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.

Turkey.

Constantinople, Jan. 7.

The first fruits of the changes in the military administration are already apparent. Two hundred and eighty Generals and Colonels, including Hadi Pasha, Chief of the General Staff have retired. Zia Pasha, Assistant Chief of the General Staff has been appointed Commander of the Tenth Army Corps. It is stated that he will be succeeded by a German officer. Other fundamental changes in the General Staff are impending.

Constantinople, Jan. 12.

Important modifications have been made in the powers of General Liman von Sanders. He now becomes Inspector-General of the Army instead of Commander of the First Army Corps, which will be commanded by a Turkish General, with a German officer as assistant. This is regarded as a concession to Russian susceptibilities. The newspapers state that General Bronsart von Schellendorf has been appointed Assistant Chief of the General Staff.

Constantinople, Jan. 12.

Djavid Bey has left Paris in order to renew loan negotiations. He will afterwards proceed to Berlin to continue negotiations with regard to the Bagdad Railway.

Constantinople, Jan. 15.

General Limanvon Sanders, having been raised to rank of General of Cavalry in the German army, his appointment as Turkish Field Marshal has been submitted to the Sultan. The newspapers announce that Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha, who was reported to have been recalled, will remain Ambassador in Berlin. This is not improbable, Germany having made friendly representation in his favour.

Albania.

Vienna, Jan. 7.

Martial law was declared in Valona late last night.

Rome, Jan. 7.

The unexpected news that martial law had been proclaimed at Valona is now explained. A vessel with 200 Turkish troops including six officers arrived last evening at Valona from Constantinople. It was intended to land at night and proclaim Izzet Pasha the former Minister of War in Turkey, King of Albania with a provisional government. With the assistance of the Dutch gendarmerie officers proceeded to arrest the Turkish soldiers. It is known that Izzet Pasha has left Constantinople, but whether he is on board the ship which brought the expedition has not been ascertained.

Valona, Jan, 12.

A court-martial has begun under the presidency of Cammander Weer, Commander of the Gendarmery of Bekir Aga. Six Turkish officers and five band leaders, who were arrested here are accused of being ring-leaders in an attempted *Coup d'etat.* A number of implicated civilians will also be court-martialled. In fighting near El Basan between the troops of the Pretender, Essad Pasha, and the gendarmery, the former were defeated.

London, Jan. 12.

The Captain of the Steamer which conveyed the expedition of Turkish soldiers first to Valona and then to Trieste states that the commander of the Austrian cruiser *Panther* boarded him at Valona for examination of his papers and proved that 870 third class passengers whom he had shipped at Constantinople believing them to be time expired Albanian soldiers are really revolutionary irregulars. The majority were arrested and taken ashore with a large number of revolvers and hand grenades. The rest were conveyed to Trieste.

Few detailes have been received regarding the attempted *coup de main* at Valona. Apparently, however, no conflict occurred, the captain of the steamer agreeing at the instance of the local authorities to land no one, but take all concerned on to Trieste. Izzet Pasha positively disclaims any connexion with the affair.

Trieste: Turkish officers and troops who were not allowed to land at Valona have arrived here. They are being kept in quirantine under a guard of Austrian marines preparatory to being sent back to Turkey.

London, Jan. 15

The settlement of the Albanian question seems to be remote. The Prince of Wied refuses to act until a loan of three millions sterling is raised under European guarantee. Meanwhile the Government of the country remains in a tolerably chaotic state.

Ægean Problem.

Berlin, Jan. 2.

It is understood that the Triple Alliance has agreed to the British proposal that Greece shall retain Chios and Mitylene.

London, Jan. 9.

The delay of the Triple Alliance to answer Sir Edward Grey's note regarding the Aegean Islands is due to some hitch at the last moment owing to seemingly certain reservations about giving Greece,

Lemnos and Samothrace, besides Chios and Mitylene. Meanwhile, Turkey vehemently refuses to agree to the cession of Chios and Mitylene. Moreover it is doubtful whether the Greek evacuation of Southern Albania will be effected tranquilly.

Constantinople, Jan. 11.

It is understood that the Triple Alliance will reply to the British proposal with reference to the Archipelago when the Greeks have withdrawn from Southern Albania.

A satisfactory settlement is expected in a few days.

London, Jan. 11.

M. Venizelos has left Rome for Paris. It is understood that his mission to Rome has not changed the policy of Italy, but it will have the effect of postponing further the Greek evacuation of Albania.

London, Jan. 15.

Reuter learns that the reply of the Triple Alliance to Sir Edward Grey's note regarding the Aegean Islands was delivered yesterday. The Alliance generally accepts all the British proposals, including the reservations safe-guarding the liberties of minorities, whether Greek or Moslem.

The general effect of the reply of the Triple Alliance to Sir Edward Grey's Note is to consent to Greek annexation of Chios, Lemnos and Samothrace, while Imbros and Tenedos remain Turkish. The replies, although practically identical, were presented separately with the purpose of emphasising the fact that the Powers concerned recoginse that the ultimate solution of difficulties rests with Europe, not with one or the other group of powers.

Persian Railways.

Teheran, Jan. 6.

The Julfa-Tabriz Railway has reached Durabiz, thirteen miles South of Julfa. There remains about eighty miles to be reconstructed. The Russians say it will be completed by the spring of 1915. There has been no withdrawal of Russian troops from Kazvin yet.

Teheran, Jan. 6.

The survey party in connection with the Khoramabad Railway is obliged to remain for the present at Dizful owing to the activity of brigands along the route.

The party engaged in surveying in connection with the Khoramabad Railway, consists of four British engineers and one Belgian representing the Persian Government, with two assistants. The Persian Railway syndicate is communicating with the Foreign Office. It is believed that matters will be settled with the tribes and that the survey will be completed this winter.

Aga Khan and the Indian Moslems.

London Jan. 14.

An article by the Aga Khan on the Indian Moslem outlook is given the place of honour in the *Edinburgh Review* to be published tomorrow.

The article says that for upwards of two years they, in common with their co religionists elsewhere, have undergone the most painful experiences, chiefly on account of International events. The resulting restlessness among them has led to much scorching of heart among their best friends, while in some quarters, exaggerated ideas have been entertained regarding the effect of the events upon their hitherto hearty loyalty to the British Crown. The Aga Khan gives an instance of an article by a correspondent in India in the *Times* of October 7th, and dissects his lurid caricatures of the Moslem attitude. He denies there has been any pan-Islamic agitation in the political sense. The Hindus, continues the Aga Khan, have no sentimental interests outside India apart from those provided by emigration of their co-religionists, but all sections of the Moslem world were moved by the deep sentiment originally called into being by the summons to the Islamic brotherhood wedded through centuries into a lasting bond of common faith, literature and outlook on history. After urging that Britain, in her own interests, should be the friend and supporter of the Porte, since the partition of her Asiatic provinces must be disadvantageous to Britain in any conceivable scheme of distribution, the article says that the Moslems were reassured to know that such considerations were duly recognised by the just and wise statesman, the present Viceroy, whose remarks on Persia on September 17th were also gratifying to them. Critics have also been perturbed by the appearance of a new type of Indian Moslem who, apart from Islamic religion and sentiment, has gone through exactly the same education and training as the young Hindu of the same social class. The men brought up under this new system are coming to the front. They have influenced the increasing approximation of political views and sentiments among the educated men of the different communities. This unity and measure of growth of Indian nationhood is part of the wise statesmanship of the British and of the Indians to seek, not so much to satisfy Mussulmans as Mussulmans or Hindus as Hindus, but to win the hearty co-operation of all moderate, loyal and reasonable opinion wherever it exists, thus forming a most effective instrument in the discomfiture and importance of the small but active Indian element permanently hostile to the Government of India. Moslems, while co-operating with the Hindus on a vast number of public questions, have their special needs and outlook, but the crisis in the affairs of the League has confirmed the Aga Khan's conviction that the time has come to realise that the future depends not upon particular leaders but upon the people themselves. The Aga Khan emphasises the importance of the reconstruction of the London League on the basis achieved since the article was written. After surveying the directions in which legitimate discontent should be alleviated, such as the treatment of Indians in self-governing Dominions, promotion of economic development, and the giving of due weight in local as well as in larger issues to public opinion, the Aga Khan says that he looks to the future with hope and confidence, because he is convinced that British statesmanship will continue to respond to the growth of national consciousness in India, thus bringing the awakened people into closer sympathy and co-operation with the aims and ideals of the enlightened rule that has revolutionised the conditions and ideals of Indian life in living memory.

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The South African Crisis.

London, Jan. 4.

Durban : Interviewed by Reuter with regard to the correspondence which has been exchanged between Senator Campbell, the well-known sugar planter and Mr. Gandhi, the latter said that he had appealed to Mr. Campbell to continue his co-operation and sympathy. Mr. Campbell, in reply, stated that he adhered to his opinion that the three-pound tax should be repealed and still supported Indians seeking redress from harsh administration and the licensing laws but that nevertheless he appealed to Mr. Gandhi to desist from lawlessness and not to refuse to accept the Commission composed of men with judicial minds and of known integrity. Mr. Gandhi replied that the strike and the subsequent courting of imprisonment were protests against Government's breach of promise to Mr. Gokhale and the three-pound tax, not against the general treatment of indentured Indians. He feared a recrudescence of former measures if Government rejected the Indians' prayers. Finally, Mr. Campbell answered that he was glad that the strike was not intended as a protest against indentured Indians because allegations of ill-treatment appeared to be the main plank of Mr. Gandhi's supporters.

Durban, Jan. 5.

The Rev. F. C. Andrews and the Rev. W. Pearson, who have come to South Africa to examine the Indian question, addressed a meeting of Indians at Sydenham to-day describing the deep feeling on behalf of South African Indians of all communities in India. The Rev. Mr. Andrews recited a poem in Sanskrit given to him by Mr. Rabindranath Tagore as a message to South African Indians.

Pretoria, Jan. 10.

Mr. Gandhi, interviewed, said, he would not embarrass the Government by resuming passive resistance while the strike was in progress.

Durban, Jan. 10.

The police employed at the time of the recent Indian disturbances are entraining for the Transvaal.

Delhi Jan. 10.

Mr. Gokhale has received the following cablegram from the Rev. Mr. Andrews dated Pretoria 8th instant :—"Mr. Gandhi has announced that while the Railway strike continues he personally will advise the Indian community to suspend passive resistance, so as not to confuse issues or embarrass the Government." Mr. Gokhale has received the following cablegrams from Mr. Polak, dated Durban 8th instant :—"In the case brought by Mr. West against Mr. Todd, Manager of Phœnix Wattles Co., for threatening to thrash him on account of Mr. West's interference in the case of an Indian strike alleged to have died from flogging," Mr. Todd has been bound over to keep the peace for six months and has been ordered to pay costs.

Pietermaritzburg, Jan. 11.

A section of the local Indians consider that the time is ripe for a renewal of passive resistance in conjunction with the strike, in spite of Mr. Gandhi's advice.

Imperial Legislative Council.

The New Educational Policy.

The Hon'ble Surendranath Banerjea moved the following Resolution on the 6th January :—

"That this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council the publication of (A) all official papers in the possession of the Government of India including correspondence if any with the Senate of the Calcutta University and His Excellency the Rector relating to the affiliation of the Ananda Mohan College up to the B.A. Standard and the orders of the Government thereon together with the replies if any to the representations of local public bodies and meetings (B) all official papers in the possession of the Government of India including correspondence if any with the provincial Governments and Local Administrations leading to the announcement made in para 25 of the Government of India resolution dated Delhi 21st February, 1913, regarding the desirability of introducing the school final examination in the provinces where it has not been introduced and in para 47 of placing the recognition of schools for the purposes of presenting candidates for Matriculation in the hands of the Local Governments and all subsequent correspondence relating thereto."

Mr. Banerjea's Resolution.

In moving the Resolution that stood in his name, Mr. Banerjea said that the Resolution was an appeal to Government to take the public into confidence regarding certain educational measures and proposals which had given rise to controversy and caused widespread alarm in Bengal. If there was one Department of Government more than another in regard to which there could be no secret and in which the co-operation of the people was essential for its success it was the Department of Education. This view was supported even by Lord Curzon, the author of the Official Secrets Act. The Resolution was brought forward to clear a misapprehension that might exist and secure a complete understanding between the representatives of the people and the Government regarding the vital issues affecting the education of the people, raised in the Government Resolution of February 21st, 1913, and asking for the publication of official papers relating to the application of the Ananda Mohan College up to the B. A. Standard.

Ananda Mohan College.

Mr. Banerjea narrated the history of the Institution, which was named after one of the foremost men of India, the late Ananda Mohan Bose. He said the Ananda Mohan College was the only second-grade College teaching up to the Intermediate Standard in a district with an area of 6,332 square miles and a population of 4,562,422. In 1911, after the passing of the Universities' Act and the new Regulations, which imposed a heavy financial strain on the College, its very existence was threatened ; but in the year 1909, with the help and support of Mr. Blackwood, who was then District Magistrate of Mymensingh, a sum of Rs. 1,23,000 was raised, which gave a great impetus to the College and for which the people were deeply grateful to Mr. Blackwood. In the year 1913 an application was made for the affiliation of the College up to the B. A. Standard, which was strongly supported by the Commissioner of the Division and the District Magistrate. The enthusiasm in the District was so great that about one hundred leading men executed a legal document by which they agreed to pay fifty thousand rupees, thirty-five thousand of which had been already subscribed and thirteen thousands collected. The Government was moved and agreed to contribute Rs. 55,000 and raise the annual grant from six to eleven thousand rupees. The University Inspectors, who where deputed to visit the College, reported in favour of affiliation up to the B.A. standard in certain subjects. The Syndicate recommended the affiliation, which was, however, disallowed by the Government of India on the ground that the buliding was old and that the staff had not been appointed. Mr. Banerjea said there had been instances where the necessary conditions had not been fulfilled, where the University had declined to recommend, but where the Government of India had granted affiliation. He gave the instance of the Rajshahi College, which aws affiliated up to the B.A. in Physics in 1909, although the building and laboratory were not ready. The same case also happened with regard to the Sylhet College, whose affiliation the University declined to recommend but which was granted by the Government of India in view of the fact that the building would be proceeded with. He thought that no objection was raised regarding the affiliation of these two Colleges because they were Government Colleges ; but Mr. Banerjea claimed that private Colleges, having regard to their limited resources, deserved more sympathetic treatment at the hands of the Government. This view was strongly pressed by the Education Commission of 1882.

School Final Examination.

Mr Banerjea next referred to the question of the School Final Examination and hoped that Government would do nothing to disturb the present arrangement. By the School Final system a bias was contracted by the local Educational officers against private schools ; and it was their views that in many cases guided the decision of the authorities. The system also disclosed the great danger to private institutions involved in the transfer of the power of recognition from the Senate to Government. The School Final was prevalent in Madras where it had reduced the number of candidates. It would never suit Bengal which had its own peculiar local conditions and where it was tried in the Middle English and Middle Vernacular schools and found wanting. If the system was introduced it would restrict higher education.

Recognition of Schools.

Mr. Banerjea finally touched upon the suggestion of placing the recognition of schools for the purposes of presenting candidates for Matriculation in the hand of local Governments. He said this suggestion of Government had been received with alarm and anxiety by the people of Bengal, who expressed their unqualified disapproval of the scheme in a public meeting held in the Town Hall in Calcutta at the end of July last. What was the justification for the proposal ? Did the Senate of the Calcutta University ask to be relieved or was the work very inefficiently done ? He understood that the Bengal Government with the concurrence of the Government of India consulted the Calcutta University who had urged weighty reasons against the proposal. The University did not want to be relieved nor had their work been inefficiently done in proof of which Mr. Banerjea quoted from the Bengal Administration Report. Regarding the Government plea of freeing the University for exercising more efficient control over schools and colleges Mr. Banerjea thought they had too much of it and Lord Morley was right when he said this plea of efficiency was carried too far in the government of this country. Referring to the right of the man who pays the piper to call for the tune, Mr. Banerjea said in Bengal there were about six hundred High Schools recognised by the University. Eighty of these were Government schools, about two hundred and sixty received Government aid and the balance entirely lived on private resources and to them the formula of piper and tune did not apply. Finally he said there was not only no justification for the proposed change but there were strong reasons to show that if it was introduced in Bengal it would be attended with serious risks. In conclusion he strongly appealed to Government. He was not without hope that the proposal for the transfer of the right of recognition of schools from the Senate would not be extended to Bengal. The resolution of the Government admitted that each Province had its own educational system. It had grown up under local conditions and formed a part of the general well-being. The people of Bengal loved their local conditions, in the shaping of which the Government had a supreme hand.

Before Mr. Banerjea concluded His Excellency pointed out that Mr. Banerjea had already exceeded forty minutes and asked him to resume his seat.

Mr. Banerjea concluding, made an eloquent appeal for the publication of papers and not to disturb present conditions.

Malik Tiwana, who followed Mr. Banerjea, pointed out that as a matter of general principle he was opposed to the publication of confidential papers.

The Maharaja of Cossimbazar supported the proposal and urged the publication of all the papers.

Rai Sita Nath Röy Bahadur, in supporting, dwelt on the excellent work done by the Calcutta University and appealed to the Government not to curtail any of its powers. The new idea would prove costly without any corresponding advantage.

Mr. V. R. Pandit was not against the School Final Examination but thought the present method of recognition of the Schools was the best. He pointed out that the University was in the best position to judge, not the local Government. Moreover, the proposed change would progress the development of Secondary Education. Concluding, he submitted that the change would not be welcome and asked for the publication of papers.

Pandit M. M. Malavyia, speaking on the second part of the resolution, said it was true that there was a divergence of opinion regarding the School Final Examination. In Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces it was coming more and more into favour. It was possible that in time opposition in Bengal would wear out but the publication of papers would be greatly welcome as it would throw a new light on the question. There was a strong feeling in all parts of India that the power at present enjoyed by the Universities should not be curtailed.

Sir H. Butler's Speech.

The following is the full text of the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler's speech at the Imperial Legislative Council on Tuesday in connection with the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea's Resolution relating to the educational policy of the Government of India :—

"Although the words of the hon'ble mover were rather strong and fulminant I gladly recognise the moderate tone of his speech and his desire to help. I hope that our educational debates will always be conducted in this spirit. The points on which we agree

are many and the points we differ on are few. I think, indeed, that the hon'ble mover is unnecessarily alarmed but I think his alarm is due to a misunderstanding which I hope to be able to remove. I may say at once that the Government desire wholeheartedly to take the people into their confidence. They have no secrets in education and I think that the action of the Government of India since the new department was formed and since His Excellency assumed the office of Viceroy have been consonant with this attitude. There is no intention whatever to substitute a policy of mistrust for a policy of trust and I think I am voicing the opinion and the feeling of you all when I say that it is inconceivable to associate a policy of mistrust with the viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge. While there is no desire for any sort of concealment we have to observe the rules and customs of business which have grown up after long experience in the conduct of public affairs, and one of the first principles is this that those who correspond with the Government must feel that they can correspond freely and frankly without fear of the publication of their views except in special cases when the public interest clearly requires it. Many of you are business men and you know that you could not carry on your business for a day if you had not confidence that our correspondence would be respected. In the present instance the correspondence is not yet complete and matters are still under discussion but I hope to be able to tell you enough to satisfy you as to the action of the Government.

FIRST PART OF THE RESOLUTION

"I now turn to the terms of the resolution. As already explained it would be unusual to publish the correspondence between the Government of India, the University and others in regard to the affiliation of the Ananda Mohan College, the facts, however, can be stated in a nut-shell. In a letter dated March 9th, 1913 the Syndicate recommended the raising of the college to the status of a first grade institution, stating that it was in the contemplation of the governing body of the college to entertain the services of an additional professor in every one of the subjects proposed to be taught. From the papers it was apparent that the professors had not been appointed and that certain improvements in accommodation, which had evidently been thought necessary in the first instance, as the Local Government was prepared to give a grant of Rs 55,000 towards them, provided that a sum of Rs. 50,000 was collected by private subscription, had not been carried out. From the minutes of the Syndicate it appears that Hon. the Vice-Chancellor had stated that the question of class accommodation was the weak point about the College but that he had no doubt that whatever sum the local authorities might be able to raise would be spent in extending the classa ccommodation. He added that the consideration which weighed with him was the congested state of the Calcutta Colleges and that if a properly equipped Mofussil College could take in even 40 to 60 students, that would be a point gained. This letter was received by the Government of India at the end of May and on the 17th of June they sent their reply to the effect that the application had reached them just before the commencement of the academical year, that the present staff and accommodation were admittedly insufficient for the affiliation sought, and that the Government grants, which had been promised, were conditional upon the grant of this affiliation and upon the raising of Rs. 50,000 from local subscriptions. The Government of India were unable to sanction increased affiliation on the basis of unperformed promises, but they expressly stated that when improvements had been carried out they would reconsider the case. The Hon. Mr. Ghuznavi, who was interested in the case, wrote to me on the 19th of July that it had been decided not to press for affiliation and since then the Government of India have received no further information in the matter. They will gladly reconsider the matter if improvements have been effected and in view of the enthusiasm with which the Hon'ble member tells us the district is ablaze, I hope that the necessary condition will be fulfilled, in which case, I think, I may claim the action of the Government of India will have been stimulating to the cause of education. The Hon'ble Member charges the Government with according differential treatment to Government Colleges and to private institutions but he has to go back to 1909 for an instance to support his case. I may mention that in 1909 the present Department of Education had not been consititnted nor had His Excellency assumed his office. I have therefore no first-hand knowledge of the cause in point, but I have been able to ascertain the facts and I think the Hon'ble Mover would do well to verify his statements before be makes them. I will quote the orders of the Government of India in regard to the affiliation of the Rajshahi College "With regard, however to the question of affiliation up to the B. A. examination, I am to offer the following observations on the proposals of the University for the restriction of the affiliation. In the case of philosophy the Government of India understand that since the date of the Senate's recommendation the college has complied with the requirements of the University by appointing a second professor to teach this subject, and they do not consider it desirable therefore to order its disaffiliation in philosophy. The proposal to disaffiliate the college in physics and chemistry was apparently based upon the insufficiency of the provision of the staff and the inadequacy of the accommodation. The Government of India are informed that, so far as the staff is concerned, the requirements of the University in both these subjects have now been fully met. Sufficient accommodation has also been provided for the teaching of chemistry while it is understood that plans of the physics laboratory are being pushed on. Since therefore the new accommodation is being provided with reasonable despatch, and since the University inspectors in 1907 reported of the existing accommodation that it would do very well for the small B. A. and B. Sc. classes that the college was likely to have, the Government of India do not feel justified in ordering the disaffiliation of the college in these subjects. In these circumstances the Government of India are of opinion that the college should be permitted to retain affiliation up to the B. A. degree in physics and chemistry." The Council will observe that the case of the Rajshahi College was quite different in that the conditions required had been fulfilled or were in train. As regards the Braja Mohan College we seem to have but little information. So far as my information goes there never was a recommendation for disaffiliation. The commission proposed never was sent down but Messrs. James and Cunningham and Dr. P. K. Roy inspected the College in the ordinary course and made a report to the University. This also was before my time. So far as I have been able to ascertain no inquiry was made into the political aspects of the case. In any case, I think, I have said enough to convince the Council that the Government of India does not differentiate between Government and private institutions. As to correspondence with local public bodies there is little to say apart from the letters and telegrams from the hon. Mr. Ghuznavi and two telegrams received, one from the Secretary of the College, the other from the Secretary of the Mymensingh Association. Before any orders had issued from the Government of India the only communications received appear to have been the following: the Secretary of the College asked why the application had been rejected and was told that the reason had been explained to the University. A resolution was received from a public meeting in Tangail asking for a reconsideration of the decision and telegrams were also received from the Secretaries of the Mymensingh Association and the Nadiabass Sabha, Gobindapur, to the effect that the local public were mortified. These documents were sent to the Government of Bengal with a request that the senders of the telegrams might be informed that the matter would be considered by Government should the application be renewed through the proper channel. No such application has been received.

SECOND HALF OF THE RESOLUTION.

"I now turn to the second half of the resolution. In respect of this, too, I am obliged to meet the resolution of the hon. member with a negative on the same ground, namely that it would be contrary to practice to publish the correspondence for which he asks. I cannot even indicate at present the nature of the correspondence because it involves questions still under discussion with the local Governments. Still less can I discuss questions of fact or policy on which the replies of local Governments are not yet complete. The discussion must therefore, so for as I am concerned, remain academic. I can, however, assure the hon. member that nothing will be done in haste or without full consideration. Indeed any action in regard to the recognition of schools will involve legislation with its attendant processes of consultation. It may, however, serve a useful purpose if I indicate at greater length than was possible within the compass of a general resolution, the reasons why the Government of India have consulted local Governments in regard to these questions. The two aspects of the resolution are distinct although collateral. Both refer to High Schools only which prepare boys in English either to complete their school courses or to go on to a University. I will deal first with the school leaving certificate or school final examination. This has a long history behind it. For more than thirty years the systems of school education have been criticised on all sides, as being unduly literary in character and unduly subordinate to Examination. The Marticulation Examination, it has constantly been said, has led directly to cram the development of the memory at the expense of the higher faculties, the neglect of character and the loss of health and buoyancy of mind. The interests of the majority have been the interests of the few and the conditions of the matriculation examination have cramped the scope of general education. I may mention that comparatively few pupils (about one-fifth of those studying in the high classes of a school) pass beyond the school stage to college. In order to meet criticisms of this kind the commission of 1882 recommended a school course of a modern and practical character, freed from the dominion of a matriculation examination. This recommendation was generally accepted but did not lead to any appreciable result. Either the time was not ripe or the desire for change had not really sunk in. The whole question was again considered by the Indian Universities Commission of 1902 who advised that the conduct of a school final or other school examination

was outside the functions of a university, that the university would benefit if the matriculation were no longer accepted as a test for service under Government, that a school final examination should be substituted as qualifying for admission to professional examinations, and that it could advantageously be made a complete or at least a partial test of fitness for entrance to a University. Sir Gooroo Das Banerji, a name always to be mentioned with great respect dissented from this advice on certain grounds, two of which have since been wholly or in part removed—first that there was then no definite scheme of school final examination and secondly that the resources of the universities would suffer if they were deprived of the matriculation. I cannot without unduly tiring your patience trace in detail the history of the question in the different provinces. You will find full information on the subject in the very able and exhaustive quinquennial review prepared by Mr. Sharp, which will shortly be published. Brief as this review is it will show that the history of the case has passed through three stages. In the first instance the idea was to produce a moderate side course and an examination which would serve as a certificate for employment without necessarily drawing students to a university career. In the second instance the idea was to frame a course which would meet the needs of pupils who did not want a university career but who did not wish to be restricted to a modern side education. In the third instance it was recognised that there were serious defects not only in the matter but also in the manner of examination and an attempt was made to substitute records of the pupil's school career and broad practical tests attainment for a purely written examination were carried out by the external authority of the university. Early attempts to establish tests other than those of an external examination were not successful. Within the last quinquennium, however, new systems have been framed in Madras and the United Provinces. Both of these systems lay stress on the record of the pupils progress maintained in the high classes of schools. The Madras system, while it includes examination, does not make the grant of a certificate conditional on the attainment of any prescribed standard in examination. The grant of a certificate under the United Provinces system does depend on the attainment of a certain proficiency based on written and oral examination. The certificates under both Madras and United Provinces systems are recognised by the local universities as equivalent to matriculation but the Madras certificate is, while the United Provinces certificate is not, the sole qualification for Government service of certain grades. The Madras certificate is open to pupils of nearly all schools and the system of school leaving certificates has practically superseded the matriculation examination. The United Provinces certificate can only be obtained by pupils of certain recognised schools but it is becoming increasingly popular. The only province other than Madras and the United Provinces which has an effective scheme of school leaving test is Bombay, where the scheme does not rely upon the record of a pupil's achievements and character but is purely examinational. This is not recognised by the University and is regarded as the sole qualification for Government employ at that stage. Incidentally I may mention that in both Madras and the United Provinces the test or examination is directed by a special board. In the former province this consists of the director, four officials and four non-officials. In the latter province it consists of the Director, two representatives of the University, one of the Thomason College, Roorkee, one of the Chamber of Commerce, two officers of the department, two non-official members appointed by Government, and the Assistant Director as secretary, I would ask you to consider that the Government of India have brought no pressure to bear in the matter as regards any details of either the Madras or the United Provinces' system. We have performed the growth of two systems very different in character. Our own suggestion combines the features of both systems but we recognise the desirability of an experiment. While we realise that the value of external examinations cannot be overlooked, because they set before the teacher a definite aim, and maintain a standard, we are convinced that the definite aim of external examinations often unduly overshadows instruction, and that the standard of an external examination is necessarily limited to examination results, especially in view of the large numbers that have to be examined, and does not take account of the record of mental development of external growth of character. Our suggestion is that a record should be taken of the progress and conduct of each pupil in the high classes of a High School, and of the marks obtained in the various school tests. The Inspector would enter his remarks upon these records at the time of his visits, and thus obtain some acquaintance with the career of each candidate during the two or three years before examination. The examination itself would be conducted partly by written papers on the more important subjects of instruction but also to a large extent orally, due regard being paid to the students past career. The Government of India have already stated that they are prepared to assist with such grants as they may be able to afford, the introduction of any such system which may be locally practicable. But there has not been any compulsion in the matter nor has the case passed as yet beyond the stage of suggestion.

Recognition for Schools.

"I turn now to the recognition of schools. Every modern system of educational organisation is based on a large and growing measure of state control. It is generally agreed by thoughtful people now that the control of education is a duty of the State to the parents and the rising generation. Referring to secondary schools in their resolution of 1904 the Government of India laid down that whether these schools were managed by public authority or private persons, and whether they received aid from public funds or not, the Government was bound, in the interest of the community, to see that the education provided in them was sound. The Government decided to leave the final act of recognition in the case of all schools to the University. In practice the Universities have, in the main, been guided by the departments of public instruction examinations. Difficulties there have been, in certain quarters, but on the whole the advice of the department has been followed. The Madras University has delegated the act of recognition to the department entirely. We commend the success of Madras to the attention of Bengal, We cannot admit that we have thrown a dark shadow over Bengal education.

"I would like to say a few words of a general character in conclusion. I sometimes wonder whether people srealise the enormous changes that are coming over our educational systems, and the necessity for recasting our ideas in regard to them. What may have sufficed hitherto will not suffice much longer. What seems an impossible reform now will, perhaps, be out of date ten or fifteen years hence. Things are moving very fast in the educational world, and if India is to hold her place we must move in sympathy with them. When I look at the results already achieved with the materials at our disposal, and reflect on the possibilities as well as the difficulties of the future I rest in hope. I trust that I have convinced you that the Government of India has no sinister motives in the action which it has taken, but is carrying out a progressive and a fully accredited policy. I ask you to believe in the honesty and good intent of the Government of India and the Local Governments in regard to education. We are straining every nerve to make it more responsive to the needs of the people and the time, and we confidently count on the assistance of Indian parents in the great work before us all."

After Mr. Banerjea had replied the resolution was put to the meeting and declared lost.

Resolution on the Press Act.

Mr. Banerjea's Speech.

In moving the resolution on the press Act Mr. Banerjea said he had no desire to revive memories of a controversy now practically dead and forgotten. The Act passed with considerable opposition in the country, and in the debate in the Imperial Council in 1910 on this measure, a general desire was expressed by the non-official Indian members, including many of the supporters of the Bill, that the Act should be treated as an emergent measure dealing with a crisis that had unfortunately arisen, and that it should not find a permanent place in the statute book; but, views did not prevail and the Press Act had become a part of the permanent legislation, and had been in operation for four years, and the public were now in a position to judge the results of its operation. He did not wish to quote the verdict of popular opinion as that might not be acceptable to the other side, but he would refer to an opinion of an authority of unquestioned weight and importance, an opinion of none other than the Hon'ble Sir Lawrence Jenkins Chief Justice of Bengal. Mr Banerjea next quoted the judgment of Sir Lawrence Jenkins in the *Comrade* case, and said he could not conceive of a condemnation of the law more restrained yet more emphatic. Such a law, so dangerously comprehensive in its scope and yet so exacting in its demands, needed necessary safeguards for its proper administration, and the Government anticipating the need of such safeguards wisely sought to provide them here. Mr. Banerjea read extracts from the speech delivered in the Imperial Council when the Press Bill was under consideration. Mr. Sinha was then law member of the Council and spoke in clear and emphatic terms on the meaning and intent of the Government, a declaration which was heartily endorsed by Lord Minto the then Viceroy.

The speech of Mr. Sinha was an authoritative pronouncement on the official side. The question which Mr. Banerjea now asked was, had the pledged safeguards been provided and if not the public had a right to demand that they should be provided.

Mr. Banerjea next dealt with Section 4, 6, 9 and 10 of the Press Act and said that whenever power was vested in the local

Government to direct a forfeiture, the obligation was also imposed to state in writing the subject-matter of the complaint in the notice of the forfeiture, but all that was nullified by Section 22, of the Act. That was the clear meaning of Section 22 and that was also the opinion of the High Court of Calcutta. He read Section 22 and also the opinion of the Chief Justice and asked that in the light of actual wording of the Section and the opinion of the Chief Justice, what became of the safeguards which Mr. Sinha as Law Member gave on behalf of the Government of India. The public were driven to that conclusion that a distinct pledge given by the Government of India through their Law Member remained unfulfilled. Safeguards were promised but the High Court said they did not exist. It was distinctly stated with a view to allay public fear and anxieties that the subject-matter of the complaint would be set forth in the notice of forfeiture and the parties would have opportunties of testing the legal validity of such a notice. It now appeared that the Government need not state the objectionable matter and the pledge stood unredeemed. The Government did not and could not mean such a thing. Apart from the high-mindedness of the Government of India there was internal evidence in the Act itself to show that Government fully intended to embody in the law safeguards promsied by Mr. Sinha. Mr. Banerjea thought there was no intentional omission but an error in drafting. He was confirmed in that belief by the examination of Section 17 of the Act which provided for an appeal to the High Court against an order of the forfeiture, but an appeal to the High Court became meaningless unless the materials for a review were placed before that tribunal such as would be provided by the mandatory provisions of section 4, 9 and 10. The Act could not be allowed to nullify in one part what it proposed in another nor impose upon aggrieved parties impossible conditions as regards the burden of proof, for in the opinion of Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the law as it stood required the aggrieved party to prove the negative, that the written matter complained of did not come within the all-embracing net spread by the act. To ask an aggrieved party to prove a negative was a logical impossibility and the gravamen of the burden was accentuated by the fact that he was required to prove an all-comprehensive negative viz, that the publication did not come directly nor indirectly within the purview of the Act. The speaker quoted the opinon of Sir Lawrence Jenkins to further illustrate this point. He next said there had been sensible improvement in the situation and the tone of the press had changed for the better, which fact was admitted even by Anglo Indian writers who were opposed to the national aspirations of Indians. The improvement was due to the conciliatory and benevolent policy of Lord Hardinge and looking to the situation from the popular point of view, he was justified in demanding a substantial modification in the Press Act, and in making an ardent appeal to the Government to remove a just grievance. In conclusion, Mr. Bannerjea said, the newspaper press was a great organ for ventilating public questions and an instrument of popular education. The press was a sacred gift of British rule and the amendment of the Press Act which he prayed for would soften the rigour of an everlasting ban.

Malik Tiwana.

Malik Tiwana who followed Mr. Banerjea spoke amidst loud laughter. He opposed the resolution and asked for more stringent press laws. In course of his speech he said :—An unbridled press is the greatest curse of India and there has never been a more appropriate and more useful Act passed in this Council than the Press Act with the exception of two others, the Seditious Meetings Act and the Conspiracy Act, which constitute its part and parcel and which are calculated to strike a blow at and suppress anarchism and seditious propaganda organised or unorganized. I think that it is the seditious press which lies at the root of the other two. It is papers or other seditious pamphlets which poison unsteady persons and result in engendering in their minds either conspiracy or an uncontrollable excitement.

Maharaja of Nashipore.

The Maharaja of Nashipore speaking next could not say that circumstances had so changed as to demand a repeal of the Act and he did not think that time had come when Government should be divested of its power to control irresponsible writing. In supporting the latter part of the resolution, he said that if it was a fact that the High Court had no power under the Act to question the validity of an order of forfeiture passed by the Local Government, the ambiguity should be removed.

Mr. K. Huda.

Mr. K. Huda spoke in support of the motion and asked the Council to rectify an unintentional error. His also expressed his obligation to Mr. Benarjea for his resolution.

Mr. Rama Raganingar.

Mr. Rama Reganingar while expressing himself against the repeal of the Act strongly spoke in support of the resolution. He explained the ambiguity in the law and asked for its removal.

Mr. M. S. Das.

Mr. M. S. Das said that after hearing Mr. Banerjea he was convinced that an amendment of the Press Act was necessary. He referred to Malik Tiwana's speech which urged for a stringent law which showed that demand for amendments were coming from both sides. He then referred to the "Comrade" case and urged the Council to accept the resolution.

Mr. Das was criticising the mandatory provisions when time was called.

Dr. Kenrick.

Dr. Kenrick was the next speaker. He said that as member of the select committee on the Press Legislation of 1910 and as one having some experience of the working of the Press Act he desired to offer some remarks. Every one must admit that the Act had placed an extremely effective and powerful weapon in the hands of the Executive. But those who were best informed were aware that this weapon had been invariably wielded with extreme moderation in every case in which the necessity for using it had occured during the past four years. As the Hon'ble mover had mentioned some 800 publications had been dealt with and in only one case had the legality of the forfeiture been contested and in that one case the forfeitures had been comparatively few. He might say that in many—if not nearly all of the cases in which forfeiture had occured, the publications had been of the most flagrantly revolutionary character and in not a few of these cases it would have been deplorable if the law had not offered some effective and summary means of dealing with such publications. The most complete answer to the resolution was the fact that during the whole course of the time during which the Act had been in force, the only occasion on which the action of the Executive had been tested was that to which the mover had alluded. The Hon'ble mover had urged no doubt in the best faith that the safeguard promised by the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha on behalf of the Government had not been fulfilled, but it was a fallacious argument to quote the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha's words, referring to one class of section dealing with the forfeiture of presses and securities and divorcing them from their context to apply them to a totally different section upon the strength of these alleged violated promise a charge had been levelled against the Government, that it had failed to fulfill its promises.

Mr. Banerjea rose to a point of order to protest against the remarks of Dr. Kenrick. He denied having charged the Government with a violation of its pledges.

Dr. Kenrick repeated his remarks and was supported on the point of order of the vice-president. Concluding Dr. Kenrick referred to the judgment in the "Comrade" case and expressed his opinion that the Act contained sufficient safeguard and asked the Council not to modify its salutary provisions.

Mr. Sri Ram.

Mr. Sri Ram in supporting said that the request of Mr. Banerjea was very modest and drew the Councils' special attention to the second part of the resolution.

Mr. Asad Ali.

Mr. Asad Ali in supporting said the resolution concerned not one particular class but all classes of the Indian community. It neither asked for the repeal of the Press Act nor attempted to introduce radical changes into the Act. The first part of the resolution required a clear statement or description of the offending words or articles or signs or visible representations, within the meaning of the law in all cases of forfeiture and the second part required a modification of the section 22 of the Press Act so as to give real and definite powers to the High Court in dealing with forfeiture proceedings. Though certain sections of the Act provided in the earlier stages of forfieture and before the application to the High Court that the Government would state or describe the offending words or signs or representations, one of the most important section, namely section 12, did not contain such a provision. In the absence of a statement of description of the offending words and even of a statement of the grounds that led to an action of forfeitnre, no judicial authority however high and competent it be, could pronounce a judment. The public were entitled to know the exact nature of the offence when an order of forfeitme was made. Though section 12 provided that the Goverment should state the grounds of its opinion, it was rather, unfortunate that in a recent well known cases, it had failed to do so. After the frank pronouncement by Sir Lawrence Jenkins in the "Comrade" case, need it be said that the Press Act should forthwith be modified so as to empower the High Court to deal with press prosecutions in an effective manner? But the Act as it stood at present was an instrument of unduly great power in the hands of the executive so much so that it made the highest judicial tribunal feel their utter helplessness in the matter. Hence such small modifications in the essential particulars as the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea suggested would bring the Act in conformity with the liberal principles of the Government. The exciting and critical times that demanded a stringent law were happily gone by and the present

peaceful times no longer required such a rigorous Press Act. It was perhaps not fully known how little was the operation of the present Act calculated to promote free growth of an independent public opinion.

Both Raja Kashal Pal Singh and Mr. V. R. Pandit supported the resolution. The latter deprecated the discussion of section 4 as being outside the scope of the resolution and dwelt at length upon clause 8 of the Act. He urged the Council to accept the resolution.

SIR REGINALD CRADDOCK'S REPLY.

The Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock in replying quoted clauses in the resolution which he said represented the desire of the Hon'ble Mover to some extent. Some previous speakers had explained matters in which the mover had not been quite clear. He (the mover) proposed to secure the renewal of a similarity of procedure under the different sections of the Act without actually specifying the section which would have to be regarded. In fact the Hon'ble Mover was urging that the procedure under section 12 should be assimilated to the wording of section 4, 6, 9 and 11, notwithstanding that section 12 was totally different from those sections and the language used was quite dissimilar.

Mr. Banerjea rose to a point of order. The president asked him to reserve his explanations till the time of reply.

Sir Reginald Craddock continuing said he was explaining what the effects were of the amendments proposed and the only way in which the object of the resolution could be carried out would be the amendment of Section 12 which was not specifically referred to. But the circumstances were different in case of a keeper of a press or a publisher of a newspaper. Where his property was to be forfeited? Another safe-guards alluded to had therefore, been provided. The disseminator or the writer of a proscribed book or pamphlet was generally an unknown person and the bulk of such literature was either printed secretly or abroad section, 12 therefore, referred not to valuable property or security but to probably a few books or pamphlets of probably trivial value. The forfeiture is publicly notified in the Goverment Gazette to all concerned that such literature had been proscribed as a warning to the public. It was true that the section might be used in regard to literature possessed or printed by the owners of known presses but the forfeiture of the literature did not entail the forfeiture of the press or of any security. No person of ordinary prudence would urge that it was incumbent upon the Government to do the very thing which this section was designed to prevent and to publish abroad the very words or pictures to which exception was taken. In the case of literature produced outside India Government have long enjoyed the power of preventing its importation under the provisions of the Sea Customs Act or its seizure and forfeiture if it escaped detection at the sea ports. The bulk of the literature affected was violently revolutionary and in a few cases though such literature might not be violently prejudicial to the English readers it might nevertheless be highly undesirable to spread it broadcast amongst the Indians. It was not possible, therefore to amend Section 12 in the direction of bringing it into similarity of procedure with the sections dealing with the forfeiture of valuable property. A great deal had been made of the remarks on the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha but as the Hon'ble Mr. Pandit had pointed out those remarks referred to forfeiture of presses and securities the Home Member proceeded to quote Mr. Sinha on this point. He said the Press Act of 1910 was throughly examined at the time of its enactment both by the Council and by a select committee, the members of which give minute of dissent but neither in the amendments proposed in the Council nor in the minutes of dissent was any attempt made to amend the section 12. The Hon'ble Mover may suggest that this was mere inadvertence but Mr. Sinha was making his speech not on the introduction of the Bill but after it had been carefully examined and the select committee had presented its report. The Bill was not a long one and such a marked difference between the working of the sections could not have escaped notice by accident. As a matter of fact the difference of words was absolutely intentional. The Home member referring to the second recommendation made by Mr. Banerjea said that the power should not be exercised by any authority lower than a local Government. The statute book was full of powers reserved to local Government which were responsible bodies and which were not in danger of using their powers arbitrarily or without discretion. The only reason for providing a reference to judicial decision was to ensure whether the orders passed were within the terms of the section or not.

Sir Reginald Craddock went on to qoute Sir Herbert Risley on this point. It was quite clear that it was never intended to give the High Courts any powers other than those contained in section 4. Very naturally Government would always desire to comply with the forms prescribed by law. But the construction to be placed upon orders complained of was a vital issue. If a technical irregularity which was [illegible] be unintentional in the wording of the order were to be allowed to vitiate the order, the most revolutionary pamphlet might be circulated broadcast throughout India while points of law or procedure were being debated. The speaker next discussed the judgment of the Chief Justice in the "Comrade" case. As the mover had referred to it [illegible] once or twice and it might affect the general attitude of the public towards the Act he wished to remove any misapprehension that might arise. It was quite true that the Chief Justice had complained that a mandatory portion under Section 12 had not been complied with in the Government notification but they could not find in his judgement any specific statement that he committed himself to any opinion that the interpretation placed upon the Macedonia pamphlet was far reaching or arbitrary and he stated his grounds, namely that it was no part of the High Courts' duty to pronounce on the wisdom or otherwise of Executive actions of Government and he stated his reasons in no uncertain terms. It had always been sufficient if Government stated which of the six clauses under Section 4 was held to be applicable to a case of forfeiture. Concluding Sir Reginald said :—"As for the future I have a lively faith in the independence of our High Court Judges and I feel no doubt that if at any time the Executive Government should exercise their powers under this Act rashly or oppressively that the Judges will find no difficulty in invalidating their illegal action." Sir Reginald Craddock opposed the resolution.

OTHER SPEAKERS.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who followed Sir Reginald Craddock, said that the remarks of the Home Member had greatly simplified matters. There was no suggestion in the resolution that the Mover wanted a repeal of the Press Act. He drew special attention to section 12 and held that the stating of grounds under that Section would not disseminate the offending words which both the Home Member and the Advocate-General apprehended. He condemned the restricted power of the Hight Court in dealing with the Press Act and urged the Council to accept the resolution as a strong case had been made out for Government to examine the whole position.

Sir Ebrahim Rahmatoola in supporting referred to the Home Member's speech and dwelt upon the existing safe-guards which he held were illusory. He recalled cases when Government had come up before the Council to modify the act or acts to conform the original intention of the legislature. Similarly they had come up for the revision of the Press Act. He urged the Council to accept the resolution.

Mr. Chariar in supporting criticised the speeches of the Home Member and the Advocate-General and said the High Court of Bengal had found that there was considerable discrepancy in declaration and performance. The request was modest and he saw no reason why it should not be granted.

Sir G. M. Chitnavis supporting urged for the alteration in the wording of the law so as to make safe-guards more operative.

Mr. Banerjea summed up the debate and urged that safe-guards were unoperative. He regretted the disposition of the Home Member to go over the pledge given in the past and pointed out to almost unanimity among the non-official members for the revision of the law. He further said that whatever might be the decision to-day they would further deal with the question.

A division being called the resolution was rejected by 40 voting against and 17 for it.

The Council then adjourned to the 13th instant.

Our London Letter.

London, 26th December, 1916.

THE "TIMES" ON "THE INDIAN PERIL."

Indian affairs have been rather prominent this week in London, owing to the four "remarkable" articles, which have appeared in the "Times" on what the national journal of England is pleased to call "The Indian Peril." Had this paper to-day the same influence in moulding British public opinion, which it undoubtedly possessed in times fortunately gone bye, the wicked and malignant campaign, which it has just started, would have naturally been viewed with no little alarm and anxeity by all those, who have the true interests of the British Empire in India at heart. Those, who are familiar with Indian matters and are in a position to understand the real situation in India, however, are not likely to allow their own mind to be in any way prejudiced or in the slightest degree influenced by the present series of articles in the "Times" on the "Indian Peril," which obviously exists only in its correspondent's imaginative mind. To studiously misrepresent the facts of the whole case, as is being done in certain quarters at the present moment, is considered as nothing less than criminal by all thinking men and to deliberately stigmatise the great bulk of the Indian population as revolutionaries and seditionists, when they are trying to do nothing more than demand the fulfillment of the fundamental principles of British justice and fair-play is looked upon as a gross outrage on the undoubted loyalty and devotion of the Indian people to the British Crown.

On the whole, the "Times" articles have fortunately not created that universal sensation in England that was no doubt anticipated and even the Tory Press in general has treated the matter with extraordinary indifference. The Liberal Press, however, has risen

to the occasion splendidly and has, at the outset, earnestly warned the Public to View these Stories with the utmost suspicion. The "Daily News and Leader" in a magnificent leading article on the subject, has thoroughly exposed the hollowness of all the arguments used in the "Times" in support of its doctrine and has thus undoubtedly rendered a truly Imperial Service. "All this" proceeds the "Daily News" "is preliminary to a demand for a revival of the deportations and for new restrective measures. If this campaign in which we see the hand of the reactionary influences that played so evil a part in connection with the last period of unrest—is sucessfull, there will be an "Indian Peril" indeed, and one from which we shall not emerge so fortunately as we did from the last." ..... There are of course, firebrands in India as elsewhere and their most useful agents are the reactionary Anglo-Indians, who inspire the Press. But neither amongst the Hindus nor among the Mohammdans can there be found responsible leaders, who are disloyal to the British rule. They know that it is essential to the governance of India and that its withdrawal would be disastrous to their country. They are in a very real sense the bulwork of our policy there. If we lose their confidence in British justice, we shall lose the confidence of India. Now it is the chief vice of the policy that "The Times" represents that it drives these men into antogonism to the Government..... "The Westminster Gazette" speaks in the same view. "We have read these articles with some care," says the Gazette in a leader "and as members of the well-meaning but misguided class appealed to, we feel impelled to say that, if they represent the last word of wisdom on the part of the administration, there is an Indian peril, and a very serious one..... We do not share the alarm of the "Times" correspondent. The problem is certainly more difficult than it was twenty years ago, and we must not expect dumb admiration and acquiescense from active and intelligent men to whom our rule is alien. We must make our rule as little alien as possible, and that primarily means breaking down the racial estrangement, which is the curse of India and a more fruitful cause of unrest than all other causes put together. The new India which is growing up will not submit to the hard line between the ruling caste and the ruled, which is insisted upon by so much Anglo-Indian opinion" ..... It is indeed surprising that on an occasion, when great care and unusual delicacy are needed in handling question concerning India the "Times" has thought fit to open a crusade against all that is noble, progressive, loyal and self-respecting in that great Dependency of the Empire. No more mischievous motive could be considered than that underlying the recent articles in the "Times" and no more loyal section of His Majestys' subjects could be thus misrepresented than the vast millions of India, whose devotion and attachment to their Sovereign have been repeatedly and vividly demonstrated, even under the most trying circumstances.

EGYPTIAN PRINCESS WEDS AT WOKING.

On the afternoon of Sunday the 21st December, a numerous gathering was present at the mosque, Woking, at Khwaja Kamal-ud-dins' invitation, to witness the Majlis-un-Nikah (Wedding ceremony) of Princess Saliah of Egypt with a Russian nobleman, who has recently embraced Islam, to which I made a brief reference in my letter of last week. Amongst those present were Mr. Abbas Ali Baiy, Lord Headley, Colonel Bhola Nath, Miss Chatterjee, Mr. and Mrs. Ebrahim, Mr. H. Leitner (whose father had built the mosque), Mr. Abdul Haq, Mr. Khalid Sheldrake, Mr. Fisher, Mr. Mohamed Kassimoff, Mr. M. M. Shafi, Mr. Naimatullah Shah, Dr. Mohamed Deen of Bhowalpur, Mr. Zafar Ali Khan and Mr. Jelal Shah. The Princes is a daughter of Prince Hilmi and a grand-daughter of the late Khedive Ismail of Egypt. She speaks, besides Arabic and Turkish, several European Languages, amongst them English and French fluently. The moslem name of the Russian nobleman is Ata-ul-Rahman Shaikh Jelal-ud-din Mohamed.

Before the actual ceremony, Khwaja Kamal-ud-din delivered a very impressive sermon on the duties of "man and wife," after which the Khwaja Sahib conducted the Nikah in the mosque itself, thus giving the auspicious event a most inspiling atmosphere.

Subsequently, the party was treated to light refreshments, which were provided for the guests in the Memorial House, attached to the mosque, and after offering their hearty congratulations to the newly-married couple, the visitors gradually dispersed.

Reuter's message in this mornings' paper, stating that an enthusiastic ovation has been accorded Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali, on their arrival at Delhi, has made a very favourable impression on the Indian Moslem Community in London.

The great problem before the Indian Moslems in London at present, which avaits solution, is that relating to Mr. Ameer Alis' withdrawal of his resignation. It will be, no doubt, of interest to see as to how the Right Hon. gentleman will render his office of President of the London Moslem League an essentially political Body, compatible with his position as a Privy Councillor. Perhaps, on this occassion, he will use his own discretion without in any way troubling the Lord Chancellor for advice or permission.

TETE À TETE

The Confiscation of the "Zamindar" Press.

No one who is acquainted with the true state of the country can deny that so far as the Mussalmans of India are concerned the dawn of the year 1914 was far brighter than the dawn of 1912 or 1913. The evil fortune of the Moslem world which brought to them repeated afflictions during the last three years seemed to have exhausted itself, and the horizon was once more cloudless, even if the mist of suspicion still hung over the Community. With the New Year every public spirited Mussalman felt the necessity of taking stock of the communal situation and of re-arranging the programme of constructive work which had been at least partially arrested by the terrible visitations of the last few years. There was every hope that the energies hitherto absorbed in combating with repeated misfortunes would begin to be utilized for the purpose of self-improvement. It was at the same time believed that, in view of the universal dissatisfaction with the Press Act and with its administration during the period of the Cawnpore Mosque agitation, Government would now be pleased to modify the Act substantially, if not repeal it without further delay, and hopes were entertained that, apart from any considerations of justice, the Government of India would recommend to Local Governments the refund of all securities which they had declared forfeited with a view to inaugurate a new era of trust and confidence between Government and the public. The reply of Sir Reginald Craddock, however, to the recommendation of practically all non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council for an absurdly small modification of the Press Act shattered the hope that Government would at least modify the Act without further agitation in the country. But a worse blow to the hopes of those who desired the restoration of the country to its normal condition is the order of H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab for the confiscation of the entire Press of the *Zamindar*, together with the enhanced security of Rs 10,000, which the keeper of that Press had been called upon to furnish on the confiscation of the security of Rs. 2,000 previously deposited. It must be remembered that the articles which are declared to furnish the ground for the action of His Honour were published about two months ago, and it is a significant commentary on the declaration of the framers of the Act that it is a preventive and not a punitive measure which, unlike a prosecution causing endless excitement, provides a summary procedure. We fear this new prevention is worse than the old cure, and it is idle to talk of an appeal to the Punjab Chief Court when even the High Court of Calcutta has confessed itself to be helpless. Who can lightly undertake the "almost hopeless task" of proving the negative required by the Act when the words of Section 4 are all-comprehensive and nothing can escape the net of the Executive? It is merely throwing away good money after bad. But if a journalist who becomes a victim of the Act cannot obtain the redress of his grievance in a court of law, his only resort is the office chambers of the Executive, and that being the case, it is no use discussing the character of the publications on account of which such action is alleged to have been taken. Had the Press Act any reference to the *intention* of the publications we would have had no hesitation in attempting to prove the obvious fact that the *Zamindar* never harboured an unlawful intention. But it was found in our own case that the only thing with which that Act was concerned was the *possibility*, great or small, present or future, of exciting, somehow and somewhere, certain feelings in one or more human beings. We are, therefore, compelled to ask whether those objectionable feelings are more likely to be caused to-day by a perusal of three more or less obscure back numbers of the *Zamindar* or by the drastic action of the Punjab Government. Our own answer to this question can be given unhesitatingly, and it is this. The action of the Punjab Government is likely to disturb the sea's surface once more at a time when there was no sign of the rough weather through which the Mussalmans had recently passed. We want the calm and not the storm, and confine our remarks on the occasion to the earnest prayer to His

17th January

Honour Sir Michael O'Dwyer himself to prefer expediency even to justice, and his own forgiveness to the vengeance of those who are exulting at the troubles of one of their own kith and kin. We feel certain that the Mussalmans, who cannot afford to do without a strong and independent Vernacular Press, would revive the *Zamindar* without much delay. But before they do it, will not the Punjab Government itself give back the life that it has taken, and teach the Moslem community a lesson in moderation and self-control, in dignity and even charity which it could remember far longer than lessons taught by confiscations and even bayonets? Many things can be repressed, but it is impossible to repress bitterness of feeling. H. E. Lord Hardinge realised this when he made the Cawnpore settlement. It would have been still better if Sir James Meston had realised it earlier. But the time for its realization by Sir Michael O'Dwyer has not yet gone, and we appeal to him to capture Moslem imagination and Moslem feeling by an act of grace. We feel certain that His Honour's example would not be lost on other Local Governments and his lead would be readily followed. We must continue to do our duty by the people and by the Government according to our lights regardless of possible consequences, to ourselves and the recent orders of the Punjab Government cannot affect him who is moved by the powerful impulse of a patriot's duty. But it is not inconsistent with that duty to appeal, nay implore Government to do nothing which may cause more excitement than that which already prevails. In voicing this appeal we feel certain that our views are shared even by those who were occasionly dissatisfied with the conduct of our ill-fated contemporary, for the appeal is made not in the interest of the *Zamindar*, nor that of the Press generally, nor even in the interest of the Moslem community, but first and foremost in the interests of peace and good government, and we are equally certain that our appeal cannot be unwelcome to the statesman who has repeatedly acted on similar impulses in the three years of his Viceroyalty.

"The Indian Peril."

Our readers must by now be quite familiar with the conspiracy that has been hatched in this country and in England of frightening the British public into a policy of repression to be pursued in India against Indians in general and the Mussalmans in particular, the policy of suppression of newspapers and wholesale prosecution and deportations. It is not difficult to guess who are the chief conspirators in this country and who are their Indian accomplices. Were it not for the wise statesmanship of H. E. the Viceroy, who looks upon Indian questions from a detached point of view, and the support he gets from some of the Heads of Provincial Governments such as H.E. Lord Carmichael and from some of his colleagues, it would have become impossible for any public man in India to do his duty by his own people and by Government. Very few people realise what India owes to Lord Hardinge at this crisis; but when the historian of the future lifts the veil, the whole country would recognise the full measure of its obligation to the present Viceroy. In England, the *Times* is the arch-conspirator, but most Tory papers have lent themselves to create the "Indian Peril." The *Round Table*, which is edited by a young Tory not a minute older than some of the "hot-headed youngster" of the Moslem community, joins hands with the *Pall Mall* where Mr. Garvin displays every evening the awful signs of Tory dotage. But India is kept studiously outside Party politics, so that, like "everybody's child" who is nobody's child, India is bound to suffer for want of an advocate. The Liberals are willing to do her justice but they know little of India, and where a Moslem is concerned, and where Turkey is even indirectly in question, prejudice comes to the rescue of ignorance against the on-slaughts of the Liberal political conscience. Add to it the tremendous disadvantage that all Indian news reaches England through tainted Anglo-Indian and Tory, sources and that lies cabled to England have more lives than the proverbial cat, as the references to Cawnpore incidents in English papers even to-day amply testify, and you get some idea of the almost hopeless situation. Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali found several occasions on which to counter-act the false charge levelled against Indian Mussalmans of trying to dictate the British policy, and the Liberal papers do not believe it any longer, though significantly enough some Tory papers still repeat the lie. But in the earlier stages of their mission these gentlemen did not publish a word about the Cawnpore incidents in order that Ministers may not complain that they had come to embarass the Government, and after the settlement by H. E. the Viceroy they were most anxious to bury the hatchet and consider those awful happenings as a mere nightmare. A few editors of Liberal papers were, however, privately told the facts of the case and were informed that apprehensions existed in India that those who were opposed to Lord Hardinge's settlement would try to take every opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on the Moslem Press that had recently done its duty by the community. Even this has been productive of some results, and we are glad to note that at least an important portion of the Liberal Press is now no more labouring under the delusions which "news" manufactured in India was bound to create. The first-fruits of the Moslem Mission to England are the leading articles which the *Daily News and Leader* and the *Westminster Gazette* have published on the subject of the "Indian Peril" of the *Times*. The *Daily News* characteristically nipped the latest mischief of the *Times* in the bud, and the *Westminster Gazette* has given the *Thunderer* its *coup de grace*. We invite the attention of our readers to these articles which are reproduced elsewhere. After the *Edinburgh Review* article of His Highness the Aga Khan—to whom the Mussalmans owe as much gratitude as the *Pioneer* and His Highness's once perfectly disinterested admirer, the *Times of India*, owe him a grudge—we hope all croakers in England and India will be silenced, and the "Indian Peril" would be as dead as Queen Anne. May it also be beyond resurrection is the prayer of every true well-wisher of Government and of India.

The London Islamic Society.

We cordialy invite the attention of our readers to the appeal of the London Islamic Society published elsewhere. This is, perhaps, the oldest Moslem institution in London, and we believe Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, now Member of the Royal Commission on Public Services, was one of its founders. Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami was its last President and can corroborate our statement that the Society has every claim on the support of the Mussalmans of the world. The Moslem population of London is largely of the student class, and the activities of societies with such a floating membership are naturally unequal. But the present generation of its members, and particularly its present office-bearers deserve every assistance. The main difficulty is the absence of a permanent habitation, and this can be removed by hiring a commodious house in a central place where prayers can be offered, and the meetings of the Society held at regular intervals. A reading room and a library would provide enough attraction for the members who are scattered all over a vast area called London and swallowed up among the seven millions that constitute the population of London. Egyptians, Turks, Persians, and Indians could thus meet together and exchange ideas about the causes of Moslem decadence and the methods of Moslem regeneration. In this connection we may mention that Ali Hikmet Nahid Bey, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society who has signed its appeal for funds, is a young Turkish gentleman engaged in banking business to which the Turks are now fortunately taking. We trust the generosity of Indian Mussalmans will come to the assistance of a Society which has done not a little to enlighten English people on the subject of Islam and Moslem ideals, and to remove those absurd prejudices among which an English child generally grows up into boyhood and manhood. It must be in the recollection of our readers that the Islamic Society entertained Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali at a Banquet held at Hotel Cecil at which the Hon. Aubrey Herbert, M. P., presided, and at which besides the exposition of Moslem views about Indian and Islamic politics by these two speakers, Sir Henry Cotton spoke on Indian unity and Mr. John Dillon, M. P., denounced the Press Act of which he had had considerable experience in Ireland.

Shall I be a Mason?

We are informed on wholly unreliable authority that the following letter is lying undelivered in the Dead Letter Office at Delhi for want of sufficient address. It, however, bears the world-famous name of "GUP" at the foot of it, and the police are investigating the matter with a view to make certain whether the document is a clumsy forgery, or has some connection with the Hon. Mr. GUP whose disappearance from the world of journalism may be as deceptive as most appearances are believed to be. It runs as follows :—

"DEAR WORSHIPFUL BROTHER,

"I gladly responded to your invitation to dine with you and your brother Masons, and you now expect me to respond to your invitation to become a Mason. Under ordinary circumstances conductors of newspapers have a ready reply for all offers. But such a "contribution" as a dinner could not have been rejected on the ground of "pressure on our space." However, I much regret to have to say that in spite of the obvious temptation to embrace the opportunity of fraternizing with my pursuers, I am unable to respond to your invitation to be a Mason.

"It is not always wise to give reasons for one's views, and often enough a most excellent judgment is upset in appeal because the judge has taken the risky course of offering reasons of doubtful excellence in support of it. Nevertheless you are quite welcome to such reasons as I have to offer. In the first place, my becoming a Mason is not likely to benefit Masonry. I have noticed the sad absence of ladies in Masonic brotherhoods, and probably this is not sufficiently accounted for by the obvious fact that all "brotherhood" would disappear with the disturbing appearance of "Adorable Sisters" among the "Worshipful Brothers." Is it not a fact that you have a secret to keep, and what woman could be trusted with one? Now the weakness of a woman is the pride of a journalist. Think of the "copy" he could secure by becoming a Mason! Imagine the glaring headlines the *Daily Mail* would give when Isis is unveiled! Believe me every journalist has the soul of a Delilah, and it is not a small matter that I am laying it bare for your benefit. After this confession, do you think you would like me to be initiated into your mysteries?

"I have two other reasons also, but they will not take long in the telling thereof. With the Press Act hanging over it, journalism is by no means a bed of roses. Add to it the "Indian Peril" of the *Times* and the C. I. D., and then ask yourself whether a journalist outside the Lunatic Asylum can join a secret society. No, mon ami, no Masonry for my money!

"Thirdly, and lastly, I admit I know the full enormity of the sin of "destructive criticism," particularly after the political *obiter dicta* of a Judge lecturing on Education. But what of the greater sin of "constructive" Masonry? Didn't some "hot-headed youngsters," and still more hot-headed octogenarians, try their hand as constructive masons in a certain city in a certain province and come to a sad end? No thanks, not if I know it. "Yours Never,

"GUP."

Saved!

MISS MAUD ALLAN was coming to Delhi and all well-wishers of this country became preternaturally uneasy about the safety of Prestige. Would the dacoit still feel himself compelled to take his pursuers into partnership, or would he henceforward dispense with this necessary measure of precaution and pursue his calling as openly as, shall we say, the Police? Would the debtor, unwilling to meet his creditors, merely continue to rely on the laws' delays and the eternity that separates decree from execution, or, disdaining these Fabian tactics, would he henceforth defy the red-turbuned *Chaprassi* that only wants his signature on the summons, failing a small silver coin? Would the journalist continue to live in terror of the Press Act, or would he begin to suspect that High Courts and Special Tribunals are not incredible myths but have some substance and reality? Would the Indian still believe that in the warrant of official precedence the British Chancellor of the Exchequer comes much after a Chief Commissioner's head *Chaprassi*, or would it suddenly dawn on him that British Ministers must be respected alike by non-official journalism and official oratory? These were the grave questions that haunted loyal breasts when the placards began to announce "Maud Allan is coming." Miss Maud Allan came, danced and departed, and let it be proclaimed from the top of the Kutub Minar that Prestige was not only not shattered but has remained wholly undamaged. The dacoit's peculiar notions of safety and methods of company promotion and the red-turbuned Chaprasi's small silver coin; the terrors of the Press Act and the latest warrant of precedence are all safe and untouched. Naked and naughty feet no doubt trampled over them, but they survived the delightful shock of such delicate hammering just as easily as a dowager duchess's wrinkles survive repeated vibratory massage. Not even to a perverted and prurient mind could the classic, if also somewhat needlessly curtailed, draperies of Miss Maud Allan suggest thoughts that are not infrequently the outcome of the spectacle of a ballet dancer dressed in pink tights of the most approved pattern sanctioned by the Lord Chamberlain. Titian would have failed in his art if one could distinguish his "Profane Love" from his "Sacred Love" merely by the dimensions and weight of the draperies. So would Miss Maud Allan have failed in her art if one could measure one's pleasure only according to the scantiness of her attire. But we could honestly say that she did not fail, and that at times she gripped the thoughts of the spectators so fast that they forgot the entire controversy which had heralded her to India. In fact they felt a rude shock of surprise when after the fall of the curtain the lights in the hall were turned on, and they could note that the worshippers of Prestige had bycotted her because of her bare feet. Looking at the matter merely from the oriental point of view, her art appeared less like a dance in the ordinary sense and more like the posturing with which a decorous and often dull *mujra* is commenced, or the gestures known as *nirat* that accompany a love lyric. Hers was a more perfectly developed and more natural art, and could therefore be enjoyed by a staid Oriental no less than by a lively Westerner, and he who does not object to the art of an Indian *danseuse* could have no objection to the art of Miss Maud Allan. No one is called upon to bestow his approval on that lady's choice of this art in preference to any other; but no one has a right to trumpet forth his disapproval if he does not denounce in far more emphatic terms the very common art that is exhibited on the stage of advertising physical charms often only enhanced by what covers, though it does not conceal, them. The puritan,—and we have a sneaking admiration for him—would find more to object in many a swaying motion of the Tango even if danced in the costume of a nun than in the performance we saw at Delhi. Having said this, we may perhaps venture now to address a remark or two to Miss Maud Allan. We ask if she really thinks that the lightness of her draperies is necessary for the display of her art? Could she not in any case choose more secretive colours than she occasionally uses? No doubt her translation of Chopin's sounds into her own motion in the first item of this evening's programme was exquisite: her rendering of Mendelssohne's Spring Song was dainty and delightful, and her Blue Danube Valse was also highly artistic. But that which kept the spectators spell-bound was her rendering of Chopin's Funeral March in which she was almost as closely draped as a nun. We acknowledge that scantier clothing suited the Spring Song better. But it did not appear to us to be absolutely indispensable, and Art and Virtue may well make a concession to Philistinism and Vice occasionally, just as bureaucracy can afford to throw a crumb or two to democracy and discontent. In conclusion, we may add that after all we have seen little of Miss Maud Allan in the performance she gave at Delhi, and had she given us the Salome dance we too may have felt inclined to side with the Police Commissioner of Bombay. But in that case we would have sought the assistance of the Bishop of Kensington in England also, even at the risk of having had to enjoy heartily Mr. Bernard Shaw's dashing reply to the protecting Bishop.

The Comrade.

The Press Act.

I

THE agitation which followed the Partiton of Bengal in 1905 was unparalelled both in intensity and magnitude. It is, however, of so recent a date that it is wholly unnecessary to go into any details concerning the manifestations of the excitement of a large section of the Hindu community at the time. We have never disguised our own views about the character of that agitation, and it is, therefore, equally needless to re-state them. No one who went through that period of intense excitement could forget it, and no one could honestly say that such an agitation has ever been repeated in India since those days. The worst feature of that agitation was the sudden appearance of newspapers and leaflets openly preaching violence, assassination and revolt and the equally sudden occurrence of political crimes such as shooting, bomb-throwing, and dacoities.

This led the Government of India, after careful and anxious consideration which clearly showed the influence of two such statesmen and friends of India as Lord Morley and Lord Minto, to issue on the 3rd June, 1907 a Resolution which referred to "the recent outbreaks of lawlessness in the Punjab and Eastern Bengal" and to the attendant circumstance of a number of newspapers encouraging such lawlessness. It went on to say that—

> The Governor-General has no desire whatever to restrict the legitimate liberty of the Press to criticise the action of the Government and he would be reluctant to curtail the freedom of the many well-conducted papers because of the misbehaviour of a few disloyal journals.

But in view of the Governments' responsibility for the maintenance of law and order, it could not tolerate the publication of seditious matter, and was determined to repress the dissemination of sedition and the promotion of ill-will between classes by firm and sustained action "under the penal law." Accordingly, His Excellency the Viceroy empowered Local Governments to institute prosecutions in all cases where the law had been wilfully infringed. In consequence of this, 47 prosecutions had been undertaken upto the end of 1909, not one of which had failed. In the words of the late Sir Herbert Risley, then Home Member, it was proved "that the law as it stands is sufficient to enable convictions for sedition to be obtained." In 1908, however, the Newspapers (Incitement to offences) Act was passed in order to add another weapon to the armoury of the State, and the combined effect of this judicial and legislative action was that the *Sandhya*, the *Jugantar* and the *Bande Mataram* and other newspapers of a similar character ceased to exist.

This was what repression could do. But the wisdom of Lord Morley and Lord Minto had foreseen that repression had its limits, and could not work the miracles which a policy of reconciliation alone could accomplish. Without justifying the seditious newspapers in the least, one could yet explain their existence and their potency for evil, and it was such an explanation alone that could give a clue to the root-evil from which was springing up in the land the spirit of anarchy and lawlessness. The parasite in the blood was reached through the adoption of the well-known Reform Scheme, and no one who was old enough and able to judge the state of the country could fail to note the marvellous change that this measure of liberal statesmanship produced in India. Speaking from his place in the Imperial Legislative Council, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale said that "there is no doubt whatever that the Reform Scheme . . . . . has largely eased the tension of the situation, and has brought over to the side of the administration factors that might otherwise have remained sullenly or helplessly aloof." The Viceroy himself felt justified in saying on the same day that "we are at the commencement of that new political era of which I have so often spoken." What is more, he signalised the commencement of that era of new hope by releasing the State prisoners who had been fourteen months previously deported under Regulation III of 1818. "*Our justification for their release,*" said Lord Minto, "*is based upon the belief that the political position has entirely changed.*"

It was, then, nothing short of "a cruel irony of fate," as Mr. Gokhale called it, that this bright prospect should have been dimmed by the appearance of a dark cloud partially concealing the sun so soon after the dawn: that the Press Act should have been the first statute to be enacted by the Reformed Council. No profound student of government can say that, taking detached periods of history, greater progress has been made by any country or people, and in a shorter space of time, under any other form of government than the rule of a dictator or autocrat. This can be readily confessed without prejudicing in the least the claims of democracy to be the most satisfying and on the whole a very satisfactory system of government. Now, if Lord Morley had been in the fullest sense the Dictator of India for a decade after Lord Curzon's restless Viceroyalty, we feel certain that the bright prospect of 1910 would not have been clouded by a piece of legislation to which his whole nature must have been averse and which was entirely out of keeping with his entire political career. But the author of "Compromise" knew only too well that life was one long second best, and that he must allow himself to be saddled with the blame for inconsistency in order to be able to induce those whose co-operation was essential for the success of his own plans for the well-being and progress of India to agree to

them. Just as the deportations were the price which his liberal statesmanship had to pay to "Anglo-India" for the Reform Scheme, the Press Act was no doubt the price which it had to pay for the release of the deportees.

Only a year before Lord Morley speaking in the House of Lords, dealt with the suggestion that we ought to have "some very strong machinery for putting down a free Press" in the following characterstically effective manner :—

> A long time ago a great Indian authority, Sir Thomas Munro, used language which I will venture to quote, not merely for the purpose of this afternoon's exposition, but in order that everybody who listens and reads may feel the formidable difficulties that our predecessors have overcome, and that we in our turn mean to try to overcome. Sir Thomas Munro said—"We are trying an experiment never yet tried in the world—maintaining a foreign dominion by means of a native army; and teaching that army through a free Press, that they ought to expel us and deliver their country." He went on to say—"A tremendous revolution may overtake us, originating in a free Press." I recognise to the full the enormous force of a declaration of that kind. But let us look at it as practical men, who have got to deal with the government of the country. Supposing you abolish freedom of the Press or suspend it, that will not end the business. You will have to shut up schools and colleges, for what would be the use of suppressing newspapers, if you do not shut the schools and colleges? Nor will that be all. You will have to stop the printing of unlicensed books. The possession of a copy of Milton, or Burke, or Macaulay, or of Bright's speeches, and all that flashing array of writers and orators who are the glory of our grand, our noble English tongue—the possession of one of these books will, on this peculiar and puerile notion of government, be like the possession of a bomb, and we shall have to direct the passing of an Explosive Books Act. All this and its various sequels and complements make a policy if you please. But after such a policy had produced a mute, sullen, muzzled lifeless India, we could hardly call it, as we do now, the brightest jewel in the Imperial Crown. No English Parliament will ever permit such a thing.

It is true that "no English Parliament will ever permit such a thing;" but it is also true that the greater expediency of carrying the Reforms through an uncontrolled Tory Second Chamber, urged by the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, and led by several ex-Viceroys of the same Party, reconciled Lord Morley after a year to that measure of repression, the Press Act of 1910. Nevertheless, we feel certain that Lord Morley, who was not unaware of the dire consequences of such muzzling in Ireland, would not have consented to it in India if he were not assured of the provision of what the late Sir Herbert Risley called a very complete judicial check upon any hasty or improper action by the executive. This consisted of "an appeal to a special tribunal of three Judges of the High Court against any order of forfeiture passed by the Government."

Be that as it may, the people who were to be thus muzzled would have under ordinary circumstances certainly opposed the measure, although even members of the first Reformed Council knew that not even the united opposition of all Indian members could bring about the alteration of a word of the Bill without official concurrence. But what did the Indian Councillors do? On the 4th of February, 1910, Sir Herbert Risely moved for leave to introduce the Bill. No member opposed the motion which was and put unanimously agreed to. The Bill was then introduced, and Sir Herbert Risley moved that the Rules of Business be suspended, as if the safety of the Indian Empire hung on the immediate passage of a Bill which Lord Morley had fought against for years. The Viceroy declared the Rules suspended, and thus, without publishing the Bill in the official *Gazette* for public information and criticism, the Home Member moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee, with instructions to report on the 8th February, that is, after an interval of no more than three days. This motion too was put and agreed to without any dissent. On the 8th February the Report of the Select Committee was presented by the Home Member, who did not feel inclined to say a word in explanation of the Report, for the Bill emerged from the Select Committee practically as it had entered it. Once more Sir Herbert applied for the suspension of the Rules of Business to admit of the Report being taken into consideration immediately, and once more they were suspended. It was only when the Report was taken into consideration that the Hon. Mr. Gokhale explained the surprising silence and ultimate acquiescence of the non-official Members of the Council. After justifying in a semi-apologetic manner the minute of dissent which he and the Hon. Mr. Madholkar had appended to the Report of the Select Committee, Mr. Gokhale said :

> My Lord, in ordinary times I should have deemed it my duty to resist such proposals to the utmost of my power. The risks involved in them are grave and obvious. But in view of the situation that exists in several parts of the country to-day, I have reluctantly come, after a careful and anxious consideration, to the conclusion that I should not be justified in opposing the principle of this Bill. It is not merely the assassinations that have taken place, or the conspiracies that have come to light, or the political dacoities that are being committed that fill me with anxiety. *The air in many places is still thick with* [illegible] *are undoubtedly antagonistic to the unquestioned continuance of British rule with which our hopes of a peaceful evolution are bound up*; and this is a feature of the situation quite as serious as anything else . . . . . There is no doubt that even if the powers conferred by the Bill are exercised judiciously, some inconvenience and even hardship is inevitable to well-intentioned concerns. And if the powers are not exercised with care, great harm is bound to follow. Moreover, *as long as the law continues in force, even the best Indian concerns must work in an atmosphere of uncertainty and apprehension. But all these risks may be temporarily borne if they help in some measure to free the air of ideas of which I have spoken.*

Even in a country in which true patriotism has to appear before the bureaucracy with bowed head and humble mien, while lip-loyalty stalks proudly to the accompaniment of a beat of drums and a flourish of trumpets, every subsequent speaker who could be expected to have the courage of his convictions offered the same explanation of his support of the Bill. As the concluding speech of the Viceroy clearly shows, the support of the Bill was understood by Government to "furnish the proof . . . . . that increased representation of Indian interests and communities would not weaken, but would vastly strengthen British administration." Such a criterion of loyalty deprives voting of much of its significance. But partly through our national timidity, and partly through the intensity of our desire to convince Englishmen of our loyalty, we submit to this unfair test and vote for measures in the efficacy of which we have no faith. It is now well known that the murder of Deputy Superintendent Shams-ul-Alam in the High Court of Calcutta in broad day-light induced the then Law Member, Mr. S. P. Sinha to continue in office, although it is an open secret that he did not favour the Bill. We have a recent instance of the same political *gaucherie* of our Councillors in their reluctant acquiescence in the Conspiracy Bill introduced in the Session following the foul tragedy of the 23rd December, 1912, when the life of His Excellency Lord Hardinge was attempted on the occasion of his State Entry into this historic capital of India.

We must not, however, wander any further from our subject. It is no longer a matter of speculation, as it was to Mr. Gokhale on the 8th of February, whether the extraordinary powers conferred by the Press Bill would be exercised judiciously, entailing only "some inevitable inconvenience and even hardship to well-intentioned concerns," or would be exercised without care and would thereby result in "great harm." It is now possible to give not only an exposition of the expectations held out by the absence of some ugly features of repressive Press legislation and the provision in the Act of judicial checks upon hasty or improper excutive action, but also to discuss the way in which those expectations have been proved by experience to have been vain and the manner in which the judiciary has declared the safe-guards to be illusory and incapable of being enforced.

To begin at the very beginning, it was proudly claimed by Sir Herbert Risley that the Bill, in the first place, did not create a Censorship. "It imposes no antecedent restraint on the Press: a man may publish what he pleases; *he has the widest range for every form of intellectual activity* within the limits laid down by the law" Secondly, it was claimed that it was not, like the Press Act of 1878, "a purely executive measure". "The initiative," said Sir Herbert, "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*" Thirdly, it was declared with much show of pride, the Bill was not "a measure of universal licensing with power to the Government to withdraw or refuse a license at discretion". "The liberty of unlicensed printing", said self-conscious virtue, "for which Milton pleaded three centuries and a half ago, and at the time pleaded in vain, is untouched by this Bill." All that the Bill did, according to its author, was to demand security from the journalist or printer "in the interests of the community in order to guarantee that those who undertake for the first time the important task of instructing the people regarding public affairs shall at any rate be fully aware of the responsibility they incur".

Now, as regards the absence of a Censorship, it is true that the Act of 1910 is an improvement on its short-lived predecessor of 1878; but it is just as well to remember that in this there was less virtue than necessity. In according his sanction to the Vernacular Press Bill, the Secretary of State had expressed an opinion that the clauses providing for Censorship were liable to abuse, and although the Government of India had sinned in a hurry in retaining those clauses while passing the Bill in one sitting, they repented at leisure, and on the 16th October, 1878, brought in and passed an amending Bill for removing all provisions relating to Censorship. In this connection, Sir Herbert Risley himself referred to the provision of Censorship as "impracticable", and thus reduced the boast to the more modest dimensions of a confession.

We shall deal later with the question whether "the limits laid down by the law" did or did not confine Sir Herbert Risley's "widest range for every form of intellectual activity" within the exceedingly narrow compass of eternally praising the acts and policies of all officials. But we think it is in public interest to give some idea of the absence of "antecedent restraints on the Press" when translated into the daily life of a journalist in these days. He writes a restrained and remarkably respectful critique on the work of a Provincial satrap and a high Police dignitary which rouses gubernatorial gorge and offends the highly developed susceptibilities of the Police official. A co-religionist of the editor in the C. I. D. comes to him the next day in the unquestionable shape of a sympathiser and a friend in need. What has the Editor done? How does he propose to escape? Done? Escape? What does the man mean? Why, does not the Editor

know that there is such a thing as the Press Act which empowers Government to demand a heavy security without any time limit for the bond, without recourse to a law court—where lawyers could be engaged, evidence heard on both sides, cross-examination and arguments indulged in to one's heart's content—and without appeal to any tribunal? Does he not know that the journalist is in this matter in a worse position than a confirmed criminal? Caste? Of course, he would lose caste, and naturally his movements henceforward would acquire a new interest for the C. I. D. What else did he think? Had he been living in a fool's paradise all this time? What to do now? Well, it was a very difficult and a very delicate matter. As a co-religionist and friend the visitor would do what he could in the matter. On the whole—and this comes after a judicious pause to show the *extempore* character of the suggestion—it would be just as well if the Editor called on the Police dignitary, sought his advice and offered to keep out such matter from his paper in the future. In the meantime the visitor would try to appease his superior. The unsuspecting Editor calls on the Police dignitary the very next day. He basks in the sunshine of the office verandah for an hour or more and is then admitted into the presence of an officer who is as frigid as an iceberg, and as rigid as if he had swallowed a poker at breakfast. The Editor mumbles and mutters his regrets to begin with, then plucks up courage to ask the dignitary's advice, and ends with an abject promise never to do it again. The Police dignitary puts on an extra shade of seriousness on the situation, accepts the apology with evident reluctance, and finaly warns the Editor in pulpit accents. The Editor returns home a wiser, if also a sadder man, and ruminates over the assurance of Sir Herbert Risley that he is as free as the air and "has the widest range for every form of intellectual activity." Oh, no, we have no Censorship in these days. The provisions of the Act of 1878 were "impracticable," and—present day administrators are practical men.

The Indian Moslem's Tasks.

III.

A few months ago we had undertaken a brief survey of Moslem affairs in India with a view to indicate the directions in which the united efforts and energy of the community should be applied. Certain events, however, of more immediate concern, which happened in quick succession, obliged us to defer till now the detailed consideration of the problems arising out of the subject. In the first article some considerations were set forth which emphasised the need of such a survey. We said that the Mussalmans of India were just emerging from a period of stress and storm and that the future was full of uncertainties, if not of perils. In the plastic state of mood and feelings in which the Mussalmans find themselves prompt and well-directed efforts have got to be made to create a new unity of purpose and to clear the path ahead. As we said, the past has been crowded with events, and the experiences of the Mussalmans are, if they only knew, a powerful challenge. They have to take stock of the present situation, and restate their purpose and brace themselves up for a long spell of sustained endeavour. We indicated in bare outline the character and range of the great tasks which awaited them. The first great task for them is unquestionably to provide themselves with adequate intellectual and moral equipment to preserve their status and individuality amongst the progressive races of India. In this connection we made some general observations in the second article and briefly outlined the position of the Mussalmans in the matter of communal education. The question, however, is of such fundamental importance that we cannot leave it without further examination.

The first thing that should strike the educational reformer amongst the Mussalmans is the attitude of the bulk of the community towards education generally. No doubt a considerable demand for modern education has grown up amongst the Mussalmans in recent years. Economic causes are ruthless in their operation, and the Indian Moslems, inspite of their proud and sullen temper of some decades ago, have been driven to recognise that they will have to adapt themselves to modern conditions if they want to live. The desire for education as it exists amongst the Mussalmans to-day is, therefore, no more than a concession to the grim forces which embody the physical appetites of mankind. The desire is right and irreproachable so far as it goes; but it does not afford much help in evolving general standards for the organisation of Moslem education. It breeds no ideal and indicates no direction along which the whole community should move. Communities cannot live by bread alone any more than individuals. They must have some great fertilising purpose to make their lives worth living. The satisfaction of physical appetites is not achieved through a high purpose worthy of the higher man, but through an imperious, animal instinct. If Moslem education is to remain a merely bread-winning device, its organisation on communal lines would be an expensive futility. There are, we allow, enough men amongst the Mussalmans who talk frequently of types and ideals in regard to Moslem education. Most of them are men who had burnt their rush-lights at the lamp lit by the late Sir Syed Ahmad in the seventies. Their talk is usually brave and pleasing; but when they come to formulate their ideals in definite terms they break down in confusion in the majority of cases. The fact is, though a right instinct early saved the Mussalmans from accepting the gross material values which modern secular teaching of the West tends to place on life, they have evolved no values of their own. They have yet a hazy sense of something they need. Their ideals have not yet taken shape and emerged from the cloudland.

Most of the existing vagueness and confusion is no doubt due to the conditions obtaining in this country. The Moslem educational problem is in one essential respect part of the larger problem of Indian education. Its main difficulties arise from the circumstance that the Indian society has to take its new life and vigour in an atmosphere of alien culture and through the inspiration of an alien civilisation. Those who describe this as an experiment, give but an imperfect idea of their sense of risk and adventure. Western education in India is, as a matter of fact, an experiment only in the sense that its result are not yet definite and assured. Its full significance, however, can be grasped only when we try to know what it really is—a fixed, arbitrary, irrevocable mould through which the growing mind of India has to pass. The evil effects of this artificial process have not become so glaring because the Indian mind, thanks to its innate vitality and nimbleness, has escaped without much violence through the iron standardising of mind that is going on in Indian schools and colleges. All the thoughtful Indian observers are becoming increasingly conscious of the waste, the injury and the make-believe that this process perpetuates. The Government is also beginning to perceive in its own way that the ideals and methods of Indian education are not what they ought to be. The true solution of the problem would be reached when the process named above comes finally and absolutely to an end. To state it more plainly, education in India can be a real and vitalising thing only by its becoming *national*.

All education in its essence aims at the equipment of the rising generation with the full experience of the race. The people of India will have to assimilate accumulated human experience and make it a part of their consciousness if they aspire to become great, free and powerful. But the process of assimilation will never effectively set in as long as the direction of Indian education remains a jealous concern of the State. What makes the Indian problem an almost unique phenomenon in the history of the world is that the State is not the natural expression of the will of the people. It enjoys a measure of confidence and a larger measure of acquiescence of the governed; but it has nevertheless no roots in the soil. Through an accident of history, or what may be more aptly called a dispensation of Providence, the British have come to govern India with the great ideals of the West. They have given peace and enlightenment to the land and have ensured the essential conditions of progress and material well-being. The Indian people have found in the new environment their main chance for self-development. They have now reached a stage when they keenly feel that their further intellectual and social development depends on the degree of control they are allowed to exercise in the direction of Indian education. If the ideas of the West are to become not a dead-weight but an inspiration to the Indian mind, the education of the coming generations should be allowed to develop on national lines. The experiences of the West would sink into a mere mimicry if the people of India are not permitted to develop any intellectual initiative. They alone know their needs, and now, two generations after the foundation of the first University in India for imparting instruction in European literature, philosophy and science, Indians are to a great extent in a position to adapt the Western teaching to their own conditions. They have to recover their genius and the faculty of self-adjustment, and this they can never do unless they are free to build up a thoroughly national system of education.

These observations apply with equal force to all the different communities of India. The Mussalmans should evolve a system of communal education based on their distinctive needs. The proposed Moslem University is an attempt to solve only a part of the problem of Moslem education. The need for the organisation of primary and secondary education is even more insistent. And then there is the growing necessity of making provision for technical and industrial training which should equip a large number of Moslem youths annually to take part in the economic development of the country. But the most important and insistent need is the elaboration of ways and means for the education of Moslem girls. This is a problem to which little attention commensurate with its urgency has been directed. Those, however, who have any insight into the condition of modern progress may realise how far the problem of Moslem advancement as a whole depends on the organisation of women's education. In itself it is a vast subject, but the peculiarities of the Moslem social system render it an anxious problem. We shall discuss the subject with reference to the facts of the situation in our next, and consider the lines along which progress appears to the possible.

Return of the Moslem Mission.

I.

It was expected that Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali would land at Bombay on the 19th December, and had received at Aden a request from the Anjuman-i-Zia-ul-Islam of Bombay to address a public meeting on the subject of their work in England on the evening of the 19th. But owing to delays on the way due to the heavy Christmas Mail which that boat was carrying she could not land her passengers before the morning of 20th December. When the delegates reached the Pier their numerous friends and a large number of other Mussalmans welcomed them and placed garlands round their necks. They called the same morning on the Hon. Mr. Claude Hill, Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay by invitation, a visit which they repeated the next day. In the afternoon they went to meet the Hon. Mr. Gokhale at a meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association where the situation in South Africa was discussed. In the evening they addressed a crowded public meeting convened by no less than a score of the leading Mussalmans of Bombay and presided over by Mr. Jinnah, formerly Member of the Imperial Legislative Council. The proceedings of this meeting are reproduced from the *Bombay Chronicle*, of which the Editor, Mr. Horniman, formerly of the Calcutta *Statesman* expressed regrets at his inability to attend the meeting in the course of a letter welcoming the delegates and complimenting them on their work both in India and England. Next day after their second visit to the Hon. Mr. Claude Hill the delegates were entertained at luncheon at the Orient Club by the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah, Kt., President-elect of the All-India Muslim League, at which every prominent Bombay Mussalman was present.

Arrival at Delhi

After meeting a number of their friends at Agra, including Mr. Alay Nabi, President of the United Provinces Muslim League, the delegates travelled on to Delhi where they reached on the after noon of the 23rd December. Their many friends and other representatives of the Mussalmans of Delhi met them at different stations on the way to Delhi and garlanded them and filled their carriage with flowers. At Delhi, however, nobody was permitted to receive them on the platform by order, as the Railway Officials stated, of the local authorities of Delhi, and even those who travelled with them in the same train were locked in by the police so that the delegates met the large crowd of the inhabitants of Delhi that had come to welcome them outside the Railway station premises. Once outside, however, they were swallowed up in the enormous crowd that was impatiently waiting on the road and in the Queen's Garden. A procession was formed and great efforts were made to take off the horses and let the men pull the carriage of the delegates, but the latter after a time persuaded the people to allow the procession to proceed without unhorsing their carriage. Another extraordinary feature of the arrangements made at Delhi was the order of the police prohibiting the procession from going through the town. It, therefore, proceeded from the station to the Jame' Masjid without entering the town, but inspite of these prohibitions the crowd numbered no less than ten to fifteen thousands. In the mosque they joined the sunset service after which the Shahi Imam, Shams-ul-Ulama Maulvi Syed Ahmed Saheb made a stirring speech welcoming the delegates back to Delhi and strongly repudiating the unfounded contention of some people that they were not the true representatives of Indian Mussalmans in their mission to England. He thanked them for their services in the cause of the Moslem Community and Islam and offered a fervent prayer for the success of their work and their own safety from all kinds of perils. News was brought that the Sangam Theatre, which is the largest hall in Delhi, and had been selected as the place of meeting where the delegates were to address the people of Delhi, was already overcrowded and no room could be found for a much larger gathering that was still in the mosque. On this the assembly in the mosque desired Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali to address them on the spot, an invitation which they declined in view of the arrangements previously advertised. They then proceeded to the Sangam Theatre in company with a number of leading Mussalmans of Delhi headed by the Shahi Imam who was elected to the chair. He recited verses from the Koran and once more welcomed the delegates back to Delhi after which an address was read by Mr. Abdul Aziz and presented in silver caskets to the two delegates by Dr. Ansari and Dr. Abdur Rahman respectively. They also received silk scarfs from the gild of butchers of Delhi who had closed all the shops for the day in honour of their return. The address was as follows :—

"Our honoured delegates,

"We, the Mussalmans of Delhi, heartily congratulate you on your safe return home, and acknowledge those pure and true services which in this short space of time you have rendered with courage and persistence in spite of various difficulties."

"When you left India the time was one of considerable anxiety, and we the Mussalmans were looked upon with suspicion and misunderstood in a number of ways. It was necessary at the time that our true point of view should be explained and our real feelings interpreted to a people who are entitled to rule over us as a nation. We admire your courage in realizing your duty at such a critical juncture, in ignoring those dangers by which every independent Mussalman seemed to be surrounded, and in giving precedence to the real and true needs of the Community before personal consideration.

"We are sufficiently acquainted with the difficulties and perplexities which beset you in the earlier days of your Mission, but we heartily appreciate the patience, dignity, independence and courage with which you struggled with them, and we congratulate you on the success which you achieved in obtaining the ear of the British public. It is only due to your efforts that people in England have turned their attention towards the intolerable rigours of the Press Act and the necessity of its repeal, and that they have felt the difficulties and afflictions on account of which our Press is now so weak and helpless. The importance and urgency of the work of which you have laid the foundation is now being felt by the entire country and we trust that through its united efforts this intolerable repression will cease for ever.

"We consider the views that you have from time to time expressed on the subject of the mutually tolerant and fraternal relations of Hindus and Mussalmans to be an excellant instance of your appreciation of the needs of the time and of your political astuteness and sagacity, and we believe that the proper appreciation of the principle which you have enunciated will react favourably on the future relations of the two communities. We take this opportunity of acknowledging the loving regard you have shown towards your afflicted brethren in South Africa and your intrepid advocacy of their cause.

"Among all this worry and work, however, the most important and most deserving of appreciation of your successes is that which you have achieved in fully impressing upon the minds of the British people the idea of Moslem brotherhood and that everlasting feeling of oneness which the Mussalmans of one country entertain towards Mussulmans of another. And you have also proved that our Islamic sympathy and our religious sentiment are not inconsistent with our loyalty, and that it is the duty of those responsible for the government of Great Britain to give them due consideration.

"In conclusion, we offer thanks to Him who unites the separated, who has once more brought you among us, and we pray to God to keep you firmly on the path of truth, righteousness, independence and integrity. May you be the pride of your country and your community, and may you have occasions of rendering still greater public services."

Bombay Meeting.

We give below the proceedings of the meeting held under the auspices of the Anjuman-i-Zia-ul-Islam of Bombay and reserve for a subsequent issue the speeches made by the delegates at Delhi, Lucknow and Cawnpore and an account of the enthusiastic reception accorded to them by thousands of people who filled the Railway Stations, lined public roads and crowded the *Shamiana* and the Hall where they addressed the people.

At Bombay, the proceedings began with a recital of a passage from the Koran invoking blessings, and various telegrams and letters sympathising with the meeting and welcoming the delegates were read. The chairman then addressed the meeting.

The Chairman's Speech.

He said : Gentlemen,—I thank you and the Zia-ul-Islam for the honour you have done to me in asking me to take the presidential chair this evening. This meeting is called with the object of receiving Messrs. Wazir Hassen and Mahomed Ali, who are well known to you, on their return from England, and to give them an opportunity to place before us and the public, the report of their work in England in connection with their recent mission to England. Before I call upon them to address you I should like to say a few words.

We all know that the immediate issue for their departure to England was the Cawnpore Mosque Case which had assumed a very serious aspect indeed ; but which, thanks to the high statesmanship and great foresight of our Viceroy Lord Hardinge, was grappled by him without any loss of time and settled in a most satisfactory manner. I think I am only echoing the feelings of every Mussalman from one end of the country to the other when I say that we are sincerely grateful to him and it is most fortunate that we have

the Viceroy like Lord Hardinge at the head of the Government of India. His policy and attitude on most important questions has been such that he has won the hearts of the people of the country, Hindus and Mahomedans alike, and that seems to me to be the right key to the good Government of any country. I hope I am not transgressing from the purpose of the meeting in expressing our most heart-felt and sincere thanks to H. E. the Viceroy for his most sympathetic and wise pronouncement on the South African Indian question recently at Madras. I will only say this that by this he has rendered not only the greatest service to us in our struggle for justice and humanity there but to the whole of the British Empire at large.

Groundless Misleading and False Reports.

Now coming to the object of this meeting, I would like to say that at the present moment the political atmosphere with regard to the Mussalmans of India in our own country as well as in England is surcharged with groundless, misleading and false reports. Let me at once say that Mussalmans have the same respect for and confidence in the Government as they ever had, and nothing is further from their mind that is to embarass the Government, much less to undermine the Government as is declared and repeatedly alleged in certain quarters falsely. It is a base vilification and slander upon the fair name of Aligarh to say that the young men of Aligarh are disloyal. It is a libel upon the most cultured and educated class amongst the Mussalmans who are true and loyal subjects of H. M. the King-Emperor.

No Longer a Dictatorial Policy.

The fact is that the Mahomedans 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.

Not Blind Submission, but Intelligent Agreement.

There comes a stage in the development of people when the Government has to consult the people and to take them into their confidence before they adopt a particular measure or policy, and in India that stage has been reached. The Government of India can be carried on successfully now on the lines of partnership between the English and the Indians as was explained by Mr. Montagu, the Under Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons at this Budget debate this year and not on the old lines of command and order by the English and mute obedience by the Indians. In other words not blind submission to, but what is required is intelligent agreement of the people with the Government.

A Mischievous Game

The necessary corollary of this situation is that you must respect and consider the opinion of the people of India and tolerate their criticisms. It is no use turning this legitimate frame of mind of the people, which is the outcome of education and enlightenment into sedition and disloyalty when no such thing really exists. It is no use deriding at the opinions and criticisms of the people or treating them with contempt. It is no use saying that it is only the opinions of young and hot-headed and then trying to minimise the weight of it. These are false methods and will not stand long. Because in the end truth and reason must prevail. Let it be realised that among the Mahomedans there is no such thing as "split." There is no such thing as two parties—the young and old. I know that some people would like very much to see that there were such a thing as "split" but let us hope that Providence will disappoint them. I make bold to say that the Mussalman community was never more united or at one on all the fundamental questions of policy and principle than it is to-day. Differences of details there are and will be, as you find all over the world amongst the most highly organised nations. Besides, it will be a very unique community indeed, consisting of 70 millions of people, if there were no such differences. I would therefore appeal to those people who do and will try to make out that there are two parties or that there is a split not to indulge in this game. It is most mischievous and fraught with most serious consequences.

The London Branch and the Central League

There are two incidents worthy of notice which took place in England while Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mahomed Ali were there. One was the controversy between them and the Right Honourable Mr. Ameer Ali. I do not wish to revive the matter as it is closed now, but it has raised a question of the greatest importance to us, *viz.* whether the London League is to be subordinate to the Central League or co-ordinate with, or independent of it. This question no doubt will be considered at Agra shortly when the All-India Moslem League will meet on the 30th of December 1913.

Denial of most Elementary Right.

The other is the refusal of the Secretary of State for India to grant private interview to Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mahomed Ali. With the greatest respect for Lord Crewe, it seems a denial of a most elementary right of representative men to whom the Secretary of State should always be accessible. But perhaps it was due to some under-current which His Lordship did not quite realise at the time. Let us hope that this will not form a precedent.

The Press Act

It must be remembered that Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Wazir Hasan went to England at a time when Northern India particularly was electrified by the situation in Europe, *viz.*, Turco-Balkan War. On the top of that came the Cawnpore Mosque case and the treatment of some section of the Mussalman press by the Government in demanding securities and forfeiting them under the Press Act, and the general attitude of the Government for the moment in that part was such that the most conservative and orthodox man in the community was roused to a sense of indignation that knew no bound. But we are all very happy indeed to find that the situation has now changed. The war is fortunately ended. The Cawnpore Mosque matter was so magnanimously settled by H. E. the Viceroy. But there still remains the question of the Press Act. If it can be worked as oppressively as it was during the recent events I have referred to, and the power of the High Court under the Act when put to the test of a judicial decision has proved futile, as it was so laid down by the Judges of the Calcutta High Court, is it not the duty of the Government and the people alike to consider how this Act can be put right in the light of what has happened in the past? No doubt this question of the Press Act will be taken up by the Indian National Congress at Karachi and the All-India Moslem League at Agra, this month, and will be considered by these two, the most representative organizations in the country. I would however like to point out to our people that moderation and sobriety should be the guiding principles to our public utterances whether in speech or print. It lends dignity and adds strength to a good cause; too strong a language and rashness spoils a really good cause. But this must be observed by all sides equally. At the same time I have always maintained that it is the duty of every honest citizen to fearlessly and independently point out to the Government what our complaints are and appeal for redress. It is the duty of every right-minded citizen to criticise and oppose a measure of the Government if he is so convinced.

Appeal for Unity.

In conclusion, gentlemen let me tell you that the present situation is most critical. All the Mahomedan forces should be brought together and firmly united. Let not differences appear on the surface where no differences really exist. Let us not think so much of the past or live on the past history and glory. Realize the present and prepare to improve the future. Salvation of India lies in the true union of the people, and her onward march of progress depends upon constitutional and constructive methods. When England and America think of the Union of the Anglo-Saxon race all over the world—when you find the "Entente Cordiale" between England and France an accomplished fact—when you find that Europe consisting of different nationalities and powers can maintain what was known as the "Concert of Powers" during the recent war, is it too much to ask and appeal to Hindus and Mahomedans, the two great communities in India, to combine in one harmonious union for the common good where we have to live together in every district, town and hamlet, where our daily life is interwoven with each other in every square mile of one common country? This is the problem of all problems that India wants a statesman to solve, and when that is solved, true advance and real progress can be achieved.

I now call upon Mr. Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohamed Ali to give an account of their mission to England.

Mr. Wazir Hasan's Criticisms.

Work of the Mission.

Mr. Wazir Hasan, who received quite an ovation on rising to speak, made a very stirring speech in Urdu, which was most remarkable alike for its lucidity and its scathing comments and which was very often greeted with cheers. He prefaced his remarks by outlining the recent events that had stirred the Mussalmans of India,

namely, the reversal of the partition of Bengal, which, partly because it appeased a sister community, and partly because it held out a pledge of provincial autonomy, the Mahomedans acquiesced in without much complaint; the Italian raid on Tripoli; the Russian advance in Persia with its attendant horrors such as the bombardment of the Mausoleum of the Holy Imam at Meshed; the French activity in Morocco; the outbreak of the Balkan war, which the Turks were promised would not break out; the atrocities perpetrated by the Balkan allies which were allowed to continue unchecked: and finally the deplorable and distressing events at Cawnpore: and remarked that all these made the Mahomedans of India miserable, and when their position became critical, it was the inspiration of Mr. Mohamed Ali which led to their decision to proceed to England for the solution of their difficulties.

The speaker then proceeded to give a brief account of the steps which they had taken in England with a view to solve these difficulties and observed that fresh difficulties were placed there in their way. He referred to what he called a malicious libel against the younger Mahomedans which appeared in the London *Times* a fortnight after their arrival in England and which, he said, was intended to prejudice the British public against them. He also referred to the desire of His Highness the Aga Khan, of whose disinterested zeal for the community he spoke in most eulogistic terms, to find an occasion for the removal of the misunderstanding sedulously sought to be created by the *Times* by means of false charges made by its correspondents.

The History of the Dinner.

This introduced the subject of the projected dinner which His Highness the Aga Khan himself suggested to give to the speaker and Mr. Mohamed Ali, and he pointed out how, at first, want of sympathy, then procrastination, and, finally, the publication of the garbled version of the correspondence on the part of Mr. Ameer Ali, accompanied by his uncalled-for resignation upset their programme of work. In this connection he made scathing remarks about the comments of some of the Anglo-Indian papers and particularly the *Times of India*, whom he reminded that after all the animals of the Zoo, which according to that journal had wanted to be publicly fed, were lions, and that it must not be too sure of its own safety behind the bars, for if somehow these lions managed to come out of the cage, the question would be who should form their first tasty morsel, and he thought that it was not unlikely that the *Times of India* would prove sufficiently tender and succulent.

Their Motives Questioned.

The speaker then proceeded to discuss the question whether there was a young party of extremists among the Mohamedans, and he wanted its views to be pointed out to him in its own words so that he could find an indication where to draw a line between moderation and extremism, old Mohamedans and young Mohamedans. At present all that had happened, he said, was that all the Mohamedans felt equally miserable, and while one class among them who had understood the true nature of the British people, openly showed its misery, the other, suspecting the British, kept his grief to himself and only let it increase in the process of nursing it secretly. This was some times due to suspicions libellous to the British character, and sometimes due to a desire to gain the rewards of moderation in the shape of titles and similar other official recognitions. But he wanted to know how this class of people could be called by the British themselves more loyal than the others. In any case, he said, he was prepared to face calumny and suspicion on the part of others, but he wanted that if he had erred in carrying out the wishes of his community his punishment should be meted out to him by his own people and not through outsiders. He regarded his own people as the final judges from whose verdict he could never appeal.

As regards the success or want of success of the mission, he assured the meeting that they had done what they could under the circumstances that were created for them, and in the short time at their disposal, and he urged upon them that, even if there were seventy doors locked against them it was their duty to knock at each of them until they were opened, and he assured those who thought that they had succeeded in closing the official door against them that they must not believe that they were now left in peace for ever, for they were going to recommence their efforts as soon as possible, and he knew not any official door that could withstand their incessant knocking.

Mr. Mohamed Ali's Speech.

Six Outstanding Questions.

Mr. Mohamed Ali was then called upon to give a brief account and he too was accorded a similar welcome by the meeting. He started by apologising to the meeting for the lateness of the hour, for it was then already half past eleven o'clock, and continued his speech in Urdu. He said neither he nor Mr. Wazir Hussein had slept a wink on the preceeding night for they were both watching with great eagerness the lights of Bombay. Although on the first occasion he had returned from England after an absence of three and a half years he did not watch for the first sight of Bombay with that feverish restlessness with which he sat on the deck on the previous night when he was returning after an absence of only three and a half months. This was not because he was any more anxious now to meet his own family, many of whom had learnt of his departure after he had gone, but because throughout their work in England, what troubled them most was not what the *Times* or its understudy in India, the *Times of India* published, but the fact that they could not see what effect these publications had on their own people. However, they would have no feverish anxiety now because, at the very gateway of India, this large and enthusiastic gathering made it clear to them what they thought of that mission, its motives and its work. He pointed out, among others, the six questions that were troubling Indian Mohamedans when they left for England. Out of these, the question of Adrianople was settled by the Turks for themselves and immediately on arriving at Paris they had heard the good news from H. M. the Sultan's representative H. E. Rifaat Pasha, Ambassador in Paris. But he wished to point out what very few knew in this country, namely, the assistance that their sympathetic and large-hearted Viceroy had given to them in the solution of this question. He said he was assured that H. E. Lord Hardinge had pointed out to the Secretary of State for India some of the unpleasant consequences of the British foreign policy in connection with Turkey, and it was this telegram which had the effect they all desired. The Cawnpore question again was settled within three weeks of their arrival in England, thanks to the courage and wisdom of the Viceroy, and he assured the meeting that they did not desire to claim the least credit in this matter, and remarked that whatever credit there was, was due to the Viceroy and his confidential advisers and the Cawnpore Mohamedans themselves.

Questions Affecting Indian Moslems

The remaining questions were the repeal of the Press Act, of which he had been made a victim; the Muslim University; the seperation of the judicial and executive functions; and the extension of Executive Council Government to the remaining provinces in India. On these questions they were invited during their stay in England to write to some of the most distinguished and influential Liberal papers in spite of the boycott in the Tory press which finally broke down; but they were unwilling to discuss these questions publicly unless and until they explained them in the first instance to the Ministers, or, as they found afterwards, the Ministers refused to give them a hearing. They knew what the effect of such a refusal would be in India, and they pointed it out to the Ministers and they were anxious that their request for an interview should not be rejected. They had approached the Ministers most cautiously, and through agencies which they hoped would prove most effective, but in spite of all this, the Ministers would not see them. This took considerable part of their time, over and above the month that was wasted over the controversy which the action of Mr. Ameer Ali and the *Times* forced upon them, and they had on that account to give up their projected visit to Turkey and Egypt on their return journey. It was only when every effort to place the true Muslim views before the Ministers had failed that they decided to explain them to the British public. Very little time was then left, but they found several opportunities for doing this, and he could say that a good many more people in Great Britain, now knew and felt that there were 70 millions of Muslims subject to His Majesty in India whose opinions really mattered than was the case before they had started on their mission.

As for the Ministers, he would not say much on the subject of their refusal to see them for that might embarrass them even more than the publication of their views in England. He was sorry that the Ministers did not see them, but this much he knew that before long they themselves or some others would return to England and press their suit again, and whatever might be their disappointments to-day, they felt certain that in the end there would be only one result and that a most hopeful one. Although the British press was too much occupied by British sport and the trivialities of British politics, it was not wholly unwilling to lend itself to the publication of genuine Indian and Muslim grievances, and as for the public, if it was ignorant, it was desirous of knowledge if they only assisted it in gaining that knowledge. He had met many people in England who knew nothing about the thousand and one things that agitated the public mind in India, but he had seldom met an Englishman or an Englishwoman who did not sympathise with them when once he or she was placed in possession of facts, and that being the case, if the Indians were not satisfied with making the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy the real sovereign of India, it would be a criminal neglect on their part if they did not adopt every legitimate measure in enlightening the real and ultimate rulers of the Indians on the subject of India.

Gratitude to the Guests.

A resolution was then passed expressing gratitude to the two guests for successfully carrying out the mission they had undertaken on behalf of the community, the chairman personally bearing testimony to the excellent work done by them during his stay in England for a fortnight.

A vote of thanks to the chair terminated the proceedings.

The Indian Peril.

Under this heading the "Times" has published a series of four long contributions dealing with what that journal calls, and would like people in Great Britain to believe to be, "the present situation in India." We regret we are this week unable to reproduce these articles themselves owing to unusual pressure on our space, although they are already in type. But we publish the "Times'" own comments thereon, and the comments of two Liberal Dailies, "the Daily News and Leader" and the "Westminister Gazette." The original series will be published next week. We, however, reproduce the article of "Asiaticus" in the "National Review"—to which we referred in a previous issue—as it is correlated to the "Times" ries and evidently has the same object in view.

The Danger in India.

We begin to-day the publication of a short series of articles on the present situation in India, from the pen of one well qualified to discuss the subject in the light of intimate knowledge. Again and again in recent years we have reluctantly felt it our duty to call attention to the dangers which increasingly threaten the security of British rule in India. The series of articles we have from time to time published have been from the pens of various writers, and it may save unprofitable speculation if we say at once that the present series is the work of another but thoroughly experienced hand. We may be asked why we think it necessary continually to revert to the problems of unrest in India. The answer is that though the outward manifestations of unrest are intermittent, yet it is always there, it grows more difficult to deal with as the years pass, and it should steadily be taken into account in any consideration of the future of the British Empire. There was one conspicuous lull in the activities of those in India who are hostile to British rule. They remained comparatively quiet during the year which preceeded the visit of the King Emperor and in the year which followed it. The extraordinary and unquestionably sincere expressions of loyalty which attended His Majesty's visit proved that our difficulties in India are not insoluble, and that the strongest link which binds India to Great Britain is the devotion which the people are still willing to accord to a just and beneficient hereditary ruler. Nevertheless we said at the time, and again urge, that the demonstrations which marked, His Majesty's visit should not be taken to indicate that unrest is at an end. We predicted that it would again be revealed, and the present series is designed to show the degree to which it has recurred. The first article follows an unusal but appropriate course, for, instead of plunging into the menacing aspects of the situation, it recites very vividly the remarkable accomplishments of British rule. It discloses the steady development period of prosperity, happiness, and peace such as India has never known before. It may truly be said that the people of India were never so well off, never wisely cared for, never so secure, as they are to-day. They are more lightly taxed than any people in the world; they have never until now had such facilities for education; they are the recipients of more benefits from the State at a low cost to themselves than any other Oriental country. Why, then, does discontent among them remain so potent a factor?

The writer of these articles does not attempt to analyse in detail the origins of unrest, about which there has perhaps been much inquiry. The immediate impulses are sufficiently well known, and the underlying fundamental objection to alien control cannot be recognized or admitted while the British Empire in India endures. The purpose of the articles is twofold. The later sections will describe the present character of the movement against British control, and they will discuss the extent to which it is supported. The writer will endeavour to show that the revolutionary agitation—for it is nothing less—is confined to a limited number of literate malcontents, who constitute only a very small proportion of the people of India. They typify the results of a system of Western education crudely absorbed without any of the correctives which operate effectively in the Western world. We are not fully in accord with the conclusions of the writer on this particular point. The kind of criticism which is based upon a counting of heads can very easily be pushed too far. All revolutionary movements have originated among comparatively small groups, and the Indian movement is not less dangerous because the bulk of the people are still outside it, and are likely to remain so. What the writer has to say about the character of the movement is specially interesting. Its propaganda has become intentional in form, the centres from which it is controlled are established in foreign countries, and it seems to command considerable resources. Its out-come is seen, not only in the deeds of violence which have repeatedly startled India, but still more in the insidious attempts to tamper with the faithfulness of the Native Army and to turn schools and colleges into nests of sedition.

After the attempts on the lives of two Viceroys, and the double murder in the heart of London, it ought to be unnecessary to dwell upon the realities of the movement. Yet while these successive outrages were soon forgotten in this country, the slow but steady trickle of news relating to other murders and plots and conspiracies is almost entirely disregarded. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that there are influences now at work in India which may at any time produce the most startling results in a land specially liable to waves of excitement which spread like wildfire.

The writer will deal, further, with other factors now operative in India unconnected with the revolutionary movement, which are producing change not dreamed of five years ago. One of the most remarkable characteristics of modern India is the rapidity with which new situations are created. India is no longer stagnant, no longer a country where conclusions formed ten or twenty years back are necessarily applicable to-day. There was very little variation in India during a period of thirty or forty years; but nowadays those who return after an absence of only two or three years sometimes find the situation in many respects almost unrecognizable. The swift alteration in the attitude of the Mahomedans may be noted as an example. Five years ago no one would have considered possible the present combative demeanour of many of the younger Mahomedans, or their new friendship with the Hindu National Congress. There are signs that the hostile elements among Indian Moslems are at last receiving a check, but tendencies have been meanwhile displayed which must henceforth be reckoned with. The excitement about the treatment of Indians in South Africa is more widespread and more formidable. It embraces all classes and communities, and though it implies no disloyalty, it raises issues about the future status of Indians in the Empire which must in time be far more a cause for anxiety to British statesmen than all the bombs ever made and all the plots ever concocted by Indian Anarchists. We wish the Commission, which General Botha has very properly appointed to consider the grievances of Indians in South Africa had included men more widely known throughout the Empire. The stories of ill-treatment are unquestionably exaggerated, but it was very desirable that they should be investigated by Commission whose findings would have been accepted without question in India. The recent financial crisis in Western India and the Punjab will, we fear, add to the complications of a situation already full of troubles. Its consequences are not yet generally discerned. The total losses to investors are believed to amount to many millions. The check to the industrial development of India will be regrettable enough, but the vague discontent likely to be engendered will be of more immediate importance. The writer of the articles reaches certain conclusions which he believes will be useful for future guidance in dealing with Indian affairs, but the most notable piece of advice which he gives is that "you cannot safely think of India in terms of Western conditions." Many of our mistakes in India arise through a failure to observe this wise and salutary admonition.—*The Times.*

India and South Africa.

We conclude to-day a short series of articles on the perils of the present situation in India. In his final contribution our Correspondent, whose competence and authority are self-evident, drives home the lessons he has throughout endeavoured to teach. "A small section of the population is working, strenuously and successfully, to bring about the alienation of vast, unwieldy masses" That, he says, "is 'the Indian peril,' and if it is not understood in time, there will be a rude awakening." "If there masses are allowed to be alienated, India, he declares, will become ungovernable, and nothing is so certain as that any visible weakening of the British Raj will bring about alienation on a large scale" "It is strength in government which alone attracts support in the East." Our Correspondent appeals to the well-meaning but misguided politicians and publicists at home to do justice to our

low-countrymen in India and to remember that the great question be resolved is, "Can a democracy govern a vast Eastern Empire?" common with most Englishmen who have direct knowledge of problems of government in the East, we believe that a British mocracy can govern our Eastern Empire—on one condition. e condition is that our democracy shall exhibit qualities hitherto erent in the British character and in harmony with British litical ideals. These qualities are fearlessness and justice. India s not won by fear, and cannot be held or ruled pusillanimously. stice to India implies justice towards 300,000,000 of people plit not only vertically into discordant elements deeply permeat- by traditional enmity, but horizontally into thousands of castes, d quickly roused to violent fanaticism"—not merely justice ards a clamorous and superficial minority, whose audacity grows h every sign of administrative weakness. Such justice can only ceed from an India Office and an Indian Government throughly itish in tradition and instinct. The Indian mind is not to be won its allegiance assured by timid attempts to approximate the ndards of government to the nostrums of "literates" who have uired a veneer of Western civilization. Even the thorny question the treatment of Indians in South Africa, to which our Corres- ndent alluded yesterday, can best be handled by a Government ich represents the rights and interests of India as a whole, and not open to suspicion in our self-governing Colonies of being any way amenable to pressure.

South Africa has still to deal with the problem of her Indian pulation in its full perplexity. This would seem to be the aning of the telegrams which we publish to-day as to the expres- d intentions of Mr. Gandhi and the other Indian leaders. There d been hopes that the appointment by the South African Govern- nt of a Commission to enquire into the recent disturbances in tal would have convinced the Indian leaders that their best course s to lay their case before the Commission and to await its findings th such confidence as their belief in the justice of their claims spired. Instead of doing this, they have from the first taken up osition of extreme hostility to the whole enquiry. They question e impartiality of two of the members of the Commission—Mr. sselen and Mr. Wylie—both distinguished King's Counsel d both unquestionably competent to exercise, as Commissioners, dicial functions irrespective of their personal opinions. They mand that the numbers of the Commissioners shall be increased five by the addition of Sir James Rose-Innes and Mr. W. P. chreiner, whom they believe to be favourable to their cause. As r as this demand is concerned, it is probable that the two gentle- en named—whatever their private opinions may be—would not cept appointment as additional members of the Commission. If ey did so, they would tacitly endorse the reflections which have en cast upon the impartiality of Mr. Wylil and Mr. Esselen. ut the demands of the Indian leaders do not end there. They e said to have declared that— if the Commission is reconstituted s they have suggested—they are prepared to accept its findings s to the allegations of ill-treatment of Indians during the strike; ut that they will not allow the recommendations of the Commis- on—however it may be constituted—to affect their attitude to- ards the Government. They also claim the immediate release of l Indians who are now in prison for passive resistance. Further the totality of these demands is not instantly conceded by the nion Government, the Indian leaders threaten an immediate newal of the passive resistance movement. They have, in fact sued an ultimatum couched in extreme language—an ultimatum, may be added, issued in reply to the effort of the people and overnment of South Africa to devise by means of a semi-judicial ommission some fair settlement of their grievances. It is clear at the Indians of South Africa have grievances. The tale of em need hardly be recapitulated at this stage. Enlightened ublic opinion in South Africa has frankly admitted them. The ppointment of the Commission was in itself a formal recognition f their existence. But it was much more than this. It showed at General Botha and his colleagues recognized the embarrassing ffect of the agitation in South Africa upon the Government of ndia.

The Commission has already held its first sitting. An announce- ent then made by the chairman shows that the Commissioners hemselves fully recognize the right of the Indian Government to e represented at the enquiry. It is also evident that the Commis- ion is preparing to carry out its duties in a thoroughly judicial pirit. Every facility is to be afforded to the Indian leaders for he preparation of their case. With this object the Commission as recommended the immediate release of those leaders who had een sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for their part n the late disturbances. This recommendation has been accepted y the Government. The leaders concerned have been set free. The enquiry is to be conducted with open doors, and the Chairman has declared that he and his colleagues are ready to receive, through ounsel the representations of the Union Government, the Natal Indian Association, and all other interested public bodies. The work of the Commission, in fact, is already well in train. It is obviously desirable that its findings should be issued as soon as possible. Meanwhile, as we announced yesterday, SIR Benjamin Robinson, a highly-placed offical of the Indian Goverment, is leaving for Durban immediately. It may be conjectured with some confidence that his reception by the South African Commissioners will not be merely that of one who states a case. His knowledge of Indian conditions will make his advice and opinions welcome. Though he has no formal position as a member of the Commission, his actual standing with the Commissioners will be scarcely less important than it would be if he was one of their colleagues. All these facts go to show that there is among the white population of South Africa a genuine desire to compose the Indian grievances. But our Cape Town Correspondent probably does not overstate the facts when he declares that Mr. Gandhi's ultimatum makes it most difficult for any self-respecting Government like that of the Union to treat his demands as a basis for future negotiation.—The *Times*.

'The Indian Peril.'

John Bright's maxim about "The Times"—that he was never quite sure he was right until that journal said he was wrong—has not lost its value in these days. Indeed, we doubt whether there was ever a period when it was more relevant than it is to-day. Putting aside its monotonous frenzy on the Ulster issue, there have been its curious Mexican campaign with its steady bias against the policy of President Wilson and the United States, and its apologia for the Russian Government published in its recent Russian supplement. Yesterday it started a new crusade of a particularly mischievous kind. It published the first of a series of articles entitled "The Indian Peril" and in its leader columns it was good enough to tell us the purpose of these articles. It is to expose a revolutionary movement in India, to alarm public opinion by re-capitulating "the deeds of violence which have repeatedly startled India" and to show that the movement at present "is confined to a limited number of literate malcontents." All this, we take it, is preliminary to a demand for a revival or the deportations and for new restrictive measures. If this campaign—in which we see the hand of the reactionary influences that played so evil a part in connection with the last period of unrest—is successful there will be an "Indian Peril" indeed, and one from which we shall not emerge so fortunately as we did from the last.

We caution the public to view with the utmost suspicion these stories of a revolutionary movement and these records of violence. There are, of course, fire-brands in India as elsewhere and their most useful agents are the reactionary Anglo-Indians who inspire the Press. But neither among the Hindus nor among the Mohammedans can there be found responsible leaders who are disloyal to the British rule. They know that it is essential to the governance of India and that its withdrawal would be disastrous to their country. They are in a very real sense the bulwark of our policy there. If we lose their confidence in British justice we shall lose the confidence of India. Now it is the chief vice of the policy that "The Times" represents that it drives these men into antagonism to the Government. It was so in the case of the partition of Bengal. Lord Curzon, wittingly or unwittingly, gave the impression that the dismemberment of Bengal was directed against the Hindus, and that his idea was to favour the Mohammedans. Whatever his intention the result was disastrous. The country was swept by a great wave of indignation. The deepest feelings of the people had been outraged and the measures of repression which the reactionaries here and there urged upon the Government had no effect. A most oppressive Press law was enacted and men were deported without trial and without a fragment of evidence being produced against them. Then, as now, the Tory Press talked of a revolution and ignorantly treated agitation as the work of a few "literate malcontents." Fortunately wiser counsels prevailed. The partition of Bengal was modified, the Morley reforms were granted, and the King paid a memorable and triumphant visit to India. The effect was instant. The agitation was killed by the removal of the grievance and the "Indian peril" subsided through an act of wisdom that restored confidence in British rule.

It might have been supposed that this lesson would have had some effect upon those who are so ready to see in every movement of Indian opinion a new campaign of sedition and revolution. Not so. Having done their best to detach Hindu sympathies, their attention is now turned to the Mohammedans. There has developed in the last two or three years a Mohammedan vernacular Press, which a wise policy would encourage. But the reactionary sympathy with the Mohammedans was subject to the condition that they should not imitate the Hindus by cultivating a public opinion of their own. The emergence of this Press was regarded as a bad sign. Then came the Cawnpore episode and again we heard of the "Indian peril" and

of the need of strong measures. But again it was realised that the officials and not the people were in the wrong. The mosque that had been desecrated was restored—after a score of people had been shot dead in the street—and the danger of a grave Mohammedan revolt passed away. But the Mohammedan Press which had voiced the feelings of the people was brought under the penalties of the Press Law. Several of the papers were confiscated and the "good conduct" money they have to deposit was impounded. The incident has left behind a feeling of bitterness, which centres in the reasonable demand that the Press shall not be subject to the petty oppression of an official. In this connection there is the other grave and long standing grievance as to the associations of the executive and the judiciary. The point, however, to remember is this, that in the present case, as in that in Bengal, the agitation is not the outcome of any sympathy with revolution, nor is it the work of those who are disloyal to the British rule. It is the out-come of serious mistakes by the officials, which have had to be publicly repudiated. If we want to avoid an "Indian Peril" we must take care that these mistakes are not made. If we want a real "Indian Peril" we shall treat every protest against injustice as an evidence of sedition and every leader of the people as a "literate malcontent" who must be deported.—*The Daily News and Leader.*

The Indian Problem.

The *Times* yesterday concluded a series of articles on what it describes as "The Indian Peril," which wound up with an appeal to "well-meaning but misguided politicians" and "publicists at home" to give over all criticism of administration in India and leave the men on the spot to deal in their own way with agitators and disturbers of the peace. We have read these articles with some care, and as members of the well-meaning but misguided class appealed to, we feel impelled to say that, if they represent the last word of wisdom on the part of the administration, there is an Indian peril, and a very serious one. No Service has had on the whole a freer hand than the Indian Civil Service, and none for a long period of the nineteenth century better justified itself by results. But when this same Service itself tells us that India under its rule is in an alarming state of unrest, we are not only entitled but compelled to seek for reasons, and we shall be very easily satisfied if we permit ourselves to be assured that it is all the fault of a handful of agitators, and that all will be well if we shut our eyes and instruct the Government of India to administer strong doses of press-laws and other resolute specifics suited to a turbulent and ungrateful people. To do the Government of India justice, that is not the opinion of its most enlightened members. There are many men in the Government, and among them some of the most experienced administrators and most careful students of Indian character, who see that conditions in India are changing rapidly, who deplore the estrangement between the Government and the literate Indians, and who believe that it can and must be cured by a constructive and sympathetic policy. These are not mere idealogues who ignore the distinction between East and West, or who fail to see that the numerically small class of educated Indians are not the millions of India. But they do see that in India, as elsewhere, the educated class is a very important class, and that it is immensely desirable for the Government to get and keep in touch with the considerable number of educated men who are or would be well-disposed, if they are treated as friends and not as enemies.

The writer of the *Times* articles is aware that the literate Indians are a power for mischief. He knows that, though only a small fraction of the three hundred and fifteen millions of India, they can work powerfully on the inarticulate millions, when these are disturbed by famine or plague, by fears about their property or religion. That, indeed, is a basic fact about India. But the idea that it is to be cured by snubbing or repressing the literates is quite futile. Immense mischief has been done by the harsh and contemptuous language which is commonly used both in this country and in India about the Babus, by the habit of treating them as up-starts and interlopers, who have no concern with the dealing of the Raj with the millions of India. After all, they are in a special sense our product, and their education is the education which we have introduced into India. Their failure, if it is a failure, is our failure, and it is our duty to repair it. Many of them are men of great intellectual ability and genuine patriotism; and if the new wine of western culture has gone to the heads of some of them, that is no peculiarity of India. The same may be said of the young Japanese, whom we treat with such respect, and young Chinaman. Young India, in this sense, may be a small minority as compared with the millions of peasants, but it is far too big to be suppressed, and any anti-literate policy, such as this correspondent seems to recommend, will merely result in driving the mischief beneath the surface. The young men will pass from the moderate party to the anarchist; more bombs will be thrown; unrest among the peasantry, so far from being cured, will increase mysteriously, and in ways which the Government will be unable to check.

It is related that when the Chinese mandarins met at Peking after the disastrous war with Japan, they said to one another, "This is what comes of using modern weapons." We are quite aware that there are Indian civilians of the old school who hold exactly this language about India. "If only," they say, "we had been allowed "to go our own way, without any of this infernal dictation from "Westminster, if only Lord Morley had never existed, and the "Radical Party could be abolished, how different it would have "been." And yet the same people will tell us that the worst year of unrest was the year which followed the long Conservative regime, the year before Lord Morely had introduced his reforms. We can imagine nothing more dangerous in the present state of India than a reversion to what are called the old ways. India, by the admission of those who know it best, is changing so rapidly that men who have been a few years away from the scene scarcely know it when they return. There can be no safety in such circumstances for any Government which is not flexible, youthful, and hopeful. The task is immensely complicated, but also of fascinating interest. The old formulas which applied to the period of conquest and settelement will not serve for the period of development under modern conditions. Benevolent autocrats ruling over children must give way to sympathetic guardians who will take the growing sons into partnership. The problem must be solved that way or not at all. We may anathematise the young Indians, wish them differently made or at the bottom of the sea, but they are there and will be there in increasing numbers. If we cannot conciliate them, they will sooner or later raise the millions against us.

We do not share the alarms of the *Times* correspondent. The problem is certainly more difficult than it was twenty years ago, and we must not expect dumb admiration and acquiescence from active and intelligent men to whom our rule is alien. We must make our rule as little alien as possible, and that primarily means breaking down the racial estrangement which is the curse of India and a more fruitful cause of unrest than all other causes put together. The new India which is growing up will not submit to the hard line between the ruling caste and the ruled which is insisted upon by much Anglo-Indian opinion. Old observers tell us that this has increased rather than diminished in recent years. The Indian civilian of modern times is more than his predecessor a sojourner in a strange land instead of a resident and a neighbour. We must alter that if we can, and refresh the Service with a more flexible type of men who will see the Indian problem as constructive and progressive and cut themselves loose from outworn traditions which have come down from the period of conquest.—*The Westminster Gazette.*

The Mohamedan Danger.

Less than ten years ago we were accustomed to think of the Mohamedans of India as the most loyal and peaceful community in the Dependency. They had their little outbursts sometimes, but always during their religious festivals, when they came into conflict with Hindus. There were on such occasions a few broken heads, a few repressive movements by the local police, and perhaps a minor trial ending in a few mild sentences. The quarrels of Mohamedans with the Hindus revealed no symptom of antagonism to British rule. So settled became the belief in Moslem docility that British administrators forgot the experiences of their predecessors. They never quite realised that confidence in Mohamedan tendencies was of comparatively modern growth. Yet in 1871 so competent an observer of the late Sir William Hunter wrote a book entitled *The Indian Mussalmans*, which contained in its opening pages these words:

The Mussalmans of India are, and have been for many years, a source of chronic danger to the British power in India. For some reason or other they hold aloof from our system, and the changes in which the more flexible Hindus have cheerfully acquiesced, are regarded by them as deep personal wrongs.

In the past eighteen months the faith of the Government of India in the tractability of the Mohamedans has been very rudely shaken. We have seen the Moslem League joining in the agitation for self-government, and openly associating itself with the propaganda of the Hindu Congress. We have seen Mussalman speakers making very foolish and inflammatory speeches about the Balkan War, and apparently expecting Great Britain to crusade in behalf of Turkey. We have seen a little dispute about the out-buildings of a Mosque at Cawnpore develop into a grave riot, in which many were killed and injured, while the whole of Moslem India waxed excited about a trivial controversy which would have attracted no attention whatever half a dozen years ago. Finally, we have seen the Aga Khan resign the presidentship of the Moslem League, and Mr. Ameer Ali retire from the London branch, leaving the Mussalman movement in both countries to the guidance of less cautious and far more inexperienced hands. It is instructive to examine these occurrences and to endeavour to ascertain their origin.

In the March number of the *National Review* I discussed at length the new unrest among Indian Mohamedans, and when thus dealing with its earlier phases had no conception that it would so soon require further discussion. For an explanation of the closer relations now subsisting between the Hindu and Mohamedan political movements my readers may be referred to my previous article. It is convenient to take up the story afresh with the Cawnpore riots, which have an interest far exceeding their immediate magnitude. The Cawnpore disturbances repay close study, for they show exactly how grave trouble will arise in India if it ever comes. I once asked a very great and experienced soldier what his views were about the possibility of a rising in India. He said: "If we ever have one again, I am quite sure it will begin from some totally unforeseen and probably entirely trivial cause. It will be produced by some silly story which we cannot stop, or by some paltry occurrence to which we shall attach no importance. Such a rumour or incident would not be the real cause of the rising, but it will serve to start it." The Cawnpore riots sprang from just such a source. They began in connection with the tiny washing-place of an obscure mosque, and the story of that washing-place reverberated throughout India until it inflamed millions of Mohamedans and produced dozens of truculent mass meetings.

The blame for the Cawnpore trouble does not rest upon Moslems alone. It seems reasonably clear that the local authorities, and still more the United Provinces Government, were not entirely free from fault. So long ago as 1909 the Municipal Board of Cawnpore innocently decided to make a new road through the Machhli Bazaar quarter of the city. Its plans included the demolition of many buildings, and it is said that the original scheme would have involved the removal of three Mohamedan mosques and two Hindu temples. The scheme was afterwards modified, and it was proposed to acquire for the purposes of the road only a small portion of the courtyard of the Machhli Bazaar mosque, together with a little washing-place or bath-room which did not form part of the main building. The mosque authorities were duly notified, and at first made no objection. It is a very open question whether this wash-house was technically a sacred place or not. As a layman, with some experience of mosques, I should say that it had no genuine sanctity whatever. Various Mohamedans of high position who were consulted at a later period by Sir James Meston, the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, advised him that it "had not the same sanctity as the place of worship proper." Eminent interpreters of Moslem law and custom have since invested this trivial wash-house with the most sacred character; yet it was a spot where shoes might be worn, and all familiar with Moslem places of worship will know the distinction thereby implied. The fact is that the law-givers of Islam are sometimes very ready to frame rulings to suit their own requirements.

For three years the matter seems to have attracted little public attention, but towards the end of 1912 many Hindus of Cawnpore protested against a proposal, which formed part of the road-making scheme, to remove one of their temples. Sir James Meston went to Cawnpore in November, discussed the question with prominent Hindus, and agreed that the temple should not be disturbed. His visit seems to have caused the Mohamedans of the city to turn their attention to the Machhli Bazaar mosque. The Mohamedan representatives on the Municipal Board brought the question before that body in March, and at their instance the Board sent to the provincial Government a recommendation "that no portion of the mosque be acquired, in defence to the wishes of the Mohamedan community." The Government declined to accept the recommendation. A further attempt in May to pass a resolution asking the Government to reconsider its decision was defeated by the casting vote of the chairman of the Board. An amendment accepting the Government's decision as final was carried by the same single vote. A deputation of Mohamedans waited on the Collector of Cawnpore, but without result. Two memorials were submitted to the Lieutenant-Governor, and signed by Mohamedans notables, but they were both rejected. On July 1 the wash-house was demolished by the local authorities, and then the trouble began.

As to this portion of the narrative, it must be said that the provincial Government and the local authorities were both to blame because they did not set about their undertaking in the right way. There are tried methods of adjusting such little difficulties which are well understood in India. A conciliatory official would assuredly have managed to build a new wash-house first, and then, after a decent interval, would have obtained the consent of the users of the mosque to the removal of the old one. The Government was wise in that it did not perceive how easily this small grievance might be magnified. It should have paid more heed to the Mohamedan objections, however, trifling the matter seemed. Sir James Meston has stated that he was influenced by the opinions of the Mussalman officials consulted, who doubted whether the wash-house was part of the sacred buildings; and he was still more influenced by the fact that similar alterations had recently been made in mosques at Lucknow with the consent of the local Moslems and without complaint. These are reasonable grounds to advance, but they do not remove the impression that between March and July the Cawnpore case was not very judiciously handled.

After the wash-house was demolished excitement quickly grew. Mohamedan newspapers published in other parts of India called attention to the behaviour of the Cawnpore authorities, and made vigorous protests. It is quite certain that the Cawnpore Mohamedans would never have resorted to violence had they not been subjected to inflammatory incitements from without. The Mussalman agitators who are so new and sinister a feature of the Indian landscape, were looking for a fresh pretext to stir up strife, and they found it at Cawnpore. The Hindu newspapers of Calcutta and elsewhere, which in the past have shown small consideration for the sanctity of Moslem mosques, joined in the outburst of manufactured indignation. The agitation came to a head on August 3, when thousands of Mohamedans met at Cawnpore to protest against the destruction of the wash-house. The day was a Sunday, and the bulk of the mob was composed of mill-hands, for Cawnpore is a great manufacturing centre. It is worth while nothing that the industrial development of India is providing new fields for agitators. The task of sowing sedition among the peasantry is tedious and often unprofitable, but the ignorant and excitable mill-hands in the great cities are soon roused into violence, as Bombay has found to its cost. On this occasion a crowd, which is said to have numbered 10,000, swarmed down to the Machhli Bazaar mosque and began rebuilding the wash-house. It was confronted by the Collector, the Superintendent of Police, and two European sergeants, together with a small force of native armed police. There were only four Englishmen against a dense mob which had got completely out of control, and was beside itself with passion. The evidence of eye-witnesses is that the shouting and the din were terrific. The Collector, with great intrepidity, rode forward and urged the rioters to disperse, but was assailed with volleys of stones and bricks. The police then fired on the rioters, and nineteen were killed, including one Hindu and one plain-clothes constable. The wounded numbered nearly fifty. Such is the history of the Cawnpore riots, which collapsed very quickly.

A large number of arrests were made, and eventually 120 persons were placed on trial on charges of rioting and causing grievous hurt. The principal of the local Mohamedan Theological College was charged with sedition, the accusation being based upon a speech he delivered at the meeting which preceeded the riots. A fund was raised for the defence of the accused persons, and over £4000 was quickly subscribed. It is significant that the Mohamedans of the Bombay Presidency made very little response to the appeal. A curious thing was that a separate fund for the relief of the families and dependents of the rioters slain by the police was headed by a subscription from the Viceroy. On August 16 Sir James Meston received a deputation of influential Mohamedans who asked that the demolished portion of the mosque might be restored. He declined to consent, stating that it was his clear duty "to proceed on the principle that the Government cannot accept or appear to accept the dictation of force." On September 20 Sir James Meston left for England to give evidence before the Indian Finance Commission, and Mr. Baillie was appointed to officiate as Lieutenant-Governor during his absence.

On October 13 the Viceroy paid a special visit to Cawnpore, and inspected the Machhli Bazaar mosque. Within two hours of his arrival Lord Hardinge announced to a gathering of Mohamedans that he came to bring them peace. His decision was that an arcade should be built eight feet above the surface of the road, on which the mosque authorities might reconstruct their wash-house. The pavement below the arcade was to be used as a footpath, as proposed in the scheme for the new road. Lord Hardinge added that, having brought piece, he wished also to show mercy. He therefore "invited" the local Government to withdraw the charges against the arrested rioters, and to order their release. The 101 persons still in custody were set free within an hour. Lord Hardinge left Cawnpore later in the day. He had brought peace, but he had also produced in the minds of Indian Mohamedans a feeling that they had triumphed over the Government of India. When Mr. Tilak was convicted Bombay rioted for a week. One wonders what would have been the state of Western India to-day if, at the close of seven days of uproar, Lord Minto had taken a special train to Bombay and "invited" Lord Sydenham to release Mr. Tilak. The *Pioneer* summed up the impression left upon most thoughtful men when it wrote:

> The Mohamedan community throughout these provinces was determined to utilise the incident for a trial of their strength in their recent attitude of combination against the Government. They have joined issue, they have maintained a united front, and they have prevailed. There can be no doubt about this point.

One cannot take the responsibility of condemning Lord Hardinge's action. He must have known the requirements of the situation, and his decision was assuredly not a mere impulse. Those who know him are well aware that the ignoble motive of seeking popularity with the crowd must have been equally far from his thoughts. All that will be said here is that if his action was a necessity, it was a very

regrettable necessity, for it has made Indian Mohamedans feel that they can upon occasion dominate the Government. It placated the Moslems of Cawnpore, but it only spurred the followers of Islam in Calcutta to renewed clamour. Within a week a mass meeting had been held in Calcutta at which the Viceroy was called upon to order the restoration of the demolished wash-house "in its original shape." The Calcutta malcontents passed a further resolution of a singularly impertinent character, calling upon the Mohamedan leaders of the United Provinces "to explain to the Moslems immediately under what religious authority they consented to His Excellency's settlement of the mosque problem." They have since held a far larger gathering at which they have renewed the same preposterous demands. There is good reason to believe that the Cawnpore outbreak was really fomented from Calcutta, where many Mohamedans are now in close alliance with Hindu agitators. The Mohamedans of Bengal are of a very different stamp from their co-religionists in the United Provinces. They have less restraint and respond far more readily to incitements; and their emissaries find pliable material in the mill-hands of Cawnpore, who are not typical of the true Moslem stock of the United Provinces.

I very rarely devote these notes to a narrative of such length, but the Cawnpore episode has not been closely followed in this country, and its significance ought to be more widely understood. Its net result has been that the younger Moslems, who are active apostles of discontent, claim that they have won a "victory," which they are exploiting to the utmost. Their achievement is recorded at a time when many other symptoms of Mohamedan unrest have become visible. At Aligarh College, where the late Sir Syed Ahmed dreamed such glowing dreams of the future of Indian Moslems, respectable Mohamedans of moderate tendencies were recently howled down and refused a hearing, although some of them had been working for the Mohamedan cause when their assailants were still unborn. The young men who rejected their counsel were for the most part products of Aligarh, whose education has given them the power of expression without any accompanying restraint. A sinister feature of the new Moslem movement in India is that Aligarh graduates are in the van. They are thrusting aside the older men, joining hands with the Hindus, and openly preaching hostility to British rule. They have seized upon the Balkan War as a pretext for incendiary oratory. They pretend that the Powers of Europe are conspiring to seize the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and they are obtaining large sums from ignorant Mussalmans for the alleged purpose of preserving the Sacred Places from defilement by Christians. The old Indian game of spreading excitement by unfounded rumours is being steadily pursued. Moslems are told, and are being persuaded to believe, that hundreds of innocent devotees of the faith were shot down at Cawnpore by the brutal minions of the Government. There is much wild talk of risings. Attempts are being made to tamper with the loyalty of the Mohamedan troops. Foolish efforts, which meet with little response, have been made to get into touch with Moslem Governments of other countries. The Mohamedan population in the larger centres of India is getting thoroughly out of hand, and that is a development far more dangerous and menacing than all the Hindu plots and outrages of the last six years. When the Moslems of India grow disloyal, we are very near grave trouble.

For an analysis of the earlier causes which have led to this deplorable situation, I must again refer my readers to my article in the *National Review* for March. It remains to record its most serious result up to the present. His Highness the Aga Khan has notified his intention to relinquish the presidentship of the All-India Moslem League, and Mr. Ameer Ali has withdrawn from the affiliated organisation of Moslems in London. The Aga Khan has long been the recognised leader of nearly seventy millions of Indian Mohamedans. He is a prince of cosmopolitan experience, of great intellectual attainments, wielding in this and other countries an influence which no other Indian Mohamedan can hope to rival. His skill as a writer on Eastern question has been repeatedly shown in the pages of this Review. That he has long wanted to withdraw from the presidentship of the League, for purely personal reasons, is well known. Despite his guarded and careful explanations, which show complete devotion to the Moslem cause, it is difficult not to feel that his resignation at this juncture is really due to the new tendencies now visible among Indian Mussalmans. They have got beyond his control, and it must be assumed that he is no longer willing to bear a responsibility which he cannot exercise. Mr. Ameer Ali's published reason for his resignation are evidently marked by similar reservations. Had he felt able to say all that was in his mind, he would doubtless have made it clear that a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council could not be associated with the new and reckless activities of the League. The "Young Moslems" have in short, captured the organisation, and are starting Islam in India on fresh and dangerous paths. The old leaders are dropping away, and the new men who are taking their place mean mischief. No more sinister tendency has been revealed in India during the last half-century.

ASIATICUS in the "*National Review*."

CORRESPONDENCE

The London Islamic Society's Appeal.

TO THE EDITOR, "COMRADE."

SIR,—May we crave the hospitality of your columns in order to draw attention, on the part of your numerous readers, to a cause which must be held sacred by all those who have the true interest of Islam at heart?

The Islamic Society, founded in 1886, is the only Moslem institution in London which has as one of its objects the promotion of brotherly feelings between Moslems from all parts of the world. It thus acts as a social Union in this great metropolis for the followers of the holy Prophet and facilitates intercourse between them. The Society also tries, as far as possible, to remove misconceptions prevailing amongst non-Moslems regarding Islam and Moslems, and likewise attempts to promote the religious, moral, social and intellectual advancement of the Moslem world. As a matter of immediate urgency, we may add that the extension of the burial-ground for the Moslems in London is also amongst its objects.

To enable the Society to satisfactorily carry out its aims and objects, it is obviously necessary that it should be financially supported by all Moslems. Though it has so far certainly discharged its duties creditably and usefully, in spite of a not too prosperous exchequer, it is now felt that the time has arrived when the Islamic Society should take a more active part in the Moslem world of London, so that it may be able to exercise its healthy and invigorating influence amongst the Moslems to the required degree.

As soon as our funds permit we hope to secure permanent offices on a moderate scale in a central locality in London, which may serve the double purpose of offering suitable accommodation for the Society's periodical meetings and lectures as well as the weekly prayers on Fridays and other special occasions, such as the Id-ul-Fitr, Id-uz-Zoha. The Society cannot be reasonably expected to establish itself firmly until it has secured its permanent head-quarters, and it is the solemn duty of every Moslem and well-wisher of Islam to help it at this moment.

Apart from the Ordinary and Life membership of the Society, open exclusively to Moslems, our non-Moslem sympathisers are welcome as Associates of the Society, particulars of which can be had from the Hon. Secretary at the address mentioned below.

In earnestly appealing to the generosity of your readers to help us in this sacred and noble cause, we feel confident that our humble appeal will be heard in that true spirit of Islam which the occasion undoubtedly demands.

Donations may be sent to the Hon. Treasurer at the address mentioned below or to the Society's Bankers, Messrs Williams Deacon's, Ltd., Marylebone Road, London, N. W., and will be gratefully acknowledged.

We are, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

ALI HIKMET NAHID (*Vice-President*).
SYED ABDUL MAJID (*Vice-President*).
JELAL SHAH (*Hon. Treasurer*).
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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 dealts 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 creator 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 andin spiration 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 he 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 ataeks 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."

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

The English translation of "Al-Bayan,", the famous book written by Maulana Abdul Haq has 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.

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