestic details of their own and each other's affairs, social, moral and physical. Their reading is limited to sensational novels and fashion papers. The height of their ambition is to end as the wife of a Lieutenant-Governor. You understand, of course, that I speak in generalities and take my examples from the social life in India as I have found it. Then there is another point of view. Might not her example be followed by many who did not even have this special five years' training and might not the community be led to emerge half-fledged? Is it right that one individual should for an uncertain experiment chance injuring many others? Say, this woman had a daughter, and from earliest youth brought her up to freedom. In this she would be justified, for the example set would be an excellent one."

The Judge's quiet convincing voice fell to silence. He rose to his feet, laid his hands on the shoulders of the boy, who stood silently before him, and then spoke again. "Marry her my son in the way her mother would wish; train her yourself and then together bring up your daughters as fearlessly, broadly and carefully as your sons." Rahman's puzzled eyes rested on Campbell and then he laughed: "I knew you'd guess, Sir, I'll think over every word you've said." The outcome of this conversation was a hurried visit to Lahore which obviated all chance of another epistolary indiscretion. The old man guessed that, though he was only told that the boy's uncle, delighted, was arranging a marriage for him with the daughter of a neighbour whom of course Rahman had only seen in photos, but of whom he had heard much. Rahman's boyish laugh rang delightedly once more through the rooms and Campbell hid the tears in his eyes behind a law report. He knew he soon would lose another son. But that was nature, and the way of the loosing was Well.

"Spero."

All-India Moslem League.

Presidential Address.

Sir Ibrahim Raimtulla, Kt., in the course of his Presidential Address at the Agra Session of the Moslem League said :—

GENTLEMEN,—I wish to tender my grateful thanks to you for the high honour you have conferred upon me in inviting me to preside over your deliberations at this Annual Session of the Moslem League. I clearly recognise that it is the highest honour in the gift of the Community and my appreciation is all the greater because it was spontaneously conferred.

At a time like the present, when differences of opinion are strongly asserting themselves, and there is a general feeling that the Mussalmans of India have politically reached the "parting of the ways," you will, I am sure, recognise how difficult is the position of your President Gentlemen, I accepted the difficult task which you have invited me to undertake as a call of duty, and I have done so in the firm conviction that you will all extend to me your earnest help and assistance in the discharge of my duties and will willingly share the responsibility which as Mussalmans attaches to each one of us. The large and representative gathering of Mussalmans from all parts of India who have assembled here to-day, at great personal inconvenience, proves to my mind beyond the shadow of a doubt the strong vitality for organized political and public life possessed by our Community. I am confident that I may safely rely upon your sincere co-operation in making an earnest effort to bridge over the difficulties which confront us in a spirit of considered compromise, so that instead of parting we shall all become solidly united again, and in this way adopt the only line of action which will ensure the steady progress of the cause we have all at heart. In all organizations, such as ours, differences of opinion must prevail. It is the application of different minds to common problems and the full and free discussion of the various aspects of given questions which lead to the formation of matured decisions and advance public interest. Holding these views I am always anxious to welcome reasoned discussion of all questions affecting our progress and well-being—with this reservation, that after a decision has been reached, we should loyally accept it and zealously work on the lines so laid down. This policy does not necessarily mean that a decision once taken should be irrevocable. No policy in this democratic age can be laid down which should be regarded in the light of the laws of the Medes and Persians—unalterable and fixed for all time. The decision so taken should be accepted as a basis to work upon, until such time as the general body of opinion may change in view of altered circumstances, greater experience, detection of flaws and drawbacks not foreseen, and similar causes. These decisions should then be reconsidered, and modified or altered as the then prevailing conditions may require. What appears to me of the utmost importance is that all discussions should be conducted on non-party and non-personal grounds, and people finding themselves in a minority should loyally accept the clearly ascertained decisions of the majority and sincerely co-operate in a spirit of military discipline in advancing the public cause on lines so laid down. Unless we are all prepared to work in furthering the cause of our community on these lines, I am afraid our progress will be retarded and very serious difficulties will continue to confront us.— May I appeal to you Gentlemen, and through you to the whole of the Moslem community in India, to work for our common interests in a spirit of broad-minded toleration and sincere co-operation? If we do so free from all personal considerations, bearing in mind nothing but what is best for the common good, our progress will not only be sure and certain, but will be at a rate gratifying even to the impatient spirits amongst us.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE.

You are all aware that for several months the Cawnpore Mosque question greatly exercised the minds of the Moslem community in India, and it must have been with feeling of relief that you noticed that it was happily solved by the far-sighted statesmanship of H. E. Lord Hardinge, our esteemed and popular Viceroy. May I, at this juncture, remind you of the noble sentiments to which His Excellency gave expression when, at Delhi on the occasion of his official entry into the new capital of India, he presided at the first meeting of the newly constituted Legislative Council, meeting for the first time in Delhi? In the memorable speech which he delivered on the occasion, His Excellency said:—

> "Still, whatever I may feel on the subject of the crime itself, I only wish to assure you and the whole of India that this incident will in no sense influence my attitude. I will pursue without faltering the same policy in the future as during the past two years and I will not waver a hair's breadth from that course."

We will venture to deny that Lord Hardinge has faithfully redeemed the statesmanlike pledges he gave to the people of India on that occasion. The parental interest he has shewn towards our countrymen has rightly won for him the hearts of the people. This incident is valuable not merely as an episode in the history of this country, the lesson which such a policy illustrates is of unestimable value, both to Great Britain and to India. Lord Hardinge has shewn what cures sincere and fatherly sympathy, not in mere words of which we have had plenty in the past, but in actual practice, can easily accomplish. It has always been a marvel to me why the British officials in India do not make a studied attempt, by means of sympathy and consideration in practice, to win over the hearts of the people of this country. May I venture to tell them how ridiculously easy it is to succeed in this derection? One of the prominent characteristics of the Indian people is their highly developed sense of gratitude. In how many places, in times of stress and strain, have not the Indian people come to the rescue of Englishmen in the past, and in how many cases have they not gone to the length of sacrificing their own lives to protect the lives of Englishmen? If an attempt is seriously made by official India, as a religious duty, to try and see Indian problems from the Indian point of view, and if the official always keeps before his mind's eye that he is the servant of the people of India, he will capture the Indian imagination as nothing else will do. We shall not then hear the lamentations which are being constantly dinned into our ears, of the growing difficulties of the governance of this country. It is his policy, which Lord Hardinge has laid before him and which he is trying to carry out in practice, that has so endeared him to the Indian people. Will the lesson be taken to heart by the official world in India? If it is, they will not only smooth their own path but the path of those amongst the Indian public men who have been striving in the face of grave obstacles and impediments to make officials realize how potent the effects of sympathy and consideration are.

PLEA OF WEAKNESS.

But there is a class of croakers who have said before and will say again, that it is all very well to talk about winning the hearts of the people; but what about British prestige? If Government are to surrender to every agitation started against official measures, the work of administration will become impossible and the British people under these circumstances may as well clear out of the country. It is this class of irresponsible people, though they may belong to the British race, which is largely responsible for any existing estrangement. It is people who imagine that the "mailed fist" is the best policy, who are really responsible for the increasing difficulties which confront the official world. Let us calmly and judiciously examine what this cry logically means. It can only mean that once an official has taken a decision, in most cases without consulting the views of responsible people amongst those who may be affected by such decision, and has got it ratified by Government on *ex parte* statements, it shall be irrevocable. If the decision proves distasteful to the people concerned, they have constitutionally two courses open to them—(*1*) to petition Government, bringing to their notice how hurtful such decision is and to request a reconsideration of the question; (*2*) to continue the agitation by holding meetings, by getting interpellations put in the Legislative Councils, and by agitating in the press.

If the people affected confine themselves to the first remedy, the decision in most cases is adhered to on the ground that there was no real feeling against it amongst the people concerned.

If the agitation is carried on on the lines indicated in the second alternative, it is contended that the agitation was manufactured by a few discontented men, that they were unnecessarily exciting the people who are always supposed to be quite content to accept decisions emanating from Government sources. When this plea however, is found untenable and the officials are obliged to recognise that the agitation is well-founded and calls for remedial measures, it is even then strongly urged that no change or alteration should be made, in view of the fact that such action would be regarded as weakness and that the prestige of the officials would receive a death blow. A strong effort is then made to adhere to the decision previously announced, the logical consequence of such a policy being that the decision once taken must be rigidly adhered to May I enquire under these circumstances how should people act who desire reconsideration and amendment of the orders and decisions announced by the Authorities?

Fortunately there are high officials here do not follow this plea, but deal with difficult and delicate problems in a wise and statesmanlike manner and thus render most valuable service both to Great Britain and India. I am sure you will all agree with me in thinking that Lord Hardinge is the foremest amongst such officials at present in India, and his action far from being open to criticism in deserving of the highest commendation.

I wonder whether those critics who periodically trot out the bugbear or weakness realize what that means. To my mind it can mean only one thing, namely, that the position of the British Government in India is founded on such flimsy bases that an act of tardy justice done to the people of India by the higher authorities as the result of strenuous representation against an executive order or decision, so seriously shakes the stability of the structure that a few such shocks would make the building totter and fall. Can the truth be further removed from this obvious inference? The foundation of British rule in India is laid on the bedrock of strength and righteousness, on its

inherent sense of justice, and on fair-play. An act of justice call it mercy if you like, under given circumstances, far from proving hurtful to the foundations of British rule in India to my mind has the effect of adding further buttresses to it if that was necessary, and draws from the depths of the people's hearts that feeling of gratitude and loyalty which is an asset of incalculable value to Imperial England. Has not this view been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt? The resolutions passed by Moslem representative bodies and associations all over India on the Viceroy's announcement at Cawnpore has clearly shewn how far-reaching in its effects His Excellency's policy has actually proved. No one demands that Government should forthwith yield to every agitation. All that we ask for is that our representations should be examined in a judicial spirit, and that when there is a good case for the amendment alteration or withdrawal of specific orders of the authorities, the necessary action should not be refused out of deference to that bugbear, loss of prestige, any one venture to contend that our demand is in any way unreasonable.

"PRESTIGE."

I will not take up much of your time in dealing with the other bogey, namely, prestige. How much good feeling has been sacrificed in the past by acting upon the imaginary advantages of this word. Even Mr. Montague was obliged to deal with this bogey in the following pregnant words in the House of Commons:—

> "Time was no doubt when it was a most important function of this House to see—that the theory of Government by prestige was not carried to excessive lengths in India. In the extreme of Government by prestige those who administer the country are I take it answerable only to their official superiors and no claim for redress by one of the ruled against one of the rulers can be admitted as a right. If for instance a member of the ruling race inflicts an injury upon a member of the governed race, no question will arise of punishing the former to redress the wrong of the latter. The only consideration will be whether prestige will be more impaired by punishing the offender and so admit imperfection in the governing caste or by not punishing him, and so condoning the failure of that protection of the governed which is essential to efficient Government. This illustrates as I understand the matter—the prestige theory pressed to its logical conclusion. I do not say that it was so pressed in India, it has always been tempered by British character, British opinion and the British Parliament. Whatever reliance there was in our Government of India is now giving place to reliance upon even handed justice and strength, orderly and equitable administration but *great deal of nonsense is talked still, so it seems to me, about prestige.* Call it if you will a useful asset in our relations between the British Government and the educated Indian public. Do not misunderstand me and this I say especially to those who may do me the honour of criticising outside these walls what I am now saying. I mean by prestige—the theory of Government that I have just described—the theory that produces *irresponsibility and arrogance.* I do not of course mean that reputation for firm and dignified administration which no Government can afford to disregard."

This speech was delivered in the House of Commons in 1911; while two years later, when H. E. the Viceroy has by an act of statesmanship calmed the lacerated feelings of the Moslem community in finding a reasonable solution of the Cawnpore Mosque difficulty, he is seriously charged by some of his own countrymen with having given a serious blow to the "blessed prestige." No further comment on such criticism of the Viceroy is called for beyond pointing out that this class of critics are so keenly solicitous of the "blessed prestige" that they feel it would be shaken by the public dancing of Miss Maud Allan in India!

FIRING UPON THE PEOPLE.

Following the wise suggestion made by H. E. the Viceroy when he visited Cawnpore and brought about a settlement of the question, I do not wish to say anything more in regard to this matter. There is, however, one aspect of the question which calls for a few remarks. I would not have mentioned the subject if the incident had been confined to the Cawnpore Mosque affair only, but as it has a grave bearing on the future, I cannot restrain from speaking about it. I wish to invite your attention to the fact that under the existing law the power of firing upon the people under certain circumstances has been deliberately given to Government Officials, and there have been several instances during the past few years when this power has been exercised, resulting in serious loss of life. That the power of controlling an excited mob by firing upon them under given circumstances should remain with the officials in the interests of peace and order must be readily admitted. At the same time adequate precautions are essentially necessary when the question is one of taking life. No ordinary circumstances could possibly justify the use of fire-arms against the people. We have to remember that whatever crowd in India, it is unarmed and its power of injuring the police and other people is very limited indeed. It will readily be conceded that this power should only be exercised on occasions when the position is so grave as to leave no other alternative for controlling and dispersing the crowd. There is bound to be considerable difference of opinion on this point and I therefore think that it is necessary both in the interests of the official granting the order to fire and the general public that some provision should be made by which the exact facts of the case may be authoritatively investigated. I would therefore advocate that the Government of India should lay down as a standing order that an independent Commission of enquiry, on which the Indian element shall be amply represented, shall be appointed to institute an inquiry within a reasonable time after firing had taken place. This Commission should be authorised to take evidence and to report upon the circumstances under which the order to fire was given. The very fact that such a Commission would be appointed on each and every occasion when firing has to be resorted to will have a wholesome restraining effect upon the official charged by law with the responsibility of taking life, and it will create a feeling of confidence among the general public that careful and independent enquiry will be made after the exercise of such power. It is, therefore, in the interests of both the officials and the general public that such a procedure should be laid down. Such an inquiry would save the official from serious adverse criticism to which in the nature of things he is open when life is actually taken. In Great Britain, in consequence of the greater development of democratic principle, firing is under serious control. During the recent Dublin riots, several members of the police were seriously injured to the extent of being obliged to be taken to hospital. Be it remembered that the British people are not subject to the severe restrictions imposed under the Indian Arms Act, and many men amongst a British crowd may be actually armed. Even then firing is only resorted to after all other alternatives have been absolutely exhausted.

The following extracts from Reuter's telegrams will clearly shew what happens in Great Britain under circumstances decidedly more grave:—

London, 31st August.

Two hundred Civilians and thirty police were injured in last night's rioting. One has succumbed in Hospital.

London, 1st September.

The riots continued in Dublin yesterday and two hundred cases in hospital for injuries received. It is stated that during the police charge following upon the arrest of Larkin a number of old men and women and children who were returning from church were struck with police batons. *The Mayor announces his intention of moving that an inquiry be held into the conduct of the Police.*

London, 22nd September.

Serious rioting took place in Dublin last evening in connection with processions of strikers *The crowd attacked and wrecked tramcars and pitched battles with the police ensued in which batons, stones and bottles were freely used.* A number of rioters were taken to hospital and *several police were injured.*

And still there was no firing upon the crowd. In India the circumstances are entirely different. An excited mob has no weapons of an offensive character beyond brick-bats and sticks. The people of India are as a rule highly amenable to the requirements of peace and order. In such a country the taking of life by firing upon the crowd is a more serious matter than in England. It is, therefore, doubly necessary to provide for an independent inquiry in all cases which lead to the taking of life. I can appeal with confidence to the British people and the British Government to support and to give effect to the suggestion which I have made in the interests of everyone concerned, and I do so with confidence, especially because the whole trend of British policy is humanitarian. Government have never hesitated to take measures even when they may be regarded as unpopular if the object is to save life. The policy of Government in organizing large camps for the relief of famine-stricken people during time of famine and thereby saving thousands of lives which would otherwise be lost, is beyond all praise. The great impetus to sanitary measures throughout the length and breadth of this country, in spite of opposition in some quarters, has been studiously adopted with the object of preserving health and life. Nay, Gentlemen, the fundamental principles on which British rule in India is based, namely, absolute non-interference with religious rites, privileges and liberties of the people of India has been deliberately departed from with a view to saving life. I refer to the law which has been enacted prohibiting the immolation of widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands. Suttees who under a high sense of religious sentiment voluntarily offer to sacrifice their lives by a hideous death are prohibited by law from doing so. No amount of religious sanctity attaching to this practice has deterred the British Government from enforcing by legislation that lives should not be sacrificed in this way. Is it too much to ask the same Government to provide adequate and suitable safe-guards against the taking of the lives of people who may have congregated together under some exciting cause, however, trivial, and had disobeyed the command to disperse, in some cases

because they could not do so, however willing they may have been to comply? Is it too much to ask that every official, however, well placed he may be, and whatever his status in the service of Government, should always have before his eyes the knowledge that far from receiving the unqualified support of the higher authorities in such a matter, he will have to satisfy an independent tribunal of the circumstances which justified him in taking the lives of unarmed people? As I have already pointed out, it is necessary in the interest of the good name of the British Government, in the interest of officials upon whom the grave responsibility of giving the order to fire is imposed by law, and in the interests of the general public, that the safeguard I have indicated should be provided.

India's Civil Servants.

The administrative standard which Lord Hardinge has held before us in dealing with the Cawnpore question lends point to the innovation which Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India, recently introduced. I refer to the idea of inviting all the young men who have chosen an Indian career to meet him at Whitehall and to address them weighty words of counsel and advice. I am inclined to think however that he might have well improved the occasion by impressing upon them on the eve of their entering into the Civil Service of India, the fundamental truth that they come out to this continent not to *rule* India but to "*serve*" India. The three letters of the alphabet I.C.S., which will remain attached to their names during the whole of their lives, and of which every civilian is justly proud, stand for *Indian Civil Servants* and do not represent any form of *rule*. If the members of the Civil Service would but constantly bear in mind the uncontrovertible fact that they are the *Servants of India*, and that they will, during the whole of the remainder of their lives, whether they are in active employ or in retirement, eat the salt of the people of India, and that as Mr. Montagu recently stated in Parliament they must in co-operation with the Indian people for the promotion of the best interest of this country, not merely on the lines which may appear to them best, but on the lines which may be regarded as best jointly by both, the work of administering the country will be greatly simplified, the progress of India will be both rapid and smooth and the causes of estrangement and dissatisfaction will be up-rooted.

During the many years which I have spent in the service of the public in the Bombay Presidency I have come into close and intimate contact with a large number of Civilians and I have made many intimate friends amongst them. As a class I have the highest admiration for their honesty of purpose, their stubborn integrity, their high ability and their sturdy devotion to duty. Would it be too much to ask them to cultivate a better regard for those Indian public men who devote a large portion of their time in the service of the country, who are actuated not by any sordid motives of personal gain but by singleness of purpose in serving their countrymen, to abstain from attributing motives where none exist, to treat their opinions with respect and consideration, and to feel that perhaps there may be another aspect of questions under discussion which may require different treatment?

I have said that the civilians are servants of India, as their very designation indicates, just as much as we all in the service of our mother-land. The difference is that while the former are paid for their services, the latter belong to the class not of the "unemployed" but of the "unpaid." It has always been a wonder to me that men of high intellectual attainments and in active occupation in their own trades, industries, commerce and professions, men highly successful in their own private concerns, come forward in numbers, to serve the country at great personal sacrifice and in the face of severe discouragement. Can better proof be required of the sturdy patriotism of such men, who readily make serious sacrifices of valuable time and money in an endeavour to render all the help that lies in their power to ensure good Government in India? This class of men are in my opinion the most valuable Imperial asset in India and deserve all the encouragement possible in their self-imposed task. Any feeling of suspicion and distrust towards that must result in enhancing the difficulties of the situation.

Balkan War.

It must be with a feeling of relief that you will have seen the end of the Balkan War. Turkey has not been turned out bag and baggage from Europe. Though its European dominions have been curtailed it has still a strong footing on the Continent of Europe. Adrianople, round which a strong Moslem sentiment has concentrated, again flies the Turkish flag. Turkish reverses have this redeeming feature, that they brought to the surface the fact that however much Mussalmans may be divided amongst themselves the religious sentiment of Moslem brotherhood is a living force throughout the entire Moslem world. Mussalmans in different parts of the world have all proved their readiness to come forward in a spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to stand by their co-religionists in their hour of trial and trouble. It is the living miracle of Islam that the sentiments of Islamic brotherhood are seated deep down in the hearts of the followers of our revered Prophet and that the lapse of centuries has in no way blunted the effects of his noble mission.

Foreign policy of Great Britain and the Indian Mussalmans.

During the time of stress and strain charges were made against the Mussalmans of India that they wanted to dictate the foreign policy of Great Britain, that they desired that England should go to war to protect the Moslem States in Europe and Asia. Can anything be further removed from the truth? The Indian Mussalmans fully recognise the danger to England, with all its interests spread over the face of the whole world, to hint that she should thoughtlessly involve herself in a bloody war. It is doing the Moslems of India a grave injustice to suggest that they had the remotest notion of dictating what foreign policy England should pursue. And as a matter of fact they have never dreamt of doing so. All that they have urged—and I think they had ample justification in doing so—was that England as the sovereign power of millions of Mussalman subjects should, out of regard for their sentiments, endeavour to see that Turkey obtained in the Councils of Europe, fair and just treatment. I do not think any one could venture to assert that the request, nay even the demand, that England should do its best in the Councils of Europe to ensure fair, just and equitable treatment to Turkey can possibly be regarded as being in any way unreasonable. It is because the utterances of responsible British Ministers appeared to them to indicate that England's sympathies were against the Turks that Indian Moslem feelings were naturally hurt and that they felt aggrieved. Can any fault be found with them under the circumstances?

At the time of the declaration of war between Turkey and the Balkan Allies, Sir Edward Grey said in the House of Commons that "the great Powers are taking what steps they can to prevent a breach of the peace, definite proposals were made yesterday for collective steps to be taken by or on behalf of the great Powers to overcome these difficulties by representations to the Balkan States and at Constantinople and *we agreed to them.*" The steps indicated by Sir Edward Grey were the declaration that "if nevertheless war breaks out between the Balkan States and the Ottoman Empire they will not admit as the result of the conflict any modifications of the territorial *status quo* in European Turkey." This was at the time of the commencement of the war. We may reasonably draw the inference from this declaration that if Turkey had been victorious it would not have been allowed to retain any portion of the conquered territory. At the time war was declared it was generally felt in the Chancelleries of Europe that the Turkish soldiers would sweep over the surrounding territory belonging to the Allies, and if these expectations had been realized the might of Europe, including the power of England, would have been asserted to deprive Turkey of any territorial expansion as the result of its victories. But the tide of victory went the other way and the Balkan Allies proved victorious immediately the conflict had begun in earnest. This completely upset the preconceptions of the Chancelleries of Europe and they felt that the declaration of the maintenance of the *status quo* in European Turkey would be prejudicial to the Balkan Allies. Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, took early opportunity of then declaring that whatever may be the result of the war the Concert of Europe could not possibly deprive the victorious party from securing the fruits of their victories. Are the Mussalmans of India to be blamed if they feel that England was associated with the other European Powers in laying down and enforcing a policy that if the Turks had proved victorious in the combat, they would not have been allowed to obtain any territory belonging to any of the Balkan Allies, but that if the Balkan Allies proved victorious they would be permitted to annex important portions of the European Dominions of Turkey? Is it unreasonable that the Mussalmans of India should feel that fair and equitable treatment was not being meted out to their co-religionists beyond the seas and that England was taking a prominent part in such treatment?

Mr. Asquith and the Peace of London.

Well, as you are aware, after the Peace of London was signed and the Balkan Allies fell out amongst themselves, resulting in a re-distribution of the conquered territory, Turkey, availing itself of the opportunity which became so providentially available, recaptured the town of Adrianople and the surrounding country with which a strong Moslem sentiment was associated. Was it wise, was it statesmanlike for Mr. Asquith to declare that so far as Turkey was concerned it would be required to lie within the boundary line settled at the Peace of London? In the face of such and similar declarations from the highest ministers of the British Crown, no fault could be found with the Mussalmans of India if they concluded that England, far from trying to be just and fair towards Turkey, far from endeavouring to secure fair play to the Moslem Khalifate, was siding against it and was co-operating with other European Powers who are the declared enemies of the Turkish Empire. Under all this provocation, have the Mussalmans done anything which would attach any blame to them? Have they swerved in the slightest degree in their feeling of sincere loyalty towards the British Crown? However painful the episode has been to them, they have exercised full

self-control and restraint and their conduct far from being blameworthy deserves highest commendation.

SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION.

I am appealing to you to exercise patience and restraint in criticism. In doing so I have not failed to realize how extremely difficult it is at times to exercise these virtues. The feeling of indignation and horror which has spread throughout this country in regard to the treatment meted out to our fellow-countrymen and women in South Africa has led to the use of language which under the circumstances could hardly be controlled. But in the face of the grave provocation to Indian feelings and Indian sentiments I cannot help expressing my sense of deep gratification at the masterly pronouncement which H. E. the Viceroy made in Madras. I know that the expression of his sincere feeling of sympathy with the people of this country has laid him open to severe criticism in some quarters. It is a curious anamoly that these very critics, who never forget to preach to us, Indians, the doctrine of submitting to the views of the man on the spot, who never fail to resent interpellations and criticism in the House of Commons on the plea that men on the spot must be considered to understand the position best, that strictures levelled in England against Indian Officials should be treated with contempt as unknowing and ignorant, are the very persons who have come forward to condemn the views and the suggestions of the man on the spot occupying the highest executive position in this Continent. How far-reaching the effect for good which Lord Hardinge's speech at Madras has been instrumental in bringing about, can only be known to the people in India. Lord Hardinge, whose great merit is to keep himself in close touch with the people of this land, who manages to secure first-hand information of the extent of the feeling of indignation and horror that had permeated this country, has done by this pronouncement the greatest service to the Crown of England. Well, gentlemen, in spite of this criticism the Boer Government has been obliged to announce the appointment of a commission of enquiry. You all know the constitution of this Commission and the South African Indian opinion of the men chosen to sit upon it. Our demand was that the Commission should be so constituted as to ensure not only that the men chosen in South Africa should be such as would command the confidence of the people but that the representatives of this country should find seats upon it. This has not been complied with and although the suggestion for such representation has been supported both by the official and non-official opinion in India, it has been ignored. Is it any wonder that the Indians feel under the circumstances that the enquiry will prove a whitewashing one and that the sore will remain unheeled?

POSITION OF INDIANS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

But the question that is facing us to-day is not merely the treatment that our fellow-countrymen are receiving at the hands of the South African Government. It cannot be narrowed down to the present residents in the South African Union. That question is undoubtedly emergent and requires to be dealt with forthwith, but the wider question can no longer be postponed but must now be faced and that question is "What is the position of the people of India in the British Empire." Australia is practically barred against us. Canada is contemplating legislation to prohibit Asiatic immigration. The attitude of South Africa is patent to you. The time is therefore ripe to ask whether we are common subjects of His Imperial Majesty the King, occupying identically the same position as the other subjects of His Majesty, or are we so in theory only? Under the gracious proclamation of Queen Victoria, confirmed by the Royal pronouncements of Queen Victoria's two successors, pledges have been given to us in an unequivocable manner that we are the citizens of the Empire. In practice, however, we find that in South Africa, in Canada and in Australia we are regarded in a manner which it is difficult to express in moderate terms. We have, therefore, every right to ask the British Cabinet, through the Secretary of State, for a declaration whether they will manage to secure to us the rights and privileges of British citizenship.

If the answer to the question is in the affirmative, England has got to exercise the powers which legally vest in her to ensure to us such rights and such privileges. If we are not, in spite of Royal pronouncements and Royal pledges, to receive the rights of British citizenship, if we are prohibited from settling in the British Colonies on equal terms with the white races, we are entitled to a clear and definite declaration on the point. It is necessary that we should clearly understand what our position actually is in the British Empire. If we are not entitled, in spite of the pledges already referred to, to equal rights of British citizenship, if that right on the declared authority of the British Cabinet is to be denied to us, then we shall be free to organize means and measures to protect ourselves against this indignity. Retaliation is a bad word but it has been freely used in this connection and I do not think any one would venture to assert that the use of the word is uncalled for. Our esteemed citizen the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, who has made the cause of the Indians in South Africa his own, considers that retaliation should be applied in the direction of a prohibition to all the South Africans from any employment under the Government of India and the restriction against the purchase of South African coal by the railways in India. I am afraid that retaliatory measures confined to these two things would hardly be successful in attaining the object we have at heart in enforcing the recognition of our rights of British citizenship by the Colonies of Great Britain. We will have to consider and device means which while living perfectly constitutional, may prove really effective. The intellectual capacity of the Indians is not so meagre as to despair of finding such an effective remedy, but the time for such measures has yet to come. We have thankfully to remember that the Indian Officials are supporting our cause and that many Englishmen in South Africa appear to be in our favour. A majority of the powerful English press is sufficiently outspoken. We have, therefore, to wait for the final result of the present contretemps before, concerting and pressing effective measures in this behalf. There is no Indian who does not regret the necessity of being obliged to start a war of retaliation against component parts of the mighty British Empire, but the fault entirely lies with the British Cabinet. If the British Cabinet is absolutely powerless to secure the rights of British citizenship to the Indian subjects of the Crown, the whole responsibility of the consequences which such a policy will lead to, will be on their heads. I need hardly tell them that the result of such a course from the Imperial standpoint will be deplorable.

WHO WON THE BOER WAR.

This leads me to ask a question which under existing conditions is of paramount importance. I should like to know who were the victors in the Boer War? Whether England came out victorious and succeeded in conquering the Boer re-publics or whether it was the Boers who successfully defeated Great Britain. If Great Britain was in reality the victorious party, it should not be powerless to enforce its wishes upon the Boers. But from recent pronouncements it seems obvious that the British Cabinet is in reality absolutely helpless in the matter. The plea put forward is that in self-governing Colonies, the British Government can merely use suasion and nothing else. If this argument is carried to its logical conclusion, it means that any legislation affecting the people in South Africa by the Union Parliament, shall be accepted irrespective of how it affects the different sections of the population. Well the Union Parliament as it is constituted at present, contains a large Boer majority. It, therefore, follows that any Legislation which the Boer majority in the Union Parliament may pass imposing unbearable disabilities upon English residents themselves must receive the assent of His Majesty, England would be obliged under such circumstances also to declare that it is powerless to interfere with the domestic legislation of a self-governing Colony. As a result of such legislation the English people in Natal may be hounded out of that Colony, and still the British Cabinet I suppose would sit with folded arms and declare to the world its utter helplessness to secure justice to their own people. If this is a fact then it clearly follows that though nominally Britain won the Boer War it was the Boers who were really victorious, and as a result of such victory annexed the British Colony of Natal to the Republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State. Can anything be more absurd? Would Great Britain remain so indifferent if the Boer majority took it into their heads to act in the manner indicated? Gentlemen, it does not require any prescience to know that the whole of Great Britain would be excited from one end to the other and the might of Great Britain would come down on the recalcitrant Boers and the might of England would prevail. It is only when the persons affected are the people of India that this helplessness is manifesting itself.

A curious sidelight is thrown on the issue I have raised by the public pronouncement of General Botha, the South African premier. In the speech which he delivered on the 24th November he is reported to have said that "Their country was part of the British Empire, *yet they were as free as if they were an independent State on a footing of equality with the sister states and they were a sister state of England.* Our first duty in the interest of the Union itself is in my opinion to stand on a *friendly footing* with the British Empire, without in any way departing from the least of our principles." I should like to know what the British Ministers have to say in regard to this claim. If they admit it, could they still claim that they won the Boer War?

We are told that it is an economic question which is at the root of the trouble. The Indians are thrift they can live more cheaply than the white settlers and they can successfully compete with them in trade and commerce. The doctrine of the survival of the fittest does not presumably apply to South Africa. When the Indians demand legislative and executive measures for the protection of India's economic and industrial interests, the same school which is preaching economic considerations, in British colonies trot out the principle of the "survival of the fittest." They went to have it both ways. May I tell them such a policy can lead to no good?

Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions.

The question of the separation of the judicial and executive functions has been so well threshed out throughout the country that I would not have referred to it here, but for the fact of the recent discussion in the Imperial Legislative Council on the subject. I do not wish to enter into the history of the question, as it is well-known to you. There is, however, one aspect of the discussion in the Imperial Council which requires to be brought out prominently. When the resolution on the subject was put to the vote, it was found that every Indian member, whether elected or nominated voted in favour of it. It is a memorable incident in the political progress of India that all the different elements constituting Indian representation unanimously demanded that a beginning should forthwith be made in the direction of separating the judicial and executive functions. The resolution was, of course, negatived by the official majority. Whatever the technical fate of this resolution it raises constitutional questions of far-reaching importance.

Chosen Representatives of the People.

His Majesty the King Emperor in reply to the loyal address presented at Delhi by the Imperial Legislative Council, called the members of that body "the chosen representatives of the people of India." It is an undisputed fact that all the elected members are chosen by such electorate as have been laid down by Government themselves. Many of them represent all the different provinces of India on a territorial basis. Some of them represent the land-owners and some the important Moslem Community on a communal basis. Others have been nominated by His Excellency the Viceroy himself. All Indian "chosen representatives of the people of India" have unanimously asked that a beginning should be forthwith made with this reform. Though the resolution was lost by the vote of the official majority we are entitled to ask whether that will be the last word on the subject.

I cannot conceive that such will be the actual result. If the united voice of India expressed through their chosen representatives is powerless to secure a reform which has as in this instance received the support of many high officials, the recent Council reforms can hardly be regarded as an appreciable advance on previous conditions. We have secured more seats on the Legislative Councils, we have obtained the very valuable privilege of moving resolutions and dividing the house on them, but our function still remains that of a consultative body, who are free to express their views and sentiments, but whose united voice remains inoperative. Gentlemen, I am ready to recognise that under present conditions of the administration of the country it is necessary that there should be an official majority. I do so because the legislative functions vesting in these bodies are of a far-reaching character. A Legislative Council can not only pass or reject fresh legislation, but can repeal and amend existing laws. It is, therefore, right that the power of the majority should remain in the hands of Government. But it is absolutely necessary that adequate safe-guards should be provided against the arbitrary exercise of such power.

It is not sufficiently recognised that the non-official members of the Legislative Councils in India occupy the position of what we understand as the "opposition" in Parliament. I do not mean that they always oppose Government or that they work in the spirit of party. The career of the Indian members of the Legislative Councils indisputably proves that they have been actuated by a high sense of duty and patriotism, and have proved most useful to Government in their legislative and other work. What I do mean is that it is their function to represent the public view and offer suggestion and criticism in regard to measures introduced by Government. They work practically on some basis akin to an "opposition." It is now recognised as an axiomatic truth that the efficiency of Government largely depends upon a strong opposition. Any measures which would impair the efficiency of the opposition would unquestionably re-act on the efficiency of the administration. Such an opposition is represented by the non-official members in the Legislative Councils. There is, however, a fundamental difference between the "opposition" in Parliament and the opposition in India, and I am sorry to find that this is not adequately realized by Government officials. In England the party on the opposition to-day may well hope to sit on Government benches to-morrow. The whole attention of the party and its press is directed towards winning the suffrages of the people of Great Britain so that they may succeed in securing a majority at the next general elections and occupy the Government benches. As I have already said, the party in the opposition to-day may be the party in power to-morrow. All the power and patronage—and the extent of this is colossal in England—which may vest in the party in power to-day is employed by the opposition to-morrow. The position of the "opposition" in India is quite different. The power and patronage—and it is most extensive even in India—which must necessarily attach to the Government in office remains always in the hands of the officials. The Government benches must always remain in their occupation. The "opposition" must always occupy the same seats. They can never hope to exercise under present conditions the power and the patronage vesting in Government and the telling influence which directly results therefrom. In spite of this serious disability, men are found ready and willing to accept serious sacrifices in the public cause. They are ready to accept Government displeasure in the honest and conscientious discharge of their duties. Scrutinize the class of men who occupy seats on the Legislative Councils in India and you will observe what classes they are drawn from. You will find amongst them men engaged in important trades and industries, in agriculture on an extensive scale, in professions in which they coin money. These men whose time is of the utmost value readily come forward at the call of duty to serve their country, without any hope of winning a position which will secure to them the power and the patronage inseparable from the Government office. Nay, they have frequently to face official displeasure. I feel strongly that it is necessary in the interests of good government that the authorities should make every endeavour to rally this class to themselves. Far from regarding them as critics and agitators it is best to hold them in esteem as men who are materially contributing towards the better administration of the country and who deserve all encouragement possible in their self-imposed task.

"The Press Act."

The remarks I have made on the question of the general position of the non-official members apply equally well to the liberty of the press. It is through non-official members of the Legislative Councils and through the responsible Indian press that Government stand to obtain direct information as regards the feelings and sentiments of the people. Just as full encouragement is needed to secure the best men to serve on the Legislative Councils, adequate liberty of expression is necessary for the Indian press I have no sympathy with those newspapers which regard license as liberty and are habitually transgressing the bounds of liberal journalism. At the same time it is necessary that no undue restrictions should either be imposed or by any action of Government officials, should be felt to stand in the way of a full and free discussion of public matters. The only independent source from which Government can keep itself in daily touch with the feelings and sentiments prevailing in the different parts of India is through the Indian press. If the actual effect of any measure of Government leads to a condition under which Government are themselves deprived of this direct knowledge, it is harmful and mischievous in its results. I have been constrained to make these remarks because I am personally aware of the fact that the Press Act, with the wide powers it confers, is operating in directly discouraging even well-established and long-standing Indian newspapers from freely expressing their views. I think that time has come when the question regarding the operation of the Press Act should be carefully and judicially examined and the necessary measures applied in order to remove the disabilities now existing.

Moslem Ideals and Policy.

Having touched thus briefly on current events I should like to say a few words in regard to the question of our policy and our ideals. I do so with considerable hesitation; but I am obliged to deal with it in view of the fact that during recent times much difference of opinion has manifested itself among the Mohamedans of India, and statements have appeared in the press to the effect that the League has been captured by the young hot heads of the community, that it is tottering and is on the verge of collapse, that leading men amongst us are abandoning the League either openly or quietly. It will strike any one that there must be something radically wrong with the machinery by which the Mussalmans have organised themselves to promote their communal interests, if these statements were true.

My Political Faith.

Before I deal with this question, I should like to place before you my own faith and belief in regard to the political future of India. I do so with a view to removing the slightest chance of my attitude being misunderstood or misconstrued. Looking to the growth of political life in India during so short a period in the life of a Nation as the last 50 years, it must strike even a casual observer that the progress made by the country is phenomenal. With the liberal educational policy adopted by the British Government, we have been enable to come in close contact with Western thought and culture and with the history of the rise and progress of democratic institutions in the West and their present ascendency; and it is but natural that our horizon should be widened and that we should become keenly anxious to move steadily forward on similar lines. I think we should not be true to our Mother-land if we did not strive to attain a high standard of progress on democratic lines. I am one of those dreamers who firmly believe that given a sufficiently long spell of British rule in India, we are bound to become united as a nation in the real sense of the term. When that time arrives, (as it is sure to do), we shall have qualified to rule the country ourselves, and self-government will be absolutely assured to us. It will be the proudest day in the history of England when, having accepted the guardianship of a people over 300 millions in number, belonging to an alien race, divided into innumerable sects and creeds it has

guided their evolution and has successfully carried out a far-sighted policy enabling them to reach a pitch of consolidation and solidarity, making them perfectly qualified to govern themselves. The debt of gratitude India owes to the Crown of England for the peace and order prevailing throughout the length and breadth of this vast Continent, the safety of life and property, the earnest and humanitarian policy for our welfare and advancement, the studious efforts to train and educate us to the highest standard possible, is nothing to what India will owe when the work for this country is completed and the heritage is handed over to the children of the soil. I have called myself a dreamer and you are welcome to regard me as such if you like, but this I will tell you that I have profound faith in the realization of my dream and it depends upon you to exert yourselves to fulfil the destiny which is inevitably yours. No country, such as India is, can remain for ever under foreign rule however, beneficient that rule may be, and though British rule is undoubtedly based on beneficience and righteousness, it cannot last for ever.

India is our Mother-land, our proud heritage, and must in the end be handed over to us by our guardians. I regard the connection of England with India in the nature of guardianship over minor children. If I may apply the analogy I would say that the Hindoo and the Muslem are two brothers, sons of Mother Hind and in a state of minority, and that Providence has chosen the British to be the guardians of the minors. I need not remind you that in the hour of our need two European nations, namely, France and England, applied for this guardianship and it was granted to England. How well, how nobly, the obligations so imposed have been discharged by England is evidenced in every direction to-day. The minors are gradually and steadily growing up in health and strength under the fostering care of a people who were the first fight for democracy, and who have after centuries of travail and application raised it as a system to the present standard of efficiency. India is loyal to the backbone to England, not only for all that it has done for India, but for all which India may well hope to obtain in the future. Loyalty of an alien people based as it is in India on a firm conviction of self-interest, is bound to be deep-rooted and genuine. Any suspicion of the deep-rooted loyalty of India is unjust and groundless. Constitutional agitation against Government measures there will be and there must be. We cannot convince our guardians without constitutional agitation and it is the common failing of all guardians all the world over, that they are difficult to be convinced of the steady growth of their wards. Such growth is largely imperceptible to them, taking place as it does under their very eyes. As I have said, the minors are in reality steadly growing up and their needs and requirements are multiplying. The wards would be false to the training which the guardian in the noble discharge of his duties has himself given if they did not respectfully ask, nay clamour, for larger allowances suitable to the respective ages to which they may have reached and the best policy to be adopted towards them is to recognise the fact from time to time and make further grants in a generous spirit.

British Connection Indispensable.

It will be obvious to you that it depends entirely upon yourselves how early you will realize your proud destiny. It will call for the best in your nature, you will have to be patient and preserving, you will have to be prepared for all calls of self-sacrifice and devotion to your Mother-land. You will have to rise above petty jealousies and personal considerations, you will have to unite in a bond of Indian brotherhood to make your path easy in the stubborn task that lies before you. You will have always to bear prominently in mind that an early realization of your ultimate hopes and aspirations, depends wholly upon retaining in the land the beneficient rule of the Crown of England. During the transition period the presence of the British in India is absolutely indispensible. You are bound to grow to adult manhood in time and come into your inheritance, but you must in no way be impatient of your guardian. In trying to accelerate the pace do not retard your progress. We have to remember also that we shall not reach the goal by the use of physical force. Anarchism and bombs never have in the history of any nation ensured progress or helped in attaining their end. Believe me, gentlemen, that when the time arrives the force of moral pressure will be irresistable and it will absolutely ensure the realization of our proud destiny.

Gracious Message of the King.

This is fully borne out by the noble message which His Imperial Majesty delivered to you during his recent visit to India. As you are aware, it consist of three words "*Educate, Unite* and *Hope*." Can any message be more pregnant with far-reaching significance? Can better words be found in the English language to indicate to you in what direction your future lies? By the word "*Educate*" is meant not merely the passing of examinations. It is used in a broader sense and calls upon you to qualify yourselves for the noble destiny that awaits you. Your leaders during the past generation fully realized the significance of this word and they advised you to concentrate your attention on educating yourselves before everything else. Their advice to eschew politics at that stage was, as you will now recognise, highly wise. But for that concentration the Mussalman community would not have made that progress in education which we see all around us to-day. Involving the Mussalmans community in political strife at that stage would not have been to their interest. They had lagged far behind in the race of education. Concentration on "education" was essentially necessary. If the Moslem mind had been diverted into different channels, it would have proved highly detrimental to our cause. The community as a whole, following the wise guidance of their elders, devoted all their energies to educating themselves. The fruits which have resulted would not have been attained in any other way. I cannot conceive that the policy of abstaining from political life was meant to be permanent. It was clearly realized that when, as the result of concentrating attention on educational progress, the community had been raised to a sufficiently high standard, politics would come as a matter of course. How well that policy has succeeded, I need not tell such a representative gathering as I find assembled here to-day. Within the short period of six years since the date on which the Mussalman community organised themselves for political work, the progress made will be admitted on all hands to be highly gratifying. This is the result of concentration on education which as you will observe is the first word of the gracious message of His Imperial Majesty. May I ask you whether this experience does not teach us that it is best to concentrate our attention and our energies upon the next word of the Royal message, namely '*Unite*'? You are aware that however much you may qualify yourselves by education and other means, you will have to unite yourselves in a common bond of Indian brotherhood before you can hope to reach any form of self-government. Having reached the necessary stage of union, there is nothing you cannot *hope* to obtain. There is nothing which will keep you out of your heritage. Let every Indian take to heart the gracious message of our King, in his own person and family, and try to live up to it. Every true son of India owes this debt to his country, to act on the principles enunciated, and the future, though far distant, may well be regarded as absolutely assured to you. Well, let me appeal to you and through you to all the people of India to work for your Mother-land on the lines indicated, and thus contribute to the ultimate fulfilment of the proud destiny which inevitably awaits you.

Ideals.

Having explained at considerable length my political faith for the future of India you will easily understand that I cannot object to the ideals which have been adopted by the two leading political organizations of this country. The Congress ideal of self-government on Colonial lines has the advantage of being clear and definite. The League ideal of self-government suitable to India appears to me vague and indefinite. You *must* have had good reasons for adopting it but I cannot help remarking that I would have personally preferred something which was more definite and distinct. Whatever the ideal I should like to appeal to you to bear constantly in mind that nothing should be allowed to create a feeling of impatience, a desire to reach it by short cuts, or a tendency to excite the passions of the people. Nothing is more detrimental to advance the cause of India than impatience and disaffection. Far from accelerating the pace towards the ultimate attainment of the gaol, it will undoubtedly have the effect of setting the clock back.

We have recently heard a great deal about a divided feeling amongst the members of our community. It appears to me wholly unwise to fall out and be divided on a point which even in the opinion of the most enthusiastic amongst us will not be reached till after several decades of strenuous and united efforts. Whether the final consummation of our highest aspirations takes several decades or several scores of years or some centuries is in the womb of time. It largely depends, as I have already pointed out, upon ourselves. Why then waste our energies in fruitless discussions and dissentions upon the form of Government which we should strive to attain at the end of that indefinite period? When a sturdy union amongst all the conflicting elements prevailing in India of to-day is a condition precedent to any sound and steady progress, would it not be wise to devise means by which we may be able to concentrate our undivided attention on the problems of the day and by united exertions ensure steady and solid progress?

Everyone must recognise that no form of self-government is possible in India unless the two principal communities, the Hindoo and the Moslem, are closely and conscientiously united. What can be a nobler aim, a loftier goal than to endeavour to secure India united! Once we become sincerely and genuinely united there is no force in the world which can keep us from our heritage; without such union the Indians will have to wait indefinitely for the realization of their fondest hopes. Instead of having differences and dissensions amongst ourselves at the present time on matters of remote realization, I would earnestly appeal to all true sons of India to concentrate all their energies, all their talents on the consummation of ensuring a united India. Then we might well leave the future to take care of itself, full of hope, and full of confidence. If the two sister-communities devote their energies and concentrate their efforts on the realization of such an ideal,

in a spirit of reasoned compromise, all our difficulties will crumble away and India will rise phoenix-like from the ashes of discord and struggle to a fresh and robust life full of promise and full of hope.

Moslem Policy.

The next question which I must deal with now is what should be the policy of the League as representing the Mussalmans of India. The answer which I would give to the question is briefly this. Our policy towards the British Government should be one of unswerving loyalty and towards the Hindoos one of brotherly love and regard. I hold that the policy which should guide us should be that of the younger brother in family towards his guardian and towards his elder brother. While fully maintaining his individuality and remaining keenly alive to his own needs and requirements, he should extend to his guardian his respectful homage and to his elder brother his brotherly affection and sincere regard. My advice to you to offer unswerving loyalty and respectful homage to your guardians does not mean blind or servile submission to all his mandates. Loyalty and homage are in no way inconsistent with representation and agitation. All the constitutional means which are open and available to you should be made use of, both freely and fully, to advance India in every direction, to promote the best interests of our community and to secure better administration by moderate and sober criticism of Government measures. It is unnecessary for me further to dilate upon this aspect of the question, as I am sure you clearly realize what your constitutional rights and privileges are. Make the best use of these, and notwithstanding all the discouragement you may meet with, persevere in your efforts and thereby make your full contribution towards the better administration of this country.

When I am advising you to extend brotherly affection and sincere regard towards the elder brother, I am not forgetting that you are entitled to reciprocity at his hands. The union of the two brothers cannot stand on a one-sided arrangement, I call the Hindoo the elder brother, and I am sure you will agree with me in the view that he occupies that position in the Indian family. He is senior in numbers, in education, in wealth and in many other ways. His obligations therefore under the Indian system of family life are necessarily greater. In order that there should be a sincere and genuine *entente* each brother must be prepared to discharge his relative duties towards the other in the right spirit. Let us first examine whether the Mussalmans have endeavoured to discharge their obligations in the past towards the Hindoos. If we have not done so, we ought to be prepared to make amends and rectify our conduct. You are all aware that the birth of organised Moslem political life dates from the day on which a representative deputation from all the parts of India, headed by our acknowledged leader, His Highness Sir Aga Khan, waited upon H. E. Lord Minto, pressing on the attention of what I will continue to call the guardian, the claims of the younger brother to share directly by election in the representative institutions in the country. This was the first sign that the growth of the younger brother had reached a stage when his needs and requirements were keenly felt, that the training which the guardian had provided for the children was having the same effect upon the younger child as it had had upon the elder one, that the flame of patriotism had been kindled in him also (I trust never to be extinguished thereafter), and therefore he solicited those opportunities for the service of the public which had been given earlier for the benefit of the family. It appears that our steady growth was as imperceptible to the guardian as it was to the elder brother. But we could no longer remain passive spectators of the progress taking place all around us, and we desired to share the burden and the responsibility of service to our country. We craved for a part of those opportunities which had been made available to the people of India, and which had been enjoyed by the elder brother during the period of our infancy. The guardian recognised the force of our just demands and signified his willingness to provide those opportunities which were our legitimate due. How stubbornly the elder brother resisted this recognition of our just rights is now a matter of history.

In view of the cordial relations now subsisting between the two sister communities, I do not wish to dilate upon this point but I cannot help recalling that the elder brother lost a splendid opportunity of which the younger one, at an impressionable age, wholly unwarrantably failing to realize the far-reaching consequences of wise statesmanship at that psychological moment. There appears to have been nothing unreasonable in the demand of the Moslem community for those opportunities of serving the public directly by election which have been conceded to the people of this country. The Indian National Congress, which stands for the highest national sentiment in the country, has had to recognise the special representation of the Moslems on the "All India Congress Committee." It has also laid down as a part of its creed that, "in any representations which the Congress may make or in any demands which it may put forward for the larger association of the people of India with the administration of the country, the interest of minorities shall be duly safeguarded." May I enquire what difference there is in principle between duly safeguarding the interest of the minorities (and the Mussalmans form the most important of such minorities) in the political rights and privileges which should be demanded in the future and those which have already been obtained? I cannot conceive that the demand of the Mussalmans for adequate opportunities for representation on the public bodies in the country was in any way unreasonable or unjust or in any way militated against the ultimate realization of the brilliant destiny which awaits the people of this land. Wise statesmanship and sympathetic consideration of each other's needs and requirements are essentially necessary during the period of transition through which every country must pass before reaching its highest destiny. May I enquire whether the Moslem representative on the Legislative Council have been in any way wanting in public spirit or independence, and whether they have not sincerely co-operated with the representatives of the other communities in promoting the best interests of the country? May I request our friends to consider what a tower of strength the association of Moslem representatives with the representatives of other communities furnishes in promoting the political cause of India? When both the representatives elected by the Hindoo majority and by the Mussalmans on the communal basis jointly demand the political and economic progress of the country do they realize how difficult it would be for the guardian to resist such an united demand?

I should like to call your attention in this connection to an extract from the able speech which Mr. Badrudin Tyabji, who afterwards became the Honourable Mr. Justice Tyabji, delivered in Madras as the first Mohamedan President of the Indian National Congress. He said:

> "Gentlemen, it is undoubtedly true that each one of our Great Indian Communities has its own peculiar, social, moral, educational and even political difficulties to surmount, but so far as general political questions affecting the whole of India are concerned. I for one am utterly at a loss to understand why Mussalmans should not work shoulder to shoulder with their fellow-countrymen of other races and creeds for the common benefit of all."

May I inquire whether we have not worked in the League on the broad principles laid down by a distinguished co-religionist of ours from the Presidential chair of the National Congress? Examine the resolutions which the League has passed from year to year and compare them with those passed by the Congress, and you will clearly observe that on all questions affecting the common interests of the people of India we have readily and sincerely co-operated. Idealists have however to remember that the Mussalmans of India have their own "peculiar, social, moral, educational and political difficulties to surmount," and that they have therefore to maintain their organized associations and institutions. Remaining keenly alive to our own needs and requirements we have throughout the existence of the League extended a cordial hand of fellowship and co-operation to the sister communities, and I cannot give better advice than to ask you to continue this line of policy as the most foresighted and wise.

Moslem Attitude.

Two years ago, finding that Hindoo and Moslem sentiment was becoming estranged and feeling that such a condition was detrimental to the well-being of the country, it was the Moslem community which took the initiative, and under the guidance of their recognised leader, H. H. Sir Aga Khan, went in the form of a special deputation from Nagpore, the seat of the Annual Session of the Moslem League, to Allahabad, the seat of the annual meeting of the Indian National Congress, to meet reprsentative Hindoos and to discuss means by which more cordial relations might be ensured. It was again the act of the younger brother, making a peace-offering to the elder, declaring in an unequivocal manner how keen and how anxious he was to reach a better understanding between the two. You are all aware that after an important discussion a representative Committee consisting of the leaders of both the communities was appointed for the purpose of discussing the points of disagreement and suggesting means and measures by which, in a spirit of reasoned compromise, more cordial relations might be brought about. Two years have passed since the date this Committee was appointed, and it is to be regretted that not a single meeting has yet been held. Whatever may be the cause for this long delay in meeting for such a laudable object, it cannot be gainsaid that we have been always anxious to discharge our obligations towards the elder brother in the right spirit. It is a matter of regret that such a splendid opportunity has not yet been utilised. If there are any reasons which make it difficult to get this Committee together, I would ask you to appoint another Committee for the same purpose. I make this suggestion because I feel strongly that in the interests of India as a whole and those of each of the sister communities, it is pre-eminently desirable that representative men chosen by each should meet from time to time and

discuss points about which any disagreement or feeling may exist. Believe me, gentlemen, if a friendly discussion between the recognised leaders of both the communities takes place periodically, it will clear the atmosphere and bring them both much nearer together.

I have briefly indicated how anxious we have been to discharge our obligations towards the elder brother, and we shall always be ready to carefully consider any points on which he may feel that we have failed to do so. If there are any such points, I trust they will be authoritatively communicated to us and I need hardly say that they will receive our anxious attention. I have already said that the brotherly relations between the two cannot stand on a one-sided arrangement. We are, therefore, entitled to ask that the elder brother should indulge in a little introspection and examine for his own guidance whether he has discharged his obviously greater duties towards the Moslem. I am sure we shall all be very interested to learn the directions in which this has been done. For a thorough understanding between the two, I think it is necessary that the suggestion which I have already made, *viz.*, to appoint a representative Committee, should be acted upon, and that it should meet periodically and discuss all the points affecting the interest and relations of each with the other. It is because I feel that far-reaching result for good will accrue from such a course that I have referred to the matter once again.

The League and London.

I am sure you will all appreciate the reasons which have induced me to keep to the concluding part of my address, any reference to the recent happenings in London. You will recognise how delicate matter was. The Mussalmans of India have a high regard for Syed Ameer Ali who has during the period of nearly half a century rendered yeomen service to the cause of Islam. His great achievements in the field of literature, his masterly exposition of the faith of Islam, his active co-operation with our distinguished leader H. H. Sir Aga Khan in promoting our political advancement are few of the directions in which he has conferred lasting obligations upon the Mussalmans. On the other hand we have Syed Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohamed Ali, two of our foremost workers in the interests of Islam. During the comparatively short period of their career, they have proved beyond the shadow of a doubt, their sterling worth, and their whole-hearted devotion to the Moslem cause. The singleness of purpose with which they have identified themselves with the best interests of Islam has justly earned for them high appreciation. It would have been under the circumstances most unfortunate if the differences of opinion which manifested themselves in London should have had any permanent effect. At a time like the present we could ill-afford to lose the services of such a veteran as Syed Ameer Ali, whose presence at the head of our political organization in the centre of the vast British Empire is of great value. I am sure, Gentlemen, you will have learnt with a feeling of relief and gratification that through the kind offices of our esteemed leader, H. H. Sir Aga Khan, the prevailing difficulties have been overcome and that the London League is again a united whole ready to work strenuously and zealously for promoting our best interests.

There is, however, one point in connection with the recent discussion which requires to be emphatically laid down. The London League must be regarded as a branch of the Parent League, as its very name indicated, and must work on the line of policy laid down in India. Differences of opinion must be welcomed, but differences of principle cannot be allowed. Constitutional means are open to each Branch of the League to raise questions of principle, but in that case the required procedure must be implicitly followed.

Gentlemen, you must have been amused at the criticism which has been recently levelled against what are termed the educated young Mussalmans of India. Sedition and disloyalty appear to be the stock in trade of some critics. Need I tell them that there is not even the shadow of disloyalty or sedition amongst the Mussalmans of India, whether young or old? Need I add that His Majesty's Mussulman subjects in India are as thoroughly loyal to-day as ever they were before? It is perfectly true that the vivifying influence of education is having upon them the same effect as it has had upon the sister communities. They have become politically articulate and have organized themselves for the purpose of promoting the best interests of their community. They are availing themselves of the constitutional means open to every section of the Indian people. Can a single instance be quoted in which they have gone in the slightest degree beyond the accepted limits of constitutional agitation? Not only, have we not over-stepped its legitimate bounds but I will unhesitatingly declare on your behalf that nothing is further removed from our minds than to engage in any movement or action which has in it the least tinge of disloyalty or sedition. It would be to the advantage of every one concerned if people would talk a little less of Indian disloyalty and sedition.

In conclusion, I beg to tender to you my grateful acknowledgments for your indulgence in hearing with me for so much time. I am deeply touched by your kindness and consideration and beg to tender to you once again my sincere thanks for the high honour you have conferred upon me by inviting to preside at your deliberations.

The All-India Moslem League.

Proposed National Fund.

The first resolution was then moved by His Highness the Aga Khan to the effect that in view of the growing political needs of the Mohamedan community, it was necessary to take steps to establish a permanent national fund. His Highness in a short speech strongly appealed for funds, the want of which considerably hampered the work of the League. Every political organisation and party in Europe and America had immense funds at its back and the absence of funds in the League was a national disgrace. If the League was to do any good work, it must be self-supporting; otherwise it could not command self-respect. The fund must come from the nation, otherwise it could not be called a national fund. His Highness said that the committee which was to be formed to collect the fund would be announced later.

The resolution was duly seconded by the Raja of Mahmudabad and passed.

South Africa.

The second resolution which was moved by Nawab Zulfikar Ali Khan expressed the indignation of Indians at the ill-treatment of their countrymen in South Africa and tendered respectful thanks to Lord Hardinge for his pronouncement in Madras. The speaker in the course of his speech reiterated the demand for the repeal of the three-pounds-tax and the removal of other disabilities under which Indians are suffering. He said the *personnel* of the Commission appointed by the South African Government had given satisfaction to none in India as it had not the confidence of Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues who were immediately affected by it. He eulogised the services rendered by Mr. Gokhale in this connection, describing him as a disinterested patriot, whom all sections in India claimed as belonging to them. The speaker said Indians in South Africa demanded nothing that was not due to them. Their demand was that they should be recognised as subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor. If the British Government had taken up the matter seriously the affair would have been settled long ago. That public opinion in England could exercise adequate influence on the affairs of colonial governments was evident from the fact that after the storm of indignation raised in India and England, the Union Government lost no time in appointing the Commission. He appealed to all sections to demand justice until justice was done. The speaker in conclusion expressed the obligation of all India to Lord Hardinge for his most generous pronouncement in Madras and thanked him for deputing Sir Benjamin Robertson to lay the Indian side of the case before the Commissioners.

Mr. Abdur Rauf of Allahabad, supported the resolution, and said that the time had come when the promises which were made by the rulers that Indians should be treated as British subjects and that no difference should be made on account of race, religion or colour should be fulfilled.

Mr. Abdul Wahid, Secretary, Moslem Association, Bareilly, said he had been commissioned by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk to support the resolution on his behalf. The Nawab was too old to attend the League's meetings. He also sent garlands for the President, Mr. Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohamed Ali and for Mr. Zafar Ali Khan who had, however, not yet returned.

The President on behalf of the Nawab then garlanded Mr. Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohamed Ali, amid repeated cheers from the auditorium.

The resolution regarding South Africa was then duly passed.

The Executive and Judiciary.

The Hon. Mian Mohamed Shafi moved the third resolution which ran as follows:—"That the All-India Moslem League urges the separation of judicial from executive functions and the placing of the judiciary under the control of the highest Court in every province." Mr. Shafi said there was no necessity to say much or to put forward any fresh reason in support of the scheme of separation because Government had long acknowledged the urgency of that popular demand. It was the duty of Government to fulfil the pledge given by Sir Harvey Adamson from his place in the Imperial Legislative Council. It was a matter of deep regret that a solemn promise had not been fulfilled. The only thing that could enhance the prestige of Government was to take people into their confidence. The Congress and the All-India Moslem League had passed this resolution year after year and Government did not require any further proof that the demand for the reform was strong and unanimous.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Samiullah and supported by Mr. Mohamed Ali. The latter said that two arguments which had been put forward by officials with great emphasis against the separation were those of prestige and expenditure. He was sure the argument of prestige had long been exploded. As for expenditure, the people of India were prepared to meet any extra demand on their finances. He said he did not care for the maintence of any prestige unless it was based on justice and righteousness and such prestige would be enhanced by the separation of executive and Judicial functions.

Mr. Mohamed Ali added that the argument of prestige was the best reason for, instead of being any reason against the separation, for in effect it amounted to this that an Executive Officer demanded obedience to his will from the people in matters in which they were free to follow his advice or not by keeping them in fear of the powers he possessed as a Judicial Officer. This was a form of blackmail which it was wholly un-British to levy, and once the voters in England realized this they would press the Home Government for a long overdue reform. As for the possibility of increased expenditure, his experience of Baroda where the proposed reform was in full working order throughout the State belied such fears. But it was highly significant that although in demanding higher salaries and pensions, more rapid promotions and increased generosity in leave and furlough rules, the officials were so many Oliver Twists, they had a sudden access of thrift the moment the separation of judicial and executive functions was suggested, and every Assistant Collector felt burdened with the load of responsibilities of the Finance Member.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried.

On 31st December the usual resolution in favour of communal representation met with some opposition by Moslems who desire an understanding on the subject with the Hindu community.

A resolution was moved by the Hon. Mr. Rafi-ud-din (Bombay), which ran as follows:—"That the All-India Moslem League once again records its deliberate opinion that in the interests of the Mussalman community it is absolutely necessary that the principle of communal representation be extended to all self-governing public bodies, and respectfully urges that a provision for the adequate and effective representation of Mussalmans on Municipal and District Boards is a necessary corollary of the application of the principle to the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, and at the same time essential to the successful working of those public bodies."

The speaker said the resolution was very important yet it should be passed without much discussion as for the last six years it had been unanimously passed at every sitting of the League. Lord Minto acknowledged the justice of the demand long ago.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Zahoor Ahmad (Allahabad),

Mr. Mujibur Rahman (Bengal) then moved the following amendment:—"That the All-India Moslem League is of opinion that in order to protect the rights and safeguard the interests of Mohamedans it is absolutely necessary that they should be adequately and effectively represented on all local self-governing bodies and urges upon the Government to make provision for such representation, and the League is further of opinion that the proportion of elected members on local bodies should be increased."

Mr. Abdul Kasim, in seconding, said he was as much anxious as his friends for effective representation in councils and local bodies. He explained the difference between the original resolution and the amendment. He did not attach so much importance to separate electorates as to effective representation.

Mr. Mohamed Ali moved the second amendment, which ran as follows:—"That the All-India Moslem League is of opinion that the consideration of the question of communal representation in self-governing bodies should be postponed for a year."

Mr. Mohamed Ali said that in India there were two communities, the Hindus and Mohamedans, and it would be impossible for either of them to annihilate the other. If either community ever desired such extermination it had had several centuries at its disposal to try this particularly foolish experiment. It was too late to try it again, and if it was not to be tried, why not try the methods of mutual conciliation? It would be to the ultimate interest of India for the two communities to work together. He said the Hindus had always opposed separate representation in the Congress, but this year, out of regard for Moslem feeling, they had not passed the resolution. This clearly showed that the Hindus were convinced of the necessity of a settlement by consent. He wanted the two communities to unite and it was no disgrace for Mussalmans to move forward in the matter. They must show that they were prepared to meet the Hindus even more than half-way. He urged this not because the Hindus wanted reconciliation, but because the procedure, he suggested, was in perfect keeping with the teaching of the Prophet who prayed even for those who had injured him. He would not apportion any praise or blame at present. Both communities were at fault, and both must excuse one another. He made it clear that his views on the subject of communal representation had undergone no change except that the operation of the system in actual practice confirmed him in the belief that the solution of the difficulties of nation-building in India would be the extension of the system of communal representation. Unity would come to India through this apparent separation. India would be united in a Federation of Faiths. But that was not the question before them at the time. All that he asked for was the postponement of the usual resolution on the subject in order to emphasise the points on which there was complete agreement between the Hindus and the Mussalmans and to minimise the points of defference which, he fervently hoped, would be settled by consent when both communities felt fully convinced of the good intentions of one an other and became ready to approach each outstanding question in the spirit of reasonableness, equity and compromise. It was undoubted that the two communities stood closer together than they had done at any time during the last quarter of a century, and although recent events in the United Provinces had to some extent dimmed a comparatively cheerful prospect, that was all the more reason that the consideration of that question on which there was considerable difference of opinion between the two communities should be postponed for a year in order that the prospect may not grow gloomier. He appealed in the name of expediency to those who only too often paraded it as their sole virtue and begged them not to disregard the claims of those cardinal virtues of theirs, sobriety and moderation.

Mr. Jinnah, in seconding the amendment, strongly appealed to Mussalmans not to press the question this year. The question was of the utmost importance and the proposal that it should be postponed till next year was a responsible one. He urged them to consider the question dispassionately, not from the point of view of present gain but of lasting advantage in the future. He assured his co-religionists that by demanding special representation they would get only two watertight compartments. The position was extremely difficult. They had begged the Indian National Congress to drop the question, which they did, and it should not be too much to ask Mohamedans to postpone the question for one year. In politics expediency was of the utmost value. There were many reasons why he asked his co-religionists for a postponement, but he could not give all his reasons in public. He finally begged Mussalmans not to press the question, for if they did they would get the shadow and not the substance.

The Aga Khan's Appeal.

His Highness the Aga Khan came forward and made a stirring appeal to those present to consider the question dispassionately. He said the question was not whether Mohamedans would renounce what they had got. The question was whether the time was propitious to pass a resolution this year. In his opinion it would be better to concentrate on more important problems like that of South Africa. Time should be allowed to the leaders of the two communities to arrive at a settlement. If no compromise were arrived at, they could take up the question next year. It would promote the cause of Islam if they showed their good intentions to their neighbours.

The Amendment Lost.

The Hon. Mr. Raza Ali (Moradabad) said it did not require much display of enthusiasm to convey the urgency of the demand for communal representation. In the Punjab and the United Provinces Mussalmans were nowhere as far as representation on local bodies was concerned.

Mr. Mazharul Haque, Barrister-at-law (Bankipur) said that he was alone when he made similar proposals at Lucknow last year, but now some leading Mohamedans held similar views to those he held. Their amendment might be lost but the discussion showed who was right and who was wrong. The object of Mussalmans should be to keep pace with other communities. The welfare of India depended on the union of Hindus and Mussalmans. He all along held that separate representation was harmful to the interests of Mussalmans. He entreated his co-religionists not to press the resolution this years.

Nawab Zulfikar Ali and several other speakers followed. They unanimously contended that nothing would be lost by postponing the resolution for a year.

The Hon. Mr. Abdur Rauf (Allahabad) said the original resolution must be pressed and he was supported by the Hon. Mir Asad Ali Khan, Mr. Alay Nabi and several other speakers.

The President said the question had been amply discussed both by supporters of the resolution, as also by supporters of the amendment. He had only one alternative left and that was to decide the adoption of the original resolution or the amendment by votes.

After a prolonged discussion it was decided, by a ruling from the chair in favour of Mr. Mohamed Ali's contention, that the voting would be in accordance with rule 32 which laid down that votes should be recorded according to the allotment of the number of members to the Council of the League by provinces.

After the votes had been recorded the result was declared as follows:—For the amendment for postponement moved by Mr. Mohamed Ali, 40 votes. Against, 89 votes.

Mr. Mujibur Rahman's amendment was withdrawn and the original resolution was declared passed.

Repeal of the Press Act.

On the motion of Mr. Abul Kasim, Seconded by Dr. Nasir-ud-din Hasan, the League unanimously resolved that the Press Act be repealed specially in view of the recent Judgment of the Calcutta High Court.

Indians and the Army.

Mr. Abdul Wali Khan (Peshawar) moved that the time had arrived when the Government should give Indians a share in the defence of their country by appointing qualified Indians to higher posts and commissions in the Army for which Europeans alone are now eligible. He said it was unnecessary to recount the feats of valour performed by native troops in various campaigns. On many a battlefield it had been seen how much the Indians could be trusted in military affairs. The resolutions being duly supported was carried.

PUNJAB CHIEF COURT.

The next resolution was moved by Mr. Gul Mohamed (Ferozepur) and was to the effect that the All-India Moslem League is of opinion that the status of the Punjab Chief Court should be raised to that of a chartered High Court. The mover said the question had long been before Government and no more time should be lost in giving effect to what the resolution urged. The Punjab had already expressed its emphatic opinion in favour of the scheme.

The resolution was carried after being duly seconded.

INDIANS AND BRITISH COLONIES.

Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, I.M.S. (retired), moved the following resolutions :—" That the All-India Moslem League records its deliberate opinion that the present status of Zanzibar should not be changed and that the present rights, privileges and status of Indians in British East Africa and Uganda should remain intact." The mover said the whole world was watching what was happening in South Africa and he had no doubt that the people of India were anxious that their fellow-country men should not suffer in anyway in any part of the world. This resolution, as well as the next resolution which protested against the continuous journey clause in Privy Council Order, No. 920, which had the effect of preventing Indians from going to Canada, were unanimously carried.

EXECUTIVE COUNCILS FOR THE U. P. AND THE PUNJAB.

Mr. Mohamed Ali moved the next resolution which urged the establishment of Executive Councils in the United Provinces and the Punjab. The speaker said that the population of the United Provinces was no less than forty-eight millions, which was more than that of Great Britain, where the Government was vested in the King in Parliament in which the voice of the people was predominant. The benefit of such a system was that if one man was going wrong, his action could be checked or rectified by others. In India, however, the unaided judgment of one administrator was relied upon for the good government of half a hundred million souls. With the greatest goodwill he could not attend to all the work that came to him, and in effect he had an Executive Council in the Secretaries and Under Secretaries on whom the work actually devolved. But they had all a Member of Council's powers without his responsibility and the result of the divorce of responsibility from power was as usual deplorable. The speaker referred to Sir John Hewett's standing in the way of this reform, and the hopes entertained of it on Sir James Meston's appointment. The result of the debate in the U. P. Council was not conclusive as Sir James Meston himself had stated. He now hoped that Sir James would support the universal demand for an Executive Council and he trusted that in pressing this reform in the Punjab also he was not any more "disloyal" than those stalwart "loyalists" of the Punjab who assured him that they were just as anxious as he for placing this necessary check on the autocracy of Lieutenant-Governors. Such questions as this and the separation of the judiciary and the executive, the placing of the judiciary under the highest judicial tribunal and not under the executive, and the raising of Chief Courts of which the judges were appointed practically by the Lieutenant-Governors to the status of a High Court of which His Majesty appointed the judges—such questions, said the speaker, were the truest test of so-called loyalty and disloyalty, and it seemed to him that there were more distinctions than differences.

The resolution was supported by the Hon. Mr. Fazl-al-Haq (Bengal) and was carried.

MOHAMEDAN ENDOWMENTS.

The next resolution, which prayed Government to insist on an enquiry into the general purposes and manner of administration of existing Mussalman endowments, designed mainly for public benefit, was moved by Mr. Fazle Husain and carried.

COW SACRIFICES.

The Hon. Mr. Fazl-al-Haq moved a resolution to the effect that while recognising the necessity of respecting the legitimate sentiments of the Hindu community regarding the manner of offering cow sacrifices on the occasion of the Bakar Id, the League protests against the action taken by the local authorities of Fyzabad and other places in the said matter, which in the opinion of the League constitutes unwarranted interference with the religious rights of the Moslem community.

Both the mover and the Hon. Mr. Abdur Rauf said that all differences between the communities at a time of a religious festival should be settled by the communities themselves and the authorities should not be allowed to interfere. Mr. Rauf asked the respective communities to devise such methods as to avoid all causes of trouble and respect each other's feelings. The British Government were loved because of their promise of non-interference with the religion of the people and on that account they would protest against any official interference in their religious ceremonies.

PRESERVATION OF SACRED PLACES.

On the motion of the Hon. Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhri (Bengal) the following resolution was unanimously carried :—" That the All India Moslem League urges upon Government the imperative necessity of taking all legislative and other steps necessary to safeguard the sanctity and existence of, and to keep intact, all public places of worship and other sacred places in India." In a very brief speech, the speaker urged that to give effect to the resolution the Land Acquisition Act should be amended.

EXTENSION OF THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT.

The next resolution urged the extension of the permanent settlement to such parts of the country as were ripe for it, and that where Government deemed it inadvisable to do so, judicial restrictions should be imposed on over-assessment. The speaker eulogised the services of the late Mr. R. C. Dutt who had rendered admirable services to India on questions of the land revenue policy of the Government He said, the agrarian trouble of India would be settled once for all if the permanent settlement were extended all over the country.

There were some dissentient voices against the first part of the resolution and Mr. Mohamed Ali was among the opposers.

The resolution was, however, carried by a majority.

THE INDIAN COUNCIL.

Mr. Jinnah moved a resolution urging the reconstitution of the India Council. The resolution was passed on the same lines as that adopted by the Congress. Mr. Jinnah urged that the salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British estimates. He also urged that the Council should be advisory and not administrative. The Secretary of State at present was playing the Great Moghal more than any Moghal ruler of India.

The Hon. Mr. Abdur Rauf said that if the salary of the Secretary of State were placed on the British estimates, English people would have a firm grip on his action.

The Hon. Mr. Rafi-ud-din moved an amendment to the effect that the following words be added :—" That Mohamedan representation should be duly safeguarded in any extension or modification of the Counail of the Secretary of State." Mr. Mohamed Ali seconded this.

The amendment being accepted by Mr. Jinnah, the entire resolution was carried unanimously.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE CASE.

The last resolution of this year's sitting's was moved by H. H. the Aga Khan and ran as follows :—" The All-India Moslem League begs to place on record its warm appreciation of the wise and courageous statesmanship with which His Excellency the Viceroy dealt with the Cawnpore mosque case, and expresses its deep sense of gratitude for his bringing peace to Cawnpore and the Moslem community in a manner which has enhanced the faith of the people of India in British justice."

His Highness, who spoke in Persian, said the truth was with the Mussalman community and it was upheld by His Excellency the Viceroy, who set aside the order of the Lieutenant-Governor. He restored the mosque and Mussalmans got back their right. It was now their duty to thank the Viceroy and he asked Mohamedans to pass the resolution unanimously. Although on some occasions individual officers were too theoretical, justice could always be counted upon in the end.

The Raja of Mahmudabad, supporting in Urdu, related the history of the mosque affair. He said that those engaged in the Cawnpore affair had to bear great sufferings. Every kind of appeal that was made had been refused. After all justice had been done. The hundred and five prisoners who suffered immensely had all been released and His Excellency had not only restored the national honour of Moslems but also the prestige of British Justice.

Mr. Abul Kalam Azad, editor of *Al-Hila'*, said justice was not obtained from the Local Government from which the people expected justice, but from the heights of Simla. Though he knew that justice could not always be expected from individual officers in this country, he knew for certain that justice would ultimately come from the British Crown.

Mr. Mazharul Haque said no one was more grateful to the Viceroy than himself. No better settlement could have been arrived at and he gave a brief account of what happened at Cawnpore and how much relief he now felt. He thanked Mohamedans for their liberal support. In conclusion he said he knew how much Lord Hardinge was abused by the Civil Service in this country, but he had maintained the highest traditions of British rule.

The resolution was received with great acclamation and carried unanimously

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

On the motion of Mr. Wazir Hassan, the election of some office-bearers for the All-India Moslem League was carried through. Mr. Wazir Hassan announced that His Highness the Aga Khan had resigned the Presidentship of the All-India Moslem League. He thought it would be a calamity for Mahomedans when His Highness resigned.

The President said that, however painful the decision of the Aga Khan, it was irrevocable, and they had to accept it. He, however, appealed to the Aga Khan not to place his resignation in their hands to-day and to continue as President till the rules of the League were altered.

His Highness said he would remain President for the time suggested. He said that in no case would he sever his connection with the League as Vice- Preisdent.

THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT.

The Raja of Mahmudabad proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair.

With cheers for the President, the Aga Khan, and the Raja of Mahmudabad the current session of the Leage broke up at 7-30.

All-India Mohamedan Educational Conference.

THE following are extracts from the Presidential address delivered by Mr. Justice M. Shah Din at the twenty-seventh session of the All-India Mohamedan Educational Conference held at Agra on the 26th, 27th and 28th December :—

After referring to the Aligarh College, the President said:—Gentelmen, one of the most pleasing results of the spread of the Aligarh movement in India was the organised effort recently made by our community to collect funds for the establishment of a Moslem University at Aligarh. The wave of enthusiasm which passed over all classes of Musalmans throughout the length and breadth of the land and the striking success achieved by the promoters of the University idea under the brilliant leadership of His Highness the Aga Khan are significant proof of the great awakening which has taken place among our people; and this is mainly due to the gradual infiltration of liberal ideas first promulgated at Aligarh. These ideas, and the principles underlying them, must be deligently spread among Musalmans and applied to the new order of things which is coming into existence; and you may then be sure that in the domain of education, as also in other fields of activity, our community will come to occupy a position worthy of its traditions and of its numerical strength in the country. With you education is the supreme need of the hour, for remember that upon the extent to which your community will be educated on modern lines will depend your progress, relatively to the other communities, in all the more important walks of life. A disregard of this truth will assuredly endanger your position in this country.

The Moslem University question has been discussed for the past three years in many of its bearings in all parts of the country; and having regard to the fact that it is under the consideration of certain representative Committees duly empowered to deal with it, I do not feel called upon to say anything special about it on the present occasion. I may, however, be permitted to remark that, after having shown unusually keen interest in it the community seems to have relapsed into something like indifference towards it. I know that this is chiefly due to the fact that momentous events of a most serious character have happened in the Moslem world which have engrossed the attention of the Indian Mohamedans and have placed their scanty resources under a severe strain. But now that the clouds have rolled away and we are in sight of clearer skies, I earnestly beseech you to turn your attention once more to the University question which has become for us a question of sovereign importance. And in this connection may I venture upon a word of advice? It is essential to the right resolution of this question that your leading men should bring to bear upon it their best qualities of head and heart, and it is equally necessary that the rank and file of the community should follow their lead in this matter with confiding loyalty. I very much doubt whether our leaders fully realise the nature and extent of the responsibilities which rest upon their shoulders; they have launched upon an experiment of enormous difficulty with probable consequences of a far-reaching character; and at times it seems as if they were driving the chariot of the Sun with hands unequal to the task. This is borne out by the discussions which have taken place over the University question both in the Moslem press and at the meetings of the Committees that are charged with its detailed consideration, and thoughtful men have often shaken their heads over the results thus far achieved. The grave defect in the general attitude of the Mohamedans towards this question is that almost every one who has subscribed, or even promised to subscribe, to the University funds claims the right to give his opinion as to the constitution of the proposed University and the future management of its affairs without stopping to consider whether he has the necessary capacity to form a right opinion about these matters. People who do not know even the rudiments of the educational problem in India have rushed into print and have expressed opinions on the Moslem University scheme which have staggered men who have received University education themselves and who therefore realise, to some extent, the complicated nature of the great issues involved in the situation. I would earnestly advise the community to leave the consideration and decision of the whole University question in the hands of educational experts—men fully qualified by education and experience to speak on this question with authority—and I would implore those experts to do their work with thoroughness, courage and discrimination. The whole question bristles with difficulties; they must be realised and faced, and fair-seeming generalisations or hasty conclusions must be avoided. My own belief, founded upon a brief experience of the actual working of a University, is that our real difficulties will begin after the Charter has been granted and the Moslem University has come into being. The scheme, and we thankfully acknowledge that the remarkable success which has attended the efforts of the Peshawar Musalmans in this matter is due mainly to his generous sympathy and support. His College bids fair to become a great moral force in the North-West Frontier Province, and among the Mohamedans of that Province, the name of Sir George Roos-Keppel will go down to posterity as one of their greatest benefactors.

The educational problem with which we, Indian Mohamedans, are confronted has two sides—and these I may perhaps not inappropriately term the technical side and the liberal side. The technical side of our educational problem has reference mainly to our relative position, as compared with the other communities in respect of the number of Mohamedan scholars in the various stages of instruction in Schools and Colleges of all kinds, the proportion of Mohamedan who have taken University degrees, their number in the learned professions, and their position in the public service of the country. In this connection, we have to study the causes of our comparative backwardness in primary, secondary and higher education, and have to devise means for removing the existing disparity in this respect between the other leading communities and our own. The liberal side of our educational problem is concerned with quite different kinds of phenomena which exhibit themselves, in close affinity with the higher and more refined aspects of individual and national life, in an invigorating atmosphere of culture and enlightenment in which alone can flourish the most fruitful virtues of civilized man. I shall explain my meaning by a simple illustration.

In your experience of the concrete results of modern education most of you must have come across two types of educated men in this country. One is that of a young man who has applied himself assiduously to his text-books; who by passing successive examinations has risen laboriously from the lowest rung of the educational ladder to the highest; and who, after a brilliant academic career, has carried off a great many of the prizes open to men of his time. In the student world he has the reputation of being a walking encyclopædia of knowledge, and his College fellows look up to him with nervous respect as a man of great condition. But scratch him and you will and a barbarian, without a vestige of real culture in him, and he is none the less a barbarian because he carries a mountainous load of books on his back. As Sadi says:

چارپاے پر کتابي چند

The other type is that of the student who, in going through his School and his College curriculum, has paid more attention to the spirit of the books he has read than to their verbal frame work; who has not distinguished himself in the examination hall or won laurels at the University Convocation, but who has assimilated the knowledge placed at his disposal by his teachers; who has tried to apply it to the actual facts of life; who has acquired a wider and more practical outlook upon the world and has thus become a truly cultured member of society. His innerself is in perfect harmony with his enlightened exterior, and he is a moral force of no mean potency in his own social circle.

What is true of individuals is also true of communities, and among the latter you will find the same types of temperament and behaviour which I have described above. Now, although the present needs of the country are such that we must continue to pay attention to the technical side of our educational problem, or, in other words, must try to produce from among us as many "educated barbarians" as we can, we must not lose sight of what I have called the liberal side of that problem, that is to say, we must endeavour to understand and assimilate and exhibit in our daily actions the most enduring principles of modern civic life so as to become in course of time a community of cultured and enlightened men.

The march of events in India has brought us to stage of progress at which it should be impossible for anyone but the most bigoted Mullah not to recognise the urgent need of an organised and sustained scheme for promoting sound education among our women. In the West woman has been playing, for a long time past, a by no means unimportant part in the healthy evolution of national life, and of recent years signs are not wanting in the East, and especially in our own country, to show that the weaker sex is inwardly feeling its strength and seriously means to step out of it accustomed seclusion to take an honourable and increasing interest in the more practical concerns of the outside world. It is impossible now to stem the tide which is flowing in this direction even if some of you, with a supreme contempt for the needs of the times, were to think of doing so, and you would be well advised so to regulate it into existence; and my fear is that very few of the promoters of the scheme are giving themselves the necessary training to cope with the task that lies before them. The practical training in education I work which the Trustees of the Aligarh College are receiving under present conditions is not the kind of training required for the governing bodies of the proposed University, which, like the Syndicates and Senates of the existing Indian Universities, will be in independent charge of the whole work of higher education connected with the various faculties of Western and Oriental learning. Our University will be an examining as well as a teaching body and questions relating to the laying down of standards, the selection of text-books for all the examinations, the appointment of Examiners, the conduct of Examinations, and all subsidiary matters

will have to be thrashed on and settled mostly by men on the spot. The governing body of a College affiliated to a University, such as the Aligarh College, is never confronted with these problems; and when we remember the increasing difficulties which the Aligarh authorities have to face as time goes on, we can form a faint idea of what is in store for the Court and Senate of the proposed Moslem University. Our educationists must therefore train themselves assiduously for the new work that they will be called upon to do; and if they fail to attain the requisite standard of efficiency I fear that the University which has been so much talked of will prove a doubtful boon. Gentlemen, continued the president, the Government of India have recently laid down an extensive programme of educational expansion, and the Mohamedans must be prepared to take full advantage of the facilities thus afforded for the spread of education among the upper classes and the masses of the country. The Government of India resolution, dated the 21st February 1913, sketched the broad outlines of the policy which the Department of Education intends to pursue in the matter of promoting both elementary and higher education, and that resolution marks a most important stage in the educational development of this country. Soon after, on the 3rd of April 1913, the Government of India addressed a circular letter to all the Local Governments and Administrations on the subject of Mohamedan education, calling attention to the unsatisfactory condition of that education, except ih the primary stage, in all the provinces, and inviting suggestions and recommendations as to the best means of improving it. In that letter the Government of India expressed their anxious desire that all reasonable facilities should be provided for the education of Mohamedans and indicated generally the direction in which enquiry and special action will, in their opinion, be useful. The Government of India letter is still, I understand, under the consideration of most of the Local Governments and the latter have asked for the opinions of the Islamia Anjumans and the leading Mohamedan gentlemen in their respective provinces on the points raised in the letter in question and generally on the subject of advancing Mohamedan education. I earnestly hope that the various Anjumans addressed by the Local Governments will consider the whole subject thoroughly in all its bearings, with special reference to their local requirement and will submit practical and useful suggestions for improving the education of Musalmans in all stages of instruction, more especially in the secondary and collegiate stages, in which our community is most inadequately represented. We are all deeply grateful to the Government of India for the special interest it has taken in Mohamedan education and on behalf of the Indian Musalmans may express the hope that the Local Governments throughout the country may see their way to adopt special measures to encourage and promote the education of their Mohamedan subjects in accordance with the policy outlined in the Government of India letter of the 3rd February last. The whole community is awaiting with deep anxiety the result of the momentous step taken by the Supreme Government in this matter; for the Mohamedans have now come to recognise that in modern education alone lies their salvation, and they feel that their educational development will be assured if their own efforts to improve their education are supplemented by practical sympathy and encouragement from Government. They know that at this moment there is at the head of the Indian Government a broad-minded statesman who is prepared to weigh sympathetically the special claims of backward communities to considerate treatment in the best interests of the general progress of the country; and they are determined, on their own part, to do all that lies in their power to help themselves.

A most gratifying instance of self-help on the part of our co-religionists and of sympathetic encouragement by a Local Government in the matter of our education is afforded by the recent establishment of an Islamia College at Peshawar. We are all deeply grateful to Sir George Roose-Keppel for the great interest which he has taken from the very beginning in the Islamia College as to be able to divert it into proper channels. The enormous influence of women on the essentially human side of the character of mankind must be obvious to the most superficial observer; and our first duty at the present moment is to refine and purify that influence in our country and to bring it to bear upon the totality of our individual and corporate life in order to make it more fruitful in relation to the great movements of the world.

From the time when the first stirrings of new life send a thrill of joy through an expectant family circle to the supremely critical moment when the last ray of hope is extinguished and the dark shadows of death close in upon an emaciated figure, the personality of woman stand out as being in close vital touch with some of the most powerful springs of human thought and action; and so her part in shaping the destiny of man has been recognised in the modern age as one of great motive power. You will all remember the pregnant saying that the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world, and I may add that the delicate fingers that in sick chamber close, with an inexpressibly affectionate touch, the eyes of the expiring man have ever been busy in unravelling the tangled skin of this private affairs which fill a large part of the span of life. The formation of useful habits in early life; the stiffening of the moral fibre in the child; the development of the social sympathies and antipathies of the youth; the successful working of that most delicate and difficult of all human relationships called marriage; the creation of an atmosphere of domestic harmony and concord, of affection and contentment in which the best private virtues always thrive—all these depend, in a large measure, upon the extent to which woman is trained and permitted to do her own proper share of work in society.

No scheme of national education will be complete among the Indian Mohamedans which does not make ample provision for the education of women on modern lines, with special reference to the peculiar need of a progressive Islamic community. This does not by any means imply the wholesale adoption of the methods of instruction and of the standards of culture which have come to be associated with Western civilization; we in the East have our own distinctive traditions and predominant tendencies of thought, and we must evolve a new type of culture as the result of a wholesome combination of the Asiatic and European systems of training. One thing is, however, clear, and that is that the purely Eastern modes of education would be as stale, insipid and unprofitable in the case of our women as they have proved to be in the case of our men, and the community must make up its mind once and for all to allow its girls to be instructed in the elements of knowledge according to the more scientific methods of the modern age. The time has long since gone by when even our leading men favoured the idea of concentrating all our energies upon perfecting the education of boys before taking up the question of educating our girls; we have advanced far beyond the stage at which such a view could be held and acted upon without endangering our national position in India. In these days the education of girls must proceed *pari passu* with that of boys, and I am certain that a disregard of this principle will result in serious difficulties and greatly handicap us in the race of life.

There is urgent need of emphasising this principle in our national system of education, and the public mind must be trained to recognise its importance. Unfortunately the Indian Musalmans has still very primitive ideas on this subject; and this was made painfully clear only recently in the Punjab in the course of a controversy which was waged there over a proposal to introduce the teaching of English into the curriculum of a new Girls' School which has been started by the Anjuman-i-Himayat-ul-Islam of Lahore. The question aroused a heated discussion both within the Anjuman and outside it; and I felt genuinely distressed at the enormous amount of turgid nonsense that was retailed in the vernacular press by writers who posed as well-informed critics, but who seemed to have the crudest conception of what education really means for the sexes and what the special requirements of the Mohamedans are in the India of the present day.

After referring to the active sympathy of the Begum of Bhopal the speaker continued:

Gentlemen, if I were asked to sum up in one short phrase the failings of the Indian Musalmans at the present moment, I would reply—Want of Self-discipline.

I am aware that human activity spreads itself over such a vast surface and expresses itself in such a variety of concrete forms that any generalisation intended to cover its innumerable manifestations in any one phase of life would often both misleading and untrue. But at the same time we can, I think discover at any particular stage of the moral and material progress of a community some of the predominant traits of its character which manifest themselves with more or less persistence in its thought and action, and which for the time being, serve to differentiate it from other communities. It seems to me that we Mohamedans suffer, in a peculiar degree, from a lack of disciplinary self-restraint, and even our virtues are at times made to appear as serious faults because of this great defect in our national character. Illustrations of this can be easily furnished from the religious and secular life of our people. An excess of zeal in the observance of religious ceremonial is the most striking characteristic of the Musalmans, and their piety often manifests itself in extravagant forms to the utter disregard of the spirit underlying their religious precepts. They forget that Islam in all its injunctions insists upon a reasonable adjustment of the religious and the secular duties, discourages asceticism with its excessive to the affairs of the next world, and enforces the rule of the golden mean between two extremes in all human relations. Our preachers always administer an over-dose of theological admonition to their congregations, and the latter are thereby led to be over-zealous in their performance of the chief practical duties enjoined by Islam, regardless of the limitations imposed in connexion with them by the great Law-giver. Much of our energy thus runs to waste; a spirit of indifference towards some of the chief concerns of life is engendered; and little activity is shown by our people in overcoming the difficulties that lie in the path of secular advance. Think for a moment of the way in which our most useful institution of alms giving is abused by the generallity of the pious Musalmans. Every one of them considers himself free to dole out his charity as he chooses;

the objects of charitable relief are not carefully selected; no method is observed at all in the distribution of such relief; all advice and directions for the organisation and systematic control of *Zakat* are resented: and the result is an appalling waste of substance and strength which, if the Musalmans only submitted themselves to a little judicious discipline, could be utilised to great national ends. Our educational institutions would not then be starved, as is the case now, through want of financial aid, and the problem of Mohamedan backwardness would be partly solved. Consider, again the serious difficulties which have to be faced both in India and in Arabia itself, because Mohamedans who are too poor to pay the expenses of a pilgrimage to Mecca and who are therefore prohibited by Islam from undertaking it, insist on going to the *Hejaz* in large numbers every year, with the result that many of them are either left to perish in Arabia or prove a heavy burden to their richer follow pilgrims. The crain on the resources of the Musalmans involved in this proceeding which is repeated year after year, is enormous; and it could be easily avoided if they were to learn how to strictly regulate their exberant religious fervour according to the very sound rules laid down by Islam. The one great fault in the Moslem character is want of sobriety, moderation, restraint and self-denial, and yet these are the qualities to which Islam assigns a high place in the list of human virtues. A man can be as selfish, wasteful and immoderate in devotional exercises as in his worldly relations with his fellow-beings, and the inculcation of this truth should be the aim of all religious education.

If we turn to the secular side of our life, we find that want of self-discipline is a great impediment in the path of Moslem progress. The tendency observable in the younger generation towards destructive criticism without a corresponding anxiety to show constructive work is an illustration of this failing, and one result of this unhappy tendency has been a weakening of the sense of responsibility in our community which may do a great deal more harm than it has already done. Again, consider the utterly unmethodical way in which the very large funds collected from the Indian Musalmans in aid of various movements have been administered in this country and you will find that you have a great deal to learn from other communities as to how you should regulate your patriotic action by reference to business maxims in order both to prevent your resources being frittered away and also to apply your funds to their proper objects. This is one way of educating your community to a right appreciation of some of the factors which make for moral progress in India.

Another department of human activity in which we Mohamedans suffer from lack of discipline is our literature, and in this connexion I shall call your attention to one phase of our amorous poetry. The beloved of the Mohamedan Urdu poet of the old school, in whom is incarnated his highest conception of human beauty, is a freak of nature with a mouth little bigger than the geometrical point and a waist thinner that a hair. As an example of the former, we have the couplet of a Persian poet whose style and taste our Urdu poets have tried to imitate and acquire.

كردي زنطق نقطه موهومه رادونيم اے ناقص كلاء حكيان بيان تو

And as an instance of the latter. I may quote the well-known verse of an Urdu poet—

صنم كهتي هيں تيرے بهي كمر هي كسطرف كوهي كدهر هي

If you think for a moment, you will perceive that in the domain of literature this kind of poetry, illustrating as it does the poet's passion for immoderate exaggeration, is the direct result of want of discipline in the poetic faculty; and when it is remembered that all our best writers on Prosody assign to مبالغه a high place among our recognised figures of speech which are supposed to lend beauty and force to our poetry, you will admit that we lack disciplinary training not merely in the common every-day affairs of our life, but also in regard to some of the natural springs of thought which should powerfully contribute to our intellectual improvement.

In conclusion he said:—

Gentlemen, to the Indian Mohamedans Agra, where we are assembled to-day, is an enchanted name round which cluster some of the best traditions of Moslem progress and culture: and it is in the fitness of things that you should draw your inspiration from the historic scenes and sights that surround you. The very ground on which you are treading must recall to your minds the stirring memories of a heroic age, when your co-religionists bore with admirable fortitude the heat and burden of the day, and with patient labour, unfling ing resolution and indomitable courage developed the arts of war and peace and maintained for a long time a high standard of civic life. At a time when the tide of Mughal supremacy was almost at its lowest ebb, the constructive genius of Akbar the Great brought the scattered elements together, evolved order out of chaos, and devised and perfected a system of administration which has been the wonder of Indian statesmen down to the present day. Under his Imperial care the arts and sciences flourished to a degree hitherto unknown to Mohamedan India, and it was his master hand that laid the foundation of that fusion of the Indian races which in this distracted land, still rent as under by inter-communal strife and religious antagonism, must ever be the ambition of the highest statesmanship to accomplish. A little later came to the Mughal throne Shah Jehan the Magnificent who gave India a long spell of peace—peace that hath its victories no less than war—who patronized piety and learning and exalted merit above ancient lineage and riches, who made art the study of princes and placed before the people the best specimen of aesthetic culture who immortalised the most abiding phase of human affection by building the Taj,—that perfect embodiment of faith, hope, love and beauty of which not India only but all the world is proud. That inimitable monument, with its magnificent dome poised in the clear crisp air of a winter morning and its tall minarets shining in the rays of the risen sun, holds aloft before you, if only you would reflect for a moment, the highest ideals of purity and refinement, of devotion and self-sacrifice, which are, and must always be the aim and object of all true education.

From Sikandra on one side and from the Taj on the other the two great Mughal Emperors are watching your proceedings and your work with sympathy, they are with you in spirit, and it is for you to show by the manner in which you would discharge your great trust how far you are worthy of their benedictions.

Indian National Congress.

President's Address.

The following are extracts from the presidential address delivered by the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mohamed Saheb Bahadur at the XXVIII Indian National Congress held on the 26th, 27th and 28th December 1913 at Karachi.

Referring to the Indians in South Africa President said:—The foremost question that is just now agitating the public mind in this country is the question of our brethren in South Africa. The tale of woe that has been reaching us from there, since the Boer country became part of the British Empire, is really heart-rending and that the responsible British Statesmen should have been so far unable to do anything by way of attempting a settlement fills us with profound sorrow, almost with despair. We know the hardships to which our fellow-countrymen are subjected and we cannot pay a fitting tribute in words to the courageous manner in which they are enduring those hardships; for, they are confident that British justice and sense of fair-play will ultimately prevail. Gentlemen, this unfortunate question has assumed an acute form and reached a stage where we have to pause and ask, whether we are not British subjects? The treatment accorded to Indians clearly shows that the Colonists take it for granted that we are not. At any rate, they have so far failed to recognise the claim of the Indians to consideration as British subjects. The war with the Transvaal was undertaken mainly, if not solely, on the ground of ill-treatment accorded to the British Indian subjects and it is to be greatly deplored that their position should have become much worse after the incorporation of the country into the world-renowned British Empire than it was ever before. May I ask in your name that when the object with which that costly war was undertaken is not gained, where is the justification for it? I have the authority on this point of no less a person than the Marquis of Lansdowne who was Minister for War when the conflict began and was well-qualified to make a pronouncement on the situation by reason of his having been the Viceroy of India previously. Lord Lansdowne speaking at Sheffield in 1899 said:—"A considerable number of the Queen's Indian subjects are to be found in the Transvaal, and among the many misdeeds of the South African Republic, I do not know that any fills me with more indignation than its treatment of these Indians. And the harm is not confined to the sufferer on the spot; for what do you imagine would be the effect produced in India when these poor people return to their country to report to their friends that the Government of the Empress, so mighty and irresistible in India, with its population of three hundred millions, is powerless to secure redress at the hands of a small South African State?"

"We cannot be too thankful to Lord Ampthill who has taken up our cause in South Africa in right earnest. His sympathy for the people of this country which he uniformly manifested during his term of Governorship in Madras has endeared him to all of us. And as a very large number of immigrants go from the Southern Presidency it is but fitting that his Lordship should raise his voice in defence of the rights of those whom he had governed with sympathy and benevolence. Lord Ampthill referring to the speech of Lord Lan-downe aptly observes. "Those were far-sighted and prophetic words, for at that time India was quite unconscious of the indignity, and it is only after the lapse of a decade that we have seen 'the effect produced in India'." The views expressed in 1899 by Lord Selborne, who afterwards became High Commissioner at the Cape, were no less emphatic than those of Lord Lansdowne and I make no apology for repeating them here. "Was it or was it not," asked

Lord Selborne, "our duty to see that our dusky fellow-subjects in the Transvaal, where they had a perfect right to go, should be treated as the Queen in our name had promised they should be treated? If they agreed with him and admitted that these were questions which we had to answer as trustees before our fellow-countrymen and before history, then they would agree with him also that the path of duty was to be ruled not by sentiment, but by plain facts. We were trustees for our brothers all over the world. Trustees also for our fellow-subjects of different races and different colours. For all those and the unborn children of these. Therefore, the test we had to apply in an emergency like this was the simple test of duty. Was it or was it not our duty to see that the rights and the future interest of those he had named should be maintained? Was the British Government going to make its name respected and to have the pledges given by it faithfully observed? Was it going to see that the British subject wherever he went all over the world, whether he were white or black, was to have the rights which his Queen had secured for him?" Far from any indications appearing that their lot would in a measurable distance of time be made less intolerable to them, they are being subjected in an ever-increasing degree to fresh disabilities and indignities such as are traceable clearly to the inebriation of the Boer mind caused by sudden acquisition of independence and power. Apart from higher considerations of justice, fairness and humanity, the consideration of Imperial interests, as to how their attitude and conduct towards the Indian subjects of His Majesty will affect the prestige of the Empire to which the Boer as well as the Indian owes allegiance is diliberately disregarded by the Union Government. The fate of one hundred and fifty thousands of our brethren and countrymen settled in South Africa cannot be a matter of indifference to us, as I am sure it cannot be to our Rulers. The heroic struggle that they are carrying on against overwhelming odds evokes our heartfelt sympathy for them and our deepest indignation against their oppressors. But, Gentlemen, what could our sympathy and indignation do in this situation? We can send, as indeed we are already sending so liberally, pecuniary relief to the oppressed, but we cannot restrain the hand that oppresses. It is for Imperial Government to step in and alter the course of things in favour of our brethren. We have had any amount of expressions of sympathy, of encouragement and of hope, but no prospect of action is yet within our sight. The spectacle of a world wide Empire embracing about 500 millions of people as its subjects, being powerless to restrain an irresponsible Colony is not only unedifying in the extreme but is incomprehensible and causes dismay to the Indian mind. The position is now vastly worse than before, not merely from the point of view of the increasing disabilities and the intensity of suffering, but from the point of view of their moral effect. In the days of the Boer Government the Indian settlers had the feeling that their wrongs were due to an unjust and unsympathetic foreign State which only needed to be brought to the notice of their own Government to be remedied. But to-day they find the Imperial Government standing by while blow after blow is deliberately aimed at them with terrible precision and effect. This indifference has aggravated situation and has roused bitter feelings between two countries of the Empire and is certainly derogatory to the high character of British statesmanship. Not only that, that it leads one to think that this indifference in effect encourages the South African Union in the belief that their mistaken policy has the support of the Government at Home.

The British Government are responsible for the present difficulties which they could have easily foreseen and avoided by imposing conditions regarding the rights of Indian settlers at the time of granting Self-Government to South Africa. It is, therefore, that I say, that we should look up to them and make an earnest appeal to them. It is a pity that the Parliament had no hand in the matter; otherwise I am sure our friends in Parliament would have raised their voice in support of our rights. I have more faith, I confess, in retaliatory measures such as the placing of an embargo on the importion of coal from Natal into this country, and the closing of the doors of competition for the Civil Service against the South African Whites. It seems to me that these are the only weapons at present available and the Government of India should lose no time in making use of them. I am aware that these measures have the disadvantage of being merely irritating without being directly effective or inflicting any real disability on the Colonists. But their moral effect would, I am convinced, be very great on our people and will not be altogether lost on the Union Government. By having recourse to these retaliatory measures our Government would be showing before the whole world that they are in earnest and would not tolerate the ill-treatment of Indian subjects of His Majesty in any part of the Empire. We have to advocate retaliatory measures because we have been driven to do so much against our own will. We however hope that the resources of representation are not yet exhausted and that the Imperial Government have not yet done their utmost to secure justice for our countrymen. While recognising that their position one of great difficulty in view of Colonial autonomy. I would at the same time point out that the present Liberal Government have claimed great credit for unifying South Africa as a triumph in that they have applied liberal principles in their Colonial policy, and it is inconceivable that Liber principles in practice can under any circumstances involve injustic and oppression.

Reformed Councils.

Coming to the questions connected with the Reformed Councils. I need not refer to the regulations in detail which were framed by the Indian Government for carrying out the Morley-Minto Reform Scheme. The Congress has in successive sessions expressed its regret that the regulations have not been made in the same liberal spirit in which the original reform despatches were conceived. The public in India, at the time when the regulations were issued, being anxious to give a fair start to the scheme did not express their full sense of dissatisfaction with the proposed regulations, especially as they were reassured in this behalf by the express declarations of Lord Minto's Government at the time, which were as follows:—

"The Governor-General in Council is conscious that many of the details of the scheme which is being introduced may be found on trial to be unsatisfactory or capable of improvement. Experience alone can show how far methods which are new to India give to the different classes and interests a measure of representation proportionate to their importance and influence, and to what extent an untrained electoral machinery is suitable to the varying circumstances of the different Provinces and the numerous electorates. Defects will no doubt be discovered when the rules are put into operation, but, if this proves to be the case, the law admits of the regulations being amended without difficulty."

It was hoped, therefore, that the anomalies and serious defects, both of detail and of principle, which were found to exist in the regulations would be rectified at the first opportunity which presented itself after the first elections had been held and the Reformed Councils constituted. It has been, therefore, a matter of extreme disappointment to the public in India that the revision of the Council regulations which was made last year was confined to making a few trivial changes and introducing a few amendments in consequence of the transference of the Imperial Capital to Delhi and of the other changes embodied in the Delhi despatches. In the constitution of the Legislative Councils different proportions have been fixed in respect of the official and non-official, as well as the elected and nominated elements in the various Provinces, much of which to the ordinary mind seems to be founded on no intelligible principle of differentiation. Bengal from the first started with an elected non-official majority in its Legislative Council and in the redistribution of territories made in 1912, both old Bengal and new Bihar have been given two separate Legislative Councils, having elected non-official majorities. On the other hand, Madras and Bombay, the oldest of the Provinces, have been provided with a non-official majority composed of nominated and elected members barely sufficient to satisfy the regulations.

By far the most serious of the drawbacks in the regulations, which have been allowed to exist in the revised regulations, are those relating to the disqualifications for membership, the arbitrary and unreasonable manner in which restrictions are imposed on candidates seeking election to the Councils, and the general disparagement of the educated classes that it involves. Property qualifications have been prescribed in various degrees and in various methods in the different Provinces, and the decision of questions connected with electoral rules is committed to the absolute discretion of the executive Government. It is our duty once again to urge an immediate revision of the regulations so as to make the non-official majorities in all Provincial Councils really effective for practical work, and to remove invidious differences in the qualifications prescribed for candidates seeking election.

In spite of the repeated and unanimous requests of the people of the United Provinces for the establishment of an Executive Council there, the question is hung up without the authorities assigning cogent reasons. Sir John Hewett's opposition to the proposal is too well-known to you, but with the change of the Lieutenant-Governorship in the United Provinces, it was hoped that it will receive sympathetic consideration at the hands of Sir James Meston, and it is a matter of considerable surprise to those who know His Honour as a man of liberal and progressive views, that he has not yet formulated proposals for establishing an Executive Council. In view of the fact that this question was the subject of a resolution which was moved in his Council and which received strong support from the non-official members, I am hopeful that it will receive due consideration at the hands of the Government of India and the Secretary of State.

As regards the Imperial Legislative Council I may say that the representation of some of the Provinces is defective and for this reason I would suggest an increase of at least half a dozen seats on the Council and there being thrown open for popular election. We all know that at present we have at the head of the Government in India a sagacious statesman whose far-sighted and sympathetic policy has endeared him to the people of this country, and I fervently hope that His Excellency Lord Hardinge before laying down the reins of his exalted office will remove the present defects in the Imperial Council and make it fully representative.

Local Self-Government.

When the Government of India in 1908 submitted for approval to the Secretary of State the group of constitutional reforms which resulted in the passing of the Indian Councils Act, the Government of India claimed that their scheme as a whole "will really and effectively associate the people of India in the work, not only of occasional legislation, but of actual every-day administration." The fact that I want to emphasise here is what Lord Morley himself mentioned, that that scheme of reform "is not, and hardly pretends to be, a complete representation of the entire body of changes and improvements in the existing system that are evidently present to the minds of some of those whom your Government has consulted and that to the best of my judgment are now demanded by the situation described in the opening words of the despatch." Lord Morley proceeded to point out that it is "evidently desirable to present our reform of the Indian constitutional system as a whole and that from this point of view, it seems necessary to attempt without delay an effectual advance in the direction of Local Self-Government."

It is now five years since these words were written and the Government of India are yet maturing proposals for making an advance in this direction "without delay." The reluctance to revive the old village organisation and to establish village panchayats is particularly pronounced in some Provinces, while a degree of tardiness in considering proposals for the expansion of local and municipal administration coupled with the oft-repeated desire to hedge further advance with over-cautious restrictions, is noticeable among all grades of administrative authorities in India, Lord Morley quoted the memorable words of Lord Ripon that it is not primarily with a view to improvement in administration that this measure is put forward and started; it is chiefly desirable as an instrument of political and popular education," and that there is little chance of affording any effective training to the people in the management of local affairs or of the non-official members thereof taking any real interest in local business, unless "they are led to feel that real power is placed in their hands and that they have real responsibilities to discharge."

The Royal Commission on Decentralisation which submitted its report shortly after this, fully endorsed Lord Morley's views and insisted that the village should be made the starting point of public life in India, that village panchayats should be revived all over the country as the first unit of Local Government, and that the constitution and functions of other local bodies should be broadened and liberalised in various ways. The Imperial and Provincial Governments have been cogitating over this part of the recommendations now for over four years, and repeated inquiries in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils have not so far elicited any sympathetic assurance as to the recommendations being likely to be carried out in the near future. The latest announcement is that the Government of India have submitted their proposals to the Secretary of State and obtained his approval, and that they would shortly introduce the necessary legislation for carrying them out. It is not easy to anticipate what these proposals are, but the Congress has a right to demand that the Commission's recommendations should be fully carried out, and the proposals of the Government of India should be placed before the public as a whole and not piece meal. We must impress upon the Government that this question should be treated as part of a progressive political policy and not as one of more administrative exigency.

Primary and Technical Education.

The unrest the swept over the country from one end to the other is a thing of the past, at any rate, we are no longer face to face with its turgid waters and dangerous and insidious currents, but only with some of the evils that have lain beneath the surface of the unrest and are now discernible. Now that the storm has happily passed away, let us address ourselves to the task of meeting the underlying evils in the way they ought to be. There had been a steadily increasing feeling, on the part of the people, of dissatisfaction with their surroundings and a steadily increasing yearing for a better and more bearable existence. Even a casual observer must be struck by the desire manifested on every side for more light in the shape of education, both Primary and Technical. Primary Education, I need not say, is the remedy of remedies that will help the masses at present steeped in ignorance, superstition and lethargy, to get out of the slough of despond, and will teach them self-help by placing within their reach, through the medium of Literature, the benefits that would accrue from adopting modern methods and principles in their hereditary and time-hallowed occupation of agriculture and other small industries; and that will surely would in them a frame of mind that would co-operate with the Government in any measure that may be taken for public good, by removing the disposition to believe in the ascription of wrong motives and intentions to Government as regards their particular acts and measures. In short, Primary Education will give more food to the masses reduce to an appreciable degree the acuteness of the economic problem, remove most of the social evils and conduce to the stability of the British Rule.

It is a source of great pleasure and satisfaction to observe that the recent visit of Their Imperial Majesties was an important landmark in the history of our country. Ever since the blessed day of their advent and ever since His Imperial Majesty emphasised in his speeches the need for a wider element of sympathy in the administration of the country and pressed for a rapid advancement of education as the panacea for all our social and political evils, the essential importance of education, as a factor of national prosperity has come to be fully recognised by the Government, and we gratefully acknowledge their earnest effort to foster and push it forward. But at the same time we feel that they do not go far enough. The political fears that the Government entertain as regards the adoption of the principle of compulsion are altogether imaginary, and if the scheme which has been put forward is carefully considered and followed by Government, the administrative and financial difficulties with which the Government believe they are confronted, will soon disappear in practice. So long as the local institutions retain their strong official complexion, people would naturally hesitate to confide in them. But before these institutions are entrusted with the initiation and control of Primary Education, if they are made more popular and representative, the people would be glad to co-operate with them and would even to willing to bear the imposition of a special cess which will be ear-marked for the purpose of being devoted to Primary Education. I may point out that when, in the famous Despatch of 1854, Sir Charles Wood laid the foundation of the system of public education, a memorable advance was made. And as the authorities with genuine statesmanlike foresight, recognised that England's prime function in India was to superintend the tranquil elevation of the moral and intellectual standard of life among the people, I fail to see any plausible reason that could be adduced against making a modest and cautious beginning to introduce compulsory and free Primary Education in selected areas that may be considered to be ripe for it.

The Public Service Commission.

The question of the employment of Indians in the higher and more responsible positions in the Public Service of this country is not a question of merely individual careers, but is one of much higher and wider importance. Not to speak of the material and economic drain that the exclusion of Indians from higher posts in the public service of their own country involves, it is repugnant to the nation's sense of self-respect. With the growth of intelligence and self-consciousness among the people, their part is an increasing-disposition on their part to compare their own position with that of the other nations of the world, and to regard their present political status as incompatible with the rights of freedom and equality conferred on them by the British Constitution and guaranteed to them by British traditions. In the words of Sir Thomas Munro "the aim of the British administration of India was to be to raise the minds of the natives, to raise their character and to render them worthy of filling higher situations in the management of the country, so that in fullness of time Indians would be able to frame a regular Government for themselves and to conduct and preserve it." We feel that we are not in this respect treated in accordance with the spirit of the proclamations and promises made by the British Sovereigns, the Parliament and responsible Ministers. It is, therefore, a matter of sincere pleasure and great satisfaction to us that a Royal Commission under the able Chairmanship of that eminent and sympathetic statesman, Lord Islington, has been appointed to enquire into the question of Public services. Without in any way anticipating the recommendations it may make. I can say that the manner in which the Commission began to take evidence during the last cold weather, amply justifies the hope that it will do justice to Indians when it comes to formulate its final conclusions. In the course of the speech in which he opened the sittings of the Commission on the 8th of January last at Madras, his Lordship said: "We are confident that we shall receive such assistance and co-operation that subsequently when the fruits of our labours are published it may be found that we have reached a reasonable basis of agreement which will give satisfaction both to the just demands of the services and to the legitimate aspirations of His Majesty's Indian subjects, and be consonant with the orderly development of the administration of this great country." The remarkable insight and the keen interest displayed by Lord Islington in the course of the enquiry encourage us in the belief that the result will be gratifying to the expectations raised in the minds of the people. It will not be out of place for me to express a hope that the much-discussed question of the separation of judicial from executive functions will receive a solution at the hands of the Commission, which will satisfy public opinion.

In the course of the evidence before the Commission, it was suggested by some of the witnesses that the Public Services in India should not be open to those Colonists who do not trans

Indians on a footing of equality. And if much stress was not laid on this, it was due to the fact that the situation in South Africa had not assumed such an acute form and so dangerous a proportion as at present. As the crisis in South Africa has become so threatening as to constitute an imminent danger to the interests of the Empire. I venture to submit to the Commission the advisability and necessity of lying down, as a matter of principle, that those Colonies which do not treat Indians as equal subjects of the King will not have a share in the administration of India, and candidates from such Colonies will be debarred from taking part in any competitive examination, or entering into any of the services of this country. In making an earnest appeal to Lord Islington and members of the Royal Commission to include this suggestion in their recommendations, I would like to point out that it is not only calculated to show to South Africa that the Commission wishes to maintain strict impartiality, but it will serve as a warning to the Colonies and prevent them from following the example of the Union Government. It will also strengthen the hands of the Government of India and the Imperial Government in my action which they may contemplate to take in an emergency.

Indians in the Army.

Closely allied to the question that I have now dealt with, is the question of higher career for Indians in the Army. Meeting at Karachi so close to places distinguished as the home of warlike races from whom the Indian sepoy is largely drawn, we can appropriately go into it at some length. From its earliest years the congress has included in its resolutions a demand for the establishment of military colleges in India in which natives of India as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for appointment as commissioned or non-commissioned officers according to their capacity and qualifications, in the Indian Army. That demand apparently remained unheeded till the advent of Lord Curzon whose Viceroyalty was a succession of promises either broken or only partially redeemed. You may remember, Gentlemen, that soon after his arrival he formed a "Cadet Corps" consisting of Indian Princes and Noblemen with head quarters at Dehra Dun. The Congress of 1901 held at Calcutta welcomed it as the first instalment of a policy which will culminate in the establishment of military colleges as recommended by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, at which natives of India may be educated and trained for employment as officers of the army. The expectation was not realised and the Madras Congress in 1908 reiterated its demand, in view specially of the high recognition of the valour and fidelity of India troops by His Late Imperial Majesty King Edward VII, in his message to the Princes and the people of India. Lord Minto, true to the spirit of policy of his Government, pressed on the authorities at Home a scheme framed by his Lordship in this matter which had the full support of his Council and of the Commander-in-Chief. The words in which he referred to the scheme, in the course of a speech he delivered as chairman of a meeting in London on April 24, 1912, deserve repetition here. That speech seems to me to be a remarkable illustration of his policy, his broad sympathies and of his grasp of Indian points of view which distinguished his career in India.

His Lordship said :—"I must take friendly exception to what Sir W. C. Plowden has said as to my not having faced the question of Commissions in the Army for Indian gentlemen. I can assure you that I not only faced it, but that I fought it every day. It was my hobby the whole time I was in India to try and obtain such commissions for Indian gentlemen and I hoped that I had succeeded. It is curious that British opinion of to-day as regards the possibility of granting commissions is less advanced than it was a generation ago. The views of many people to-day are much behind the times in comparison with those of distinguished officers even before the Mutiny. As long ago as 1844, Sir Henry Lawrence dealt with the question. Subsequently Lord Napier wrote a memorandum in 1885 on the same subject, stating that the Government of India had then the matter under consideration. Sir George Chesney, Sir Donald Stewart and others, all held the same views. All these distinguished officers admitted that a great injustice was being perpetrated in withholding such commissions ; they maintained that young Indians gentlemen should have greater opportunities for military distinction ; but at the same time they all laid down that they must not command British troops and that the solution of the difficulty was the raising of special Indian regiments in which Indian gentlemen should receive commissions. I am afraid that racial antipathies, however narrow many of us may think them, are much stronger in India than they are at Home. I do not know why. But at any rate, we cannot do away with these racial antipathies by word of command ; the only way to lessen them is by example and by constant sympathy, for our Indian fellow-subjects. By force of example and by constant sympathy, let us hope that racial prejudices may gradually disappear. Under existing conditions, it would, in my opinion, be a grave mistake to appoint a young Indian of good family to a British regiment or to a regiment of the Indian Army against the wish of its British officers. It would only create friction and we should be worse off than we were before. I fought this question in India over and over again and before I came away, the Government of India, the Commander-in-Chief and all my Council were in agreement with me that the commission should be granted. We therefore framed a scheme for the raising of a regiment to be officered by selected Indian gentlemen who would generally have received a military education in the Cadet Corps. Our proposal was that the regiment should begin with a skeleton of a few British officers to give it a start ; and young Indian officers should be grafted to it in the ordinary way, with *bond fide* commissions who would rise in due course of promotion ; while the British skeleton will gradually disappear and an Indian officer will eventually obtain command of the regiment which would be in the course of 20 years or so. The scheme was sent Home and it was my earnest hope that it would receive official sanction before I left India. I am sorry to say I do not know what has happened to it since then. I feel, however, that it would be unfair to the Government of India not to take this opportunity of saying that, as far as they were concerned, the necessity for the commission was recognised and the difficulty was dealt with. The opposition to our proposal was at Home!" This last sentence illustrates the spirit in which the India Council deals with Indian aspirations. Fortunately however, a beginning has been made by His Majesty nominating two or three Indian noblemen only recently and it remains for the Indian National Congress to bring to bear on His Majesty's Government the weight of the unanimous and earnest wish of the Indian people for a satisfactory solution of this important question.

Resolutions.

The Congress met again at 12-15 on December 27th, the attendance being the same as yesterday.

The President moved a resolution that the Congress desired to record its sense of the great loss sustained by the country by the death of Mr. J. Ghosal, who was a staunch worker in the Congress cause and the death of Mr. Justice P. R. Sundara Aiyer. The resolution was carried, the assembly standing.

Diwan Bahadur Govind Raghava Ayer (Madras) moved the second resolution—

"That this Congress enters an emphatic protest against the provisions of the Immigration Act in that they violate the promises made by Ministers of the South African Union and respectfully urges the Crown to veto the Act and requests the Imperial and Indian Governments to adopt such measures as would ensure to Indians in South Africa just and honourable treatment. This Congress expresses its abhorrence of the cruel treatment to which Indians were subjected in Natal in the recent strikes and entirely disapproves of the personnel of the Committee appointed, by the South African Union to enquire into matters, as two of its members are already known to be biassed against Indians, and as it does not include persons who command the confidence of Indians in South Africa and here. This Congress tenders its most respectful thanks to his Excellency the Viceroy for his statesmanlike pronouncement of the policy of the Government of India on the South African question. This Congress requests the Imperial and Indian Governments to take the steps needed to redress the grievances relating to the questions of the £3 tax, indentured labour, domicile, the educational test, the validity of Indian marriages and other questions bearing on the status of Indians in South Africa. That this Congress expresses its warm and grateful appreciation of the heroic struggle carried on by Mr. Ghandi and his co-workers, and calls upon the people of this country of all classes and creeds to continue to supply them with funds."

In moving the resolution Mr. Govind Raghava Aiyer said, that the resolution related to what might be called the question of the day and without referring to the conditions of Indians in South Africa, the speaker turned to the question of principle, and those who did not sympathise with them urged that the Imperial Government could not interfere with self-governing colonies. It was no argument at all. Indians were striving to get self-government within the Empire. But before the rights of self-governing colonies there was justice. Indians were only questioning the act of the Colonies in respect of not allowing Indians to live there as citizens. After refuting the other arguments of those who were not sympathetic with them, the speaker referred to the six points mentioned in statement made by Mr. Gokhale. They wanted that the racial bar should be removed. South African Indians should have the right to enter Cape Colony; the right of domicile should be restored ; the abolition of the £3 tax; the recognition of Indian marriages in South Africa, and a sympathetic administration of the South African laws. After explaining these points in detail the speaker concluded by saying that there was yet hope, for they were fortunate in having a sympathetic Viceroy

in Lord Hardinge. His Excellency, as a responsible administrator, considered it his duty to dissociate himself from the policy of the Union Government. It had been said in some quarters that it was more diplomacy, only to please the Indians. The speaker, however, thought that in it lay a principle which was higher than diplomacy. For the courageous and statesmanlike declarations of the Viceroy this Congress and the whole of India was grateful to his Excellency.

Lala Lajpatrai, in an eloquent Urdu speech, seconded the resolution. He said that they were only demanding citizenship of the Empire. The question was whether they were entitled to it or not, and if they were not, he would call upon those who had assumed the guardianship of India to be true to this guardianship and trust, otherwise Indians would charge them with criminal breach of trust before a tribunal before which they all had to stand one day. The only way in which that trust could be exercised was the way taken by Lord Hardinge. The Viceroy had felt the weight of the injustice and had thrown off reserve and risen equal to the occasion, as the responsible head of India. The speaker asked Indians to shield the Viceroy against the vituperations of opponents. After briefly referring to the disabilities of Indians in South Africa, Lala Lajpatrai made a stirring appeal for funds.

Mr. Choudhari in supporting the resolution said that they formed a component part of modern civilzation, that the self-conciousness that pervaded the world also found a place in their hearts, and that, being as they were, they legitimately asked for the same position as other colonists got without effort. Indians had sacrificed their life-blood for the Empire, and what had the Boers done? Yet the Boers had been given privileges of self-governing colonies while Indians had been completely denied citizenship. In conclusion he said that their demand was for justice and their firm determination was to get justice from the Imperial Government.

Mr. M. T. Kaperbhoy of Bombay, in supporting, said that so long as the idea remained with the White races that they were superior to Indians, so long was the trouble bound to continue, and they could only get rid of it by bringing about a complete regeneration in India in social and intellectual matters. To achieve this they must all combine and co-operate. The salvation of India lay in the true union of the people and her onward mach of progress depended upon constitutional and constructive methods. In conclusion the speaker appealed to Hindus and Mohamedans to combine for the common good of the country.

Mr. Hafiz, A Sindhi Mohamedan, in supporting said, he was glad to see a number of Mohamedans present as delegates. Though very few had come, they had come fully prepared to join the Congress and make common cause with the Hindus for the common good of the country.

Lala Goverdhandas of the Punjab and Mr. Sahai of Behar, supported the resolution.

Before the resolution was adopted, the President announced that he had received a message from Japan which said that the Indian community in that country had contributed Rs. 5,000 and they desired the President to remit that amount to Mr. Gokhale to be sent to South Africa. The President further announced that funds in aid of South African Indians would be collected after the day's sitting was over.

Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, in moving a resolution on Hindu and Mohamedan unity, said that it was no easy thing for the Moslem League to have publicly declared the adoption of the ideal of self-government within the Empire. In the past that ideal formed the subject of strong criticism, not only from timid Indians but from high officials in the land. When such was the attitude of officials, naturally some of the less advanced, timid and hesitating Moslems were more cautious and took time to consider what would be their position as regards the Congress. The speaker congratulated the Moslem League for declaring publicly that India could not rise if they confined themselves to a separatist policy. Last year the Moslem League adopted wholeheartedly the position of the Congress. If they, Hindus and Mohamedans, now stood face to face there was nothing to stop the Congress from stretching hand of fellowship to the Moslem League. Appealing to Hindus, he advised toleration. Appealing to Moslems, he asked them to regard every man as equal, as preached by Mohamed. In conclusion, Mr. Basu said: "Now, brethren, Hindus and Mohamedans, in our hands lies the destiny of our common country. Whether we belong to the same race or not, whether we believe in the revelations of the Gita or of the Quran, we have reason to be proud of our past in India. Asoka and Chandragupta, Akbar and Shahjahan are names which will rouse the enthusiasm of any race and shed lustre on the followers of any creed. The Moghul Emperors saw the vision of a united India. Under the aegis of British rule, let us realise that vision. Once we begin, our course will be less and less difficult. One we begin to feel that preferments are not pedestals on which a nation can rise, once we begin to feel that we are not distant communities, entrenched in different camps but parts of one body, our course will be easier. If there have been misunderstandings in the past, let us forget them. Let them run out like the desert sands through the interstices of the wind and let us set about writing a new horoscope for India on the scroll of time and the India of the future will see a stronger, nobler, greater, higher, aye, brighter nation than was realised by Asoka in the plentitude of his power, than was a revealed to Akbar in the wildest of his visions. Shall we fail to do so? If we should suffer from misgivings, then we are not fit to enter the Temple of our Mother, raised to-day by the joint hands of Moslem and Hindu. God willing, we shall not fail. God willing, we shall stick to the banner we have raised. Storms may come and waves may break, but hold fast: the banner will yet fly triumphant and gather round it Hindus and Moslems in a common brotherhood, animated by the same objects, inspired by the same ideals, and working for the same aims."

Mr. Mudholkar, is seconding the resolution moved by Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, said, that the proposition was fraught with great good for the country. The fundamental principle of the Congress was that all Indians were brethren, and that all should work together. Previously, only a few educated Mohamedans adopted that idea, but now they found that the organisation established for protecting Mohamedan interests had adopted the fundamental principles of the Congress. The League had not only adopted that principle, but had also recognised that the political future of India depended on the harmonions working and co-operation of the various communities in the country.

Mr. Jehanger B. Petit, in supporting, said, that a visible indication had been given by the All-India Moslem League that it would co-operate with the sister communities for the advancement and regeneration of the country. He regarded this departure as a landmark in the history of the country. Some had predicted that it would be impossible for Hindus and Mohamedans to unite and work together. That prediction had been proved false.

Mr. Shesagiri Aiyer, in supporting, said that some delegates had objected that the resolution was humiliating to the Congress. He failed to see how it was humiliating to the Congress. But even if the Congress were humiliated by the union of the two great communities of India, that humiliation was desirable.

Mr. Khare, in supporting, said, he was glad to see a change in attitude of the Moslem League. From enemies they had become friends, and by their unity they would in the near future achieve self-government within the Empire.

Mr. Wacha, in supporting, said, that in his opinion, the Indian National Congress was entering to-day into a new nativity. The Indian National Congress is bound to achieve a new nativity. He was three score years and ten, but he hoped to see the fruition of the new destiny.

The resolution was carried.

Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu moved following the resolution:

"That this Congress places on record its warm appreciation of the adoption by the All-India Moslem League of the ideal of self-government for India within the British Empire and expresses its complete accord with the belief that the League has so emphatically declared at its last sessions that the political future of the country depends on the harmonions working and co-operation of the various communities in the country, which has been the cherished ideal of the Congress. This Congress most heartily welcomes the hope expressed by the League that the leaders of the different communities will make every endeavour to find a *modus operandi* for joint and concerted action on all questions of national good and earnestly appeals to all sections of the people to help the object we all have at heart."

Mr. C. A. E. Ramaswamy Aiyer of Madras moved a resolution urging the separation of the judicial from the executive functions and the placing of the judiciary under the control of the highest court in every province. As it was an old resolution the speaker confined himself to pointing out the evils of the combination of two functions, and the urgency of their separation.

Mr. Khetish Chunder Ganguli of Bengal seconded. Other speakers supported the resolution which was carried.

Abolition of the Secretary of States Council.

Mr. Jinnah moved a resolution urging the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State at as present constituted, and made the following suggestions for its reconstruction: (*a*) that the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed on the English estimates; (*b*) that with a view to the efficiency and independence of the Council, it is expedient that it should be partly nominated and partly elected; (*c*) that the total number of members of the Council should be nine; (*d*) that the elected portion of the Council should consist of not less than one-third of the total number who should be non-official Indians chosen by a constituency consisting of elected members of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils; (*e*) that not less than one-half of the nominated portion of the Council

should consist of public men of merit and ability, unconnected with the Indian administration; (*f*) that the remaining portion of the nominated Council should consist of officials who have served in India for not less that 10 years, and have not been away from India for more than two years; (*g*) that the character of the Council should be advisory and not administrative; (*h*) that the term of office of each member should be five years."

Mr. Jinnah, in moving the resolution, described how the Council was constituted. There was no place in the Council for the advocation of the views of non-officials, because the Council was composed entirely of officials and it ought therefore to be abolished. The Council was formed in 1858 and it should have been reformed long ago.

Mr. Samarth, in seconding, thought that they were right in saying that it would be a retrogade step to change the present advisory Council into administrative body. One of the vital proposals in this resolution was that a portion of the Council should be nominated and then duly elected. All that he wished to say was that a further advance should be made in representation by election.

Mr. Krishan Ram, who supported, said there was absolutely no notification which required India to bear any portion of the expenditure and the Secretary of State's Council was in no way helpful for the administration of the country in its best interests.

Mr. Gopaldas Jhamalmal supported.

Babu Surendranath Mullick said that Europeans were indifferent in matters which did not touch their pockets. He insisted upon the total abolition of the Council and on its being placed under the direct supervision of Parliament. If they relied wholly and solely on the conscience of the British people, they might then perhaps expect full justice to be done to them.

The resolution was carried.

The Congress met at 1 p. m. on December 28th. The proceedings commenced with the singing of the well-known Punjabi National Song.

Sardar Nand Singh moved a resolution protesting against the prohibition of Indian immigration to Canada resulting from the continuous journey clause and urging upon the Imperial Government the necessity of securing the repeal of that regulation. The speaker said that instead of bringing glad tidings, Christmas week had brought a deplorable tale from Canada and other Colonies. In this matter Sikhs were feeling that injustice has been done to India and that the treatment accorded to Indians by the colonists was unjust and cruel, and they were condemning with one voice the colonial atrocities. After citing instances of the troubles to which Indians were subjected in Canada, the speaker prayed for the intervention of Government.

Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitter, in seconding, said the world was God's and all men had the right of free access to all parts of it. This elementary truth had been forgotten by many races and countries, and this was the root cause of the troubles of Indians in the colonies. That insincere and cowardly law, of the continuous journey regulation, was passed because Indians were sober, industrious and frugal.

Mir Ayub Khan, a prominent leader of the Mahomedan Community, supported the resolution in a forcible Urdu speech. The Mir had hitherto attended Congress as a visitor but was so moved by the last two days' proceedings that this morning he had himself registered a delegate, and took part in the proceedings. He said that his sympathies had always been with the Congress. There had always been something against Mahomedans, but since the Congress had extended its hand to Mahomedans, the latter were willing to join the Congress. The welfare of the nation could not be attained without the joint labours of the two great communities in India. He appealed to the people to contribute to the South African and Canadian Funds.

Pundit Rambhuj Dutt also supported the resolution which was carried.

Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu moved a resolution protesting against the continuance of the Indian Press Act on the Statute Book and urging its repeal, especially in view of a recent decision of the High Court of Calcutta which had disclosed the fact that the safeguards provided by the Act were illusory and incapable of being enforced. He said: "I am dealing now with what was a piece of panic legislation. The Government of India with all other Governments, with not always an easy conscience, is liable to panic; but, unlike other Governments, the Government of British India must not forget that its position is peculiar and nothing is more calculated to do is harm than its liability to panic, and nothing more dangerous than hasty action undertaken in fear or anger. Sedition may pass like the breath of the wind, anarchy may raise its matted locks in dark and unholy corners, but that may also go, but what it seems will not go is the impression that a handful of boys with explosives in discarded tin-pots and a few hysterical newspapers can disturb the equilibrium of the Government of India and bring it down head over heals; and that is what happened in 1910. The Indian Press was liberated in 1827 amidst circumstances of great solemnity, with a declaration that boldly looked the future in the face. The early rulers of India were not timid men, were not frightened of shadows, not men who carried their hearts on their sleeves, not men who troubled themselves with Continental anologies, not men who ran to Austria or Russia for models of Government. They rescued India from misrule and anarchy, they wrested the dominion of India from the French; they wanted to give India the benefits of British administration; they wanted to infuse the country with the Spirit of British rule. Those were men who wielded alike the sword and the pen, and were at home alike in the busy haunts of men and in the seclusion of the Council Chamber. This is what Sir Charles Metcalfe, the liberator of the Indian Press said to a deputation that waited on him in 1837. Referring to those who were opposed to the removal of the licensing laws for the Press, he said: "If their argument be true that the spread of knowledge may be ultimately fatal to our rule in India, I close with them on that one point and maintain that, whatever may be the consequence, it is our duty to communicate the benefits of knowledge. If India could only be preserved as a part of the British Empire by keeping the inhabitant in a state of ignorance, our dominion would be a curse to the country and ought to cease." These are memorable words, and their grave significance should never be lost sight of. Unfortunately they were lost sight of in 1910, and the Government of India took a hasty and hurried step towards what Sir Charles Metcalfe sought to avoid. Did they think what they were doing by the law they were passing? Killing sedition? Did they believe that they were choking off the subterranean channels through moisture brought to that plant of noisesome growth? They must have. But the question may be asked. Have they succeeded? Their success is writ in large characters for the man who runs to read. And so it was anticipated by those whom panic and passion had not blinded to reason. And sedition driven underground is more dangerous than sedition whose roots you can reach with one's eyes open. We barred our way to the sources of danger and, gentlemen, it was not as if there was no law dealing with sedition. It was not as if we had not succeeded in suppressing newspapers which were offending. In Bengal, the "Sandhya" had gone, the "Yugantar" had gone, the "Bandemataram" had gone. Sir Herbert Risley declared in a speech that out of 47 cases for sedition instituted under the laws then existing, the Government had secured a conviction in every one of them. What more could be wanted? The answer was given that the prosecutions involved great labour and much consideration. Consequently the Government wanted a sweeping measure, not causing so much trouble. Alas! the blindness of rulers and of men! How human foresight is apt to be vain, how human schemes go the wrong way! Gentlemen, you will allow me to pass to another branch of the subject. The Government of India had to put a salve on their own conscience. They had to reconcile the British public and a Liberal administration. They had to re-enact what Gladstone had helped in removing, and who could find for them more plausible reasons than that keen, gifted and astute scholar and politician, Sir Herbert Risley? He brought into requisition the laws prevailing in Austria, the conditions of which he said were similar to India, forgetting that Austria-Hungary had their Diets and that Ministers could be removed. But these slight considerations do not affect our rulers when they draw analogies from the Continent of Europe for the enactment or introduction of a retrogade or reactionary measure. But, said Sir Herbert, we in India shall be better off than in Austria. The Bill does not propose to confer any power on the police. They will be absolutely outside it and will have nothing whatever to do with its administration. I think there is a difference between the police and the C. I. D. The one is open public, the other secret, subterranean. And Sir Herbert was only thinking of the public police, keeping the C. I. D. in reserve. How is the law administered? As soon as an application is made for registration, the magistrate refers it to the C. I. D. and upon its report depends the fate of the newspaper or the press. There are many Pressmen in this assembly. They will correct meif I am wrong. But Sir Herbert Risley had not only to throw dust in the eyes of the British public. He had also to reintroduce on a much larger scale what Gladstone had repeated, namely, the Vernacular Press Act of 1878, and he pointed out the difference. It was not like he Press Act of 1878, a purely executive measure. The initiative indeed rests with the executive Government but ample security against hasty or arbitrary action is provided in the form of what is virtually an appeal to a highly competent judicial authority. This was not all. This does not rest on the elusive assurance of an astute statesman. The Law Member at the time, whose honesty and candour are above all question, said, in words of great emphasis, that he had provided safeguards which would make a Local Government hesitate before it made an order of forfeiture, because there was a tribunal which would sit over it and could reverse its decision. There was another safeguard. Under section 4 of the Act, the Government would have to state the offending words, signs or visible representations. These were the safe-

guards. The Local Governments would have to particularize the offence and there would be the right of appeal. Well, no Local Government did set out particulars. In a recent case the High Court of Bengal held that the declaration of forfeiture was invalid and illegal. But the invalidity was protected by Section 22 of the Act and the High Court had no power to interfere. Then as regards the safeguard of appeal, this is what the Chief Justice has said: "Of the two alleged checks on executive action supposed to be furnished by the Act, one, the intervention of the courts, is ineffectual, while the other for this very reason can be, and in this case has been, disregarded without impairing the practical effect of a forfeiture purporting to be under the Act. Well, gentlemen, this is what we have come to. We have a special law of a very drastic nature without any safeguards. We say that that law is not necessary. We say that that law can never serve the purpose for which it was intended. We say that that law will make criminal administration mere difficult, because it will shut out the sources of information. We say that it will make the general administration of the country a matter of grave concern, for it will act as a wet cloth on all expressions of public opinion. We say that, situated as the Government of India is, foreign in its composition and a loof in its character, that that law is a source of great pride (*sic*) that it is against the spirit of the British Constitution that it is derogatory to the self-respect of a nation, of a people if you will, which is fast developing its self-consciousness, and we say, on the authority of the highest tribunal that the safeguards supposed to be provided do not exist, and we appeal to the Government of Lord Hardinge, who has shown a courage in his treatment of great and burning questions like the Partition of Bengal and the grievances of Indians in South Africa, and a just indignation over the Mosque bungle in Cawnpore, comparable only with that the early administrators of India, to remove a dark and inglorious spot in what is justly regarded as the brightest diadem in the British Crown."

Mr. D. G. Dalvi of Bombay, in seconding the resolution protesting against the contin ation of the Indian Press Act, said that though he had agreed with the general principles of this Bill when it came on to the Statute Books, he was of opinion that it should have been repealed after four years. He said the Press Act was introduced when there was sedition in the country. Now that the panic was over, the law should be repealed. So-called anarchy and bomb-throwing had nothing to do with the Press in general. The police, having this weapon, carried on prosecution in a haphazard manner. It was essential that the executive power should be under the authority of the High Court. Indians highly cherished the liberty of the Press to which the Act gave check.

Mr. J. Chaudhari, in supporting, cited specific cases of hardships to which Pressmen had been put under the Act.

The resolution was further supported by two Sindhi speakers, after which it was carried.

Rai Baikunt Nath Sen moved a resolution with respect to the Public Services Commission, protesting against the charges of general incompetence, lack of initiative and lack of character which some Indians had levelled against Indians. It prayed that the Royal Commission would recommend an increase of India in the higher appointments, a simultaneous Civil Service examination, that the age-limit for Civil Service candidates should not be lowered, that the judicial and executive services and functions should be separated, that restrictions against appointments to higher offices should be removed, that the division of the Services into Imperial and Provincial should be removed and that the people of those dominions of the Crown where Indians were not accorded the rights of British citizens should be declared ineligible for appointments in India.

In speaking to the resolution, Rai Baikunt Nath Sen said that it might be asked that, while the Commission was going on with its work, why should the Congress pass such a resolution? The reply was that serious charges had been levelled against Indians and, if the Congress kept silent, it might be construed as a partial admission, and therefore, they were going to emphatically refute those charges. Then he cited instances of some Bengali Civilians who had proved more efficient during the recent unrest in Bengal than European magistrates. In view of the progress made by Indians in matters of education, and in view of the present policy of the Government, the speaker thought the time had come when there should be a simultaneous Civil Service examination both in London and in India.

Dr. Nilratan Sircar, in seconding, said that the first principle that should be recognised was that India was governed for Indians and that her children should first be admitted into the Services of the country and that non-Indians should be appointed only when there was no competent Indian and that only for a limited time. The division of the Services into Imperial and Provincial was most derogatory. A contented India with a service filled by her own sons was a greater asset to England than an irritated India whose loaves and fishes in the services were monopolised by non-Indians. The resolution being supported in Sindhi by two Karachi delegates was carried.

Other resolutions were adopted praying for the introduction of a permanent land settlement in ryotwari areas, for the opening of the higher ranks in the Army to Indians, for the introduction of free compulsory education, for the establishment of residential universities supplementary to the existing universities, for making provision for industrial and technical education, and protesting against the action of the Government of India in vetoing the election by the Calcutta University of Messrs. Rasul, Suhrawardi and Jaiwal as lecturers.

Another resolution urged that all High Courts in India should have direct relations with the Government of India alone.

The next resolution gave cordial support to the Swadeshi movement and another resolution urged the total prohibition of the recruitment of labour under indenture whether for work in India or elsewhere.

Resolution praying for an increase of the powers of local bodies, the revision of the Council Regulations, the establishment of Executive Councils in the United Provinces and the Punjab were moved from the chair.

The President moved another resolution authorising the All-India Congress Committee to arrange for a deputation to England to represent Indian views on the South Africa question, the Press Act, the reform of the India Council and the separation of judicial and executive functions.

The Congress next recorded its sense of appreciation of the services of Sir William Wedderburn and other members of the British Committee.

A resolution was moved by the Chair that the following message be sent to Mr. Gandhi and was carried unanimously:

"The 28th Indian National Congress, Karachi, expresses deep indignation at the ill-treatment of Indian strikers in Natal and accords its cordial support to your request for the extension of the composition of the Enquiry Commission by the addition of two gentlemen enjoying the confidence of Indians in South Africa, and fervently trusts that your demand will be satisfied so as to secure a full and impartial enquiry. India at your back in your struggle, heart and soul."

Rai Baikunt Nath Sen, in moving a resolution expressing regret at the retirement of Mr. D. E. Wacha and Mr. D. A. Khare from the office of General Secretaries, paid a warm tribute to the signal services rendered by them.

Mr. Wacha, on behalf of himself and Mr. Khare, thanked the audience for the kind words of praise spoken in appreciation of their services and said that they had only done their duty as servants of the Congress, and that their present retirement from the Secretaryship of the Congress Committee was in no way due to a want of interest. On the contrary their interest would last as long as health permitted. As a word of advice to the younger men of the Congress, Mr. Wacha said that the Congress had now been 23 years in existence, that it had passed through many a phase, through the phases of ridicule, contempt and obloquey, but that it was now entering on a new era when it was shaking hands with their Moslem brethren. A new star had arisen for the Congress and the course of this star would shape its future destiny. During its onward progress its course would be sometimes one of storm and stress. But remember this: "Toil on, toil on; but go onward in your progress. We can only reach our goal step by step, that goal which will crown us with success. Let it be self-government."

Nawab Syed Mahammud Bahadur and Mr. Subba Rao were appointed General Secretaries for the next year. Mr. Subba Rao in reply invited the next Congress to Madras.

Mr. Golam Ali Chagla, Secretary of the Reception Committee, proposed a vote of thanks to the President and said that the Nawab's presence had been productive of fruitful results. It was due to his presence that the Hindu-Mohamedan *entente* resolution had been adopted whose effect would be far-reaching.

Mr. Basu seconded and several delegate supported.

The president made the following reply:—

"Gentlemen, from the bottom of my heard I thank you for the very warm vote of thanks which you have just passed. It desire to convey to you once more my grateful appreciation of the great honour you have done me by electing me to preside over the deliberations of our National Assembly. I thank you all for the ready and willing assistance you have rendered to me in the discharge of my duties, and for the indulgence you have shown me in carry them out. It is not necessary for me to sum up the work accomplished during the last three days. I will only repeat, what my predecessors have said so often, that the work of this Congress is by no means over with the three days session, but that these three days are only the starting point and guide for continued and steady work in the course of the year that opens out before us. I do no wish to indulge in common places, but let me impress upon you that the Congress is not concerned with any work of momentary or local importance nor with the accomplishment of isolated objects. It aims at sustained and systematic work

towards continuous progress, including peace and plenty, self-improvement and solidarity. The Indian National Congress is not an annual show, but is an organisation designed to stimulate and guide serious national work in which all who have confidence in the country's advancement, on modern lines, and have faith in its future destiny, are called upon to labour in a spirit of self-sacrifice and co-operation and in the exercise of the public virtues specially demanded by the exceptional conditions of the country. As a visible representation of our national aspirations, the Congress will attract and rally together the best minds among us, and even occasional failure will impel them to strive onward further in the belief that, for committees as for men, the test of real greatness is the capacity for self-denial and disinterested devotion to the public good. The zeal, earnestness and mutual confidence manifest among all that worked for the success of this session, among the delegates, the members of the reception committee and the volunteers, are undoubted indications of our determination to be a united nation. Let us not hesitate, falter or despair. Let us march forward, on and on. Let us be up and down, and not rest until the goal is reached.

You gave me a very warm reception on my arrival here, and during my stay here received great kindness from you for which I cannot sufficiently express my obligations to you. I shall carry with me very happy recollections of your city and of your excellent, qualities, which I assure you will endure till the last hour of my life. Once again I express my grateful thanks for all you have done to make my stay among you comfortable and pleasant."

On the conclusion of the President's speech the Congress was dissolved.

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Selections.

The Tango.

All Britain is now divided into three parts. There are those who rave in praise of the Tango. There are those who rave against. And there are those—a quiet majority—who know little about it and careless.

True, it is not easy to preserve a virginal ignorance since the newspapers and the theatres have made the Tango their own. But many excellent people are really clever in dodging inconvenient knowledge. A few years ago a play called "Ben Hur" enjoyed its day of fleeting popularity in London. A certain great man was asked if he had seen it. "Of course, on the hoardings," was his reply. "But I mean have you seen the play?" "A play, is it? Really, I thought it was some new brand of whisky." People of this kind note the constant references to "Tango Teas" and "Tango Suppers," but probably connect the word with the idea of some cunningly advertised drink or beef essence.

Those who are at all interested in the Tango, however, are interested very much. The question—is the Tango a shameful and ridiculous dance or a thing of rare grace and beauty?—cuts across all social and party lines. There are sound Tories who applaud, and violent Radicals who condemn it. Serious youth is appalled, cheery senility delighted. It has its friends and its enemies in Mayfair and Whitechapel alike. To express an opinion either way in public is to invite the most deadly and withering retorts from offended partisans. The pro-Tango party draw all their arguments from the ball-rooms of London; the "antis" rely on terrible stories of the Paris cabarets. They may be left to fight the matter out between themselves. The unbiassed investigator is only concerned with the actual facts.

It is hardly a year ago since the Tango reached this country from South America by way of Paris. It was at first no more than a music-hall freak. But some of those mysterious people who inspire new social fashions were attracted by its sinous movements and the strange backward kick, and this year it made its way into private houses as well as public ball-rooms. Enterprising hostesses smiled a welcome to the innovation. Dancing, once regarded by young men as the outside edge of boredom, became suddenly popular. The languishing industry of Mr. Turveydrop revived into vigorous life. Everybody, in the limited social sense, began to acquire the knack of swaying and kicking on the approved Tango lines. The resulting spectacle was too much for Hepzibah Countess of Grundy. That lady—everybody remembers her husband's elevation late in Victoria's reign—above the signature "A Peeress," broke out into scarcely co-herent protests against the "disgraceful travesties of dancing" to be seen in London ball-rooms. She had a debutante of eighteen—a Miss Podsnape—to protect, and that ingenuous young person's cheek was assumed to be scarlet over the shocking evolutions of the Tango.

Lady Grundy's protest, of course, only advertised the dance, and the Tango has now passed through many of the phases of a popular craze. It holds the comedy stage without a rival. It has conquered the country houses. No great hotel is without its Tango teas and suppers. Milinery and dressmaking have responded to the Tango inspiration; and now even the journalists, the last to discover and the last to abandon a new idea, are beginning to discuss little else. That familiar figure, "the well-known Harley Street physician," has broken out. One side of the Street—say the odd numbers—recommends the Tango as an ideal exercise for the middle-aged. It is a fine, healthy exercise, "bringing all the large muscles in to play, inducing healthy skin action, and specially useful in cases of confirmed insomnia." The even numbers retort that grim possibilities lurk for the too vigorous Tango dancer—cardiac trouble, and muscular strain and liability to dislocation of the tibia. The "Lancet," too, will soon, no doubt, analyse the atmosphere of a Tango dance-room and prove that it yields and almost incredible number of bacteria to the square millimetre.

The æsthetics are equally divided. M. Richepin gives the Tango a distinguished ancestry and a good character. It is the incarnation of the spirit of the dance, and it comes to us from Pallas Athene, though it has had wanderings since it satisfied the Hellenic instinct for grace. Other voices scarcely less distinguished are raised against the innate savagery of a dance said to betray in every gesture its fitness for the cowboys and gauchos who evolved it. Indian or negroid—Spanish decadence grafted on to primitive animalism—this is the degraded ancestry of the thing European degenerates are not ashamed to embrace. Broadly speaking, the voting follows strictly party lines. The Academician condemns; the Futurist applauds. The school of art that still declares grass to be green is hostile to the Tango. Those who believe grass to be purple, with blotches of blue and yellow are warm friends of the Tango.

The argument, presumably will go on until the Tango—danced, photographed, "filmed," blessed and banned—has reached the stage of a generally recognised bore. Then, if it has real merits, it will quietly take its place in full odour of respectability in the repertory of established dances. Such was the fate of the Polka, the Lancers, the Schottische, and the rest. For the Polka, which so preoccupied Paris that in 1840 the *Times* complained that its correspondence was interrupted, was condemned, by Mrs. Grundy (not then ennobled) as a thing of license and contagious immodesty. Even the decorous waltz, the blameless mainstay of the modern programme met a storm of opposition when it reached these shores a century ago. The Tango may prove to have no more vitality than the American eccentricities which have had their little day in London, but has an interest for the moment as the expression of the spirit of the age. It represents a revolt from the tyranny of tradition, together with a bewildered outlook on the future. It says in effect, "Give us something new—or at least novel—ugly or beautiful matters not. Anything rather than dull perfection on the old lines."

It expresses, too, the modern passion for youthfulness. The child was curious to know what became of the old moons. A greater puzzle is what becames of the old men and women. People refuse to grow old; perhaps because they are afraid to. They are like the wonderful one-horse shay, proof against the ordinary process of gradual depreciation. They last so many years, seemingly unchanged and unchangeable, and then—suddenly drop into pieces. Old age is unfashionable, and gravity pardonable only in the very young. It is said that the majority of Tango students are well over fifty. A boy may delight in bluebooks, a Grenzelike young girl may addict herself to the study of Eugenics; but that way fogeyism and frumpishness lie for the man or woman over forty. Hence the excessive catering for the youthful in all departments. The newspaper reader who craved for "something about sunspots" has disappeared. His successor is assumed to be interested almost exclusively in the activities of those mysterious classes discussed in a scientific spirits by Mr. George Grossmith—the "bloods" and the "nuts" and their female equivalents.

And yet the silent majority really cares as little about these things as the honest yeoman under Charles II, troubled about the freaks of Scaley and Rochester. Modern feverishness is impressive enough in the newspapers, no doubt. But most men who have fairly extensive acquaintance will agree that on the whole the British pulse beats as healthful music as heretofore. John Bull is John Bull still, though he sometimes tries in his awkward way to cut a Parisian caper.—The *Saturday Review*.

Civis Britannicus—New Style.

The strike of the Indians in Natal illustrates better than any other instance the unreality of much talk about the unity of the British Empire. A chief count in our case against the Kruger Government was their unjust and oppressive treatment of British Indians. We claimed from them full privileges of entry and residence for Indians in accordance with the London Convention. After the war, when country was under our control, we did virtually nothing to redress

or abate those grievances. Lord Milner allowed the matter to stand over, and when self-government was given and the Union Government was formed, the worse counsels of the Transvaal and Natal prevailed over the more liberal policy of the Cape. The liberties of entrance, settlement, and occupation were further curtailed, an ignominious system of identification was imposed, and a high license tax of £3 upon unindentured labor was extended from the Transvaal over the whole Union so as to keep all Indians to the more servile occupations. Protests and peaceable representations have procured some trivial concessions, but no real abatement of grievances. Two years ago, after prolonged negotiations with the Government, Mr. Gandhi believed himself to have secured satisfactory pledges for a removal of the more flagrant injustices. But nothing was done to fulfil the pledges. Last summer Mr. Gokhale, a distinguished member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, took the matter in hand, and, after a full investigation of the facts, approached the Government. He also obtained what he described as "a definite assurance" of reforms. In particular, he was informed that the abolition of the £3 license tax would shortly take place. But it seems that the Government is either unwilling or unable to redeem its promises.

It is, therefore, no matter for surprise that the Indians of Natal, weary of waiting, have elected to force matters to an issue by a strike and a formal breach of the emigration regulations. With one or two trifling exceptions, of which much has been made, their protest has been conducted in a peaceable and dignified manner. It has been met by wholesale prosecutions and imprisonment, accompanied —according to some reports—by brutal floggings. The indentured miners are sent back to work out their sentences in the mines under prison discipline, which seems to include the right to flog. The Prison Act of 1913, under which colliery compounds may thus be gazetted as gaols, is in itself an eye-opener as to what justice means for colored people in South Africa. Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Polak, the two most responsible leaders of this movement, are sentenced to terms of hard labor. Armed police are everywhere in evidence, and the more truculent Natalians, as usual, are clamoring for the brutal license of martial law. It is easy to understand the panic which prevails in this least civilized section of the British dominions. Natal ought never to have received the status of a "self-governing colony." It is far less fit for such a government than Jamaica or Ceylon. Its white population is a small racial aristocracy living on the labor of a somewhat larger body of Indians and a Kaffir population ten times its size. It lives in a constant liability to panics, and sees rebellion continually on the horizon. The true story of the so-called Zulu Rebellion seven years ago is one of the most discreditable pages of our Imperial history. There was no rebellion. There was a poll-tax, oppressively imposed and illegally collected; protests, and in a few instances, a failure to pay; attacks on unarmed Zulus by fully armed police and soldiery; a harrying of fugitives, and one chief, disaffected onother grounds, with a band of riotous young men, showed fight. Nearly 3,000 Zulus were killed, hundreds of kraals burned, and a Jeffreys assize ensued. Not more than a dozen white men lost their lives in the whole course of the fighting, and no single attack by Zulus upon the white farms scattered over the country was alleged.

If Natal is allowed to have its head, it will adopt similar modes of statecraft in dealing with this crisis. Fortunately, the action of the Union Government will introduce an element of greater gravity. For, oppressive and shifty as the Union policy has been, men like Mr. Botha and Mr. Smuts are at any rate open to considerations wider than the exigencies of the moment and the particular locality. They have doubtless their difficulties in making the racial pride, common to the lower type of Boer and Briton, conform to their own higher ideals of government. We cannot expect that the British Government in South Africa will accord to British subjects from other lands even that measure of consideration claimed from Mr. Kruger, or that they will go any further than Canada or Australia towards realizing full equality of rights for citizens of the British Empire. But we do expect, and we should insist upon, their not placing such British subjects in a worse position than aliens from foreign lands would be. For if the subjects of any other civilized State are unjustly or oppressively treated in South Africa, their Consuls are there to look after their interests, and their Governments will use the requisite diplomatic pressure to secure redress. The Indian Government has no representative in South Africa, nor, apparently, has it any status for pressing the claims of its people. But surely this a *reductio ad absurdum* of Empire, that a fellow-subject of that Empire should have less effective liberty and less security than a foreigner. If Empire is not to be a mere byword and laughing-stock, it cannot rest content with this situation.

It is suggested that the Indian Government can and ought to bring pressure on its own account. It can refuse to permit the migration of the labour which South Africa, for its own purposes and on its own harsh conditions, does require. It can discriminate against South African products, and perhaps in other ways make itself disagreeable. This retaliation it ought, perhaps, to practise, if this is the only way of teaching the elements of justice and reason to South Africa. But surely the supposition that the Imperial Government itself is powerless to prevent such maltreatment of its Indian subjects is premature. What are these Imperial Conferences worth, and this continual bringing together of representatives of our Dominions for discussion of concerted policies of commerce and defence, if they cannot gain acceptance for some such elementary standard of Imperial citizenship as shall preclude at least the worst of the grievances from which the Indians suffer in South Africa? Alike to the Indian and the Imperial Governments the appeal is made, not merely, on grounds of abstract justice, or even of humanity, but also of urgent expediency. The nature of that expediency will be obvious to those who follow the wave of excitement roused throughout India by the reports of events in South Africa. The Indians are a sympathetic people. Moslems as well as Hindus are involved in these grievances, and the resentment against our Government, should they remain unredressed, is likely to have exceedingly grave consequences. Responsible Anglo-Indians in India itself as well as here are well aware of this, and are endeavouring to secure some sort of effective intervention. We connot, it is true, coerce South Africa; but surely we retain, by the Imperial connection, some effective powers of persuasion. If we do not, then the reality of Empire disappears together with its unity.

The Hapsburg Monarchy.*

THE relations of the various peoples which comprise the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary have long been an attractive subject of study to Englishmen. Several Englishmen who accidentally during their travels became interested in one of the numerous ethnological questions of the Empire have returned to the place and the subject again and again, until the watching of some well-nigh insoluble problem trying to solve itself has become a mental passion. One or two Englishmen in this way have acquired a masterly knowledge of some aspects of Austro-Hungarian life. We need only mention as an example Mr. R. W. Seton-Watson, valuable articles by whom have from time to time appeared in the *Spectator*. But Mr. H. W. Steed says that in spite of the existence of numerous works on Austria-Hungary—some the results of first-hand study and others of reading and compilation—there is room for the observations of one who has passed ten years of constant residence in the Dual Kingdom. Certainly everyone will welcome this book from so able a writer and so well-known an authority on Austro-Hungarian life and politics as Mr. Steed. We think he over-emphasizes some of the influences at work in Austria-Hungary—notably the Jewish influence—but there is so much that is penetrating in this brilliant book that we can afford to put up with some prejudices (as we regard them) even though we may regret them.

If we had to summarize Mr. Steed's conclusions in a sentence we should say that he believes the Hapsburg Monarchy to be a very powerful instrument of cohesion, capable probably of upsetting all the predictions that the fissiparous tendencies of the Empire Francis will end in structural disunion at the death of Emperor Joseph. The very choice of his title shows how dominant Mr. Steed believes the symbol of the Monarchy to be. In his view, the frequent internal crises are crises of growth rather than of decay. It is notorious, none the less, that the peoples of Austria-Hungary are more conscious of their differences than of their brotherhood. They are like ships steering different courses, yet using the same star for the purpose of navigation; the star is the Hapsburg Monarchy. When the Emperor Francis Joseph addresses the various races under his control he calls them the "peoples," not the "people." "Nationality" for them means their own racial birthright, not membership of the Empire. Thus Austrian Germans speak of their "nation" and mean primarily the Germans of Bohemia, Tirol, Upper and Lower Austria, Moravia, Styria, and Carinthia, and secondarily Germans who are not Austrians at all—the Germans of the German Empire. Czechs, Croatians, Serbs, Slovenes, Poles, and Ruthenes similarly speak of their "nations" in the ethnical sense. The Austrian essayist, Ferdinand Kurnberger, said that Austria could be comprehended only if it were remembered that she is a kind of Asia. The spirit of the country is both that of a child and of an old man. In the whirl of *parvenu*, with all their South German liveliness and Slav changeability, and in spite of the way they "dance up to all things with verve and grace," there is still an Asiatic stiffness, inertness, and conservatism which has "not budged an inch since Biblical times."

The sudden arrival of universal suffrage in a virtually autocratic country was a typical paradox. It was characteristic that the move should have been dictated by the Emperor and forced on by the Socialists working from below. Parliament was reluctant. "To point of fact," says Mr. Steed, "the introduction of universal suffrage was the fulfilment of a dynastic plan long formed and [illegible] pursued. To regard it simply as a 'popular victory' would be to

*The Hapsburg Monarchy. By Henry Wickham Steed, London: Constable and Co., [7s. 6d. net.]

overlook the circumstance that in the Hapsburg Monarchy most things have another than their surface meaning, fulfil another than their ostensible function." The strength of the Throne was proved within very recent history when one of the long series of Magyar attempts to assert the separate nature of the Hungarian army failed like all the others. At the same time, Mr. Steed does not deny that the undermining tendencies of the Magyars are one of the most serious menaces to the Throne. The methods of the Magyars, indeed, are one of the great ironies which have to be remembered in stating a general rule as to the certainty of sweetening a people by a grant of autonomy. Englishmen who are still alive can remember the raptures of enthusiasm with which Kossuth was received in England when he pleaded for the cause of his countrymen. But never since the day when the Magyars got what they wanted have they shown any sign of according to their own subordinates the sympathy which they themselves once craved and won. The meanness is the greater because they attained more than they had deserved or even expected, thanks to the sagacity of Déak. When Austria was hard pressed by other troubles and the Hungarian question was still an open and dangerous sore, the Emperor Francis Joseph asked Déak on what terms he would settle the dispute. Déak, with an outward show of chivalry, answered that the Hungarians desired to take no unfair advantage and would require no better terms now than before. It was an answer worthy of that clever leader, for what had been asked for before was a maximum representing much more than the Magyars had hoped to receive. The Emperor, however, gratefully closed with the offer. The Magyars have forgotten everything and learned nothing new, whereas the Emperor himself has never ceased to learn and to change with the times. He has never changed too-soon, but has shown an extraordinary aptitude in recognizing the hour of necessity. It may be said that his changes have been only opportunism or mere cynicism. But at all events they have served the Empire well, and have probably saved it. To some ardent proposer of a new scheme of regeneration he remarked ; "En théorie, en théorie, peut-être ; mais en pratique il faut avoir été Empereur soixante ans."

Next to the Crown in importance Mr. Steed places the army. The Church, the police, and the bureaucracy are all, in his opinion, of less account. Of the army he says :—

"It inculcates, moreover, unitary sentiment and devotion to the dynasty. In spirit it is far more democratic than the German army. The bulk of Austro-Hungarian officers are drawn, not as in Germany, from the aristocracy and the nobility, but rather from the middle and lower middle classes. Austro-Hungarian officers are, for the most part, hard-working, hard-living men, unspoiled by luxury, and striving to subsist on little more than their meagre pay. They stand nearer than the German officers to the common soldier. Cases of ill-treatment of men by officers are rare. The subaltern who should restrict his intercourse with his men to the shouting of a few words of command would soon be found wanting. The bulk of Austro-Hungarian regiments are racially composite. Their officers must speak enough of the languages of the men to be able to supplement the German words of command with detailed instructions and explanations in the mother tongues of the rank and file. There results a personal relationship that renders the army in Austro-Hungary a more human and humanizing organization than Germany."

On the Church Mr. Steed delivers a bitter and damning judgment :—

"It has great power, vast wealth, and little living faith. It is an institution, not an evangelizing nor always a purifying agency. 'In tutta Vienna non ho trovato una sola anima,' was the sad verdict of a profoundly religious foreign friar after considerable experience of the Austrian ecclesiastical world. The religious movement, nicknamed 'Modernist,' that affected some of the best minds in the French, Italian, German, and English branches of the Roman Church, left Austria-Hungary practically untouched. Austria has not produced a single 'Modernist' of note. One solitary priest who pleaded for greater spirituality in a book called *Nostra Maxima Culpa* was speedily silenced and is now forgotten. One Hungarian bishop revealed spiritual tendencies in a series of books and pastoral letters, but found himself condemned and obliged to retract. These are the only signs of loftier aspiration in the Church of Austria and Hungary. The rest is domination, intrigue, enjoyment of fat revenues, and maintenance of control over a people very observant of religious form and very void of religious feeling. In such conditions 'Clericalism' flourishes."

It is in his appreciation of Dr. Lueger, the famous Burgomaster of Vienna, and in his condemnation of Austrian "Liberalism" that Mr. Steed seems to us unnecessarily to excuse and sanction anti-Semitism. The Zionist organization—the most conscious and deliberate expression of Judaism—is but slenderly represented in Parliament, and the whole body of Jews is numerically inferior to such nationalities as the Ruthenes and the Rumenes. Mr. Steed attributes to Jewish capitalistic influences all the insincerites and inconsistencies of Austrian "Liberalism." Moreover, he assumes in many highly civilized countries a degree of anti-Semitism which we ourselves have been unable to detect.

We have not space to mention all the admirable points in the book, but we must add that there is a brief but masterly summary of the South Slav question. Apart from the South Slav question Mr. Steed would assign special prominence (among the dangers that threaten the Monarchy) to the old problem of Transylvanian autonomy and to the newer question of Rumanian Irredentism in the event of the relations between the Monarchy and Rumania becoming less cordial. In this respect the bigoted Chauvinism of the Magyars is once more to blame. Mr. Steed, con rary to one received opinion, does not think that Germany is waiting anxiously for the break-up of the Empire.

"Germany seems unlikely to consent to any essential dismemberment of Austria-Hungary as long as the German Empire is able, by a policy of economic and political penetration, to use the Monarchy as its instrument. A main object of this penetration is to give Germany command of the route to Trieste and, through the Adriatic, to the Mediterranean. The Hapsburg Monarchy will probably be exposed to no mortal peril as long as it refrains from serious insubordination to Germany; and should a European conflagration ever arise out of the numerous unsolved international issues in Europe or the Near East, the Monarchy might hope, in the event of victory, to obtain with German help a considerable slice of Russian territory. In the event of defeat its existence, like that of the German Empire in its present form, might be endangered. But catastrophic hypotheses are best left out of account in these days of interwined interests and of armies so colossal that defeat could hardly fail to be attended by revolutions fatal to thrones and to the existing social order ; and calm consideration of the complicated factors involved leads rather to the conclusion that the Hapsburg Monarchy has but one sure way of escape from its difficulties into a more prosperous and tranquil future—the way of evolution, gradual or rapid as circumstances may permit, towards a form of internal organization better adapted than the Dual System to the permanent needs of its people." *Spectator.*

British Indians.

The Marquis of Crewe, Secretary of State for India, received on the 1st December, at the India Office a deputation from the All-Indian South African League, who conveyed to him the views of the League on the position of Indians in South Africa.

The members of the deputation were Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, Major N. P. Sidha, Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta, Messrs. B. Dube, J. M. Pariks, C. A. Latif, S. A. Bhisey, N. M. Muzumdar, M. M. Gandexia, A. S. M. Anik, and Sorabji Shipurji.

Sir M. M. Bhownaggree expressed on behalf of the Indian people thanks to Lord Crewe for consenting to receive the deputation at a critical juncture. There was, he said, not a person of Indian birth in this country or elsewhere who was not in absolute unanimity with the objects of the deputation. As to the prevailing feeling—it might be called excitement—arroused among the people of India by recent events in South Africa, there was the powerful testimony of Lord Hardinge. The words of the Viceroy had served to some extent to pacify the intense indignation with which the people of India viewed the trend of things in South Africa. The deputation wished to associate itself with Lord Hardinge's demand for a searching inquiry into the grievances of the Indians in South Africa and the dismal events which had resulted therefrom. The tale of the sufferings and indignities to which British Indians had been subjected in South Africa for years past was long and squalid. It had been bad enough in the time of the Boers; it had been ten times worse since. Old laws to their detriment had been strengthened, new ones had been enacted, and all of them enforced with a rigour unknown before the establishment of British domination there. The effect of all this had been to harass the Indian settlers there, and to lower the whole of the King-Emperor's Indian subjects in the eyes of the world as a low order of human beings, unfit to enjoy the ordinary privileges of citizenship in any part of the globe, for this brand of unfitness was being put upon them in other British colonies and in foreign countries. How the all-protecting and merciful segis of the British Crown, under which they were content and proud to live, could suffer 300 millions of its subjects to be thus degraded in the sight of nations naturally passed their comprehension. That there was no justification for such treatment was evident from the fact that responsible Ministers of the Crown of both parties had repeatedly admitted the injustice and harshness of the laws directed against them, and had given repeated promises and pledges for redress. Their pledges had remained unfulfilled.

Even such partial settlement of the most intolerable burdens, such as poll-tax and the unnecessarily drastic provisions of the Immigration Bill which was last year dangled before their eyes had so far been evaded. That settlement was understood to afford a temporary relief from some of the most irksome burdens which were making the very existence of the sufferers impossible, but were a long way off from any appreciable solution of their numerous wrongs, for so long as the people of India were laid under any disabilities on account of race or colour in any portion of the British dominions, so long must they feel sorely aggrieved. That bar sinister must be removed at all costs. It could hardly be contested that most if not all of the hard measures levelled against them were due to race prejudice, and were used with a view to their extirpation from the colonies. After years of patient suffering, and finding that even the little relief they had been led to expect from the more immediately pressing burdens was being finally withheld, some of them had protested in the last few days against their situation by passive resistance, and certain numbers of the indentured labourers had gone on strike. They knew the penalty of the technical offence they were committing, and willingly took their punishment. But the rigour and, in many instances, the brutality with which their punishment had been and was now being carried out was the main ground of their complaint. The horrible tale of their maltreatment in various shapes came from quarters on whose veracity full reliance could be placed. It had been refuted by the local authorities, but past experience of the attitude of the officials there towards British Indians justified belief in the complaints. Even the almost one-sided reports that had appeared in public journals showed that the indentured Indians had been sent back to the mines and fields to work under the lash of the sjambok freely wielded by their employers, and that it was only when thus driven to desperation that they adopted measures of self-preservation. The tale of so many deaths of Indians by the free use of fire-arms on the part of the local police, on the one hand, and, on the other a few scratches or wounds suffered by the latter in the scuffles proved conclusively that the reports of violence by Indians were exaggerated. At all events, there was a strong case made out for an independent inquiry on this point. Whatever the result of such investigation might be, it would be found that the wholesale exercise for the first time in the history of the British Empire of the provision of law which authorised the conversion of compounds into gaols could not have failed to result in a form of torture which the framers of the law could have scarcely contemplated. It was not denied that the sjambok and other weapons had been freely used to compel men to do the very work which in their last desperation they had refused to perform. This incident, this travesty of law, might be possible in a savage country, but it was a method of vindictive barbarism which ought to be impossible in any square foot of soil over which the British flag flew.

All this had been done in the sacred name of law. But the laws of South Africa, specially devised for the extermination of Indian settlers and immigrants, were not such laws as a free nation enacted for the preservation of life, property, and order. It was to the enactment of laws of this kind that the people of India strongly objected, and they sought the intervention of the Imperial Government to procure their repeal or modification. When self-government was conferred on South Africa it was well known that even when the authorities there had limited and controlled powers of administration they had adopted every means to oppress and disgrace the British-Indian settlers. In fact, by repeated solemn pledges the Imperial Government at that very time was under obligation to ameliorate their condition. It could not be contended that in transferring the administration to the Colony the Government deliberately avoided the obligation, leaving their Indian subjects to be trampled upon. In the discussions in Parliament a distinct assurance was given that the Crown's veto was reserved and would be freely exercised in regard to any measures which were unjust or oppressive towards its Indian subjects. That clearly showed that the self-government conferred was limited, with the authority of the Crown reserved. He contended that it was the Imperial Government's duty to mediate at this critical moment. On it, and it alone, rested the responsibility to safeguard the interests of India throughout the Empire. The Imperial Government had finally to arbitrate on these grave differences between the two sections of British subjects, and to that end the following immediate measures, the deputation respectfully submitted, should be adopted:—

1. The release of the passive resisters and strikers now in prison.

2. The amendment of the Immigration Act to remove the racial bar, the refusal of domiciliary and existing rights, and the repeal of legislation which offends against the religious and marital status of the people of India.

3. The abolition of the poll-tax.

4. The institution of a thorough inquiry into the responsibility resting on both parties, Indian and Colonial, for recent events by a tribunal with adequate Indian representation.

5. The adoption ultimately of such measures by the Crown as shall secure to British Indians throughout the Empire the citizenship which have been guaranteed to them by the solemn pledges of the Crown.

Mr. B. Dube quoted statements made by past Ministers of the Crown, including Lord Salisbury and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, as to the rights of citizenship which should be enjoyed by Indian subjects of the Crown wherever they might happen to be. Coming to more recent times, he recalled the words of Colonel Seely: "If persons are admitted into British colonies they must be given civil rights. 'Free' or 'not at all' seems to me the sound principle for the British Empire." There could be no question then, Mr. Dube added, that to Indians in South Africa belonged the ordinary rights of British citizens by virtue of their birth under the Constitution of the British Empire. He did not ignore the difficulties which faced the Imperial Government in South Africa. It was because the leader of the Indians in South Africa, Mr. Ghandi, fully realised those difficulties that there was no demand at present for the full potential rights of citizenship under the Union. Those rights, it was hoped, would come later without any demand having to be made for them. Mr. Dube pointed out how the South African Union Government, instead of lessening the rigour of the laws and regulations that were humiliating to Indians, had materially increased and intensified it. He mentioned as a special grievance the fact that the wife of an Indian who was entitled to reside within the Union could not join her husband and live with him simply because she was married according to the rites of the Moslem faith, which permitted polygamy. Such a law was outrageous, a slur upon the good name of Indian women, and an indirect attack upon their religion. It had produced an unprecedented storm of indignation in every family in India.

Lord Crewe's reply.

The Marquis of Crewe said:—I have listened with close attention to the observations made by the two speakers on behalf of this representative deputation. I need not assure you that the events of which you have spoken—events which cover a long period, events which prove a condition of general discontent among the subjects of His Majesty in South Africa, and which have now culminated in resistance to the law, in tumult, and in actual loss of life—these events are a subject of deep concern to all His Majesty's Government, and, of course, in particular to myself, who, as Secretary of State for India, am finally responsible to Parliament and to the Empire for the well-being of India and Indians everywhere. As we all know, India has been deeply stirred by the reports which have reached her, and though we need not adopt as proved facts every statement which has appeared in the press, yet it is evident that grounds exist for most serious disquiet, and there also exists material for close inquiry, both into the occurrences themselves and to the causes which have led up to them. —(Hear, hear.) As it happens I have enjoyed opportunities of studying this question, which, I think, may be regarded as unique. As Secretary of State for the Colonies for some years and since then as Secretary of State for India, I have been deeply interested in this question. I have discussed the question personally and at length with the South African Ministers specially responsible—with General Botha, with General Smuts, and with the late Mr. Fischer. I have also discussed it at length with representatives of Indian opinion, with Mr. Ghandi, Mr. Polak, and last, but not least, with Mr. Gokhale, whose passage to South Africa I have only encouraged in the hope that it might lead to a permanent settlement there. I need not delate on the character of the Indian spokesmen further than to say that I have always recognised in Mr. Gokhale a man of high ideals, and of a single-minded devotion to the interests of his fellow-countrymen in South Africa. I should like to say to this deputation as to South African Ministers. I believe that they are honestly anxious themselves to deal out fair terms to the Indian population in South Africa, and to see that the laws are humanely administered, but I am bound to say that they are often hampered by the existence in South Africa of a public opinion which is less enlightened than their own and by a degree of racial prejudice from which as individuals they are themselves largely free.

I think we shall be able to see directly the bearing of this particular fact on the position of affairs in South Africa. In the first place, it is generally conceded that South Africa can claim to restrict the immigration into its dominion—that is to say, that if there had been no Indians there at all now South Africa might have declined to admit any. But from this confession to reflections arise. In the first place, South Africa invited the Indians there, and benefited greatly in two ways—first by the skilful labour of the indentured labourers in Natal, and secondly by the amount of [illegible] which in the early development of the colonies was done by Indians.

Further, we have to bear in mind that a special claim is established by these facts for considerate treatment of the Indians, a claim which, I am afraid, we cannot regard as having been generally recognised in South Africa as a whole.—(Hear, hear.) The main claim all through has been that there should be no racial discrimination against Indians or against Asiatics as such, and objection is taken either to differentiation by the actual enactment of the law, or by administrative order, or—and this may be noted—by published official statements of any kind. Note the bearing of this fundamental contention on the argument which has been mainly relied on by South Africa through the whole of his controversy and difficulty. That argument is that although the laws are in terms restrictive because South African opinion instead on having them so, yet their operation has been so easily conducted that no particular grievances exist. That is the argument which has been used: On that it has first to be remarked that, besides practical grievances, there are such things as moral grievances which cannot be left altogether out of sight. Even taking the test of practical grievances, and regarding that as the reasonable subject of complaint, though I am quite certain that South African Ministers themselves have desired that the administration of the law should not be unduly burdensome to individuals, can it be said that this wish has always been carried out? The laws are necessarily administered by a number of different officials of all grades. Some of these officials may be stupid, and bound up with red-tape and the literal interpretation of the law. Others, again, may be so effected by racial prejudice that they don't wish that the burden of the law may be lightly borne. So that surely it is a dangerous thing to depend, as South Africa seems to have done, on rational and sympethetic administration of the law to protect individuals from the operations of severe enactments in such circumstances as actually exist in the South African Union.

Now take some of the quite familiar and special instances which have been touched upon in the two speeches which we have heard. Now it is not claimed by the Indian population in South Africa that South Africa ought to legalise polygamy, but, on the other hand, communities that practise polygamy surely demand reasonable consideration. And can it be fairly said that in individual cases this consideration has always been accorded? Well, then, it is apparently recognised by Indians in South Africa—and this, again, we have had mentioned in Mr. Dube's speech—that they cannot enjoy unrestricted movement from province to province. Again, we ask if the regulations which restrict that movement have been modified as far as possible, and has care been taken to the withdrawal of powers which have existed in the past for poor members of the Indian community? when we come to the most noticeable instances of any, and to the cause of the recent events of which we have been reading. What has been the history of the £3 tax in Natal, and the various questions of domicile which have been attached to that tax? Well, there is a regrettable obscurity as to what really occurred when the matter was last before the Union Parliament. Was it the fact that the Union Government were willing to drop the tax but that it was maintained in deference to the views of the Natal members? That, I understand, is disputed. How far was the abolition of the tax even actually foretold or promised? There again seems to be a difference of opinion as to what actually occurred. I can only say that it must be a great misfortune if the Indians in South Africa consider themselves to have been in any way played with in a matter of such weight and importance as this. This impost does not bring in a large revenue; it does not, so far as we can see, seem to serve any useful purpose, and a large body of public opinion in South Africa seems to regard it in a manner which I have just indicated; and yet it has become the main source of these recent difficulties. Rioting and loss of life have followed from it, with what is perhaps in some ways even more serious still, the prospect of long feud and the embitterment of relations for the future. A number of persons have been punished for breaches of the law, some with sentences of considerable severity; but what has doubtless roused more public feeling in India was the repeated allegations of personal ill-treatment by flogging and in other ways.

Now these statements which been circulated demand inquiry—(hear, hear),—and I am glad to see that General Smuts has gone to Natal to make inquiry in person. I need not say that his Majesty's Government will accept—and in my view everybody ought to accept—categorical statements regarding the conduct of their officers made by responsible Ministers such as General Smuts and his colleagues. But it appears to me that it is to the charges of illegal—or what one may describe as extra-legal—violence that particular inquiry ought to be made. It is altogether wrong and purposeless of anybody to adopt a tone of menace towards South Africa. But I believe that the Government there will agree that if South African repute and the solidarity of the Empire were to be sustained by instituting a form of inquiry which was not solely official no sentiment either of national or of personal *amour propre* ought to stand in the way of such an investigation. And I add that such an investigation, to be fruitful, ought to be directed not only into the particular circumstances of the last few days, but into the substance of the complaints which are the cause of the restless state of the Indian population of South Africa, I can assure you, in conclusion, that not only we at this office, but His Majesty's Government as a whole, will continue to give unremitting attention to this weighty subject, and it is due, I think, to my colleague Mr. Harcourt and to his staff at the Colonial Office to state my conviction that though he and they may participate less than we do in the actual Indian point of view, yet they are none the less anxious that complete justice should be done to these Indian immigrants in South Africa, whom circumstances have placed under the special care of their Department. That, I think, is all I have to say to you this afternoon. I need only assure you once more that I fully recognise both the important character of your deputation and the supreme importance of the subject upon which you have come to speak.

Sir M. M. Bhownaggree thanked Lord Crewe for his statement, and for its sympathetic tone. In order that there might be no misunderstanding on the subject, he wished to refer to the inquiry that was suggested. Would the interests of India be duly recognised by an adequate Indian representation? There was one passage in Lord Crewe's reply to which attention should be directed. It was the statement that it was simply because Indians had gone in large numbers to South Africa before all these questions arose originally, and because they had been the means of building up the prosperity of some of the South African colonies, that their residence there could be tolerated, and that if the Indians had not gone to South Africa when they did it would have been competent for South Africa to prohibit the immigration. To that view the Indian population would certainly demur, because as citizens of the British Empire, as loyal subjects of the Crown, they claimed the right of entry into all parts of His Majesty's dominions. If the deputation did not make that clear they would be accused by the people of India generally of not having represented their view on the subject. The deputation could go away with some satisfaction in the knowledge that at all events an inquiry was promised, an inquiry in which he assumed Indian interests, would be duly represented. Something had been said about an inquiry by General Smuts. If recent telegrams had been read rightly General Smuts had ceased to inquire, and was now refusing to interfere at all. The deputation entreated the Secretary of State for India to use his great influence with his colleagues in the Imperial Government in support of Lord Hardinge's demand for an impartial inquiry, in which all, not only British subjects, but the world at large, might have confidence.—(Hear, hear.)

Lord Crewe, in reply, said:—I must deal at once, and shortly, with the two points which have been mentioned. In the first place, with regard to the general access of the subjects of His Majesty to all parts of the Empire. What I said with regard to the part played by the Indians of South Africa in building up the industries and activities of South Africa in the past was simply observed with the purpose of emphasising the claim which they thereby possessed upon the British and Dutch inhabitants of the Union. I had certainly no desire to engage in any argument on the abstract question of the access of all the King's subjects to every part of the Empire. Certainly I, for one, should never quarrel with any Indian who claimed that right, or who considered that he or she ought to be freely admitted to all parts of the Empire. But as you gentlemen, who are well instructed both in history and politics, are aware, various communities within the Empire hold strong views which tend to modify that right of free access. On the second and more important question, of an inquiry into South African events and of the form which it ought to take, I ought to state that I have not yet had the opportunity of discussing this question with my colleagues in the Government. In stating my conviction that some form of inquiry not purely official would be desirable in order to satisfy public opinion, I was expressing my own view, although I have no reason to suppose that it is not generally held. The object, of course, of any inquiry is to get at the actual facts. It is more for that purpose that an inquiry is held than in order to satisfy the rights or claims of any particular person or set of persons, and if you ask me without prejudice as to whether I think that the Government of South Africa would agree to the holding of an inquiry before a tribunal partly composed of Indian residents in South Africa, I must frankly tell you I don't believe they would.

Sir M. M. Bhownaggree said, he suggested that there should be Indians on the inquiry nominated by the Indian Government through the Imperial Government.

Lord Crewe: As I said, the object is that all the facts should be brought out in a manner which satisfied the public, both here and in India and elsewhere, that they really have been brought out. If that is done, the actual machinery is surely of less importance than the fact that the truth is clearly brought out. That was the only point on which I had to make a small correction. I thank you very much for the kind words you have said with regard to my reception of the deputation.—*The Manchester Guardian.*

THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF

AL-BAYAN FI ULUM-IL-QURAN

HELD AS AN

INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMENTARY

OF THE

HOLY QURAN

CALLED TAFSIR-I-HAQQANI.

The original book was written by M. Abu Muhammad Abdul Haqq Haqqani of Delhi in the Indo-Arabic language. The learned author has left nothing untouched concerning what is required for a valuable book of this nature. The unfair objections raised against Islam by its enemies, through their ignorance or injustice, have been treated and refuted at full length. The existence of God through reasonable arguments, the refutation of suspicions and doubts raised by Agnostics and Atheists, the discussions on the nature and attributes of God, filled with deep learning and logical reasoning, together with refutations of the false and absurd assertions of the opponents are subjects worthy of appreciation by lovers of truth. The nature of angels, their existence as independent beings their transformation into any shape they like: the thorough investigation of the statements of the rationalists and philosophers on the subject: the debates on the mission of the true Prophets; the different aspects of inspiration; and revelation the proof of the miracles performed by the Prophets and Saints; the just answers to the plausible statements of the disbelievers in the Prophets and their miracles; the soul and the next world; the transference of man to it; the reward and punishment of good and evil deeds; the refutations of spurious religions and of Atheists by their insufficient and false teachings; together with reasonable answers to the suspicions cast by the malignant spirit of the enemies of Islam and the false imputations charged by them against the holy person of the Prophet, together with the testimonies borne in favor of him by the critics of Europe, have been fully described in this translation.

An abstract of review by the *Comrade*.—The translation in English is quite good. The printing and get-up is excellent; Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., being responsible for it. The book has about 750 pages, but from beginning to end besides being learned and instructive is very interesting reading for a Moslem, and more so for a non-Moslem in search for truth about Islam. The book for the sake of convenience is divided into three chapters, and has an Introduction which deals with knowledge gained by External Senses, Internal Senses, by Revelations and by means of Signs and Emblems. The first chapter deals with the last and the greatest of all the Prophets of God, Mohamed, the attributes of God—the creater of the universe, Sanctifiction, Angels, Genii, Soul Ressurrection, and the next world, with objections raised by opponents of Islam and answers to them. The second chapter is the most important as it deals with the early history of Islam, gives a brief sketch of the life of the Prophet, and discusses fully all about crusades' poligamy and inspiration of the Holy Quran. Judaism, Christianity, Vedas, Budhism, Jainism, etc. It explains the Divine Science in the Quran, explaining the *prayers, Zakat, Fasting, Haj* and *Jehad*. In the last chapter, a great deal is explained about the Old and the New Testaments and the portions thereof which have been lost. Very useful information is given about the Christian and the Hindu sects, and closes with an account of Zorastrians. It is a book which will be most useful for the English educated Moslems, as it would give them a very clear insight into their faith, and prepare them to defend it easily against the attacks of the Christian and other Missionaries. Books like this dealing with the modern علم الكلام were badly needed and we strongly recommend all to purchase and study it carefully."

FATEHPURI, *Delhi, 22nd September, 1913.*

The English translation of "Al-Bayan," the famous book written by Maulana Abdul Haq had been given to me for reading and reviewing by Hajee Muhammad Ishaq.

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

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

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

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

APPLY TO—THE MANAGER,

The General Newspaper Agency
and Islamia Book Depôt, Delhi.
Or Haji Mohamed Ishaq, Merchant, Sadar Bazar, Delhi.

مفید عام در شاهوار یا علمی سمندر

(۱) «عظیم الشان قرآن شریف مترجم معنی» تقطیع ۲۰/۲۶ جسپر بائیس روپیه کی قیمت کی تفسیر حقانی کا ترجمه چڑهائی کی علاوه لغت ومجاوندی کی بواضحات درج کئی گئی هیں ـ هدیه مجلد سات روپیه باره آنه غیر مجلد چهه روپیه آٹهه آنه (۲) «الفاروق» مصنفه علامه شبلی نعمانی» قیمت تین روپیه (۳) «الهارون» قیمت ایک روپیه آٹهه آنه (٤) «المامون» قیمت ایک روپیه آٹهه آنه (٥) «سوانح النعمان» قیمت ایک روپیه آٹهه آنه (٦) «جنستان عرب» قیمت ایک روپیه چار آنه (۷) «لباب الاحادیث» قیمت باره آنه (۸) «اولیاے دهلی» قیمت آٹهه آنه (۹) «ترجمان حقیقت» ڈاکٹر اقبال کی کل نظمونکا مجلد مجموعه قیمت ایک روپیه دو آنه (۱۰) «سراج الاخبار کابل» پندره روزه باتصویر فارسی زبان کا اعلی ترین اخبار چنده سالانه دس روپیه *

ملنے کا پته اسلامیه بک ڈپو و جنرل اخبار ایجنسی ـ بلیماران ـ دار السلطنت دهلی

پیر وهی مفت منگالیجی

اعجاز نما چاول

گذشته اشاعت مین اعجاز نما چاول کی مفصل کیفیت ملاحظه فرما چکی هیں اسلئی دوباره تعریف کرنیکی ضرورت نهیں هی ـ چونکه اس عرصه مین بهت سی خطوط بیگم صاحبه کی پاس اس مضمون کی آئی هین که اعجاز نما چاول کا رعایتی اعلان ایک مرتبه اور شایع کرایا جاے تاکه جو اصحاب اس تعجب خیز چاول کی زیارت سی محروم رهه گئی هین مستفیض هوجاوین *

لهذا بحکم جناب عائشه بیگم صاحبه یهه رعایتی اشتهار رفاه عام کیغرض سی پهر شایع کیا جاتا هی ـ یعنی جس قدر درخواستین ۳۰ جنوری تک دفتر مین موصول هونگی انکی خدمت مین اعجاز نما چاول بالکل مفت بهیجا جاویگا ـ محض ایک چاندی کی ڈبه، ایک خوردبین، دو عدد ٹین کی منقش ڈبیان وغیره (جو چاول مذکور کی همراه دیجاتی هین) ان سب چیزونکی قیمت وه نهایت رعایتی یعنی صرف ایک روپیه پانچ آنه بذریعه وی پی لئی جاوین گی ـ اخبار «زمیندار» لاهور اس چاول کی نسبت حسب ذیل خیالات کا اظهار کرتا هی ـ

ریویو «زمیندار» ـ عائشه بیگم صاحبه فی حال مین ایک چاول جسپر پوری سوره اخلاص نهایت خوشخط حروف مین لکهی هی ـ همارے پاس ریویو کیغرض سی روانه کیا هی ـ اگر کسی کی نظر قوی یعنا نواے الدرجه کی هو تو وه خالی آنکهه سی ایک ایک حرف پڑهنی پر بخوبی قادر هوسکتا هی ضعیف النظر اصحاب خورد بین کی مدد سی جسپر چاول کی ساتهه دیجاتی هی ایک ایک حرف بلکه ایک ایک لفظ کو صفائی کی ساتهه دیکهه سکتی هیں ـ عائشه بیگم صاحبه کا کمال تعریف وقدر دانی کا مستحق هی اسکی اصلی قیمت گیاره روپیه پانچ آنه هی اخبار «وطن» کی اڈیٹر صاحبه نے ریویو مین چاول کی کمال تعریف کرتی هوے فرمائی هین که اسکی قیمت سه ڈیا وغیره گیاره روپیه پانچ آنه کچهه بهی نهین هی *

نوٹ ـ درخواستین ۳۰ جنوری تک آجانی چاهئین ورنه عدم تعمیل کی شکایت نه هوگی *

ملنے کا پته منیجر کارخانه عائشه بیگم قاضی اسٹریٹ امروهه ضلع مراد آباد *

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

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

THE ROYAL YAKUTI ANANG VILAS.

THIS YAKUTI or life-giving nectar has been prepared from the best choicest and richest vegetable drugs. It has a wonderful property of increasing the virile power and rectifies all urinary disorders. In fact, it makes man a man. This valuable medicine is used in large quantities among Rajas, Maharajas and many of our esteemed customers. But we have ventured to give it publication simply with a view to place it before the general public owing the demand of several friends. It is needless to expatiate upon the magical qualities of this our invaluable medicine. We would not like to blow the French horn as is the fashion of the day, but suffice it so say that the use of the medicine is recommended to those who have any faith in the efficacy of Ayurvedic and Unani medicines. We recommend it also to those persons who desire to tone up the nervous system, to strengthen the body, refresh the memory, and to guard against debility. It works like a charm and the effect is lasting. It replaces lost power and rejuvenates the emaciated, and it is enough to say that musk is not that which a perfumer admires, it is that which diffuses fragrance of its own accord. Price per tin containing 40 pills, Rupee ten only (13s. 4d.). Postage extra. No *Parhez* necessary.

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EXTRACT FROM A LETTER RECEIVED FROM THE

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ESANOFELE and MALARIA.

Treatment with ESANOFELE controlled with quinine in most cases was recently given a fair trial. The majority of the cases belonged to the Parel Hindu Orphanage, where MALARIA OF A PARTICULARLY SEVERE TYPE raged this year. 43 cases of Malaria were treated of which FIVE WERE CHRONIC. with considerable enlargement of spleen and General Malaria Cachexia." Result :

REDUCTION IN THE SIZE OF THE SPLEEN ✤ ✤
DISAPPEARANCE OF PARASITES ✤ ✤ ✤ ✤ ✤
INCREASE IN THE HAEMOGLOBIN VALUE ✤ ✤
GENERAL CONDITION OF PATIENTS VERY SATISFACTORY.

Writing on the result of chronic cases the report state :—" Quinine would not have worked equally well in these cases and one is especially emboldened to give this opinion from the case of a Sakharam Jivaji, who was a chronic sufferer and ALWAYS TOOK QUININE OR QUININE AND ARSENIC MIXTURES WITHOUT MUCH BENEFIT.

" On the whole, ESANOFELE appears to have VERY GOOD EFFECT ON CHRONIC CASES.

ESANOFELE is obtainable from all Chemists and Dealers throughout BRITISH INDIA, BURMA AND CEYLON.

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اتاليق نسوان ـ خواتين و بيگمات هند کيلئي دريا در کوزه هي ـ
جمله علوم و فنون حساب ، کهانا پکانا ، سينا پرونا ، زنانه خط و کتابت ، مصوري ، کپڑونکي رنگائي چهپائي ، گوٹه کناري ، کڑهت ، چکن دوزي ، علم طبابت ، انتظام خانه داري وغيره کو نهايت قابليت کي ساتهه دس حصون پر ختم کيا گيا هي ـ اسکو پڑهکر هماري هندوستاني بہنين نهايت اعلي قابليت حاصل کر سکتي هين ـ قيمت پانچ روپيه علاوه محصول ڈاک — ملني کا پته
اسلاميه سٹيم ڈپو وجنرل اخبار ايجنسي ـ ملياران دارالسلطنت دهلي

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Purchase one or more Auto-Knitters from us, accord to the number of members in your household who are ambitious to increase their earnings, and we guarantee thereafter to purchase work turned out by you with yarn supplied by us. Our profits do not come through the sale of the machines, but through the success of the operators.



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THIS COUPON ENTITLES YOU TO FULL DETAILS.
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I wish to take advantage of your offer. Please send me immediately full particulars, whereby I can earn Rs. 3 a day. Enclosed please find Anna Stamp to help to pay postages.

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Printed and Published by SADIQ ALI KHAN at THE COMRADE & THE HAMDARD PRESS, Kucha-i-Chelan, Delhi.

Supplement to the Comrade, 3rd January 1914.

WEALTH BY THRIFT

AN EASY ROAD TO FORTUNE WITHOUT RISK.

French Thrift is Proverbial.

The French, by their thrift, have accumulated money to such an extent that they have become the Wealthiest Nation in the World. The French Middle and Working classes have long been famous for their thrift.

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The Scheme of Enormous Possibilities.

This scheme is that of purchasing Premium Bonds, which as far as safety is concerned, can be compared with our own Government Promissary Notes and Municipal and Port Debentures but which in addition, possess more than a spice of added interest by the fact that holders of such Bonds have a very good chance of receiving at some time in the shape of big premium of £ 10,000, £ 20,000, £ 40,000, besides smaller sums.

What Premium Bonds are?

Premium Bonds are high class securities issued by various European Governments, perfectly solvent Municipalities and other public bodies as voucher or Scrip for loans contracted under *Government Authorization* for various public purposes. They are similar to the Promissary Notes, Municipal and Port Trust Debentures of this country. The difference between them is that while the later are issued for a certain period of years at the end of which they are repaid *en bloc*, the Premium Bonds system is to redeem a certain amount of stock every year until the whole loan has been paid off.

We do not deal in Lottery Tickets.

These debentures or Bond must not be confounded with Lottery Tickets. In the case of Lotteries, all the money paid for tickets is lost, except to the few who obtain a prize. In regard to Premium Bonds, there is no loss because all Bonds which do not secure a prize, are redeemed at their face value. Premium Bonds have an entirely different character from Lottery Tickets. Those who subscribe to them, those who buy them, agree to make a small sacrifice on the annual interest if the money they lend in order one day to have the opportunity of being favored by fortune and receiving in one lump sum more than they could possibly have received by the accumulation of many years of interest.

There are no Blanks.

Every bond has an equal chance. The redemptions of each and every Bond either with a prize or at par being as completely and perfectly assured as is humanly possible. *There is no loss of Capital.*

How the Premiums are Paid?

The drawings take place at fixed and regular periods in the presence of Government Officials and the public. When a loan is issued, numbers corresponding to those printed on each Bond are placed in a larg wheel made of brass with glass sides, which is then sealed up in the presence of Government Officials and Committee of Bondholders.

Each number is rolled up in a small metal tube and cannot be seen before this tube is taken from the wheel.

On the day of the drawings, special officials turn the wheel round and round so that the numbers are thoroughly mixed. The seals are examined and then broken by the Government Supervisors, a slide in the wheel is opened, and a boy from an Orphan School draws out the metal tubes. The number first drawn wins the first prize, the second number wins the second prize and so on till the specified quantity of numbers has been drawn. The wheel is then sealed up again till the next drawing. This operation is repeated till every number is drawn out of the wheel. No new numbers can possibly be put in. The successful numbers are published in the Official Gazette, which we subscribe and check the numbers of our clients very carefully and advise him at once either by registered letter or telegrams, immediately any of his Bonds are drawn.

We collect and remit him the amount of all prizes and arrange to pay him of such prizes in Gold, Silver, or Bank draft as he may desire.

Interest of Negotiability.

To the Bonds are attached coupons by which the holder can obtain payment of the interest due from time to time either through us or any bank.

The Bonds are payable to bearer and are readily saleable at the current market rates.

Easy Payment System.

With some persons it is not always convenient to invest considerable sums at one time and to provide for this contingency we have adopted a plan by which clients can purchase Premium Bonds by instalments the payment thus being easy. This plan has been found to be of great convenience to persons wishing to buy a combination of several Bonds.

On receipt of the first instalment we forward to our clients a Contract Note stating the number of the Bonds we have sold him, and from that moment the purchaser begins to take part in all the drawings, and is entitled to any prizes which his Bonds may wins; in other words, he enjoys precisely the same privileges as if he had paid the full amount of the purchase price cash down with order. On completion of payments, we forward these Original Bonds, and they then become the absolute property of the holder; they will continue to take part in all drawings without any further liability to the purchaser.

In order to [illegible] instalment business we make the following simple rules:—

1. The interval between the dates of [illegible]

2. Any [illegible]

To every Purchaser of Bonds from us.

We render the following [illegible] able services absolutely free of charge.

1. We carefully verify all Bonds before delivering them, and guarantee them to be in perfect order, fully paid up, and free from all further expense and liability.

2. We are always willing to lend him money on the security of his Bonds, arranging easy terms of repayment to suit his convenience.

3. We watch over his interest in every possible way, and under no circumstances [illegible] business to third parties without his consent until the Bond has been drawn for a prize, or [illegible]

The Premium Bond as a Provision for Children.

Your money is completely under your control. You invest Rs. 100. This you may do in instalments if you will, but at any rate, having once paid Rs. 100, you have no further premiums to bother about each year. When you pay your premiums into an Assurance Society, they are in a sense lost to you. You cannot draw them again should you ever wish to do so. And if you fall on adverse circumstances and cannot keep up your payments you lose the whole amount paid to Society. In case of Premium Bonds you can sell them at any time and can help you.

Terms of Business.

Remittance can be made by Bank draft on Delhi, payable to us or self with an endorsement on the back.

By Cheque on any Bank in India payable to us.

By money order payable to us.

By Currency [illegible] on receipt of the [illegible] must be sent.

By [illegible]

Two or more [illegible] want to purchase Bonds [illegible] pay one [illegible] to divide the [illegible] which we [illegible]

We [illegible]

relative without any formal transfer or endorsement on the Bond, but an entry in our books is necessary to enable us to send the cheque.

We are always ready to lend the money on the security of Bonds and sell it at current market price.

Letters and remittances should be addressed to—

THE DELHI EXCHANGE,
Dareeba Bazar,
DELHI.

Telegrams:—*Exchange, Dareeba (Delhi).*

Kinds of Bonds.

Prize winning Bonds are of two kinds those which pay out interest annually as well as give chances of drawing prizes. The other kind are those which concentrate the entire amount of their interest into the magnificient prizes distributed at the drawings in which they take part.

We shall be pleased to give the details of other Bonds not mentioned here as also their prices on applications.

Congo Free State Bonds.

Final Redemption 1987 Redeemable at Fr. 500 at that date.

A decree, signed in Feb. 1887, by the Sovereign of the Congo Free State, authorised the creation by that State of a national debt of Fr. 150,000,000.

The Congo Bonds do not pay any interest but are redeemable, either with Prizes or at par, with an annual increase of Fr. 5 per Bond by way of interest. The Drawings are held in Brussels and drawn at par Repays from 1st May 1910 @ 8,8 with 4,4 extra yearly

Six Drawings Yearly.

Annual Value of Premiums £20,480.

Feb. 20th—	1	Premium ...	...	fr.	50,000
	1	„ ...	...	„	1,500
	3	Premiums at fr. 750	...	„	2,250
	20	„ „ 400	...	„	8,000
pl. 20th—	1	Premium ...	...	„	150,000
	1	„ ...	...	„	1,500
	3	Premiums at fr. 750	...	„	2,250
	20	„ „ 400	...	„	8,000
June 20th and Oct. 20th	1	Premium ...	...	„	100,000
	1	„ ...	...	„	1,500
	3	Premiums at fr. 750	...	„	2,250
	20	„ „ 400	...	„	8,000
Aug. 20th and Dec. 19th	1	Premium ...	...	„	20,000
	1	„ ...	...	„	2,250
	3	Premiums at fr. 750	...	„	2,250
	20	„ „ 400	...	„	8,000

Besides these 600 Bonds are redeemed at each drawing at Rs. 135 each.

Price Rs. 64 cash or Rs. 15 with order and 11 monthly instalments of Rs. 5 each.

City of Antwerp Bonds.

Final Redemption 1993 Redeemable at Rs. 66.

Issued in 1903. Annual Interest 2 per cent.

This Loan, amounting to Fr. 100,000,000, was voted by the City Council, March 19th, 1903, and authorised by Royal Decree, dated March 26th, 1903. The Drawings are held in public at the Town Hall, Antwerp under the supervision of Government officials.

Annual Value of Premiums £19,000.

SIX DRAWINGS ANNUALLY.

Feb. 10th, Apl. 10th, Oct. 10th, Aug. 10th	1	Premium ...	...	fr.	50,000
	1	„ ...	...	„	1,500
	3	Premiums at fr. 750	...	„	2,250
	20	„ „ 400	...	„	8,000
June 10th—	1	Premium ...	...	„	20,000
	1	„ ...	...	„	2,250
	1	„ ...	...	„	1,500
	3	Premiums at fr. 750	...	„	2,250
	35	„ „ 300	...	„	5,250
	20	„ „ 150	...	„	3,000
Dec. 10th—	1	Premium ...	...	„	10,000
	1	„ ...	...	„	2,250
	1	„ ...	...	„	1,500
	3	Premiums at fr. 750	...	„	2,250
	35	„ „ 300	...	„	5,250
	20	„ „ 150	...	„	3,000

Price Rs. 66 cash or Rs. 15 with order and 10 monthly instalments of Rs. 5 each.

City of Brussels Bonds.

Final Redemption 1995 Redeemable at Rs. 66

Issued in 1902. Annual Interest, 2½ per cent.

A Loan of Fr. 75,000,000 (£3,000,000) voted by the City Council, May 12th, 1902, and authorised by Royal Decree, dated June 8th, 1902. The Drawings are held in public at the Town Hall, Brussels.

Annual Value of Premiums £16,000.

SIX DRAWINGS ANNUALLY.

Feb. 15th—	1	Premium ...	...	fr.	100,000
	1	„ ...	...	„	2,500
	1	„ ...	...	„	1,000
	2	Premiums at fr. 500		„	1,000
	20	„ „ 200		„	4,000
	20	„ „ 150		„	3,000
Apl. 15th, June 15th, Oct. 15th, Dec. 14th	1	Premium ...	...	„	10,000
	1	„ ...	...	„	1,000
	1	„ ...	...	„	500
	2	Premiums at fr. 250		„	500
	20	„ „ 200		„	4,000
	20	„ „ 150		„	3,000
Aug. 14th—	1	Premium ...	...	„	200,000
	1	„ ...	...	„	2,500
	1	„ ...	...	„	1,000
	2	Premiums at fr. 500		„	1,000
	25	„ „ 200		„	5,000
	20	„ „ 150		„	3,000

Price Rs. 66 cash or Rs. 15 with order and 11 monthly instalments of Rs. 5 each.

City of Brussels Bonds.

Final Redemption 1995 Redeemable at Rs. 66

Issued in 1905. Annual Interest, 2%

This loan was voted by the City Council, November 13th, and authorised by Royal Decree, dated December 13th, 1905. The Drawings are held at the Town Hall, Brussels, under the control of Government officials, and in the presence of the public.

Annual Value of Premiums £36,000.

SIX DRAWINGS ANNUALLY.

					Fr.
Jan. 15th—	1	Premium ...	...		500,000
	1	„ ...	...		2,500
	1	„ ...	...		1,000
	2	Premiums at fr. 500			1,000
	25	„ „ 200			5,000
Mar. 15th—	1	Premium ...	...		25,000
	1	„ ...	...		1,000
	3	Premiums at fr. 500			1,500
	20	„ „ 200			4,000
May 15th AND Sep. 15th, Nov. 14th	1	Premium ...	...		25,000
	1	„ ...	...		25,000
	1	„ ...	...		1,000
	2	Premiums at fr. 500			1,000
	20	„ „ 200			4,000
July 15th—	1	Premium ...	...		250,000
	1	„ ...	...		2,500
	1	„ ...	...		1,000
	2	Premiums at fr. 500			1,000
	25	„ „ 200			5,000

Price 64 cash or Rs. 15 with order and 11 monthly instalments of Rs. 5 each.

City of Ghent Bonds.

Final Redemption 1966 Redeemable at Rs. 60.

Issued in 1896. Annual Interest 2 per cent.

This is a Loan of Fr. 70,000,000 voted by the City Council, July 6th, 1896, and authorised by Royal Decree, dated August 13th, 1896. The Drawings, which are public, take place at the Town Hall.

Annual Value of Premiums, £2,000.

FOUR DRAWINGS ANNUALLY.

Jan. 10th, Apl. 10th, Oct. 10th	1	Premium ...	...	fr.	10,000
	1	„ ...	...	„	1,000
	1	„ ...	...	„	500
	2	Premiums at fr. 250	...	„	500
	20	„ „ 150	...	„	3,000
July 10th—	1	Premium ...	...	„	150,000
	1	„ ...	...	„	1,000
	1	„ ...	...	„	500
	2	Premiums at fr. 250	...	„	500
	20	„ „ 150	...	„	3,000

Price Rs. 60 cash or Rs. 15 with order, and 10 monthly instal-ments of Rs. 5 each.

Credit Foncier Hollandais.

Final Redemption 1980. Redeemable at Rs. 18.

Dutch Mortgage Bond 1904.

A cheapest and best non-interest bearing Bond.
Yearly number of Prizes 4440.

Six drawings are held on 15th February, April, June, August, October and December.

1	prize of Fr.	250,000	
1	„ „ „	150,000	
1	„ „ „	125,000	
1	„ „ „	100,000	
1	„ „ „	75,000	
1	„ „ „	62,000	
6	prizes „ „	1,000	each
6	„ „ „	2,500	„
30	„ „ „	1,000	„
60	„ „ „	500	„
240	„ „ „	250	„
492	„ „ „	100	„
1200	„ „ „	75	„
2400	„ „ „	50	„

7560 at face value, *i.e.* 31·25 Franc each.

Price Rs. 25 cash or Rs. 8 with order, and 10 monthly instalments of Rs. 2 each.

Croix Rouge de Serbes 1907.

Final Redemption 1981. Redeemable at Rs. 12.

A first class cheap non-interest bearing Bond. These Bonds have the advantage that, when drawn at par, they are not extinguished, but continue to take part in the drawings for prizes, and vice versa. When drawn with a prize, they continue to take part in the drawings for redemption.

THREE DRAWINGS A YEAR.

				Rs.
Jan. 15th AND Sep. 14th	1	Premium ...		25,000
	1	„ ...		1,000
	2	Premiums at fr. 500		1,000
	5	„ „ 200		1,000
	20	„ „ 50		1,000
May 14th—	1	Premium ...		100,000
	1	„ ...		1,000
	2	Premiums at fr. 500		1,000
	5	„ „ 200		1,000
	20	„ „ 50		1,000

Price Rs. 21 cash or Rs. 5 with order, and 9 monthly instalments of Rs. 2 each.

City of Ostend Bonds.

Final Redemption 1987. Redeemable at 64.

Issued in 1898. Annual Interest 2 per cent.

THREE DRAWINGS ANNUALLY.

Jan. 15th—	1	Premium ...	...	fr.	50,000
	1	„ ...	...	„	1,000
	1	„ ...	...	„	500
	2	Premiums at fr. 250	...	„	500
	20	„ „ 125	...	„	2,500
May 15th, Sep. 15th	1	Premium ...	...	fr.	10,000
	1	„ ...	...	„	1,000
	1	„ ...	...	„	500
	2	Premiums at fr. 250	...	„	500
	20	„ „ 125	...	„	2,500

Price Rs. 60 cash or Rs. 15 with order, and 10 monthly instalments of Rs. 5 each.

City of Liege Bonds.

Final Redemption 1995 Redeemable at £4.

Issued in 1905. Annual Interest 2%

A Loan of Fr. 50,000,000 voted by the City Council, April 19th, 1905, and authorised by Royal Decree, dated May 9th, 1905. The Drawings take place in public at the Town Hall.

Annual Value of premiums **£11,000**

SIX DRAWINGS ANNUALLY

			Fr.
Jan. 15th—	1 Premium	...	50,000
	1 „	...	1,000
	2 Premiums at fr.	250	500
	2 „ „	200	400
	5 „ „	150	750
	14 „ „	125	1,750
Mar. 15th May 15th Sep. 14th Nov. 14th	1 Premium	...	10,000
	1 „	...	500
	1 „	...	250
	2 Premiums at fr.	200	400
	2 „ „	150	300
	18 „ „	125	2,250
July 15th—	1 Premium	...	15,000
	1 „	...	1,500
	2 Premiums at fr.	500	1,000
	4 „ „	250	1,000
	7 „ „	150	1,050
	10 „ „	125	1,250

Price Rs. **62** cash or Rs. **15** with order, and 10 monthly instalments of Rs. **5** each.

City of Liege Bonds.

Final Redemption 1987. Redeemable **£4**.

Issued in 1897. Annual Interest 2%

The issue of this Loan, amounting to about 84,000,000 francs, was voted by the City Council, October 11th, 1897, and duly authorised by Royal Decree, dated October 30th, 1897. The Drawings are conducted in public at the Town Hall, Liege.

Annual Value of Premiums **£9,600.**

FOUR DRAWINGS ANNULLY.

			Fr.
Jan. 20th and July 20th	1 Premium	...	10,000
	1 „	...	1,000
	1 „	...	500
	2 Premiums at fr.	250	500
	20 „ „	150	3,000
Apl. 20th—	1 Premium	...	50,000
	1 „	...	1,000
	1 „	...	500
	2 Premiums at fr.	250	500
	20 „ „	150	3,000
Oct. 20th—	1 Premium	...	150,000
	1 „	...	1,000
	1 „	...	500
	2 Premiums at fr.	250	500
	20 „ „	150	3,000

Price Rs. **60** cash or Rs. **15** with order, and 10 monthly instalments of Rs. **5** each.

Egyptian Foncier Bonds.

Final Redemption 1953.

Issued in 1903. **Annual Interest 3.**

Redeemable at £10.

And guaranteed by the Credit Foncier Egyptian, one of the largest Land Mortgage Institutions in Egypt established in 1880, with a capital of fr. 80,000,000. The Drawings are held at Cairo

Annual Value of Premiums **£40,000.**

A Drawing for Premiums on 15th of every month.

1 Premium	...	fr.	50,000
25 Premiums at fr.	1,000	... „	25,000
April, Oct	1 Premium	... „	100,000
April, Oct	25 Premiums at	1,000 ... „	25,000

Price Rs. **190** cash or Rs. **50** with order, and 6 monthly instalments of Rs. **25** each.

Price for Issue 1911, as above, and for Issue 1884, Rs. **230** cash.

Hungarian Foncier Bonds 1916.

Redeemable at £ 12-0-0. One half only at £ 6-0-0.

These Bonds were issued in 1906 (after special Government authorization) by the Royal Hungarian Credit Foncier or Land Mortgage Bank, a rich and powerful institution, founded in 1869, which possesses a Capital of Forty Million Crowns, and a Reserve Fund of Thirty-two Millions Crowns. These Bonds bear no interest but take part in

Six Drawings for Prizes Yearly.

Feb. 25th, April 25th, June 25th, August 25th, October 25th, December 25th.

At which are paid away the following enormous prizes:—

1 Prize of	1,100,000	Crowns, or about	£ 41,250	
1 „	550,000	„ „	£ 20,625	
1 „	330,000	„ „	£ 12,375	
1 „	200,000	„ „	£ 7,500	
2 „	100,000	„ „	£ 3,750	each.
3 „	15,000	„ „	£ 562	„
3 „	4,000	„ „	£ 153	„

ETC.

738 Prizes per year, amounting to **2,642,500** Crowns.

The Bonds can be obtained from us, either in whole Bonds or two-half Bonds. Two half Bonds A & B series of same or different numbers. These Bond are not extinguished by winning a Prize, but can win several Prizes.

The Hungarian Foncier 1906 Bonds are not only among the most promising and most advantageous Bonds, and those giving the most immediate chances of an enormous Prize but they are also among the very safest and soundest. They are secured and guaranteed by loans made to the Government and the Municipalities of many cities and towns of Hungary. They rank in fact with first class municipal stocks, and are officially recognised as trustees Securities in Hungary.

PRICE of one whole or two half-Bonds same or (different Nos.) Hungarian Foncier 1906 Bonds.

Rs. 250 Cash or with order Rs. **50** and 15 monthly payments of Rs. **15** each.

Half Bond either series Rs. **130** cash or Rs. **30** with order, and 7 monthly instalments of Rs. **15** each.

ESTABLISHED 1907.

THE DELHI EXCHANGE,

STOCK, SHARE & EXCHANGE BROKERS,

DAREEBA BAZAR, DELHI.

FOREIGN AGENCIES:

PARIS, BRUSSELS, LONDON, NEW-YORK AND CHICAGO.

INDIAN AGENCIES:

CALCUTTA, BOMBAY, KARACHI, MADRAS, RANGOON & LAHORE.

Special Representatives in all parts of India and Principal Cities of Foreign Countries.

SALE and PURCHASE of SHARES, PROMISSORY NOTES, PORTS and MUNICIPAL DEBENTURES, CURRENCY NOTES of every Circle, Foreign Coins, etc., etc, are effected.

LOANS on Properties, Shares and Securities arranged. Drafts and Telegraphic Transfers procured. ADVICE on Investments given

LIFE and FIRE POLICIES procured. GOODS Supplied to MUFUSSIL Clients on Commission.

HIGHEST REFERENCE GIVEN.

Ottoman Bonds.

Loan of 1870 (Guaranteed)

Redeemable finally in 1974 by [illegible]

SIX DRAWINGS PER YEAR,

February 1st, April 1st, June 1st, August 1st, October 1st, and December 1st, that is, [illegible] every alternate month, at which the following Prizes are paid away:—

3 Prizes of	400,000	Francs or	£	16,000 each
3 „	200,000	„	£	8,000 „
3 „	60,000	„	£	2,400 „
5 „	25,000	„	£	1,000 „
6 „	20,000	„	£	800 „
6 „	10,000	„	£	400 „
18 „	6,000	„	£	240 „
36 „	3,000	„	£	120 „

And many others making in all.

5,950 Prizes per year.

Every Bond takes part in every drawing until its No. has been drawn, and will then be paid off at presentation either with one of the Prizes mentioned above or at par.

The Drawings and repayments are under the control of the European Council of Administration (on which the British Bondholders are represented by an English official), and are not in the hands of the Sultan or of his ministers.

The Prizes are paid in full, without any deduction. Bonds drawn at par are paid off at 240 francs (£9. 12s. each.

These Bonds are guaranteed by the Turkish Railways Revenue.

THERE ARE NO BLANKS, THE PREMIUMS ARE PRINCELY AND WE CONSIDER THESE BONDS A SAFE AND ATTRACTIVE SPECULATION.

Price of Ottoman Bonds, Rs. 150 cash for cash or Rs. 50 with order, and 11 monthly instalments of Rs. 10 each.

Panama Canal Bonds.

Fully guaranteed by a [illegible] Government Securities.

Repaid at par 250 francs.

SIX DRAWINGS PER YEAR,

February 15th, April 15th, June 15th August 15th, October 15th, and December 15th, at which the following Prizes are every year paid away in cash, viz:

3 Prizes of	500,000 francs, or	£	20,000	each.
3 „	250,000 „	£	10,000	„
6 „	100,000 „	£	4,000	„
12 „	10,000 „	£	400	„
12 „	5,000 „	£	200	„
30 „	2,000 „	£	80	„
300 „	2,000 „	£	40	„

Altogether 366 Prizes each drawing, yearly amounting to 3,850,000 francs, equal to £154,000.

The minimum amount at which these Bonds can be repaid is 400 francs, or about £16.

Panama Premium Bonds were originally issued to raise money for the construction of the Panama Canal, but have never in any way depended upon the Canal itself. The payment of Prizes and the repayment of non-prize-winning Bonds at par, [illegible] have always been, and WILL ALWAYS CONTINUE TO BE fully guaranteed by a deposit of Government Securities in a French Government Bank. Under the [illegible] Act of June 8, 1888, Trustees are appointed [illegible] the guarantee fund under strict [illegible] Bondholders, redeeming the Bonds as they are drawn, either with Prizes or only with Par. The repayment of these Bonds is [illegible] Government control and supervision by [illegible] able Guarantee Fund, it is [illegible] Premium Bonds are [illegible] ed with the Panama Canal [illegible] are with Suez Canal.

Price Rs. 105 cash or Rs. 25 with order, and [illegible] monthly instalments of Rs. 10 each.

ORDER FORM FOR INSTALMENT SYSTEM.

To

THE DELHI EXCHANGE,
SHARE AND STOCK BROKERS,
Dareeba Bazar, DELHI.

Sirs,

I wish to buy the following:—

(State which Bonds or Combination is required.) {

At the agreed price Rs. _____ (_____)

and I hand you the sum of Rs. _____ By Money Order, Bank Draft or Cheque and promise to pay the balance in _____ monthly instalments of Rs. _____ each.

This order is given on the following Conditions:—

1. That the Bonds purchased in my name shall participate in the [illegible] preceding drawings until their numbers have been drawn for a Prize or [illegible]

2. That I will be entitled to any prize [illegible] at the next approaching drawings or at any [illegible] of balance [illegible] during all instalments. [illegible]

[illegible] Bonds [illegible] on your Current Note shall [illegible] further liability whatever on my part and [illegible]

_____

Dated _____ 1916.

CITY OF PARIS BONDS				
1871	3	4	257	75
1875	4	4	156	330
1876	4	4	62	330
1892	2½	4	195	65
1894-96	2½	4	84	62
1898	2	4	300	75
1899	2	4	152	70
1904	2½	4	50	68
1905	2½	2	106	62
1914	3	12	1504	180
FRENCH CREDIT FONCIERS.				
1879	3	6	609	330
1885	2-60	6	318	62
1886	2-60	4	224	260
1895	3	4	560	300
1910	3	12	864	180
FRENCH CREDIT FONCIERS COMMUNALES.				
1879	2-60	6	318	75
1880	2-60	6	318	320
1892	2-60	4	152	260
1899	2-60	6	210	260
1908	3	6	660	300
1919	3	12	1368	180

Prices & instalment systems on application.

MULTIPLY YOUR OPPORTUNITIES.

Our Premium Bonds Combinations.

In buying Premium Bonds you are naturally aiming to win Prizes, and of course expect to win with them as quickly as possible and so often as possible. One single Bond would afford you many excellent opportunities of winning Premiums, but it is quite evident that the more Bonds you hold and the more immediate drawings you are interested in, the greater will be your chances of a speedy and profitable return.

Our well thought combinations of judiciously chosen high class Premium Bonds are a great attraction upon anything of the same kind ever brought before the public. Clients can make their own combinations if they wish Prices quoted on application.

Combination No. 1.

Consisting 3 Bonds.

2 City of Brussels 1905.
1 Credit Foncier Hollandais, 1904.
1 Servian Red Cross, 1907.

Participating in 15 drawings each year. Affords the holder 2664 chances to win a prize of Fr. 500,000 to Fr. 100.

Price Rs. 200 cash

or Rs. 35 with order and 20 monthly instalments of Rs. 10 each.

Combination No. 2.

Consisting 4 Bonds.

1 City of Brussels 1902.
1 City of Antwerp 1903.
1 City of Liège 1905.
1 Credit Foncier Hollandais, 1904.

Participating in 24 drawings each year. Affords the holder 5135 chances to win a prize of Fr. 500,000 to Fr. 100.

Price Rs. 200 cash

or Rs. 35 with order and 20 monthly instalments of Rs. 10 each.

Combination No. 3.

Consisting 6 following Bonds.

1 City of Antwerp 1903.
1 Congo Free State
1 Panama.
1 City of Ghent 1896.
1 Credit Foncier Hollandais.
1 Servian Red Cross.

Participating in 31 drawings each year. Affords the holder 5826 chances to win a prize of Fr. 500,000 to Fr. 100.

Price Rs. 320 cash

or Rs. 50 with order and 30 monthly instalments of Rs. 10 each.

Combination No. 4.

Consisting following 4 Bonds.

1 Panama
1 Congo
1 Ottoman.
1 Credit Foncier Hollandais.

Participating in 24 drawings yearly. Affords the holder 8750 chances to win a prize of Fr. 500,000 to Fr. 100.

Price Rs. 320 cash

or Rs. 50 with order and 30 monthly instalments of Rs. 10 each.

Combination No. 5.

Consisting the following 9 Bonds.

1 Panama
½ City of Paris 1892
½ City of Paris 1899
2 City of Brussells 1905.
2 City of Liege 1905.
2 Congo Free State.

Participating in 32 drawings each year.

Affords the holder 4068 chances to win a prize Fr. 500,000 to Fr. 150.

Price Rs. 500 cash

or Rs. 50 with order and 30 monthly instalments of Rs. 15 each.

Combination No. 6.

Consisting the following 14 Bonds.

2 Panama
1 City of Liege 1897
½ Hung. Foncier 1906
½ City of Paris
2 Congo Free State,
1 City of Antwerp 1887
1 Servien Red Cross.
1 Ottoman.
1 City of Brussells 1902.

Participating in 47 drawings each year.

Affords the holder 1998 chances to win a prize of Fr. 500,000 to Fr. 150.

Price Rs. 825 cash

or Rs. 100 with order and 16 monthly instalments of Rs. 50 each.

Combination No. 7.

Consisting the following 8 Bonds

1 Panama
1 City of Brussels 1905.
1 City of Brussels 1902.
1 Servian Red Cross
1 City of Antwerp 1908.
½ Hungarian Foncier 1906.
1 Credit Foncier Hollandais.
1 Bevilaqula masa.

Participating in 41 drawings each year.

Affords the holder 6369 chances to win a prize Fr. 500,000 to Fr. 150.

Price Rs. 450 cash

or Rs. 50 with order and 18 monthly instalments of Rs. 25 each.

Combination No. 8

Consisting the following 19 Bonds.

½ Hungarian Foncier 1906.
1 City of Paris 1919.
1 City of Ghent.
1 City of Brussells 1905.
1 City of Antwerp 1887.
1 City of Liege 1905.
1 Panama.
1 Congo Free State.
1 Servian Red Cross.
½ City of Paris 1910.
1 Communial 1906.
1 City of Ostent.
1 City of Brussells 1902.
1 City of Antwerp 1903.
1 City of Liege 1897.
1 Ottoman.
1 Credit Foncier Hollandais.
1 Bevilaqula masa.
1 City of Madrid.

Participating in 110 drawing each year and affords the holder 9705 chances to win a prize Fr. 500,000 to Fr. 100.

Price Rs. 1450 cash

or Rs. 350 with order and 25 monthly instalments of Rs. 50 each.

ORDER FORM FOR CASH PURCHASE.

To

THE DELHI EXCHANGE,
SHARE & STOCK BROKERS,
Dareeba Bazar, DELHI.

Sirs,

Please forward to me :—

(State which Bond or Combination is required.)

In full payment for which I hand you the sum of Rs. _____

In Draft on Delhi, Cheque, Money Order. Please forward me the Bonds *Per Registered Letter* as soon as possible.

The order is given on the following Conditions :—

1. That the Bonds you forward me shall participate in the approaching as well as in every following drawing, until they are drawn for repayment with a premium, or at par.
2. That you undertake to collect and remit me the interest when due and watch the drawings on my behalf, without any charge.
3. That you undertake to remit me all prizes I may win, after deducting the necessary clearing charges, etc., etc., in Gold, Silver or Currency Notes.

Name _____

Dated _____ Address _____

REAL SILVER STUDS & LINKS.

FOR GENTS & LADIES SHIRTS

VARIOUS DESIGNS

AND

SHAPES.

Plain, Plain Engraved, Dumb-bells, Roulet and Ball, Lock and Key, Square and Torpedo, etc. etc.,

Price Rs. 1-12 per set
Gold gilted Rs. 2
Heavy plated Rs. 2-8
} Post Free.

Silver Rings, Nauneges, Cups, and other Jewellary gilted and plain, Watch chains, Button chains, etc., etc.

For prices apply to—

THE DELHI EXCHANGE
Delhi,
Dareeba Bazar, Delhi.