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.

Ægean Problem.

London, Jan. 18.

Replying to the Turkish criticisms of the decision of the Powers in the question of the Aegean Islands, the *Norddeutsch: Allgemeine Zeitung* says that the Great Powers are unanimous in acknowledging the principle already recognized when the Turks re-captured Adrianople, namely, that it is incompatible with the policy of peace to refuse to sanction the result obtained by force of arms.

Athens, Jan. 18.

It is officially stated that about two thousand Albanians from Berat made a furious attack on Greek troops at Tepelini. The Greeks counter-attacked all along the line. The Albanians offered a feeble rasistance, and retreated in disorder, leaving scores of dead. They were pursued a long distance by the Greeks, who had thirty wounded. The prisoners state that the object of the attack was pillage, and also to test the strength of the Greeks.

Navy Crisis.

London, Jan. 20.

The *Daily Telegraph* states on what it discribes as the highest authority that the Cabinet is undergoing a grave crisis with regard to its naval policy, the majority agreeing with Mr. Lloyd George in opposing Mr. Churchill's estimates. The personal relations between the Chancellor and the First Lord are extremely strained, says the journal, and the resignation of one or other of the two in the next few days is regarded as possible. Moreover, if Mr. Churchill's proposals are defeated in the Cabinet the whole Board of Admiralty will resign. The Cabinet will discuss the subject on Thursday.

London, Jan. 20.

Mr. Winston Churchill has issued a statement declaring that all newspaper statements about cabinet proceedings are based on surmise and gossip and should be uniformly distrusted. The statement that the Admiralty has expressed its intention of resigning is untrue.

When Mr. Churchill made his statement with regard to the rumoured resignation of the Board of Admiralty, he and the other members of the Admiralty were discussing the estimates. It is regarded as practically certain that the statement was made on the authority of the whole Board as well as of Mr. Churchill. With regard to Mr. Lloyd George, it is stated on his behalf that he will most certainly not re-sign. In view of the interview with Mr. Lloyd George published in the *Daily Chronicle* on the January 1st, gossip has been busy ascribing to the Chancellor the determination to curtail the naval estimates. It has become generally accepted that such a situation exists. The *Daily Telegraph* reflects this prevailing supposition. It is understood that Mr. Churchill will provide four dreadnoughts.

Turkey

Constantinople, Jan. 19.

It is stated that Bulgaria has sold 200,000 rifles captured from the Turks at thirty francs each. It is believed that they are being acquired for the Turkish Government.

Turkey

Constantinople Jan. 20.

The boycott of native christian places of business especially Greek continues. The windows of a Greek confectioner were smashed on Sunday and customers insulted for purchasing goods from non-Moslems. The propaganda in favour of dealing only with Moslem shops continues as active as ever.

Turko Persian Frontier.

Karachi, Jan. 17.

The *Sind Gazette's* Mahomerah correspondent writes on January 9th, in connection with the Anglo-Russian delimitation of the Perso-Turkish Frontier:—"The survey work in connection with the Frontier appears to be making headway as both the British officers employed on the work are at present away from the station on duty connected with the survey. The Turkish delegates to the Commission have, it is stated, broken their journey at Baghdad in order to make the pilgrimage to Kerbela, and may therefore be expected here when their religious duties permit. One Indian khallasi of the survey party had succumbed to pneumonia, probably contracted on the voyage, otherwise the health of the British camp is very good.

Persian Parcel Post.

London, Jan. 19.

The *Koelnische Zeitung* regards decision of Russia to discontinue parcel-post from Julfa and Ashkabad to Tabriz and Meshed as a clear breach of the International Percel-post agreement. The journal says that Germany energetically remonstrated at St. Petersburg and adds that the restriction does not affect the Russian parcel post into Persia. Russia, it says, is attempting to the interest of her own trade to exclude from the districts in question German and the other non-Russian wares passing through Russia.

Salvation Army.

At a meeting of the U P Legislative Council at Lucknow on 20th January the Excise Amendment Bill, penalising cocaine smuggling was introduced and passed. The punishment for smuggling is increased to one year. In reply to a resolution regarding the removal of the Salvation Army Settlement from Aligarh, on the ground that it was not conducive to the morality of the Aligrah College boys, it was announced that the Army had already proposed to Government to remove the Settlement to the Dehra Dun district and the Government had accepted the proposal. The Council adjourned till March.

Khost outlaws.

Men guilty of the last kidnapping raid between Kohat and Bannu were Khost and not Kohat outlaws. A Position seem likely to arise on the Derajat Frontier which will compel special measures against murderers and thieves who are enjoying an asylum in the Khost Valley.

Frontier Raids.

Peshawar, Jan. 20.

Mr. Pears, the Political Agent of the Khyber, and his assistant, Sahibzada Abdul Quiyum have traced the murderers of the European Guard and engine driver, who were shot when in charge of the Calcutta Mail on the 20th December. The leader is Zar Shah, who is known to be implicated in many cases of robbery. He and the men are Shinwaris of Mingrahar in Afghan territory. Mr. Pears and his assistant, an experienced Frontier soldier, noticed the similarity of the raids of the station Jhangira and Khairabad when the police were held up and all the rifles taken, so suspecting, Zar Shah, as the man who took away Lachmin Chand the Babu station master, rode out to the neighbourhood of his home and sent messages to find if he was away. The news brought back that the chief of the raiders was away on a looting expedition with party of a dozen men. On New Year's Day, the Khyber Rifles, under Mr. Pears, came in touch with Zar Shah, and in the Khyber Pass itself exchanged shots. A long and patient hunt followed and the raiders were finally traced to their actual hiding place. The Political Officers sent messengers out who met Afghan go-betweens, and finally the assistant station master was liberated and brought over the Border handed to the British officials who got back to Pashawar yesterday. The station master was well treated, and given what he wanted to eat. As the women of the raiders' clan do not observe *purda*, conversation was openly held daily. They told the Babu that Zar Shah was away on dacoity *bandobast*. The station master saw much loot lying about the caves and recognised the uniform of the Guard killed. All the raiders held martini rifles and there was plenty of ammunition in their possession and also revolvers. Zar Shah speaks Hindustani a little. The women said he head often been down country by train to Delhi, Lucknow, and Lahore, and Ajmer and is the author of the following notable cases of dacoity. He raided Peshawer Cantonment Station cutting off the ears of the Babu station master's wife to obtain some valuable rings she wore. He raided the Peshawer city station a year ago, and seven months after disarmed the police and took away their rifles. He attacked Pubni station twice and the Khairabad station last March, taking away cash and clothes. He held up the Calcutta mail train at Jhangira. I am informed that the result of the diplomatic work between Afghan go-betweens and the Political Agent was that thirteen hundred rupees ransom was paid for the station master's release. Much enthusiasm prevails here at Mr. Pears success.

The Balkans.

London, Jan. 22.

Constantinople: The Ottoman Minister in Sofia has arrived here on leave. Importance is however attached to the visit at the present juncture, especially in view of the pessimism prevailing owing to the decision of the powers regarding the Aegean Islands. It is confirmed that Turkey is the purchaser of the 2000,000 rifles which Bulgaria captured from the Turks.

Our London Letter.

2nd January, 14.

The Moslem League.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah's presidential address at Agra, on the occasion of the Annual Sessions of the All-India Moslem League a telegraphic summary of which appeared in the *Times* of last Wednesday, is very favourably received by the Indian Moslems here. It is generally felt that Sir Ibrahim has exhibited that sound and wise statesmanship, which the occasion undoubtedly demanded. His happy and diplomatic reference to the recent disagreement in the League and his genuine expression of relief and pleasure at the welcome healing of that disagreement have made a good impression in London amongst the Indian Moslems, who, as a body, are at one with Sir Ibrahim, when he said, in the course of his address, that the policy of the League must be laid down in India. I have yet to come across a thinking Moslem from India, who honestly believes that the London League is an absolutely independent organisation in itself in its connections with the Central League in India. It is, no doubt, quite clearly understood that the League here holds an exceptional position from various points of view, unlike, perhaps the various Provincial Leagues in India. It is also plain that, situated as it is, in the very heart of the British Empire, if conducted wisely and conscientiously, it cannot but wield that influence and weight in the Counsels of the All-India Moslem League to which it is certainly entitled, and which, as far as one can realise, has never been disputed. But to claim for the London League a position of absolute independence and freedom and to thereby ignore the parental and fundamental character of the Central League at Lucknow is a doctrine, which will never appeal to the bulk of the Indian Moslems in London. The members of the London League rightly consider themselves as units of that great organisation, known as the All-India Moslem League, and it will be doing them very little justice to presume that such members belong only to the London League and thus are not in any way associated with the Central League, of which the London organisation is essentially a Branch. Another happy feature of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah's speech is his emphatic denial that there was a shadow of disloyalty or sedition amongst the Indian Moslems. Those who are in close touch with the Mussalmans of India are well aware that, in spite of the deliberate misrepresentations and gross and wicked attacks on their policy, loyalty to the British Crown is the very key-note of their political propaganda even on the part of the more progressive section of the community, whom the *Times* delights to describe as the "advanced wing."

There is some disappointment felt here that His Highness the Aga Khan has refused to withdraw his resignation of the Presidentship of the Central League, in spite of the strong pressure brought upon him by the League at Agra. His Highness has, however, made it abundantly clear in his recent correspondence with Mr. Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohamed Ali that his services, as a member of the Council of the League, will be unhesitatingly placed at the disposal of the Community. As a matter of fact, it is anticipated here that, as the Aga Khan has himself said, he will be in future able, as a private member, to advocate the policy of the League much more strenuously and vigorously than he could do in his official capacity of President. His Highness' declarations that in future the League ought to be conducted on more democratic lines instead of working on the hitherto semi-dictatorial methods are very much appreciated here, particularly by the younger generation of Moslems. The All-India Moslem League enters upon its new career in the present year with all good wishes.

New Years' Honours.

The distinctions conferred by His Majesty on Mr. Syed Ali Imam and Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson are universally welcome here. Both these gentlemen have earned their recognition of devoted and unselfish service to India and His Majesty's advisers could not have made a better choice amongst the large body of Indians and Englishmen, who have spent their lives in the service of the King-Emperor in India. Sir Syed Ali Imam's integrity of character and honesty of purpose will no doubt serve as a noble example for the younger Moslems to follow, who wish him a still more successful career in the service of India. The Right Hon. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson's genuine sympathy with Indian progress and Indian sentiments is well-known and his exhilirating message to "Young India," on the occasion of the Islamic Society's Banquet in honour of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali in November last at the Hotel Cecil will be ever ringing in the ears of those who heard it. This is the type of Englishmen that cannot fail to impress the millions of India with those noble qualities and sporting instincts, for which the British race is famous. Alas! for the great lack of such genuine Englishmen in India.

Prayers for the Sultan's Recovery.

At the Friday Namaz in Lindsay Hall, Kensington, to-day arranged by the Islamic Society, special prayers were offered for the rapid and complete recovery of H. I. M. the Sultan of Turkey. This morning's bulletins happily report an improvement in His Majesty's condition and it is hoped that the improvement will continue.

TETE À TETE



"The Indian Peril."

To-day we reproduce the famous—or rather imfamous—articles of the *Times* on the subject of its creation, "The Indian Peril." Our readers will judge the views expressed for themselves, but we would like to lift the veil a little from the face of this latest Prophet of Khorassan who is the author of these articles. Let us ask him if he is not the same person as contributed to the *Times*' from India the article which appeared in its issue of the 7th October last, or to be more precise, exactly a fortnight after the arrival of the Moslem Mission in London. It is to this that H. H. the Aga Khan refers in his *Edinburgh Review* article, and it was with a view to "counteract the false charges" of this correspondent of the *Times* that the Aga Khan invited Mr. Ameer Ali to join him as host at a dinner to be given nominally to Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali; but in reality to influential men in English politics. Many young Mussalmans who have been in England know the bearer of an extremely commonplace English surname who is the *fidus Achates* of the Right Honourable Syed Ameer Ali and a very useful person in certain oft-recurring journalistic contingencies. Mr. Mohamed Ali made his acquaintance in the India Office soon after the publication of the *Times*' article of the 7th October, and astonished him with the success of his powers of conjecture by naming the author of that article. Now comes our second question. Is not the author of the article the author of the "Indian Peril" also? Let him deny it if he dare. We congratulate the Hon. Syed Riza Ali on his success in dislodging the Beriah Criminal Colony from its site on the north of the Aligarh College even at the cost of having awakened the Hon. Mr. Sapru's peculiar sense of orderliness in a Council meeting. That indeed was the "Aligarh Peril" and we shall be well rid of it. But let him now turn his attention to the south of the Aligarh College also and dislodge the greater "Indian Peril." Our only fear is that a mere transfer to Rajpur in the Dehra Dun district will not do. The "Indian Peril" must be deported to New Zealand at the very least. We wonder whether the Government of India know the name of the author of these articles, for had they been aware of it, we feel sure they would have recommended the creation of a new title of "C. I. P.", short for "Creator of Indian Peril," for the writer. In the course of his speech on the Press Bill in February, 1910, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale said: "I have already said that several causes have combined to bring about the present state of things. It is of course impossible to go into all of them, but one of them may be mentioned—it is the writings of a section of the Anglo-Indian Press. My Lord, I doubt, if many Englishmen realise how large a share these writings have had in turning so many of my countrymen against British rule . . . . *Many of my countrymen imagine that every Anglo-Indian pen that writes in the Press is dipped in Government ink.*" Let Mr. Gokhale rest assured that there is sometimes no reason to "imagine"—only, for occasionally people *believe* that even the Anglo-Indian pen that writes for the *Times* its most mischievious articles is dipped in Government ink or *See-ai ee*. Now guess the name of the Creator of the "Indian Peril", says the Modern Sphinx, and we shall pay a worn-out half penny for the correct guess.

The Moslem Press and Government.

Considerable apprehension has been felt by Mussalmans for the last four months about the action which Government was supposed to be contemplating about the Moslem Press. In this connection it would not be unprofitable if we reproduced a passage from a letter written by one of the Moslem delegates during his stay in England to a high official in England anxious to restore mutual confidence between the Mussalmans and Government. "The more important thing," he wrote, "is the apprehensions which are universal in India, namely, that the Government would do justice to the Mussalmans of Cawnpore, but would pursue a policy of repression recently started in dealing with Moslem Press. I hope this is absolutely baseless, but the rumour itself is sufficiently productive of mischief, and should be contradicted. I am certain that if these are the views of Government, they are based on a wrong estimate of the situation, for the Moslem public will not be weaned off from the Moslem Press, particularly after the satisfactory result to which the action of the Moslem Press has brought the Cawnpore issue. What an effort of this character will succeed in doing will be that Lord Hardinge's action will be entirely thrown away on the people, and its good results nullified by a policy of vindictiveness pursued against the Press. I have myself no sympathy with sensationalism, and I have no hesitation in saying that there are some Moslem papers which have occasionally been extremely unwise in their conduct; but my fear is that any hurried action taken even against them would result very differently from the consummation devoutly to be wished . . . This would create a fresh "regrettable incident," and would have to be dealt with all over again. My own opinion is that even the misguided journalists should be left to us to be dealt with, for nothing kills a rabid paper so well as the strengthening of the more reasonable journals, and even the Mussalmans are not so ignorant as to be unable to discriminate between what is good and what is bad, if the good is allowed to exist side by side with the bad. . . . . I will also add that if all independent Moslem journals are crushed, even that would give no circulation to the sycophants that may be allowed to survive them. These parasites would only feed upon the Government trunk instead of providing any nourishment for that round which they intertwine themselves." This letter was dated 18th October, 1913, and was written shortly after the Cawnpore settlement. The considerations then suggested have no less force to-day and we earnestly beg Government not to ignore them or minimise their value.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald on India.

The Leicester *Pioneer* published last month an interesting letter written by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald from India in which he said:—"India itself, both as a spirit and as a political problem grows upon me. Things are very far from being well here, and I do not think they are improving. Sometimes when I think over the events and the evidence of the day before turning in at night, I feel that the greatest pessimist may prove to be the truest prophet. The anarchist and political criminal do dramatic things and get into the newspapers and everybody talks of them and their evil works. In India they are really insignificant. They kill and others step into the empty shoes. That is all, and that is not much. For as they themselves truly, say:—'A dead man is often more powerful for good than a living one.' It is the great structure of our government here that is so weak. The mind of India is chaos. No people can be governed, or govern themselves except upon the social axioms of a culture and a civilisation. These conditions do not exist here, and I do not find that 'the man on the spot' sees that as he should. We are patching without plan, yielding without forethought, charging without insight. India demands qualities which we are not giving to her. I felt that vaguely four years ago; now that the veil has been lifted and I have seen behind it, I know it. When my present work is over and I am free to write again I may add another book to my list, but I am still learning and, therefore, can only hold provisional opinions. As I sit writing this, the position comes into me dramatically. I am staying for the week-end with my friend the Rev. C. F. Andrews, of the Cambridge Mission; over the wall come the chants and the music of Indian worship. I am close to the Fort from the marble palaces of which the Moghals ruled in their brilliant yesterday; from the distance come the sounds of the hammers and the spades of the thousand workers clearing foundations for the new Imperial City which we are to build like a Western garden suburb. It is all very pathetic. For such vanities was the Book of Ecclesiastes written."

A Patch-work without Plan.

It is clear from the extract we have given that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has understood at least the character of the patch-work which constitutes the sum total of India's political concessions. Let us hope he will soon be able to understand the causes also which make the patch-work one without a plan. This is partly due to the English character itself, if we may say so without offence. There is little imagination in an average English politician, and it does not appear to us that any one on the Front Benches in either House of the English Parliament has permitted himself to conceive of India as it should be or may be a hundred years hence. Even Lord Morley was too much engrossed in the details of India's daily life to enjoy the luxury of a dream, though it must be confessed that he is the one British politician of our times who took up the subject of India as a student in search of knowledge. The English love to "muddle through," and they have not done badly from their own point of view. But a little theory would do the great "practical" men responsible for the progress of India no harm, and visions are not without their value. The worst of it is that nobody in England has the

courage to take up the subject of India and make it his own. The size of it frightens them and even Mr. Lloyd George has perhaps bitten as much as he can chew. Apart from the general character of the British race, there is the difficulty of an absence of continuity of policy in the Government of India. Every incoming Viceroy starts practically with a new policy, though it may not always be his own. Then, even in the five years of his Viceroyalty the wind of political influence blowing on him may not always blow from one direction. There are some Indians who honestly believe that all political concessions are *mayo*, and England does not desire any real progress in India for India's sake, but desires her to remain for ever a milch-cow of England. These pessimists sometimes become active extremists in their Nationalism and degenerate into terrorists. Now, if only they knew the English character better they would be convinced that England could not possibly have formed a general plan of any sort for the Government of India, much less a Machiavellian plan. But that is not all. They do great injustice to a number of great and good Englishmen who have done greater service to India than even some of her best sons. Such men are not confined to politicians in England but include a host of Anglo-Indian administrators who in their time worked strenuously not merely to make India materially prosperous as the majority of Anglo-Indian officials do even to-day, but also to improve her moral fibre and make her more and more self-reliant and independent. We fear the present generation of Englishmen has set too high a value on material comfort, and it is difficult to imagine that any living Englishman would grow to the stature of a Macaulay or Bright. But in India the difficulty is different. Apart from the pseudo-scientific theory of the inferiority of coloured races which is a deplorable concomitant of British Imperialism, and as such common to Englishmen in England and in India, the Anglo-Indian official has come to realise what the best of his predecessors had hoped for in the matter of an India rejuvenated through British influences. Poor, frail human nature cannot always bear the shock of reality even with composure. Anticipation is proved by experience in this case also to have been pleasanter than realization. But there *are* Anglo-Indian officials, even if their number is not legion, who accept the reality with altruistic satisfaction and rejoice at the success of their work. There are many more who accept it with the dignity of a great race as inevitable and bow before it. There are, however, many others—and this is not in the least unnatural—who do not like to lose the power and the profits to which they have so long been used, and are determined to fight to the last. Sometimes they deceive others, but very often they also deceive themselves with the thought that India is not ripe for a concession for which she may be clamouring. They, too, however, have to bow on occasions before the inevitable and yield. On other occasions they carry the Government with them, and the ripe fruit is allowed to rot instead of being allowed to be eaten by those who hunger for it. There is thus a sort of enternal tug-of-war going on between partisans of reform and partisans of inactivity and the result depends on the relative strength of the parties. It is this that gives us a patch-work without a plan, for the Anglo-Indian often yields, as Mr. Ramsay Macdonald says, "without forethought" and oftener still on a sort of compulsion. Even if this was not the case, the change would still be "without insight" so long as the Anglo-Indian remained an alien in India. Unless that is changed, the only remedy for this state of affairs is a larger admixture of Indians in Executive Government and a greater reliance on the advice of the real representatives of the people instead of an unintelligent and interested police and the pets and *protejés* of officialdom.

Sober Criticism or Insolent Conceit?

The *Saturday Review's* comments on Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's views are significant. It writes:—Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's inclusion in the Commission on the Indian Public Services was utterly perverse. Surely he himself should have some doubts as to his usefulness. Does he not feel baffled and out of place? Is he not overwhelmed into decent silence by the enormity of his incapacity to understand the question with which he has, with authority, been asked to deal? Mr. Ramsay Macdonald feels nothing of this. He jauntily takes his place in the unending rank of half-educated, scribbling trippers to India. He will not even wait till the Report of his Commission is out ere he rushes into the Leicester *Pioneer* with impression and ideas. The complacency of these trotting Labour men is amazing. Mr. Macdonald threatens us with the usual book of half-baked theories and impressions: 'When my present work is over, and I am free to write again, I may add another book to my list.' It is a comfort to know that Mr. Macdonald, embarked on the foolish pilgrimage which it seems every English Labour leader must take, preserves even a shred of sense and humour. At least he has the grace to admit he is 'still learning, and therefore can only hold provisional opinions.' This, apparently, is only for a time. A few more weeks in India, and all will be clear! India will then be understood; her problem explained in a pamphlet; and the Indian Civil servant denounced for not at once introducing heaven upon earth into the Five Provinces. If the Indian problem were less grave—if no mischief could be done by men like Mr. Hardie and Mr. Macdonald in a country like India—we could laugh heartily at the insolent conceit of these Indian tourists." We presume some Anglo-Indian bureaucrats would call this sort of writing "sober criticism." If such indeed is their conception of "grasping the responsibilities of journalism", we may live in hopes that the Press Act would become a dead letter. But if any Indian journalist wrote in this style of the pettiest official's vagaries we have no doubt that he would instantly lose his security. Even "sober criticism" directed against an official becomes "sedition" in this country, but we have to see whether such "insolent conceit" as the *Saturday Review* has indulged in would also be dignified with the name of "sober criticism."

Indians and the Edinburgh University.

We have received the following interesting and informing communication from Mr. M. D. Thakore, Honorary Secretary of the Edinburgh Indian Association, a body of the efficiency and prosperity of which we can speak from personal knowledge. Mr. Thakore writes:—"In view of the difficulties which the Students in India have hitherto encountered in obtaining accurate information regarding the courses of instruction given in the University of Edinburgh, the Edinburgh Indian Association has for some time past considered it advisable to take the responsibility of affording such information; and is now in a position to do so to anyone that may be willing to apply to it. The object of the Association in doing this is not only to supply the fullest information, regarding the courses of study, the nature of the climate, the conditions of life and the extent of annual expense, but also to advise in each individual case as to the desirability or otherwise of coming to Edinburgh, in preference to other centres of education where the standard of instruction in certain branches of science is the same as, or in some respects better than, in the Edinburgh University. Of late it has become a settled practice among the Indian Students to flock to the Edinburgh University for every conceivable subject, and though in doing so they are only prompted by the well-established practice of the past, yet it is becoming clear every day that the steady and increasing aggregation of Students in Edinburgh is leading to the derivation of less benefit and more harm than was the case hitherto. It is, therefore, eminently necessary that the Student who desires to come to Edinburgh should obtain the fullest information regarding the educational facilities here, and in view of the great congestion here, consider the advisability of going to other centres should these be in no way inferior to Edinburgh. And the Indian Association here is willing to afford all this advice. It must be clearly understood here that, in undertaking this work, the Association is not setting itself as a rival body to the Advisory Committees which have been recently instituted in some parts of India. Indeed, such work was done by individual members in the past, and the collective official action now is only due to the new conditions that are arising, in view of the increasing number of students that are coming to Edinburgh every year. And it is hardly necessary to mention that the Indians resident here are best suited for this task, as they alone can estimate correctly the requirements of the Indian Students and their expectations." All communications should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, Edinburgh Indian Association, 11, George Square, Edinburgh.

Aligarh Cricket.

It is a relief to know that there is at least one subject connected with Aligarh on which one is not afraid to write. That is Aligarh cricket. Until very recently one used to recall with pain the earlier glories of Aligarh in the days of the brothers Siddiqus and Mahmud, of Shaukat and Hamid, of Abdul Wahab, Mughni and Abul Hasan and latterly of Ahsan and Ali Hasan. Those seemed to be the days of giants, but the exploits of Shafkat and Salamuddin to a great extent reconciled one to the present. It was recognised that even if the standard of cricket in India had, however, generally risen, the standard of Aligarh cricket had not risen in the same proportion. Fears were, therefore, entertained that the pre-eminence which Aligarh enjoyed in the game might possibly be lost. No Captain had shown anything like the zeal of that born organiser and amiable despot, the late Mr. Abdullah who succeeded in pushing the team up to a level which it had never reached before. Happily, however, our fears are vanishing, for Prince Hamidullah Khan of Bhopal, whose popularity among the students is well deserved is a keen sportsman and good many things more. His men are attached to him and to each other by the spirit of *camaraderie* which he has infused into the team. With his assistance the College has engaged Mr. Fairservice of Kent, last season's champion county, to coach the team and we trust Mr. Fairservice will soon lick them into shape. This year the Aligarh XI has played eleven matches, winning nine and drawing two. This is exceedingly hopeful and a unique feature of this success is that in many cases they have won through sheer grit and by the skin of their teeth. The latest example

of such success was the one achieved last Thursday at Delhi. Delhi scored 120 in the 1st innings; to which Aligarh replied with 146. Out of this Mr. Salam-ud-din, who was very successful both with the bat and the ball in the All-India Team that played in England, made 44. But the tail wagged rather gaily when Mr. Masud made 26 and Mr. Mahmud 31, not out, thus giving the advantage of 26 runs to their side in the 1st innings. In the second innings Delhi made 187. Captain Tod played exceedingly fine cricket for his 43, and Mr. Campbell, who had made 27 in the 1st innings when he was run out, made 44 in the second. Other scorers on the Delhi side were Mr. Moore-Gwyn had made 34 in the 1st innings and Col. Thesiger who made 33 in the second. Aligarh had now 162 runs to make and shaped so badly that five wickets were down for thirty odd runs. But once more the tail worked wonders. Mr. Masleh-ud-din made 52 and Mr. Masud 27, while Mr. Ashfaq carried his bat with 49 to his credit. These three plucky innings entirely turned the tables, and thanks to them Aligarh pulled the match out of the fire. There was no nervousness to the end and this is the most hopeful sign. We trust the Delhi match would become an annual fixture, and that Aligarh Cricket would be as much a glory of the College in the future as it has been in the past.

"Wild Dreams."

The Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, President of the last session of the All-India Moslem League, received a great ovation when he concluded his Presidential Address and from several outward indications, which we need not describe, we gathered that Sir Ibrahim's opinions gave no umbrage even to the few so-called moderates of the Punjab. If the Hon. Mr. Shafi would like to challange our statement he would not have to travel very far from his own family circle to discover the gentleman we would then unhesitatingly place in the witness-box. But we must say that, inspite of Mr. Shafi's consistently supporting the ideal of self-government suited to India which he adopted three months after its birth in his own Presidential Address, we were far from easy in our mind about his attitude in the last session of the League, and it soon became edvident that his deep sense of loyalty could not permit him to refrain from some expression at least of disagreement. In his own words, "it is impossible for one who presided over the Anniversary" at which the League's political creed was adopted to remain silent. This reminder of his having being President of the League in the previous session was hardly necessary except for self-aggrandisement for, having taken some pains to make his election acceptable to the community, we should think we knew something about the matter. When poor Mr. Balfour was compelled against his better judgment to "toe the line" at the dictation of his masterful colleague, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, in the matter of Tariff Reform, Mr. Lloyd George playfully referred to the situation by using an apt metaphor. He said that Mr. Balfour was hatching the cuckoo's egg all the time and calling it his own. Those few who are previleged to read Mr. Shafi's emphatic adherence to the ideal of self-government suited to India in the columns of the *Observer* are not unlikely to enquire about the paternity of the cuckoo hatched by the Hon. Mr. Shafi. But although Mr. Shafi has adopted the bird as his very own nobody is likely to wonder at the horror with which Mr. Shafi views the forecast of India's political future outlined in the Presidential Address of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah. Sir Ibrahim seems to have committed the heinous crime of casting the horoscope of India, and although no one in his senses could have been imagined to have mistaken the purpose of Sir Ibrahim, Mr. Shafi has seen fit to denounce his crime. Obviously the President of the Agra session desired to convince even the most ardent spirits among the Mussalmans that whatever their ideal "it depends entirely upon yourselves how early you will realize your proud destiny." "It will call," said Sir Ibrahim, "for the best in your nature; you will have to be patient and persevering; you will have to be prepared for all calls of self-sacrifice and devotion to your Motherland. . . . . You will have always to bear prominently in mind that an early realisation of your ultimate hopes and aspirations depends wholly upon retaining in the land the beneficient rule of the Crown of England. During the transition period the presence of the British in India is absolutely indispensible. You are bound to grow to adult manhood in time and come into your own inheritence, but you must in no way be impatient of your guardian. In trying to accelerate the pace do not retard your progress. We have to remember also that we shall not reach the goal by the use of physical force. Anarchism and bombs never have in the history of any nation ensured progress or helped in attaining their end. Believe me, gentlemen, that when the time arrives the force of moral pressure will be irresistable and it will absolutely ensure the realization of our proud destiny." In another place also Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah emphasised the need of caution. "Whatever the ideal," said he, "I should like to appeal to you to bear constantly in mind that nothing should be allowed to create a feeling of impatience, a desire to reach it by short cuts, or a tendency to excite the passions of the people." After this who could misunderstand the meaning or the purpose of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah when he described to them his own vision of a self-governing India in the following words:—"I am one of those dreamers who *firmly believe* that, given a sufficiently long spell of British rule in India, we are bound to become united as a nation in the real sense of the term. When that time arrives (as it is sure to do), *we shall have qualified to rule the country ourselves and self-government will be absolutely assured to us . . . No country such as India is can remain for ever under foreign rule, however beneficent that rule may be*, and though British rule is undoubtedly based on beneficence and righteousness, it cannot last for ever . . . India is our Motherland, our proud heritage, *and must in the end be handed over to us by our guardians*. I regard the connection of England with India in the nature of guardianship over minor children." The italics are Mr. Shafi's. It seems that Mr. Shafi's loyalty must always be displayed in the shop window to attract and he could not evidently afford to miss the opportunity when a rival in his estimation opened a more business-like concern on the other side of the street, even though it was done without any "booming." He describes Sir Ibrahim's perfectly simple remarks as "the wild dreams of a political visionary", while presumably his own Address was "practical statesmanship" and "wise guidance through the complicated web of modern political conditions." Had anybody responsible for the good government of India felt inclined to rely on his much "boomed" loyalty, we would have reminded such a person of the comment on the Player Queen's emphatic assertions as to her everlasting fidelity in *Hamlet*: "Methinks she protests too much."

"A Vision of India."

Englishmen are not likely to be caught such chaff as Mr. Shafi can offer. But for Mr. Shafi's special edification we would refer to an article contributed by the famous author and dramatic critic, Mr. William Archer, under the heading of "A Vision of India" in which he gives the speech of "the Last Viceroy" delivered on the occasion of resigning his office into the hands of the Princes and Citizens of India on the 31st of December, 2000 A. D. Its political wisdom and literary grace stand in no need of any comments of our own and we are sure our readers will study it carefully. We would hear reproduce only a short passage in which none other than an Englishman has given Mr. Shafi an effective reply by anticipation. "I could name to you" Mr. Archer makes the "Last Viceroy" say, "some of the greatest of British soldiers and administrators who saw and declared that British Rule could not be an end in itself, but only a means to an end, and that it must consciously, deliberately and sincerely address itself to the realization of that end—a self-governing, self-protecting, United India. But not many Englishmen were at that time—I speak of a century ago—able to take so large and clear a view. The prevailing tendency was to assume that the glory and prestige of England demanded the eternity of the British Raj, and to regard as disloyal the most reasonable and law-abiding aspiration towards self-Government. What is to us a truism was to that generation an inadmissible paradox—namely, that England's mission was not to perpetuate her rule, but to render it as brief as was consistent with the safety and well-being of India. Few could then realize that the most glorious day in the annals of England would be that which has now arrived—the day on which, her great work accomplished, she could lay down her stewardship and say to a self-controlled, self-reliant India, 'Hail and farewell.' Mr. Archer's Last Viceroy truly gauges the present situation when he says? "So long as the superstition of sempeternity prevailed, it was inevitable that the relations between the governing power and the more intelligent among the governed should be strained to the point of hostility. Even the most necessary measures of external security were resented, for they seemed to mean primarily the security of foreign rule. Administrative efficiency awoke the reverse of gratitude, for it seemed to mean the condemnation of native-born India to perpetual inefficiency." Then he describes the change that came over the whole spirit of the scene when what he calls "the superstition of sempiternity" was abandoned and "gradually, imperceptibly, a new light stole into the official mind and a true ideal replaced the idol of an ever-enduring Raj." "With faith in the sincerity of the governing power there came a new willingness to realize and admit the amount of leeway that had to be made up before India could stand alone among the great powers of civilization. Energies once devoted to embittered political agitation were now concentrated on social reform. Political thought instead running off on purely critical, destructive lines turned to construction, to planning, to forecasting constitutional arrangements and administrative methods. The new orientation gave to Indians in the public service a new motive for developing the best that was in them, since their efficiency no longer went merely to the credit of foreign rule, but helped to curtail the term of tutelage." After this Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah can well afford to ignore the inanities of the Hon. Khan Bahadur Mian Mohamed Shafi.

The Comrade.

The Press Act.

II.

Last week we described the circumstances in which the Press Act was enacted in February 1910 and stated the reasons that induced the non-official Members of the Council to support the Bill. We then showed how the assurance of the absence of Censorship was belied by the use made of the terrors of the Press Act as an "antecedent" restraint in practise if not in theory. We postpone for the present, the consideration of the second and most important assurance namely, the provision of ample security against hasty and arbitrary action. ..... in the form of what is virtually an appeal to a highly competent judicial authority," and come to the third, namely the absence of universal licensing with power to the Government to withdraw or refuse a license at discretion. Let us see how far this has been realised in actual practice.

Now the deposit of security was objected to by non-official members on the ground that such a demand constituted a slur on a profession as noble as any other. The Hon. Sir Harold Stuart, then Home Secretary, disagreed with this, and after quoting from Professor Sidgwick and Professor Dicey against the alleged injustice and unreasonableness of the demand, he gave a number of precedents such as the Stock Exchange, the Inns of Court and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge where security or "caution money" had to be deposited on entrance. Indian precedents such as that of the Broker's Association in Bombay and of cashiers and treasurers and other Government and private employees were also given. This naturally led the journalist to believe that every one would be required to deposit a security, and thus all would be equally honoured or dishonoured. The universality of the hump would have reconciled the hump-backed old woman in the fable to her own deformity, and the universality of the demand of a deposit might have reconciled journalists to its pressure. Government had opposed Mr. Gokhale's amendment that the Magistrate may demand security only in such cases in which he resonably thought that the press was likely to be used for unlawful purposes, and the then Law Member, Mr. S. P. Sinha, had met this amendment by anticipation and had argued that the proposed discrimination of Mr. Gokhale, and not the Government's universality of demand, would cast a slur on the journalist. And yet, experience has shown that there has been the most invidious discrimination in demanding security. If a list was prepared of persons exempted and the grounds of exemption, written and unwritten, were mentioned therein, it would be apparent that what Mr. Sinha honestly wished to avoid, but what Mr. Gokhale felt was bound to happen in spite of all the honest intentions of the Government of India, has actually come to pass. In some cases security was not demanded at first, but some perfectly lawful criticisim of local or provincial authorities roused the wrath of the District Magistrate, and the order of exemption was cancelled and security demanded in the most offensive manner. What consolation, then, can the stricken journalist find in the horror of Mr. Sinha at the mere possibility of what has been an ordinary experience in these days. "And, mind you," said our esteemed fellow-countrymen from his place in the Government of India, "there is no appeal against it: it is final, absolutely conclusive, if the Magistrate says 'give security, you are a seditious person, you ought not to be allowed to print anything; put down two hundred or five hundred rupees, as the case may be.' I say that is not an improvement on the Bill, and my hon. friends are not quite familiar with the provisions of the Bill."

In order to judge whether Mr. Sinhas' assurance has or has not been belied, let us examine the way in which the apparently inelastic provisions for the demand of a security have been stretched and contracted, as if they were meant to establish in effect a system of universal licensing with powers to the Government to grant a license or withdraw it. Our own case is an instance in point. An application was made to the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta in December, 1910, for dispensing with the security that we were required to deposit under Section 8 (1) of the Press Act, and he referred it to the Police. The C. I. D. knew nothing against the publisher, but that was not considered sufficient; what induced the Calcutta C. I. D. in the end to recommend the exemption applied for was the fact that a former Director of Criminal Intelligence had at one time under his consideration the appointment of the publisher as his Assistant Director. That was enough. The security was dispensed with and for twenty months the *Comrade* was published from Calcutta without any difficulty. Once indeed our doors were darkened by the shadow of one of the stupidest of a not over intelligent fraternity of spies; but we took him over to the officer in-charge of the C. I. D. branch, who disowned the man, but nevertheless warned him not to trouble us in the future.

In September, 1912, we transferred our offices to Delhi, and as there was no printing press here capable of turning out the work of the *Comrade*, we were compelled to undertake the expense, trouble and worry of keeping a large printing press of our own. Coming events are believed to cast their shadows ahead, and our recent experience of the one that had darkened our door, coupled with the demand of security from our ill-fated contemporary, the *Zamindar* of Lahore, led us to suspect that the authorities at Delhi may not let slip such a golden opportunity as a new declaration without demanding security. This apprehension was strengthened by an interview of quite a novel character for us which we had had with the Delhi District Magistrate. We accordingly prepared for the worst and purchased Government Paper for the maximum amount for which security could have been demanded. But we still hoped for the best, and must gratefully acknowledge that we were assured by some of the highest officials concerned that no security would be demanded from us. After several appearances before more than one District Magistrate the question was finally settled, and the exemption applied for was granted. We pass over the conversation which we had on the subject with the District Magistrate as he desires to treat such matters as private. But let us glance at the order publicly passed. It says:—

> The application is accepted in view of the fact that applicant has already passed through a trial of respectability extending over nearly two years in Calcutta.

The wording of the order is interesting and provides a certain amount of consolation that "respectability" according to the standard of Calcutta is acceptable even in Delhi. Not being overburdened with funds, we sold the Government Paper which we had purchased in anticipation, and busied ourselves with more pressing affairs than the Press Act and its administration. For nearly a year we came across nothing that reminded us of the Press Act's existence, and this covers the whole period during which the Balkan War with all its horors and attendant excitement in India lasted. But towards the end of June last we were compelled to criticise the action of the Delhi Municipality, or rather the unreasonable proposals of its acting official Chairman, which had caused a strike among the butchers lasting for a month. The strike was happily settled by the permanent official Chairman on his return from leave on the very lines which we had suggested in vain to his *locum tenens*, and so far as the butchers were concerned the matter ended. But we were less fortunate and were drawn into correspondence with the Hon. the Chief Commissioner on the subject of some remarks of a highly offensive character alleged to have been made by the acting Official Chairman of the Municipal Board against our fellow-contrymen. Hardly had the matter come to an end—a rather abrupt and unexpected end—when the Government of India declared the forfeiture of the Turkish appeal to Englishmen and Christians, known as the "Come Over Into Macedonia and Help Us" Pamphlet, of which we had received some copies several months previously. We had reproduced this appeal as a supplement in four issues of the *Comrade*, and the *Hamdard* had published a translation of it in eighteen issues. The Government Notification said nothing about these issues, but the District Magistrate seized them just the same. On applying to him for a reconsideration of the matter, he acknowledged his mistake and returned them to us, although most of them were subsequently seized under a fresh notification. We may state in parenthesis that the powers conferred by the Press Act, which has always been declared to be a *preventive* rather than a punitive measure, were not exercised for two months after the commencement of the reproduction of matter which the Government considered worthy of being proscribed, while the reproductions and translations were not proscribed for another month. Against a declaration of forfeiture of the original pamphlet by the Government of Bengal, of precisely the same character as that of the Government of India for the Province of Delhi, and the seizure in pursuance of that declaration of a copy which luckily we then had at Calcutta, and offered to the Police Commissioner for confiscation, we presented an application to the Chief Justice of Bengal for the appointment of a Special Bench of three Judges of the High Court to hear our appeal. No sooner had this application been made than we were required by the District Magistrate of Delhi to deposit Rs. 2,000, the maximum amount of security that he could demand from the keeper of a printing press under Section 3 (1) of the Press Act. We reproduce the order passed on the occasion as it would show whether the demand of security by District Magistrates does or does not cast a slur on the person from whom it is demanded. In doing so we may explain the second occasion on which we lost grace, which furnished an excuse for the District Magistrate of Delhi for his demand. After suppressing for six whole weeks all accounts of the excitement prevalent at Cawnpore over the contemplated demolition of part of a mosque, because we desired the matter to be amicably settled without recourse to agitation in the

Press at a time when there was already enough excitement among the afflicted Muss-lmans, we reluctantly published on the demolition of the Machhli Bazar Mosque, the full correspondence on the subject which we had patiently and, as it turned out, fruitlessly, carried on with His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces. This we did with the entire concurrence of His Honour, and of the two articles which we published on the subject and to which the District Magistrate refers in his order, one at least drew from Sir James Meston himself the meed of praise. The order runs as follows :—

On the 9th October 1912, Mohamed Ali son of Abdul Ali, made a declaration that he was the keeper of a Press called "The Comrade and Hamdard Press" situate in the Kucha-i-Chelan, Delhi. He applied to be exempted from furnishing security under section 3 (1) Act of I of 1910, and on 9th October 1912, I passed an order accepting his application on the ground that he had passed through a trial of two years in Calcutta, during which he had kept out of trouble such as is indicated in the Press Act. This order was a distinct departure from my usual practice and there seemed no harm in reposing confidence in a man who had received a University training and advanced education such as the recipient of this favour has received.

Unfortunately Mohamed Ali has not justified this trust and has published in the two papers, which are printed at his Press, articles which are reprints and reproductions of a pamphlet which the Government of India and various Local Governments have had to proscribe under Section 12 (1) of Act I of 1910. The pamphlet in question, entitled "Come over into Macedonia and Help us," contains matter which any one knowing and wishing well of India should have refrained undoubtedly from publishing.

Furthermore the papers which have issued from this Press have contained articles referring to the demolition of a part of the Machhli Bazar Mosque at Cawnpore, which have not been entirely justified by the explanation II in Section 4 (1) of the Act. It is assuredly this class of publication which has led to the sad loss of life which occurred in the recent riot.

I have quoted sufficient reasons to show that Mohamed Ali has not grasped the responsibilities of journalism. He is a man whom I am no longer justified in exempting from those provisions of the Press Act which deal with security. Accordingly I cancel my order of 9th October 1912 under Section 3 (1) of Act I of 1910, and require that the declared keeper of the "Comrade and Hamdard Press" furnish a security of Rs. 2,000.

The said keeper of the Press is not present as the summons has been returned signed by Manzur Ahmed, an employee of the Press, with the intimation that Mohamed Ali is absent in Calcutta. This order is accordingly pronounced to him and a notice will be sent at once to the Manager of the Press that security for Rs. 2,000 is required and is to be paid before any further use is made of the "Comrade and Hamdard Press."

In view of such practice it is little consolation to us to know that the theory of the Press Bill as framed by the then Law Member was quite different, and that it was against the possibility of such an action that Mr. S. P Sinha had spoken when he had said : "And, mind you, *there is no appeal against it; it is final, absolutely conclusive*, if the Magistrate says 'give security; you are a seditious person, you ought not to be allowed to print anything!" Fortunately for us the Cawnpore settlement has left no doubt in the mind of any reasonable person as to the people really answerable for the guilt of the blood. As for the sin of rescuing the truth from the dark dungeons of the Balkans and appealing in the name of that humanity which characterised none more entirely than the great founder of Christianity, it is no small consolation to us that the words of Major Bradon were buried deep in the dust of Delhi's official pigeonholes even before the Hon. Sir Lawrence Jenkins made in his judgment the well-known declaration about our character and purpose. Having published in full the indictment of a Magistrate, and who we need offer no apology for reproducing a short passage from the memorable judgment of one who has been the Chief Justice of two High Court and the right-hand man of Lord Morley as member of his India Council. He concluded his judgment as follows :—

The applicant, Mr. Mohamed Ali, is by no means unknown in India; he is a journalist of position and repute. Though he is not an accused, he tells us that he regards himself as under the stigma which (he declares) must attach to any journalist who has come under the operation of an Act directed, primarily at any rate, against a criminal movement marked by outrages which so shocked the public sentiment as to call for this drastic legislation. But even if he has not succeeded in proving the negative that fate and the law have thrown in his way, at least his application has not been wholly in vain. The Advocate-General, representing the Government, has publicly announced that Mr. Mohamed Ali's forfeited pamphlet is not, in his opinion, a seditious libel, and, indeed, that he attributes no criminal offence to Mr. Mohamed Ali: he was even willing to concede and believe he was acting in the highest interests of humanity and civilisation. In this, I think, the Advocate-General made no admission which it was not open for him to make. Mr. Mohamed Ali then has lost his book, but he has not lost his character; and he is free from the stigma that he is a criminal. And this doubtless will be some consolation to him when we dismiss, as we must, his present application.

We have now seen how in our own case has been belied the assurance that no slur would be cast on anybody by the demand of security inasmuch as no discrimination would be exercised by the District Magistrate in his unappealable orders on the ground of the character of the person making a declaration before him. But this is not all. Another assurance was given by Mr. S. P. Sinha as regards the amount of security to be demanded. We were assured that in one particular the otherwise inelastic provisions about security were designedly made elastic. The amount of security to be deposited was to range between Rs. 500 and 2,000. "Unless we are to assume," said Mr. Sinha, "that the Magistrate is by design a malevolent creature, we may take it for certain that in ordinary cases he will not ask for more than Rs. 500, the minimum." To this Mr. Gokhale replied with the assurance characterstic of the practical man who is in touch with reality, and said: "Well, I am prepared to take a good many things from Mr. Sinha, but I am not prepared to take that from him, *as that would depend on the Magistrate and not on the Law Member of this Council.*" And what has been our experience in this matter? We know nothing about the malevolence or benevolence of the Magistrates' designs, but if a detailed statement was furnished by Government it would be apparent to anybody that in the majority of cases in which small presses which published newspapers containing criticism of the United Provinces authorities during the Cawnpore Mosque agitation were required to furnish security, the amount of the security was *not* the minimum but the maximum. The Hon. Mr. Qamrul Huda worded the question which he asked in the Council on the 16th January somewhat unfortunately, for one of the two statements laid on the table by the Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock excludes the names of such newspapers as were printed at their own presses for which the proprietor had to give security as the keeper of the press and not as the publisher of the newspaper, while the other gives only the numbers of presses and neither shows what newspapers they printed nor gives the amount of security demanded from them. We trust he will now ask for these details and enable the public to know what a "slaughter of innocents" has taken place by depriving the provision about the amount of security to be demanded in each case of the elasticity which Mr. Sinha emphasised. Can the respective District Magistrates who demanded the maximum security from papers like *Tauhid* and *Ahl-i-Hadis* justify such use of their discretion? But the fact is that their orders are unappealable and by framing the law as he did the then Law Member uncorked the bottle that held its genie in thrall. The District Magistrates are now the despots that the law made of them, and even appeals to their executive superiors have every chance of being thrown into waste-paper baskets on the ground that, forsooth, executive officers cannot interfere with Magisterial discretion. To demad Rs. 2,000 and then Rs. 10,000 from keepers of lithograph presses whose entire stock-in-trade does not exceed a few hundred rupees in value is to establish a form of licensing as subversive of the freedom of the Press as that against which Milton pleaded three and a half centuries ago in his *Areopagitica* in vain. This should be a lesson to those who make laws which look innocent enough on paper without taking the trouble to consider by what type of men they would be administered.

The Indian Moslems' Tasks.

IV.

European critics of Islam, while surveying its fortunes since the dawn of the 19th century, invariably trace the causes of its secular decline to the position of woman in Moslem society. Their arguments have been strongly reinforced by the vast development of the sociological thought in recent years; and it cannot be denied that the rapid advance of the science bearing on human society has led to the growth of a series of revolutionary doctrines in regard to sex relations. The modern economist and the eugenist between them are replanning a new Utopia, and the whole of Western Europe is living in a state of oppressive dread of the moral thunder that hangs in the air. When the storm bursts—and burst it surley will—and the tornado of elemental human passions sweeps on the complicated web of things that sum up the life of modern European society, an entirely new world will arise from the wreckage. But whether it will mark a further stage in the civilisation of Europe, or mean a repudiation and a new departure, it is not easy to guess. The weight of prophesy is, we may note in passing, towards dread and dire things. Almost every visionary of note, with a complete scheme of his Utopia in his pocket, would be nothing if not a creator of an entirely new world out of the void. He disdains to take into account any material but man, simple, stark and elemantal, and would willingly pass a sponge over the past. Those whose visions of the future are of more modest range have reduced their social ideals to schemes of readaptations. The fundamental fact with which we are concerned at present is that

both the visionary and the constructive reformer agree in thinking that the position of woman in the European society is not what it ought to be, and they trace all existing economic and social evils to the unsatisfactory relations between the sexes. They think it would be more natural and conducive to greater human felicity if woman were to participate freely with man in every sphere of human activity, if marriage were released from the irksome restraints of custom and made the free expression of a willing partnership, and if the home were to be turned into a sort of agency for training children under the supreme responsibility of the State. Europe has not yet wholly lost its horror of nostrums such as these, and one need not pause to consider how the very thought of them would affect a Mussalman of India. From a *purdah-nanshin* Moslem lady to a suffragette of Hyde Park is indeed a far cry, and yet one cannot enter into a discussion of the conditions that govern the lives of Moslem women without having Europe as a background. The world-thought possesses ethereal pulses to-day and radiates with incredible speed through space. Social institutions and sociological ideas and experiments of Europe have a disturbing influence in India, and unless a well-planned effort at social reconstruction proceeds from within, European influences will do their destructive work and sooner or later reduce the whole structure to ruin.

The Moslem society in India has, through causes that can be easily named, grown out of joint. This much is perceived even by those who deplore the present and yet shiver at the least suggestion of doing something to improve it. It may be accepted as an axiom that the reconstruction of Moslem society is not a question of imitating the most successful social experiment elsewhere. What is meat for Europe may concieveably become poison for Moslem India. No community can divorce its present from its past or look forward to a future that has no relation with either. The Indian Mussalmans will have to frame their own point of view, their own line of work and their own particular plan for their social reconstruction. Other social systems are to them but facts of general human experience which they can turn profitably into account. The supreme question is to ascertain the need and devise the remedial measure. It is obviously beyond the scope of our present purpose to launch into an argument as to the best possible and complete social doctrine. After all, the tests of social efficiency are shifting and indeterminate, and all social idealism is but a reflex of certain needs which often cease to exist before a new generation has come to tread on the heels of the old. Philosophers tell us that a social system must possess the virtue of stability, and that it should give maximum satisfaction to all the units that compose it. History, however, has stamped these doubtful virtues as a sign of decay and death. The Chinese society had been till yesterday stable for centuries, and it may be presumed that it gave the maximum satisfaction to its members. And yet the threats of every jaded social reformer in the rest of the world have been adorned with the tale of China and its inevitable moral. Stability is frequently an outward symbol of inward death, and the satisfaction of individual members a helpless and unquestioning resignation to conditions of life that have become fixed and adamant. It is enough for our purpose to know that no society can be said to fulfill its functions which is not fully responsible to fresh needs and does not afford the utmost scope for the development of personality. Life is not being, but becoming, and society in its healthy state is a process of eternal readjustments. Apart from its fundamental beliefs about the nature and destiny of man, the first and last things of life, so to speak, it should have no convictions which are not temporary, no beliefs that cannot be parted with without a pang. For no society can save itself from an early dissolation which in the pursuit of ease and uniformity elaborates a series of deadening systems and places every detail of life under the grip of a dogma. Such an effort results in a flat, prescribed and graduated state of being in which every individual drives a dull and fruitless existence. Every child is forced to be born after the image of his parents, and end his life in a weary round of predestined activities. It was such efforts in history which gave birth to the monstrous developments known as the caste-system. The root-evil of these deformities is that they utterly suppress personality and cast it as a burnt offering at the alter of a system or a dogma. The first great truth to be remembered is that the individual does not exist for society, but that society is a contrivance for the free play of individual personality under certain well-defined limits. Personality is, therefore, the most important and most sacred thing. To try to reduce it to a dead level of sameness is to defy Nature and thwart the purposes of God. Every child that is born into the world is a new experiment in being, unique and wonderful. Society should be to it a free and intimate atmosphere for the unfolding of its personality. Every moment of its life should be to it not a prescription but a miracle. It should get stimulus for complete self-expression from other beings as unique as itself, and by its strivings and joyous activities grow up into efficient and purposeful manhood and become a living influence in social life as a whole.

These considerations should have the utmost weight in dealing with the question of social reconstruction amongst the Mussalmans. The supreme aim is the free development of personality. The conditions of Moslem society should, therefore, be such as would amply fulfill the purpose. Now the chief factor in human development is the home conditions and it is consequently the Moslem home on which the searchlight should be turned. European writers on Islam usually describe a Moslem home as a prison-house where women-slaves dwell and spend their lives in ministering to the wants and whims of their autocratic master. A Mussalman, however, knows that the description is as false as a caricature. Not only are there no slaves in Moslem homes, but the Moslem women are complete mistresses in their own spheres, enjoy their prerogatives as mothers and wives and exercise the influence that is then birth-right. Were it otherwise, the Mussalmans would not have been face to face with the problem of women's education to-day. It is because the authority and influence of woman is complete in the *zenana*, that the need has been felt to train and educate her and enlighten her mind. As the first and most effective teacher of children, as the partner of man in his life-struggles and hopes and triumphs, as the power mainly responsible for domestic effeciency and peace, woman is the key-stone of all social structure. Her training and intellectual and moral fitness is to be ahieved before any efforts at reconstruction in Moslem society. As things are, the mental equipment and training of Moslem women is hopelessly inadequate. They are not only ignorant, but also carry a dead weight of prejudices and superstitions which has never formed a part of the mentality of their Moslem sisters in other lands. This, we are sorry to have to say, is a distinct gift of Hindu India. Ignorance is a paralysing handicap not so much because it leads to inefficiency, but because it produces a grey, flat, level ground from which personalities of almost similar character take their rise. A community of savages is efficient enough for the few purposes of its life; but it suffers from the blight of sameness. Every savage is like his brother savage in his mental features and outlook on life, and in the sum of their existence there is no variety, no richness, no stimulus of ambition, no provoking and fugitive suggestions of mystery which tempt a man ever and ever on to new and higher stages of being and endeavour. If the women of a community are ignorant, and thus cramped and dwarfed in their mentality, the new generations grow up in the same deadening atmosphere, and the loss of personality in the individual is the inevitable result. It is a terrible price to pay and no community can bear the burden without self-stultification.

It would seem, therefore, that the most anxious and immediate concern of the Mussalmans ought to be to organise a thoroughly communal system of education for Moslem girls. The need is being felt but not with such keenness as would lead to the birth of the preacher and the fanatic of reform. Mild resolutions in favour of women's education in annual conferences yet mark the stage at which Moslem enthusiasm has reached. An attempt was made some years ago to focuss the stray desires of a few intelligent Mussalmans into an organised movement with its centre at Aligarh. What this movement has achieved is still a mystrey. The gentleman who officially controls the movement is evidently so shy that he insists on keeping the results of his activities in strict *purdah*. Meetings of the Female Section of Moslem Educational Conference are held every year, but the Secretary has not submitted his report for several years past. The force goes on and a proportionately huge expenditure is being incurred for the maintenance of an elementary school, without method, without ideal, without even the initial energy required for an experiment. Amongst educated Mussalmans the desire to educate their daughters is springing up, but no efficient schools exist to which they could send the girls with confidence. *Ustanis* are seldom available, still more seldom of a satisfactory type. The public schools or Christian missionary institutions, even where they are found, are not fit places for the training of Moslem girls. The difficulties are great and every year that they are left unsolved would add to the seriousness of the situation. Efforts should be made by earnest men by means of an independent organisation, if need be to draw up a complete programme and start a vigorous campaign for bringing light and emancipation to Moslem women. The task is the noblest and yet the hardest that the Mussalmans have got to face. Will not some valiant spirit sound the call and rally other brave hearts for the fight? The hope is, not extravagant and Moslem courage and chivalry are not yet wholly defunct.





The Criminal Settlement at Aligarh.

SIR,—In the *Comrade* of the 20th December 1913, I saw a letter written by Commissioner Booth-Tucker, Head of the Salvation Army in India, giving his version of the recent trouble in the Beriah settlement located in the Fort at Aligarh.

Before I write further, I would like to mention that personally I have the greatest respect and admiration for the Salvation Army and the grand work its officers are doing for their faith. When the late General Booth first started the Army with its Red Coats, military titles and brass bands, people in England laughed and ridiculed the idea by calling it a "tamasha", but that great and good Christian persevered ; and with the help of devoted self-sacrificing workers lived down all the ridicule and difficulties which every great movement has to face in the beginning. I have not the pleasure of knowing Col. Booth-Tucker personally, but I have heard from friends a great deal about him. For the sake of his faith he threw up a brilliant career in India and resigning the Indian Civil Service joined the late General Booth. It was he who organised and started the Army Branch in India.

I mention all these facts to show that neither myself nor any other worker at Aligarh is prejudiced against the Salvation Army nor is any of us blinded by religious prejudices. We have no objection to the work of reclamation of criminal tribes ; only we object and very strongly that it should be carried on so dangerously close to our nobler and greater work of Moslem regeneration in India. We have difficulties enough of our own to surmount and naturally would feel sore if any thing was done to add to them.

It was for this reason that Sahabzada Aftab Ahmed Khan had opposed the planting of this colony of the worst type of criminals so close to the College. In those days, because he had stood up for his College in the Archbold affair, he had incurred the displeasure of Sir John Hewett, who refused to give his reasonable views that consideration which the importance and urgency of the subject deserved.

As regards the facts of the recent case, though I was not an actual eye-witness of the first scene, I was in Aligarh that day, and reached the spot barely an hour after the incident and learnt the facts from different sources. I was certainly nearer the spot than Commissioner Booth Tucker who must have been in Simla.

As for the forbearance of the Beriahs and the language they used, every one should accept the words of a man of the position of Mr. Aftab Ahmed Khan, who was present and was besides the only person cool in all that crowd and thus saved the situation. Further, I know the Beriahs much better than most people, having seen them in their homes while camping as an officer in the three districts of Etawah, Mainpuri and Etah, where they mostly come from. Any Police officer who has served in the Agra Division would bear me out that the Beriahs were one of the most cruel and hard-hearted criminals. In India as in other countries, people felt a sneaking regard and admiration for the old-fashioned dacoit and outlaw, like the famous Tantia Bheel, who took freely from the rich and gave it back equally freely to the poor but Eida Beriah and Darab Shah formed the first gang that, besides robbing people, ravished women also, and I remember very well the satisfaction of the people when Eida was burnt down by his pursuers while hiding in a room full of straw. You yourself happened to be at Kannauj when this occurred and can testify to this.

I would like here to mention that our objection to this Beriah Settlement close to the College is not so much on account of the dacoits and other criminals as on account of the Beriah women. They belong to the "Tawaif" class, *i. e.*, prostitutes by caste. While wives and daughters-in-law amongst them are as honest and chaste as women in any country, their daughters and sisters are brought up by these very women for immoral purposes and openly ply their trade. Any Beriah man will offer his unmarried sister or daughter for prostitution without feeling anyshame, but if his own wife or daughter-in-law was unfaithful (which was very very seldom) he would inflict the most severe punishment.

Even if Commissioner Booth-Tucker's version of the incident be accepted, it does not alter the real case. Our contention from the very beginning has been that here in Aligarh we have been carrying on with the support and the co-operation of some high-minded Englishmen one of the biggest and noblest works of which any Government and people may be proud, *i.e.* the regeneration of Mussalmans. We have surmounted many difficulties and have already achieved a great deal, but a great deal more remains. We have built a name and reputation for Aligarh, and the great founder had chosen this spot in preference to Delhi, his own home and birth-place, for the simple reason that he wanted a quiet place, where there would be no other attractions to distract the mind of the future students and where we could expand to our hearts' content. It was for this reason that the old deserted Cantonment of Aligarh, situated on a big bare *usar* plain, and away from the Koil city, was chosen as the site of our College.

We, in spite of our poverty, have spent nearly 70 lakhs on it and nearly 20 lakhs in buildings alone. To thousands of Old Boys and to lakhs of Musalmans, Aligarh has become a sacred and loving spot. I am not exagerating when I say, in fact I know what I am talking of, that Aligarh is the one place for which every Mussalman in India has an affection, and I have not the least doubt, that if we wanted more money to-day and put our case before our people plainly and squarely, it will pour in. Right in the middle of this little garden of Mussalmans, you go and locate a Segretion Camp for the benefit of the worst plague-stricken people. You may or may not save the afflicted, but you are sure to contaminate the healthy and strong in the neighbourhood, and thus, instead of checking, spread this dire disease in the length and breadth of the country. We have about 1,300 youths, healthy and strong, from amongst the best families in the country and outside it. We have located them at a safe distance from the city and its temptations. We feel naturally sore that next door to us and our charges, the worst kind of "Yoshiwara" is located. With the best of motives and intentions, it is true, but yet a "Yoshiwara".

I have not one word to say against the Salvation Army and its officers, but I can well understand that it is not the silk-wearing alone, howsoever interesting it may be, that would attract the youths to their camp.

We know the Beriah men and women well and we know the youths well too. They are the same all the world over. No artificial bounds, no Salvation Army officers, no *chowkidar*, no amount of Proctors and Proctor's Bull-dogs could keep the two away from each other if they could possibly meet; then why put temptation within easy reach ?

The only remedy is that the Criminal Settlement must be removed from the beautiful and picturesque mud Fort and the poor students should be given full room for their walks and recreation.

I have not been to the Fort lately but when I went there last, Ensign Mabe and Ensign Piari, his wife, were extremely good to me and took me round explaining everything. They were kind enough to give me some literature and plenty of very useful information about the internal organization of the Army, which I wanted for our Khoddam-i-Ka'ba Society. For the benefit of such of your readers as have visited the Fort before, especially the Old Boys of Aligarh, I give fuller information about this Settlement, as the name may suggest an array of imposing new buildings, etc. There is no such thing as a settlement. Everything appears to be temporary. Over the mound of earth on the picturesque gate was streched a piece of white cloth with "Hewettpur Settlement" written on it. Inside, that ramshackle old Bungalow near the gate, has been repaired a little and made habitable. The Army officers Mr. and Mrs. Mabe lived in it. The other old building nearer the centre has also been repaired and in it have been put weaving and reeling machines. The only new additions that were then ready had made the place very ugly. They are temporary Kaccha dirty-looking mud huts for these criminals to live in. I doubt if the whole lot cost more than two or three thousand rupees. I think (I am not sure) the Government paid for these temporary sheds. The inmates, men and women, were either allowed to work in the day time, elsewhere, with the permission of the officer-in-charge, or earned their wages working for the Salvation Army.

This is all the settlement.

I am surprized and pained to see that for this, Commissioner Booth Tucker suggests that the "future great Mohamedan University" may be removed from Aligarh to Delhi. Leave aside the palatial buildings erected at a great cost, he expects us to forget all the happy associations, all the memories which that one word "Aligarh" brings before us wherever we may be. Our children are there, imbibing strong and powerful traditions that have grown up. We are asked to give up all these for a well-intentioned but doubtful experiment.

Will the authorities at Oxford and Cambridge tolerate for one second the location in their midst of a settlement for the reclamation

of the worst type of cut-throats and criminals from the Seven Dials and the street-walkers from Soho Square and Piccadilly. They would reject the assistance of this "moral stimulant", this "great philanthropic effort" towards the regeneration of their people.

I hope I have made clear that we in Aligarh have no objection to this settlement. We only desire that it should be located at a distance from the College towards the south, leaving the north to us to expand, and that we have nothing but admiration for the work of the Salvation Army at Aligarh and elsewhere, howsoever, we may differ in our faiths.

I hope not only Government but Commissioner Booth-Tucker would also help us in the interest both of his own and our work and remove this settlement to a more suitable locality.

ALIGARH, *19th April 1914.* SHAUKAT ALI.

[We have just learnt that, thanks to the efforts of the Hon. Syed Riza Ali, Sir James Meston's Government has promised to remove the Settlement to Dehra Dun District. We expected this from His Honour and are sincerely grateful to him for not belying our expectations. We shall refer to the U. P. Council debate later.—Ed. *Comrade.*]

The Cawnpore Mosque Defence Fund.

SIR,—I have read in the papers the different suggestions made for the utilization of the Cawnpore fund, now that it is no longer required for the legal defence of the prisoners. To my mind money coming out of the pockets of people who can ill-spare it, and who must have denied themselves many little comforts, nay even necessaries, in order to help their brethern in need should be invested in some profitable concern which would bring them the largest possible returns. Now I cannot imagine a better investment for the money of Moslems than its utilization in helping Khwaja Kamaluddin Saheb.

His noble efforts if properly supported will lift the veil of prejudice cast over the eyes of Europe by centuries of misrepresentation and reveal the true simplicity and beauty of our religion.

I hear that Yahya Parkinson has written 5 books on Islam which are in manuscript and which for want of money have not yet seen the light. Would it not again be a splendid investment for part of the Cawnpore fund to furnish this gentleman with the wherewithal to publish his books?

Mr. Parkinson, from what I see of his writings in the *Islamic Review*, appears to be a man of high culture and wide attainments I feel sure that his books if published would be a great acquisition to Islamic literature.

If you will be good enough to give publicity to this letter, I feel sure that the majority of the subscribers to the Fund will agree with me as to the best use to which it could be put.

Hyderabad MRS. KHEDIVEJUNG.

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Return of the Moslem Mission.

II

Delhi.

MR. WAZIR HASAN'S SPEECH.

IN the course of his reply to the address of the Mussalmans of Delhi, Mr. Wazir Hasan invited those Anglo-Indian editors who in the darkness of their sanctums recklessly went on writing that the speaker and Mr. Mohamed Ali were not representatives of the Musalmans to come and ask that large gathering and the still larger gathering outside the hall whether they did or did not represent the political attitude and temper of the Moslem community. He then discussed the duties of the Mussalmans as British subjects, as Indian citizens and as Mussalmans. With reference to the Cawnpore settlement, while thanking Lord Hardinge, he said that an administrator of Sir James Meston's ability and intelligence would also have arrived at the same conclusion were it not for the obstacle of Prestige, which intervened like the Himalayas between Musalmans and justice. Prestige not based on justice could never strengthen British Rule, while justice was bound to strengthen it. Although Nowsherwan was not then alive, his reputation for justice still survived him. The speaker said that their religion had provided for them an excellent code of conduct for all occasions, and in steadfastly following its dictates they would not only remain good Mussalmans but also become good subjects and good neighbours. But the Mussalman who was not loyal to Islam could never be trusted to be loyal to King or country.

The speaker then reminded the audience that the responsibility of a Mussalman for the progress of India was no less than that of a Hindu. So long, however, as Mussalmans had been sunk in ignorance, their participation in politics would have harmed them and their country alike. But a new generation had now come to the forefront and it could be trusted to take its proper share in Indian politics without detriment to itself, to the Government and to the country.

As regards their attitude towards the Congress, if it had changed during the last twenty five years, had not the attitude of the Government undergone a more pronounced change in the same period? Compare and contrast the attitude of Lord Dufferin and Lord Curzon, said Mr. Wazir Hasan, with the attitude of Lord Hardinge, and with still more recent attitude of Sir James Meston himself, and then judge whether it was after all so strange for the Mussalmans to change their attitude towards that body. The Mussalmans may not find it always possible to adjust their attitude to the changing attitude of individual Viceroys and Lieutenant-Governors, and for that reason the speaker suggested that they should provide themselves with a rule of conduct. He would suggest that, without prejudice to their own interests as a community, they should unite with the Hindus in furthering the cause of Indian prosperity and good government in India through every legitimate constitutional means.

As regards their Mission to England, he said that the British public was engrossed in its own affairs, and it was necessary to send out such missions to England to enlighten it with regard to Indian affairs. He concluded his speech by saying that they should have full confidence in British justice and in their own righteousness and strength of purpose, and they should co-operate with their fellow-countrymen sincerely and cordially.

MR. MOHAMED ALI'S SPEECH.

After him Mr. Mohamed Ali rose to offer thanks for the ovation which the people of Delhi had given to them on their return. He recounted how he had come to Delhi a year ago as a mere stranger, and how in that short space of time Delhi had given him a home and a vast number of friends. This was nothing new, but, an ancient tradition of Delhi, for it had even provided a throne and a dominion over the whole of India for homeless wanderers like Babar whom their own country had sent away as exiles.

Mr. Mohamed Ali referred to the various events which had happened in quick succession in the few years before he and Mr. Wazir Hasan had set out on their Mission to England, and in connection with the Balkan War called upon the Chairman, the Shahi Imam of the Jame' Masjid, to bear witness to the many occasions on which he had asked the people of Delhi to voice their gratitude to Lord Hardinge and his Government for their real sympathy and assistance. He had sought the assistance of the Viceroy in order to make it clear to the Mussalmans that whatever British Ministers might do or say the Viceroy and the Indian Government felt for them and were ready to assist them to the best of their powers.

With reference to Cawnpore, he pointed out that, in spite of much pressure brought to bear upon him by numerous visitors from Cawnpore, he had kept the affair of the Mosque out of his papers till a part of it had been demolished. He had reposed full confidence in the sagacity and wisdom of Sir James Meston, but it was impossible for any honest journalist to be satisfied with the demolition of the Mosque, and in view of the heavy responsibility that he had taken upon himself in advising the Cawnpore Mussalmans against newspaper agitation while he was corresponding privately with the Lieutenant-Governor, he was bound to agitate against the sacrilege. Whatever others may say, he had in his possession a letter of Sir James Meston praising at least one of his articles on the subject as "excellent." When, however, Sir James Meston plainly told the deputation at Lucknow that he would do nothing in the matter—a decision which they honestly presumed to have been arrived at in consultation with the Government of India—they recognised that the agitation in India was not only useless but likely to become mischievous. But they did not despair of ultimate justice, and instead of lighting a fiery cross in India as people hostile to British Rule would have done, they proceeded to England to appeal to His Majesty's Ministers, and in the last resort, to the British public. Although they left India very quietly, it was not to be assumed that they felt themselves to be criminals escaping justice. In Bombay, in Aden and in London criminals could be arrested and brought to justice: and after all no crime could be wiped off in three and half months, so that if they were criminals when they left India so quietly, they were criminals still on their return with such evident *eclat*. What had induced him to leave Delhi so quietly was that with the noose round his neck which every journalist carried in these days, and a judiciary still unseparated from the executive, they felt that it was possible for people to throw obstacles in his way if they announced their intention to go on that Mission and had this come about at the very least much valuable time would have been lost. That was the reason why they had not formally obtained their credentials as the delegates of the people before leaving India. But as they had expected, the people amply provided them with credentials immediately on their departure. He had no desire to publish these reasons for they were less creditable to others than to themselves. But the partisans of those others in the Anglo-Indian Press had tried to make much capital out of their silence on the subject, and he now made a present of these edifying reasons to the Anglo-Indian Press during that festive season and wished it joy of them.

The speaker then referred to the many ways that were open to them of advocating the cause of the people, and explained the reasons why they preferred to deal directly with the Ministers in the first instance, and how they spent a good deal of time in that effort. He then gave the fullest details of the dinner episode and conclusively showed that the dinner to be given to them was the indépendent suggestion of His Highness the Aga Khan himself, who had telephoned to the speaker at midnight immediately after his arrival in London from the Continent for Prince Arthur's wedding, that it was necessary in the interests of justice and of the Moslem Community to "counteract the false charges" published by the *Times* in its issue of 7th October. He also explained that the words "the Cawnpore victory" were the words uttered by the Right Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali and not by either of the delegates. After giving further details of the dinner episode Mr. Mohamed Ali said that this occupied their time from the 17th October to the 18th November, when through the assistance of His Highness the Aga Khan's letter they broke down their boycott in the Tory Press, and the *Morning Post* very willingly published the true version of the matter and a very frank leading article in which it called upon Mr. Ameer Ali to offer any explanation that he could give of his own unexplained action.

The speaker said that among other things that they had explained in England to as many as they could reach was that what was called sedition in India was in most cases the natural demand of the grown-up son for a larger allowance than he received as a small child; that many officials demanded from them obedience such as could only be offered to the King-Emperor and to his commands enacted in the form of laws of the land; that the complaint against Young India was a confession of failure on the part of those who had made Young India what it was through the education that they had given it; that public criticism of official action was in reality a pæan of praise for the freedom given to India by the British, a freedom that was unknown to the subjects of the Tsar and in the majority of cases to the subjects of Indian Princes; and that what the Indian objected to was not what the law demanded but what executive officers sometimes demanded in excess of the demands of the law.

Mr. Mohamed Ali then gave a summary of other views which they had expressed on behalf of their people and asked them to say whether those were not their views. He said that the great mistake which the British made was to believe that Indians had only been familiar with autocratic methods of Government and could not understand any other, as if those who had been taught in Indian Colleges had read nothing of Locke and Mill, Rousseau and Spencer, Burke and Bright. He said this was extreme folly, but even if it were true, was it possible for the British to satisfy all the demands of autocratic rule? It was true that in Native States the holding of public meetings of protest was not easy; but it was also true that every class of his subject had access to an Indian Prince like own Chief, the Nawab of Rampur who commanded sources of information in his own family and household which British officials did not posses. The latter lived a life apart from the people, and in the absence of personal knowledge as an Indian autocrat possessed they could learn the truth only from the police, from the Press and from public platforms. It was easier for Indians to adjust themselves to the demands of the system of Western democracy, but it was hopeless for the British officials to adjust themselves to the system of Oriental despotism. They could rule India as the Moghals had done before them, or as they were used to governing in their own country. But their rule in India was as un-Moghal as it was un-British, and no wonder that sitting between two stools they occasionally touched the ground.

The speaker compared the success of their Mission to the dropping of a pebble in the ocean. They could not expect thereby to create a storm, but they were satisfied that ripples had disturbed the evenness of the sea's surface where the calm of ignorance, if not indifference, had reigned before. What was necessary was to arrange for relays of public men for the presentation of their views in England, and this should be done because there was no reason to despair of justice from their Sovereign and from the sovereign people of Great Britain.

Lucknow.

The delegates were not permitted even to enjoy a nights' rest at Delhi after their long journey, for the people of Lucknow and Cawnpore were impatiently waiting for their arrival at the head-quarters of the All-India Moslem League and in the city the sufferings of which had been the chief immediate cause of their mission to England. They, therefore, left for Lucknow after a hurried dinner the same night. But owing to the congestion of traffic at Christmas their train reached Lucknow several hours late. Inspite of this the entire platform was crowded by thousands who had assembled to greet them, and it was sometime before the delegates could push themselve through the crowd to the carriage awaiting them outside. Here considerable delay took place as the people insisted on dragging the carriage and the delegates begged to be excused. In the end the crowd succeeded in taking off the horses and inspite of the protests of Messrs. Wasir Hasan and Mohamed Ali, and although requested many times to put the horses back, it dragged the carriage the entire distance of two or three miles to the grounds of the Rifah-i-Am Club. Fearing that the hall itself would not be able to hold all the people attending the meeting, the organisers had arranged to put up a large number of *shamianas* in the grounds. But inspite of the delay for several hours in the arrival of the delegates' train which compelled a large number of people to return home, the attendance at the Rifah-i-'Am Club was so large that hundreds of people had to stand in the sun The proceedings were opened by several speeches by prominent Mussalmans of Oudh who thanked the Mission for the services it had rendered in the cause of Islam and the Moslem Community of India.

Mr. Wazik Hasan's Speech.

After the delegates had been garlanded Mr. Wazir Hasan thanked the people of Oudh and explained the objects which he and Mr. Mohamed Ali had in view when they left for England. He exposed the baselessness of the opposition which their Mission had been subjected to and with impressive eloquence gave expression to the warning that if, God forbid, British strength in India ever declined, the guilt of bringing about that calamity would properly attach to those people who regarded the representation of Indian grievances as a crime. Unless relations between Government and people become closer and more cordial there was not only the possibility of danger in India, but the greater danger of the loss of that prestige which Great Britain rightly enjoys to-day among the nations of the world.

Mr. Mohamed Ali's Speech.

Mr. Mohamed Ali in the course of his speech referred to the colossal ignorance that prevailed in England about this country. As a typical instance he mentioned the case of the Cawnpore Mosque. Soon after reaching England he had collected together through a Press-Cuttings Agency all that had appeared in the English Press on the subject of Cawnpore Mosque. With the single exception of the *Outlook*, which published several forcible articles condemning the blunder of the authorities and arguing at length and with knowledge about the situation, there was not a single paper which published anything except the lying version concocted after a few days' deliberation by a Cawnpore correspondent of some Anglo-Indian papers. Indian news, continued the speaker, seldom appeared even in the London Daily Press, and when it did appear it was confined to a few lines of alarming news about some outrage in Bengal. The English Press had published nothing about the demolition of the Mosque and the consequent agitation during the entire month which intervened between the sacrilege and the so-called riot, and the British public was therefore shocked by the news of the riot which created the impression that some blood-thirsty ruffians had broken the law and the heads of police without rhyme or reason. One paper had thought it necessary to enlighten its numerous readers on the subject of the place where that "serious riot" had occurred. One would have thought, said the speaker, that the thriving industries of that Manchester of Nothern India would appeal to the writer charged with the duty of enlightening the ignorant readers but nothing so commonplace and vulgarly modern, in fact appealed to him. He went back to the year 1857 and the treachery of Nana Saheb as if that cold-blooded rebel was the type of the average Cawnpore tradesman in the thriving and busy Bisati Bazar to-day. The writer had described the horrors of 1857 and had referred to the Memorial Well as if the deplorable occurrences of the 3rd of August were part and parcel of a new mutiny. The speaker asked whether after that they could expect much sympathy for the sufferings of Cawnpore from the readers of that journal. He emphasised the need of enlightening the ignorant, gullible and deluded British public, and urged the necessity of applying two great remedies to such a grave evil. In the first place, he recommended the establishment of a National Fund which could be used, among other things, for the purpose of sending out accredited agents to England from time to time to enlighten the British public about Indian affairs, and he suggested that, if the subscriber consented, the balance of the Cawnpore Mosque Defence Fund after providing for the sufferers might be utilised as a nucleus of the proposed National Fund. The second remedy was the establishment of a Standing Committee of "Friends of the Mussalmans" which could keep in touch through its various sub-committees with the Mussalmans of the world and remove all misunderstandings between the Mussalmans and the British public by collecting accurate information on all important affairs and correcting the misrepresentations of an ill-informed and misinformed Press in England. Mr. Mohamed Ali announced that inspite of the Parliamentary Recess of six months the delegates had succeeded in inducing some friends of the Mussalman of different political parties to form such

Standing Committee, and he hoped that it would be established within the next few months. He was prepared, he said, to return to England next summer when the Parliament was sitting in order to set this Committee on ts feet. He gratefully acknowledged the assistance that he had received from men of various political parties in England, and although the Liberals were more prejudiced against the Mussalmans as a community, and the Tories were less inclined to believe Anglo-Indian officials to be capable of making mistakes in administration, the speaker freely admitted that there were a large number of people of both parties who took interest in the welfare of the Mussalmans and were prepared to listen to their genuine grievances. All that the Mussalmans wanted was interest in their welfare and a desire to do them justice. They could not expect, nor should they expect, to find prejudiced partisans who would espouse their cause whether they were in the right or wrong.

Cawnpore.

The Telegram to H. E. the Viceroy.

Before leaving Cawnpore, Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali sent the following telegram to H. E. the Viceroy :—

"Having seen the depressed and distressing condition of Cawnpore "Mussalmans last August, and on our return seeing their joy and "hopefulness to-day, we feel we owe it to Your Excellency to bear "witness to the majical powers of your loving message address-d "to them last October and to thank you most cordially for bringing "peace to an afflicted people. Surely the universal affection four "Your Excellency of thousands of Mussalmans who received us "to-day at Cawnpore must be the most acceptable present that could "be offered to Your Excellency on this day. May this Christmas "usher in an uninterrupted era of peace and goodwill inaugurated by "Your Excellency in our Motherlan t, and may your name be handed "down to coming generations as a great peace-bringer."

H. E. the Viceroy's Telegramme to the Delegates.

The Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy sent the following reply by wire to the foregoing Christmas greetings :—

"The Viceroy sends many thanks for your appreciative Message "and is glad to hear that peace prevails at Cawnpore."

Once more the train which carried Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali from Lucknow on Christmas morning was some two hours' late. But when they reache l Cawnpore they found if anything a larger and still more enthusiastic crowd gathered to greet them at the Railway Station, procession of carriages was formed and proceeded along the selected route which was several miles long. A large portion of which was gay with bunting. Several arches had also been erected along the route, and large crowds lined the roads on either side and threw flowers into the delegates' carriage. The procession first stopped at the Machli Bazar Mosque which the delegates visited, and then proceeded to the McWright Theatre Hall which was gaily decorated. Here the crowd was enormous and could not have been less than twenty thousand, inspite of the fact that a good many people had gone back home for breakfast on account of the delay in the delegates' arrival.

Mr, Wazir Hasan's Speech.

Mr. Wazir Hasan spoke at considerable length generally on the lines of his previous speeches. He began by expressing thanks of the community to His Excellency Lord Hardinge for his declaration at Cawnpore that the Mohamedans were loyal. That, said the speaker, used to be an axiom, but when the Mussalmans began to voice their legitimate grievance about the Cawnpore Mosque, some Anglo-Indians forgot all that and began to denounce them as seditious. The Viceroy then felt it to be due to the community to declare it publicly and at Cawnpore itself that the charge was unfounded and that the Mussalmans were as loyal as before. The speaker then went on to refer to their Mission in England, and said that the demonstrations of welcome at Bombay, Delhi, Lucknow and Cawnpore had proved better than any thing else their claim to represent their community to have been well-founded. The failure to recognise the national voice was the greatest mistake that their rulers could commit, and those who misled Government and the British public were the worst enemies of British Rule in India. They all wanted the continuance of British Rule in India. What they objected to, and would continue to object to, were the evils of bureaucratic methods of government. They wanted British Rule in India to be based on the principiles of justice and a participation in the Government by the subjects, and he described the latest act of Lord Hardinge in coming to Cawnpore as another link in the golden chain that bound India and England together. Refering to the Cawnpore settlement, the speaker, while explaining that it was arrived at three weeks after their reaching England, and that during that interval they had several interviews with responsible and influential people in the India Office and elsewhere in which they fully discussed the situation and the terms of compromise, said they disclaimed all share in the glory of the final settlement for which undoubtedly the credit was due to His Excellency Lord Hardidge and to his counsellors, official and non-official, and last but not least to the Mussalmans of Cawnpore themselves and their legal and other advisers whose good sense and moderation made the compromise feasible. Refering to the Press Act and the judgement of Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the Chief Justice of Bengal, in the *Comrade* case, Mr. Wazir Hasan described His Lordship as one of the pillars of British Rule in India. In eloquent terms he explained how be felt more attached to England than before after having had the great previlege and pleasure of knowing Sir Lawrence Jenkins and he felt sure that if there were many more Englishmen like Sir Lawrence in India one would hear very little of disaffection and disloyalty. In conclusion, the speaker alluded to the obstacle, thrown in their way in England and put in a forcible plea for united action on the part of different communities in India.

Mr. Mohamed Ali's Speech,

Mr. Mohamed Ali went in to some details relating to the communications that had passed between him and the Mussalmans of Cawnpore on the subject of the Mosque and called upon a number of the most prominent Mussalmans of the place who were present there to deny if they could the statement that they had visited him at Delhi more than one to request that he should agitate in his paper against the then apprehended demolition of part of the Machhli Bazar Mosque, and that their emissary was constantly travelling between Cawnpore and Delhi, and Cawnpore and Calcutta to urge him to befriend them and advocate their cause. That surely, said the speaker, did not very much look like "outside agitation." He asked them to deny if they could their own statement made to him that but for his advice they would not have sent the second memorial to Sir James Meston in June last through the Hon. the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad, and that they would rather have commenced newspaper agitation immediately after the failure of the first sent in April. Could they deny their own statement that but for his advice to have full confidence in Sir James Meston, and failing him in constitutional agitation, there was great likelihood on the 1st of July when part of the Machchli Bazar Mosque was forcibly demolished. Could they state that the agitation which they had recourse to was due to the taunts of anybody outside Cawnpore and could they deny that the speaker for one had clearly pointed out to them the dangers of official displeasure. They knew better than any official in India how much he had deplored the incident of the 3rd of August, and if he had so long patiently borne personal vilification from a type of Anglo-Indian officials, and newspapers, he could now put them all in the witness-box without any imporpriety to prove how earnestly and anxiously he had worked for the amicable settlement of the Mosque case. When, however, the reply of Sir James Meston to the deputation that waited upon him at Lucknow on the 16th of August last disappointed all hopes of a settlement such as he has expected and it appeared to the laymind as if there was no further hope in India, he felt it to be his duty to proceed to England and to voice their appeal in an atmosphere of dispassionate justice and equally clear of prestige as of passion. He had fully counted and weighed the risks he was running, but this was the least that he could do for them after the manner in which they had implicitly followed his advice and failed in their attempt to obtain justice. But nothing pleased him more than the sagacious and bold step which His Excellency the Viceroy took some five weeks after their departure in coming to Cawnpore and bringing them peace, and he felt certain that in the bright faces and hopeful views of the Mussalmans of Cawnpore which was so different from the aspect last August everyone who could see and was not wilfully blind could find a justificatian alike for the time-honoured rule that the Head of the Indian Government should not be an Anglo-Indian official, and the new and wise departure that there should at least be one Indian member in the Governmentof India. To make sure that Hindu and Mohamedan grievances alike would receive the fullest consideration by Government at all times and that first-hand knowledge would be brought to bear on the problems of the two communities, the speaker trusted there would before long be two Indian Members in the Viceroy's Executive Council belonging to the two great sister communities of India.

After giving details of their work in England and of the dinner epsiode on the lines of their previous speeches, Mr. Mohamed Ali asked the people of Cawnpore who, after the donors, were the people most concerned, whether it would not be in the best interest of the Community, if, after providing for the relief the Cawnpore of sufferers, any balance of the Cawnpore Mosque Defence Fund was used as a nucleus of the National Fund of the Mussalmans of India.

The delegates then received magnificent gold, embroidered garlands and after the recitation of several poems as at Bombay and Delhi they were entertained at lunch and departed in the afternoon after enthusiatic ovation.

A VISION OF INDIA.

The Last Viceroy.

(From "The Daily News & Leader" of January 1, 2001.)

The following is a verbatim report, received by ærial telephone, of the speech delivered yesterday by the last British Viceroy of India, in resigning his office into the hands of the Princes and Citizens assembled in the Durbar Hall at Delhi. His Excellency said:

Your Highnesses and Citizen Representatives—We are gathered here, on the last day of the twentieth century, to conclude an Act of State which will certainly be recognised by future ages as one of the most momentous and most glorious in the history of the world. For two hundred years, Great Britain has held in trust directly or indirectly, the welfare of all the many peoples included within this ancient and splendid Empire. To-day in the name of my Sovereign, the King-Emperor Edward IX, I lay down that stewardship, and remit the welfare and the destinies of India into her own keeping. Very wisely, if I may say so, your council of Princes and Citizens has determined that the head of your Government should be hereditary rather than elective, and, obviating all possible jealousies, has conferred that hereditary leadership upon the second son of the King-Emperor. His Royal Highness is to-day leaving Windsor Castle on his air-yacht the "Arjuna" and to-morrow, with the new century, the new Kaisar-i-Hind will make his entry into this, his capital. In the meantime, you may not, perhaps, think it impertinent if I briefly review the events and influences which have led up to this consummation of the age-old longing of your country, and the heart-felt wish of mine.

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From the dawn of history India has suffered from what may be called an arrested predestination. She was clearly pre-destined to unity, yet she could never permanently attain it. Geographically, she was marked off from the rest of the world more trenchantly than almost any other region, not absolutely an island. Her outward frontiers were extremely definite, her inward divisions were vague, arbitrary, and fluctuating. In the imagination of the onter world, she has always figured as a unit, and the achievement of her unity has been the dream of every great political power that has ever arisen within her bounds. Again and again it has been partially achiered, again and again the half-completed structure has crumbled to pieces. Why? Simply because of its vastness. With the methods of communication which prevailed down to the middle of the nineteenth century, no central power could possibly keep in working order a political organism of such gigantic ramifications. Local ambitions, interests, and rancours always took the upper hand, and no Empire ever succeeded for long in securing the one aim and justification of Empire—namely peace. Yet the idea of unity was so haunting and dominant that India could never settle down into permanent and contented multiplicity. She has been throughout her history like a troubled sea, wherein one great wave after another has towered aloft, only to fall in shattering ruin and make way for the next.

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How did the Romans succeed in holding together for centuries an Empire as large as India and much more scattered? The answer is easy: they made roads and bridges. Had the Guptas or the Scythians, the Pathan, or the Moguls, been like the Romans, a great engineering Power, the fate of India might have been very different.

The British had inherited something of the Roman instinct for keeping their communications clear and easy; and fortune so willed it that, just as their power had spread over the whole country, the invention of railroads may be said almost without metaphor, to have reduced India to about one-tenth of its former size. The electric telegraph, too spread, like a sensitive nervous system, from Tuticorin to Peshawar, from Karachi to Chittagong. The second half of the nineteenth century developed those mechanical pre-requisites for real unity, which had theretofore been lacking.

About this time, too, the sentiment of national oneness began effectively to possess the soul of the people. Previously a united India had been an administrative rather than a popular ideal; but now it began to take hold of general mind. Religion had even from pre-historic ages paved the way. To the devout Hindu, the whole country, from the remotest Himalayan peak to the *kala pani* of the southern strait, had always been one in sanctity. Secular patriotism, on the other hand, had been smothered in caste feeling. But now, with the spread of education on more or less Western lines, and with the consequent relaxation of the rigidity of caste, patriotism of a more or less Western type became a real and potent motive in many minds, and began to filter down from the educated few to the uneducated many. British rule had unified India, and had for a century kept the peace between jarring religions and racial factions—was it not inevitable that a sentiment of unity, a national self-consciousness, should rapidly develop and assert itself?

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This was a period of no little danger. Natural and inevitable as it was, the growing national self-consciousness of India did not always manifest itself wisely; nor was it always met with wisdom on the side of the British administration. Now that the dangers are long outlived, and the generation which bred and battled with them has passed away, I hope, I may say without offence that Indian patriotism had in its youth the faults of youth—namely rashness and impatience. It forgot the lessons of history; or, rather, it remembered only those which ministered to a somewhat inflated self-esteem. It forgot that the unity in which it gloried had been imposed by an impartial power from without, and had not yet had time to beget an instinct of solidarity in the mass of the people, separated by manifold diversities of race, language, creed, and caste. It forgot that in so far as patriotism itself was of one mind,

that unanimity was negative, a unanimity of opposition to foreign rule, and would certainly fall apart the moment that common object of detestation was withdrawn and the problems of national organisation had to be faced. It was very sincere, no doubt, in feeling that even the misrule and anarchy of the past were preferable to this external and mechanical "good government" which (as it was mistakenly led to believe) was "sapping the manhood" of the people. But it forgot that it was not free to choose between order and anarchy. The relapse to anarchy would, indeed, have been only too easy, on the premature withdrawal or expulsion of the British power; but it was absolutely certain that this would have been the signal for some lother power European or Asiatic, to step in, and to restore order with a far heavier hand than that of Britain. In brief, Indian patriotism forgot that a certain standard of political competence is indispensable to any nation which is to hold its own among the civilised peoples of the modern world, and that political competence, however highly developed in individuals, was not to be acquired in one or two generations by a race which had, for untold ages, renounced the political, in favour of the religious, life. There was no reasonable prospect even of the rise of a competent and all-compulsive native despotism.

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Far be it from me, however, to pretend that all the unwisdom was on the Indian side. On the contrary, all historians now admit there was, on the side of the British administration, a much less excusable blindness to the plain facts of the case. At the end of the nineteenth century a wise Englishman, long familiar with India wrote these words: "The Indian Empire is a miracle, not in the rhetorician's sense, but in the theologian's sense. . . . It is a miracle, as a floating island of granite would be a miracle, or a bird of brass which flew and sung and lived on in mid-air." That was profoundly true; but the Englishman in India, a crank in a wonderful, well-oiled machine, was apt to lose all sense of its wonderfulness, and imagine it the most natural thing in the world that it should run on for ever. Not all Englishmen—I could name to you some of the greatest of British soldiers and administrators who saw and declared that British rule could not be an end in itself, but only a means to an end, and that it must consciously, deliberately and sincerely address itself to the realization of that end—self-governing self-protecting, united India. But not many Englishmen were at that time—I speak of a century ago—able to take so large and clear a view. The prevailing tendency was to assume that the glory and prestige of England demanded the eternity of the British raj and to regard as disloyal the most reasonable and law-abiding aspiration towards self-government. What is to us a truism was to that generation an inadmissible paradox—namely, that Englands' mission was not to perpetuate her rule, but to render it as brief as was consistent with the safety and well-being of India, Few could then realise that the most glorious day in the annals of England would be that which has now arrived—the day on which her great work accomplished, she could lay down her stewardship, and say to a self-controlled: self-reliant India. "Hail and farewell!"

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So long as the superstition of sempiternity prevailed, it was inevitable that the relations between the governing power and the more intelligent among the governed should be strained to the point of hostility. Even the most necessary measures of external security were resented, for they seemed to mean primarily the security of foreign rule. Administrative efficiency awoke the reverse of gratitude, for it seemed to mean the condemnation of native born India to perpetual inefficiency. But, in the words of the Victorian poet "the thoughts of man are widened with the process of the suns." Gradually, imperceptibly, a new light stole into the official mind and a true ideal replaced the idol of an ever-enduring raj. It is just eighty years since, in 1820, one of the greatest of my predecessors in this high office formally defined the aim of the King Emperor's government "as co-operation with the Indian genius in building up a united India, capable of taking a free and equal place among the nations of the world." Even before that certain urgent reforms, such as the separation of the executive from the judiciary, had given earnest of good intentions. But when once the great step had been taken, the great admission made, a change came over the whole spirit of the scene. There were still, of course, many differences of opinion on details of policy; there were still the party of impatience and the slow-but-sure party; but with faith in the sincerity of the governing power, there came a new willingness to realise and admit the amount of leeway that had to be made up before India could stand alone among the great powers of civilisation. Energies once devoted to embittered political agitation were now concentrated on social reform. Political thought, instead of running on purely critical, destructive lines, turned to construction, to planning, to forecasting constitutional arrangements and administrative methods. The new orientation gave to Indians in the public service a new motive for developing the best that was in them, since their efficiency no longer went merely to the credit of the foreign rule, but helped to curtail the term of tutelage.

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Meanwhile vernacular education was awakening the peasant to a new sense of the possibilities of life. His passive contentment with a precarious minimum of food and shelter began to give place to active thrift, with a view to the attainment of a reasonable level of comfort and security. A widespread network of agricultural banks rescued him from the clutches of the mony-lender. Manufactures were developed under a co-operative system which put an end to the more exploitation of defenceless, unorganised labour. The better side of caste was brought into play in a system of guilds which has restored the waning glories of Indian craftsmanship. At a hundred points, age-old tradition, habit and instinct were modified in the light of awakened intelligence; and the result is that we now see around us a prosperous and progressive India, with many problem still awaiting solution but unquestionably capable of confronting them with vigour and judgment, and controling her own destinies in accordance with her own genius.

It is not for me either to praise or to criticise the constitution you have adopted. I may, however, express great confidence in the already tried statesmanship of your Council of Princes, and a strong belief in the wisdom of utilising the system of caste, purged of its arrogance and inhumanity, as the basis of representation in your wider National Council. One of the difficulties with which the Government of India had to contend, even within the memory of some of us, is now a thing of the past. The dreams of conquest and expansion which made the international politics of century ago a huge game of bluff, are now seen to have been survivals from a bygone stage of world-development. It is admitted on all hands that races and nations must work out their salvation within their own boundaries, since from any other line of conduct only chaos and madness can ensue. India then, no longer needs a powerful defensive army, but only a force for internal and frontier police-duty, involving an out-lay of lacs where our predecessors spent crores of rupees. It is a saner world than that even of a generation ago—to say nothing of a century—into which you are to-day launching your Imperial Ship of State. My duty is only as it were, to touch the button that releases the leviathan; but no more honourable duty was ever assigned to mortal man, and I perform it in a spirit of solemn thankfulness, which is, I am sure, shared by the King-Emperor and by every English-speaking man and woman. India has been called, of old and prematurely, "the brightest jewel in the British Crown." Only to-day is that saying fully justified. May its lustre never grow less.

[*This remarkable effort of clairvoyance is communicated to us by Mr. William Archer.*]

The Indian Peril.

We reproduce to-day the articles contributed under the above heading by an anonymous writer to the "Times" about the authorship of which we have written elsewhere.

Gathering Forces.

I—The Accomplishments of British Rule.

In all her long history India has never been so prosperous as now. Her wealth and her industries are steadily increasing; land has largely appreciated in value: wages are rising: and the supply of labour is not sufficient for the demand. Recent great irrigation schemes are only beginning to spread their beneficent results, and others are in progress, or in near prospect. The railway system is being developed and improved to render it able to fulfil the requirements of a magnificent trade compared to which that of pre-British days was a bagatelle. Judged by all material test, the state of India is such that most countries of the world might well envy and marvel at her progress.

Politically, from the Indian point of view, the advance in recent years has been immense. The reforms of 1909 went far beyond Indian expectations. There never was time when so many Indians had a voice in so many branches of the administration, could so effectively present their views, or were able to count upon such sympathetic consideration. Government was never so gentle, so quick to learn, and to redress grievances, so tender towards Indian susceptibilities, or so zealous in labouring for the public good. Never were the public servants of India so hard worked, so anxious to initiate measures for the benefit of the people and so deligent in striving to make them successful. Local self-government has mainly passed into Indian hands to make or to mar. The control of education in some important aspects has been committed to Indian bodies. If in the High Courts the European element is in a majority, the administration of law in the lower stages is predominantly Indian. The Sircar, once abrupt and peremptory, now show an anxiety to please and a readiness to consult Indian opinion which were formerly unknown. While in Western countries, bureaucracies continue to increase in numbers and in power, in India bureaucratic methods have been more and more relaxed. Where they exist, they do not exceed the necessities of the orderly conduct of business, and they are often due to the large Indian office establishments. The capable Brahman clerk is a born bureaucrat.

The Native States.

In the huge territory—more than one-third of all India and considerably more than three times the area of France—comprised in the native states, Home Rule prevails with greater or less success in proportion to the enlightenment and the vigour of the Indian ruler. Of late years, the policy of non-interference has been developed to an extent which would formerly have been viewed with apprehension. The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 announced that "We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of the native princes as our own," and this royal promise has been faithfully kept. When, however, misgovernment or grave scandals threatened to tarnish the honour of a native state or to restrict the liberties of its people, interference, in direct or in direct form, has been deemed necessary. And, further, in cases where the condition of a native state appeared favourable, Political officers were encouraged or permitted to press reforms upon the administrators. This has been changed by the important Pronouncement of Lord Minto at Udaipur in 1909, in which the policy of the Government of India was laid down for the future "as with rare exceptions one of non-interference in internal affairs." His Excellency "referred that reforms should emanate from the Durbar themselves" thus plainly indicating that suggestions, formerly regarded as part of the duty of Political officers, should be discontinued. During minorities the Government necessarily assumes direct responsibilities both in regard to the upbringing of the young chiefs and to the temporary administration. While in all such cases the state revenues are carefully nursed, and any gross abuses which may be brought to light are removed, no changes are introduced which would be repugnant to the characteristics of the state or would commit the future chief to lines of action which would be likely to disapprove. Self-governing India, since it came under British suzerainty, was never therefore, left so free to develop in accordance with its own methods and ideals as it is to-day and never was the tutelage of the paramount Power so lightly felt by the Princes and Chiefs, while financial assistance is none the less readily placed at their disposal in times of need.

The Combat with Famine and Disease.

After the Mutiny, which followed perhaps inevitably, upon a protracted period of war involving the successive annexation of Sind, the Punjab, Lower Burma, and Oudh, government in India completely changed its character and entered upon a new political phase under the direct control of the Crown and Parliament. The last vestige of dynastic rivalry had been swept away, and the Administration henceforth could devote its energies to domestic questions. The results, operating gradually and at first slowly, have led to the situation which has been described. Government in India now undertakes activities of all kind which in Western countries are left to private enterprise—activities which closely touch the lives of the people—and the Administration is thus becoming, more and more and in the best sense, parental. Inquiries of many kinds have been carried out with far-reaching results and others are in progress. Famine, arising from defective rainfall, has been in all ages the greatest ill from which India suffers. In pre-British days the mortality thus caused was appalling, and the early travellers have left records of horrors which baffle the modern imagination. Now the administration of famine relief has been reduced to highly organized system which is being constantly improved, and the fine railway system which we have created enables food to be transported to stricken areas to an extent that was formerly impossible. Famines will still inevitably afflict the people of India: but loss and suffering have been infinitely mitigated, and what remains is mainly due to inherited habits and customs which, for a time at least, will continue to militate against the promptitude and the completeness of relief measures. It is a fact that in no country in the world can famine be dealt with so effectively as in India, and nowhere else are there so many trained and devoted public servants ready to cope with this scourge. Devastating epidemics occur and recur in the history of India, where like famines were submissively accepted as signs of the wrath of the gods. In face of these terrible visitations, Government and people were powerless. They wrought wholesale destruction unchecked, and they exhausted themselves in accordance with laws which science is beginning to reveal.

All this has been changed in recent years by the action of the Government. Plague still claims too many victims; but the Administration provides a prophylactic to which the people are happily beginning to resort, and in other way this disease is being successfully combated by the progressive development of the sanitary services. Any outbreak of cholera instantly taken in hand by medical officers and thousands of lives have been saved by prompt action. Malaria and its prevention are being earnestly studied with practical results which will increase as knowledge extends—and is allowed to prevail. Smallpox, once a widespread scourge, has been brought under control. Much more remains to be done and will be done; but anyone who knows the extreme difficulties of sanitation in an Eastern country with a vast population will find in the progress attained in recent years, convincing proof of the anxious care which Government have devoted to raise the standard of public health.

Taxation.

While in all directions the Administration has shown increasing activity, the incidence of taxation per head has in 10 years risen from Is. 10¾ d. to Is. 11·8 d. only, for, including land revenue, which according to the ancient custom of India is rent paid to the State, from 3s. 5¾ d. to 3s. 7· 3d. The salt tax, once regarded as oppressive, has been reduced to a minimum, and the Punjab cultivator can now purchase this necessity of life at the rate of ½d. a pound. In no country in the world is taxation so light, and the slightest comparison with Japan serves to show the relative immunity of the agricultural land of India from State burdens.

Industry and Capital.

The establishment of law and order after the Mutiny led to economic advances of all kinds apart from that due to the agency of the Government. British capital found its way into industries, and Indians followed the lead given by European enterprise. A great mill industry has thus been built up in Indian hands and has attracted Indian capital. In other directions industrial progress is being steadily made, and the investing habit is tending to take the place of the unfruitful hoarding which has long retarded the economic development of India. In ten years bank deposits have increased from Rs. 27 crores to more than Rs. 63½ crores, and bank capital from Rs 4½ crores to nearly Rs. 6½ crores; while Indian Post Office Savings Bank depositors have grown from 834,366 to 1,368,939, and the membership of co-operative societies now exceeds 400,000, though the movement is still in its infancy and is foreign to India. Figure could be multiplied indefinitely, which all indicate steady advance of a kind while genuine Indian patriotism must specially desire.

Missionary Effort.

Another important development since 1858 is the extension of the Christian mission now grouped under 16 heads with innumerable sub-branches. From Europe and America large sums are poured into India every year and devoted mainly to the education and up-raising of the depressed class. The native Christians now number more than 3½ millions and about 198,000 children largely orphans are under instruction in private schools. Missionary effort, apart from its religious aspect, has become a philanthropic agency of growing importance, while the example of personal service devotedly rendered is an educating power of inestimable value. In the purely social sphere, recent years have seen the establishment of numerous associations in England and in India which afford striking evidence of British endeavours to promote kindly race relations and to help the growth of Indian nationhood.

To those who care to study facts nothing in modern evolution will appear so amazing as the accelerating advance of India since the day of the Mutiny, and while government in all form attempted by mankind is necessarily imperfect, British rule in India can justly claim a measure of success elsewhere unparalleled. Twenty years ago Sir Alfred Lyall, with intimate knowledge of Indian condition and a rare understanding of Indian character, came to the conclusion that "English dominion once firmly planted in Asia, is not likely to be shaken unless it is supplanted by a strong European rival." He did not reckon with forces, then weak or latent which have gathered strength with a rapidity that none could foresee.—*The Times.*

II.—Causes and Consequences of Unrest.

The advancing prosperity of India and the great changes in the methods of government might fairly have been expected to produce greater contentment and more active support of an Administration which is visibly promoting Indian progress and zealously cherishing Indian interests. Diametrically opposite results have followed. A standard of prosperity, never previously approached, coincides with a situation never comparably so menacing.

The signs are plain for all to read. Agitation in all forms is spreading throughout the land and is producing the inevitable effects. A large section of the Indian Press devotes itself to a relentless campaign designed to undermine the authority of Government and to promote acute racial antagonisms. The operation of the Press Law, where it is enforced, may check the more crude manifestations of sedition: but it is powerless to cope with the incessant stream of misrepresentation and the spread of false reports which sow broadcast the seeds of hatred and contempt. Indian writers, educated in our schools and universities, have reduced to a science the methods of saying what their readers will perfectly understand while keeping within the four corners of laws which—in India—are mildly administered. And any lack of open violence is supplied by leaflets and placards emanating from secret presses which may secure wide circulation before their existence is known to the authorities.

Sedition and Murder.

The propaganda assumes many forms, direct and indirect, obvious and shrouded, but the effect upon the masses of India is the same and is becoming increasingly apparent. Secret societies grow in membership and range from little groups of decadent youths to large organized bodies of which the full ramification is unknown. To these associations the periodic assassinations of officials and of loyal Indian public servants are due. Within a few years attempts have been made on the lives of two successive Viceroys, and in neither case did the offer of a large reward produce evidence from the many persons who were cognizant of the plots or spectators of their execution. Many more murders have been planned but have failed to reach the stage of attempt. British feeling has been stirred both at home and in India by these starting manifestations of hostility: but even when a double murder was perpetrated in the heart of London no violent resentment was provoked. It may have been imagined, as some Indian politicians have proclaimed, that such crimes were plainly the work of isolated and irresponsible madmen. If so, no greater mistake could have been made.

The general effects are more significant and more dangerous. If Bengal dacoity, whether for private gain or for replenishing the coffers of the agitators, has become a diversion of educated youths, and victims and law-abiding people are unwilling or afraid to assist the ends of justice. In the Punjab, where 12 millions acres are now under irrigation, where new towns are springing up and the wealth of the cultivators has marvellously advanced, the increase of serious crime has reached alarming proportions. "Three districts have 6,000 per cent. as many murders as in the United Kingdom" and "thefts burglaries, grievous hurt, and dacoities are also on the increase—not a steady increase, but one that goes up by leaps and bounds." Here also help to the arm of the law is not forthcoming. Similar tendencies show themselves elsewhere, and the recent exhibition of mob violence at Cawnpore is symptomatic of a situation which is not realized outside India. There are districts where British law does not now run and where security of life and property can no longer be guaranteed. Stones may be thrown at Europeans in villages where 20 years ago the people would have shown the kindly courtesy which was characteristic of the country. Indian parents complain bitterly of the growing intractability of their boys, and the general decay of manners is a matter of common observation. These and other indications plainly visible to residents n India, and distressing to all who cherish an affectionate regard for her people, are the necessary result of a propaganda which ranges from dislike and distrust to hatred and contempt.

The Burden of Government.

In an Eastern country, where public opinion as a steadying factor does not exist, Government is the one and only authority understood by the masses. It is to Government they look for help in trouble, for personal security, for justice, and for protection against their own oppressive customs. In India it is Government alone which can prevent the clash of the racial and religious differences which deeply permeate the whole body politic. Only under a Government which stands above and aloof from these jarring elements can there be the faintest hope of the creation of a united India in some happier future. The failure of politicians at home to realize the special and peculiar relations of the British Government to the vast masses in India explains much that is deplorable. You cannot safely think of India in terms of Western conditions.

If, as is certain, the undermining of all authority in India is rapidly proceeding, what must necessarily follow? The day will arrive when the teeming millions of uneducated Indians will have been taught to hate the handful of British officials and residents, will have come to disregard all authority, and will offer a problem in Government which is insoluble.

India's Millions.

The total population of India at the Census of 1911 was almost 313½ millions. Of this number 18½ millions were returned as literate, and only 1,670,000 as literate in English, including 1,029,000 classed as "Hindu Brahmanic." The increase of the total population in 10 years was about 20 millions, of literates 2,853,000, and of literates in English 545,000. There are nearly 2,400 main castes and large numbers of sub-castes still increasing. The Census enumerates 119 groups of languages belonging to 15 families, exclusive of European tongues. "Agriculturists" number more than 65 per cent. More than 294¼ millions of people are illiterate, and at least 230 millions live the simple village life of old India. Of Hindus about 40 millions belong to the depressed classes and are banned in degrees varying from actual oppression to social ostracism. The operation of British law and the ministrations of the missionary bodies are gradually ameliorating the condition of these poor people.

Anyone who attempts to understand the greater problems of India must, as an essential preliminary, master these and other figures, and must be able to grasp their political significance. The vast mass of the population is totally unfit to take part in self-government and has never done so; but its attitude towards any Government is supremely important, and if disaffected it could make all government impossible. Between the simple, kindly masses of India and the British officials there is no trace of natural antagonism. Warm attachment on both sides is common. The Briton knows nothing of the physical repugnance which the superior castes feel towards the lower orders, and he is able to acquire influence and to win real affection where the ablest Brahman would absolutely fail to secure either. The records of the Indian frontier attest on every page the strong regard which has existed, and exists to-day, between the tribesmen and the British officer.

If left face to face with the masses of India the British Government, so long as it chooses its servants well, would have few difficulties. But those masses are naturally excitable, credulous to the last degree, fanatical in matters of religion, and prone to the kind of panic which, as the French Revolution showed, may easily lead to violence. The Mutiny was primarily a military revolt, due to military conditions, and brought to the explosion point by the issue of cartridges in the making of which the religious sentiment of both Hindus and Mahomedans was said to be outraged. The civil population over large areas espoused the rebel cause for fear of consequences, although individual Indians gave the most touching proofs of fidelity. If to-day conditions differ widely from those of 1857, the lesson and the warning remain.

The Disaffected Minority.

The great change which has come over India in recent years and has developed latterly with ominous rapidity is due to the intervention between Government and the masses of a small but steadily growing disaffected minority. Education inevitably breeds discontent in one form or another, and its influence for good depends upon the qualities of character which it is able to evoke. In India Western education started with false aims, and has not yet arrived at the true paths of progress. Our grandfathers decided that the main object was the creation of a class of "Anglicised interpreters,"

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tended to act as intermediaries between Government and the illions for whose welfare it is responsible. We have succeeded in taining many valuable Indian officials; but the system has inevitly led to the production of a far larger and yearly increasing class hich devotes its slender educational equipment to misrepresenting e aims and the results of British rule and to spreading broadcast e seeds of disaffection among the impulsive millions of India.

In a London Police Court the assassin of Sir W. Curzon Wylie d Dr. Lalkaka justified his crime by the assertion that the Engsh people were responsible for the murder of 80 millions of Indians 50 years, and for annually taking 100 millions sterling out of the untry. How had Dhingra come by these monstrous beliefs? The swer to the question goes to the root of the danger in India. ere was no obsession of an isolated madman, but simply one of many public revelations of the effect of the propaganda. If baseless lumnies of this description are scattered far and wide among the illions who have not the smallest means of ascertaining facts, how n unrest in India be staved? And the creed of Dhingra, which s led to many other murders, is only part of what is being daily culated.

AN INTERNATIONAL PROPAGANDA.

The propaganda is not confined to India, but has become ternational. Not only are there active centres of disaffection Europe and America, but in places where no knowledge xists and prompt exposure need not be feared, addresses are livered by Indians in which atrocities committed by the itish Government are luridly described. Mr. Roosevelt's striking ll are to our work in India may have been suggested by stories of his kind which had reached his ears. When a member of Parliament, ter visiting India publicly proclaims as a fact that Government xact "75 per cent. of the yield of the land" from the unhappy *rayat*, is impossible not to fear that busy people may forget to ascertain e truth, and may derive a general impression that the land of dia is oppressively burdened by taxation. In the Central Provinces hich were referred to, the assesment averages about 9d. per acre!

A large volume might be written to register and refute the ss inaccuracies, or worse which find expression in England nd are remitted back to India as accepted facts; but the bour would be in vain. The correction would never overtake e misstatement, and meanwhile the effect of the encouragent which is being given to the propagandists in India by careless riters and speakers at home cannot be estimated.—The *Times*.

III.—Nationalism and its Purposes.

PERVERSE PROPAGANDA.

In his admirable study of "Indian Unrest" Sir Valentine Chirol efully examined the influence of Brahmanism, which he regards as e of the "only two forces that aspire to substitute themselves for itish rule, or at least to make the continuance of that rule subserent to their own ascendency." The other force he defines as that nerated by Western education, which operates to some extent over e whole of India, but only upon an infinitesimal fraction of the pulation recruited among a few privileged castes." Neither of ese forces had, in his opinion, "in itself sufficient substance to be dangerous"; but he clearly saw that "the most rebellious elements in both ve effected a temporary and unnatural alliance on the basis of an ely negative 'Nationalism' which appeals to nothing in Indian history is calculated and meant to appeal with dangerous force to Westn sentiment and ignorance."

This diagnosis of the situation a few years ago was profoundly e, but recent developments indicate the need of some qualification. The "temporary and unnatural alliance" has been strengthened for s, and other than "the most rebellious elements" are, consciously or consciously, playing a part in the alienation of the masses. Between the Western thought imperfectly assimilated in the schools and colleges India and Brahmanism there may appear to be an impassable intellectual gulf, but the imported "Nationalist" theories have been adopted by Brahmans whose ambitions blind them to the hopeless incongruity of ideals and who are quick to see the political uses of religious in which they may have ceased to believe. And so-called Hindu "Moderates," or Mohamedans, when they engage in a movement for the establishment of what is described as "self-government" in India, cannot be expected to exercise a nice descrimination as to methods. In India we have to recognize the fact that apparently antagonistic elements can unite in swelling the propaganda directed against British rule, and whether perpetual misrepresentations or incitements to active hostility suit the predilections of individuals; the effect upon the vast unthinking masses is to instil dislike differing only in degree. Such "temporary and unnatural" alliances may continue effective untill irreparable injury has been inflicted upon India, and their existence can be represented as a proof of the catholicity and the solidarity of the "national" spirit.

EXTERNAL INFLUENCES.

It is perhaps inevitable that the growth of this spirit should be welcomed and encouraged by well-meaning persons at home who fail to understand its relation to the helpless millions absolutely dependent upon British rule to save them from anarchy. The Nationalist idea is a by-product of a shallow education in which the merits of democratic institutions, resulting from centuries of political evolution were casually imbibed without the counterpoise of knowledge. The up-rising and the naval and military triumphs of Japan suggested nebulous possibilities of pan-Asiatic dominion. The paper Constitutions nominally adopted in Persia and China stimulated vague notions of self-government. It was discovered—not in the pages of history—that India had a golden past in which all other nations learned at her feet and her peoples were immune from all the ills of modern existence. This and more could be regained if the "demon" of British rule were driven ont.

The political uses which this theory can be made to serve are manifold. It may well appeal to the nobler instincts of the Indian peoples. It ought so to appeal—if it bore the least resemblance to truth. In the painful story of "Siri Ram, Revolutionist"—the saddest and the truest picture of some aspects of the Nationalist propaganda that has yet been painted—the Swami skilfully plays upon the imagination of the young Indian student:—

A dragon is sucking the life-blood of our Bharat Mata. She is weeping. Shall we sit at our meals amid laughter and merry-making without care? Or shall we not rather give up our pleasures and smear our bodies with ashes every day until we have rescued her and trampled the demon under our foot? . . . . Our country was the crown of all countries and was called the Golden Land. Her hour has come again. Drums are beating. Heroes and martyrs are proceeding. See to Sivaji, Napoleon Buonaparte, and other heroes of Germany and France. See to Japan. Take only a life for a life.

This is no invented harangue. It is simply a paraphrase of the teaching which is being daily distilled into the impressionable youth of India, and the Nationalist sympathizers at home are assisting the process.

THE MOVEMENT ANALYSED.

Who are the teachers and where lies the strength of the movement which threatens the peace of India? Among the 1,670,000 persons classed as "literate in English" there are men of whom any country might be proud—real Indian philanthrophists and patriots, students of affairs, captains of commerce and industry, some scholars, true reformers, loyal friends willing to help the Government with disinterested advice and perfectly cognizant of the fact that on the stability of British rule every hope for the future of India absolutely depends. Such men fear and deplore the tendencies which they plainly see, but their numbers do not increase, and they are sensitive to the attacks to which they are subjected. Their influence is diminishing in India and is not felt in England, where determined efforts are made to capture public opinion for Nationalist purposes. The large number of students in colleges and secondary schools who may be classed as *literati* for Census objects have too often been used for political purposes, but they can hardly be regarded as politicians fit to lead or to represent opinion. There are more than 365,000 Christian literates in English. Probably not more than 500,000 adults remain, and these would include many thousands of persons who have failed in their examinations, who are not educated in any real sense, and who cherish grievances against the Government, which they regard as the cause of their want of success. Lastly, there are large numbers of Indian Government servants who are true to their salt. All such estimates must be conjectural; but the adult classes who constitute the plastic "material" upon which, as Sir Valentine Chirol has pointed out, "the leaders of unrest have most successfully worked" cannot greatly exceed 300,000 and may be less in number out of a population of 313½ millions.

ARISTOCRATIC INDIA.

As will be seen from the figures already given, the literates in English tend to increase in a higher ratio than the general literates many of whom are barely able to read and write a vernacular language. The *literati* have picked up the shibboleths of democracy, and some of them can glibly use its formulas, but of the existence of any real democratic spirit it is difficult to find a trace among them. A body less representative of India cannot be imagined. India remains and will remain for many generations an essentially aristocratic country in a sense of which the British people at home and in the Dominions have long lost the knowledge. Some of our mistakes in India have been due to our lack of this knowledge, and for want of it we may and do at times unconsciously offend the deep rooted feelings of an ancient people. Were we to abdicate in favour of the "Nationalists" there would be no materials from which to form and no democrats to administer a democracy. The success of the present political movement would entail an attempt to govern by the narrowest of oligarchies, which external aggression apart, would instantly crumble to pieces. Such a Government, were it concievable, would violate every principle cherished by the politicians at home who are giving support to the growing disaffection, and would violently conflict with the inherited traditions of old India. When the Indian Nationalist speaks attractively of "representative" institutions it is necessary to remember that he is thinking in terms of a handful of persons whose interests

often conflict with those of the millions of India, and who show no real sympathy with their needs. He contemplates the attainments of power for himself and his class, and any addition of Indians in the higher posts of the Administration which the Public Services Commission may recommend cannot have the smallest tranquillizing effect. It would provide only for a pitiful fraction of the literate malcontents, leaving all the rest unbenefited. Like the generous and important reforms of 1909, it would utterly fail to satisfy the aspirations fomented and proclaimed.

The Mohamedans and Turkey.

Unfortunately for India, circumstances which the Government could not control have powerfully assisted the Nationalist movement. The Tripoli and Balkan wars naturally produce excitement among the Moslems of India. There were sober and loyal Mohamedans who strove to restrain it; but the Nationalists duly exploited the alleged impotence and ill-will of the British Government in the interests of *swaraj*, and the Moslem extremists, to the temporary satisfaction of their astute Hindu allies, have risen to power in the counsels of the community. The consequences appeared at Cawnpore where a question which had excited no local interest was, suddenly and by outside influences, made the occasion of an outbreak of fanaticism. The usual deplorable results followed, and the incendiaries on whom the whole responsibility rests escaped scot free. The settlement would be Gilbertian but for the preceeding tragedy, since the sanctity of the *dalan*, which had formed the sole justification of the riot, was readily abandoned.

Indians in South Africa.

The grievances of the Indians in South Africa, which most naturally and rightly appeal to all classes and religions, are an even greater source of danger. The matter is infinitely complicated and entangled with Union politics and with the relations which must exist between the Home Government and the Dominions. The facts that the British people in South Africa support the reasonable demands of the Indians, that the Indian Governments are in fullest sympathy with those demands, and the Englishmen freely subscribe to the funds which are being raised to help sufferers, that the obnoxious £3 licence tax is doomed, even if it is not proved illegal, as an English lawyer maintains, and that methods of administration—easily changed—are as much responsible for the hardships complained of as legislation, cannot be made clear to the sensitive masses of India. It is distressing to note that inflammatory reports were at once spread over India, and strong language was instantly forth-coming without waiting for ascertained facts. Whatever might be the result of an inquiry, harm which cannot be remedied has already been done, and the general result must be to strengthen the forces of disaffection.

Incidents of party-strife at home, the preparations in Ulster, strikes which lead to violence, even the outrages of the suffragists, can be turned to account for political purposes and can be used to supply points for the propaganda. Thus in India we can plainly see the creation of an atmosphere in which the best efforts of Government and the wonderful progress already achieved are viewed as in a distorting medium where all sense of proportion is lost and truth is effectually obscured.—The *Times*.

IV.—Duty and Policy of the Government.

Since the Nationalist Party began to aim not at building up Indian nationhood but at supplanting British rule, the injury inflicted upon India has spread and deepened. The diversion of energy and funds from the cause of the real people of India has visibly checked the progress of social reforms which would have helped to uplift the masses and to instil the spirit of brotherhood. Signs of a real and a healthy awakening, due to Western influences, can be discerned. Some of the best and most patriotic of Indians are earnestly endeavouring to work on truly national lines, and several movements have been started in recent years to develop practical philanthropy, to stimulate self-help, and to undertake the many tasks to which Government agency is not suited. Such efforts are overshadowed and stunted by the perversion of ideals preached by the small body of lawyers, doctors, journalists, and schoolmasters who claim the leadership of the classes which have acquired a superficial Western education and who are seeking, through these classes to overthow all authority in India. A train of misfortunes has naturally followed. Murder, crime and general lawlessness increase in many places, and the loss of innocent lives in riots artificially fomented may well give rise to anxiety for the future. How many other rising storms have been quieted by the tact and the soothing influence of British officials is not guessed in England.

The Bank Failures.

Even the recent bank failures, which have brought suffering to many poor people, are directly due to the propaganda. The *swadeshi* boycott movement, started in Bengal and endorsed by the Indian National Congress, naturally led to the establishment of fraudulent institutions, which made appeals to a spurious patriotism. As an Indian banker has recently pointed ont, "company promoting became the hobby of all true patriotic Indians." Now, my good countrymen lost sight of the point that plans matured in such an atmosphere and such a temper were bound to be attended by grave dangers." There have been great bankers in India. The Seths of Clive's times must have possessed remarkable capacity. India to-day can boast of men who show sterling business aptitudes combined with untarnished integrity; but too many of the promoters of the *swadeshi* institutions which have lately collapsed with ruinous results can lay no claims to either. It is to be hoped that public investigations and such legislation as is possible for the protection of the people will follow; but the Nationlist movement in this aspect has already had the effect of setting back the investing habit, and we cannot be sure that some ignorant victims will not be induced to throw the blame on the Government.

Many other examples of the effects of political agitation in India might be adduced. Enough has been said to give some idea of a situation which is becoming more and more distressing to all who love India and her warm-hearted peoples, who realize the sacred nature of our obligations towards them and who are striving to promote the good will that is essential to the building-up of Indian nationhood. A small section of the population is working, strenuously and successfully, to bring about the alienation of the vast unwieldy masses. That is "the Indian Peril," and if it is not understood in time there will be a rude awakening.

Questions for Consideration.

Let the conscientious democrat at home reflect upon the tumultuous forces latent in 295 millions of people wholly uneducated and inheriting, in part at least, strong fighting instincts, split not only vertically into discordant elements deeply permeated by traditional enmity but horizontally into thousands of castes, and quickly roused to violent fanaticism. Let him ask himself what power is to preserve this stupendous mob from blood-stained anarchy if British rule is weakened or removed. Let him consider who is to hold back the armed warrior tribes of the North-West Frontier with Afghan hordes behind them, the Nepalese on the north, the Chinese on the north-east, from the rich plains and cities of India. Let him admit that the peace and order in India which he may have seen or read of are the direct results of British rule with the forces behind it, and if these forces fail the reaction will be catastrophic. Let him realize that, if that day comes, the *literati* whose familiarity with the phrases of democracy attracts his sympathy will be instantly submerged, and the elemental instincts of the untutored millions will ruthlessly assert themselves until some other Western Power restores order by the sword. Then perhaps he may come to doubt wether the so-called Nationlist agitation merits his encouragment.

Tasks to be Accomplished.

Out of the grave perplexities and complexities of the situation in India some few general principles plainly stand forth as guides to policy. The welfare of the 295 millions of helpless and inarticulate people, not the momentary gratification of a handful of literates, must be the first object, as its furtherance is the first duty of Government. If they are allowed to be alienated, India 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. In the East the masses instinctively follow what they believe to be the rising star and quickly abandon what may seem to be a losing cause. Something of this nature seems to be occuring in Bengal, where the number of British officials is utterly inadequate. We must gradually educate these millions, remembering that the vast majority of them will always remain cultivators, and seeking to fit them for the tasks of their lives. We should also endeavour to build up the village community, where this is possible, and thus to inculcate citizenship.

Our Government must concern itself less with politics and more with economics. There is ample scope for work which will benefit and uplift the toiling millions, but will never be pressed and may be strongly opposed by the lawyer politicians who pose as friends of the people. We must show inflexible justice in dealing with conflicting interests, never forgetting that the Government is the only force under which nationhood can grow up out of the jarring elements of India. It is necessary to reverse the old Latin adage and unite to govern. In proportion to our success in uniting the Government with the governed and in securing co-operation between all classes will be the progress of India towards self-government in the distant future. We must unflinchingly enforce law and order, realizing that misplaced leniency may be cruel in the long run, by encouraging outbreaks in the suppression of which the lives of harmless persons will inevitably be sacrified. There are parts of India in which the primary duty of guarding life and property is not now adequately discharged, and some Native States can show a higher standard of security than certain British districts.

Improvement of our educational system in the higher branches should be fearlessly undertaken in the truest interests of the people. Technical education needs to be built up, and the preposterous misuse of English literature, which the experienced author of Siri Ram has effectively exposed, requires to be eliminated. Other defects are

patent, and their inevitable results have been frequently pointed out. No country stands in greater need of soundly educated men and women than India: but, for various reasons, the products of the universities are deplorably inadequate to the growing requirements. The judicial system urgently needs to be overhauled. Established with the best of intentions, it operates in certain respects with real hardship upon a naturally litigous people easily exploited by the superfluity of pleaders, and it too often fails to secure justice. "Inexplicable acquittals," wrote our most acute foreign critic, "encourage crime and ruin the prestige of the dominant race."

Loyal Elements.

If, as is now the case, a small band of political malcontents has come to wield an influence which threatens to alienate the toiling millions from our rule, there are elements sincerely loyal by conviction by personal affinities, or by knowledge. Reverence and affection for the Sovereign are deeply engrained in the mind of the peoples of India. This strong sentiment, the inheritance of many centuries, is a power for good which the agitators are seeking to undermine. The Princes and Chiefs, who have already been threatened by the propagandist, realize the dangers of a "Vakil Raj," and they would not for a moment tolerate in their States an agitation directed against themselves. The fine old gentry of India wonder whether the flowing tide is with the Government, and what will be their position if it is not. The native officers are beginning to ask whether the Sircar is afraid, and it is most undesirable that an Asiatic army should think it scents fear in its rulers. Indians trained in practical business perfectly understand the basis of British credit upon which the whole increasing structure of Indian commerce and industry rests. The Government in normal times cannot depend upon all these elements for active support, but it can show regard for its friends, seek their counsels, and avoid arousing their distrust by making concessions to agitation—concessions which can never lead to the least political advantage and will invariably be taken as the starting-point for fresh demands.

The Necessary Administration.

Strange as it may seem to some mind at home, it is strength in Government which alone attracts support in the East. And Government can be more educative by frankly explaining its objects and issuing authoritative statements of facts which could not be entirely ignored. Party organs have at least the advantage that both side of a question or of a policy may be presented; but in India there is no effective antidote to the streams of misrepresentation and detraction which now find their way even to the simple villagers, who can be as easily reached by the administrative machinery. Firm administration of the Press laws is essential in the truest interests of the masses, who are the real sufferers from incendiary publications, as experience has sadly proved. These laws cannot absolutely prevent incendiary writing artfully veiled; but they can mitigate the danger and help to raise the standard of journalism. It is the bounden duty of every Briton in India to give out sympathy unstinted when it is deserved: but he must never flinch from frankly condemning what is unworthy and reactionary. That is the true way to show real friendship to India and to build up the best qualities of her peoples.

If, however, the Government and its officials adopted every measure best calculated to avert the coming danger, influences emanating from England might go far to thwart their aims. Can it be too much to ask that politicians and publicists at home shall take reasonable care to ascertain the truth, and shall assume that Britons in India have as keen a sense of justice and of duty and as much sympathy as are given to Britons elsewhere? And may they not seriously consider whether the aspirations which they encourage really represent a burning zeal to make the bounds of freedom wider yet, or a growing desire for power to be wielded by a small section of malcontents who have imperfectly assimilated some Western ideas? The great question to be resolved is—Can a democracy govern a vast Eastern Empire? Upon the answer, which must be forthcoming within a few years, the ruin or the sustained and quickened progress of India depends.

Moslem India & British Foreign Policy.

The following letter was addressed by Mr. Mohamed Ali to Mr. Frederick Harrison, the great Positivist writer who wrote on the above subject in the December number of the *Positivist Review*:—

Sir,—It may seem a paradox that although I was most anxious to make your acquaintance, it is only now when I am leaving for India that I write to you. But this apparent paradox would perhaps explain best how busy I have been during the two months that I have been in England working in conjunction with my friend, Mr. Wazir Hassan, in order to explain, in the first instance to His Majesty's Ministers, the Indian Moslems' point of view about events at home and abroad and certain measures and policies of Government. It will take me too long to relate all that we did during these 8 or 9 weeks, all that we achieved and all that we failed to achieve, and perhaps this account may be available, if the "Manchester Guardian" publishes in full the interview that a representative of the paper had with me yesterday. I only write now in connection with an article that you have contributed to the December number of the *Positivist Review* which seems to me to do scanty justice to the intelligence of Indian Mussalmans. It may sound something like an impertinence for me even to express the reverence in which I and many of my fellow-countrymen and co-religionists hold the name of Frederic Harrison, but I assure you that it is chiefly on account of that reverence that I am venturing on this somewhat lengthy explanation of the Indian Moslems' point of view to you.

The perusal of the article appearing over your signature has pained me a great deal, because I find that what has appeared in the English Press in the garb of views of the Indian Mussalmans regarding British foreign policy has not failed to influence even so unprejudiced a judgment as yours.

You refer to systematic and violent appeals from Indian Mussalmans calling on the British Government and people to intervene in the attacks made by foreign nations on Moslem States, and you say that this appeal is avowedly made in the cause of Islam as a religion, on the ground of the British Empire containing a large Mussalman body. You also suggest that the Mussalmans desire to thrust aside all question of political sense and preach a sort of new crusade on behalf of Islam which you characterise as gross folly and criminal fanaticism. You go still further and express your belief that Englishmen are called upon to rush to the defence of a Mohamedan State simply because it holds by the Koran, and that whether the conduct of the State itself has been wise, honest and civilsed, or corrupt, savage and barbarous. You state that the avowed motive of intervention is plainly to help a given religious creed, and that a creed and a social system with which Englishmen have neither sympathy nor interest. You go on to say that the Mussalmans of the Indian Continent have no kind of contact with the Arabs of Tripoli, the Moors of Morocco, or the Turks of the Sultanate, by race, history, intercourse, or interest, that the only point of union is the Koran which they seek to thrust into the political issue to induce a Christian State to protect the religion of Mohamed in Europe simply because that State has a section of Mussalman subjects in Asia, that the few Europeanised Indian Mussalmans who know anything about either Turks or the Balkan peoples look at it solely as a matter of religious ascendancy—the Koran, right or wrong,— and that the absurdity of a similar demand on the part of the Bhuddists of Ceylon, for instance, would be too palpable to be admitted, and that perhaps the men of no other race or creed could be led to make so preposterous a demand. Then you go on to state that the political vice of Islam is to confuse in one idea political and religious objects, to make the creed itself the public law of the State, and the interest of the creed the ke-ynote of patriotism. You go further and express, evidently as your deliberate opinion, that the source of corruption, confusion, disorder, and tyranny of Moslem State of our age, is just that the law of Mohamed is still held to remain the law of modern civilisation, and that they exhibit all the vices of the Papacy in the worst times when society was regarded as being ruled by men of God, according to the word of God. Passing from these reflections on Islam and Mussalman States, you refer to the Indian Moslems' views as really a form of that covert and subterranean revolution which you are assured is undermining the peace of the Dependancy; and you think that perhaps the sinister patience with which the Indian officialdom has allowed criticism of our neutrality to pass unnoticed is due to their wish to treat in silence a cry which is too absurd to be used in good faith. You believe that a British crusade on behalf of Mohamed would be even more unthinkable than a crusade on behalf of Christ, and that for many reasons it would be even more pernicious, and you suggest that when fanatical Indians ask you to maintain the supremacy of Mohamed over a Christian population, the Positivists must tell them that, bearing in memory all the evil done in the name of Mohamed, Christ, Buddha or Confucius or any other prophet, ancient or modern, they will not listen to any suggestions that in the 20th century the national policy shall be coloured by any kind of religious sympathy or religious antipathy—or by anything but secular, practical, human and social wisdom.

In the above re-statement of your views, I have, as you will admit, kept rigidly close to the text of your article in order to make sure that in expressing my own opinion I shall do you no injustice. Now may I crave that, in judging me and my co-religionists and fellow-countrymen, you will extend the same justice to us. This is my first request, and I hope not an unreasonable one. But if you will do so, I think, very little would be left in which we shall differ, for I beg to assure you that no responsible Mohamedan or body of Mussalmans in India has the fantastic, absurd and preposterous notions that you have attributed to Indian Mussalmans, and if you do not accept this as fact, you would, I hope, do us the justice of quoting our own words even though it may be after having so wholeheartedly condemned us.

I admit that perhaps once or twice some Moslem meetings held in India did call on the British Government and people to intervene in the attacks made by foreign nations on Mussalman States, but the bulk of Moslem opinion has expressed itself, not once or twice, but a hundred times, in favour of an absolute British neutrality. Whatever appeals have been made to the British Government and people for the exercise of diplomatic pressure, or on rare occasions for forcible intervention, have been made either on humanitarian grounds or for the preservation of international morality. If in modern society civil contracts are held binding, it is not only because Christ or Confucius or Mohamed declared them to be sacred, and their observance pleasing to God, but because the sacredness of these contracts was essential for the continuance and progress of society, and because their observance was dictated by secular practical, human and social wisdom. If treaties between "high contracting parties" are sought to be made binding, it is exactly on these grounds. And it is not only Indian Mohamedans that have been inclined to think that international obligations are being treated very lightly in these days, for I can quote numerous protests on the part of Englishmen and Christians who have denounced the manner in which the most solemn treaties have recently been set at naught by one Power after another the moment it felt itself strong enough to break those treaties. Forcible intervention of any Power anxious to preserve the sanctity of contracts of great importance between one State and another on the observance of which depends the happiness, not of individuals in one State only, but the happiness of many States and countries, as a whole would perhaps be acceptable even to those who are strong supporters of a peace crusade. After all it is no more than the duty of a policeman among the Powers. But when appeals were made for diplomatic pressure, and, if necessary, forcible intervention of Great Britain, because some of the foulest deeds of barbarism were being perpetrated in the oasis of Tripoli, and because half a million Mussalmans who had never fought against the Balkan Allies were being butchered in the most revolting fashion, one would have thought that the leader of a movement, which places humanity above all other ideals and purposes in life would be the first to join such appeals. It is true that you are prepared to go entirely with anyone who utters what he feels, whether on political or on humanitarian grounds; but you have never attempted to point out when and where Indian Mussalmans uttered what they felt on other grounds, and used those other grounds as the basis of an appeal to Great Britain for interve tion or even diplomatic pressure. I entirely agree with you that it would be the height of folly for the Mohamedans to appeal to Great Britain in the cause of Islam as a religion on the ground of the British Empire containing a large Mussalman body. But it seems to me that instead of the Mussalmans being guilty of such folly, it is your own Liberal Prime Minister who comes quite close to it when in his last Guildhall speech he guarantees to the Mussalmans the preservation of Moslem sovereignty over the holy places of Islam. Much as the Mussalmans would like the preservation of Moslem sovereignty over their holy places, they feel that this is a matter in which it would be the height of folly to expect Christain nations and Christain people to assist them. For once the matter being religious it is only those who follow that religion that can be reasonably expected to assist. A Society has already been founded in India for the purpose of assisting the independent Moslem Sovereign State that protects the holy places in this religious object, and all that Indian Mussalmans ask for is that they should be allowed to continue their efforts, and should not be persecuted on the suspicion of being concerned in some covert and subterranean revolution, such as you are assured is undermining the peace of the Dependancy. Instead of the Indian Mohamedans importing religion into politics, it is the British authorities that may perhaps import politics into religion. It will be time enough to condemn the gross folly and criminal fanaticism of the Indian Mussalmans and the absurdity and manifest wickedness of their appeals when the motive of intervention or diplomatic pressure is shown to be to help a given religious creed, whether that motive is avowed or not. I have myself taken as large a share as most Indian Mussalmans in the activities of Indian Mussalmans to help Turkey and Persia and Morrocco during the 3 last years; but I shall be greatly surprised to find that at any time during these three years in which I have filled hundreds of columns of my papers in support of Moslem States, I have written a single word suggesting that Great Britain should become the defender of the Moslem faith and protect Moslem States, right or wrong, simply because a section of its Oriental Empire is Mussalman. Whether an "insolence" or not, it is "incredible" to me, and whether such a suggestion is based on ignorance or any other basis, it is all the same "childish" and "preposterous." But do you not think that when you have used such strong language for what you have been led to think are the Indian Mohamedans' views, it is your obvious duty to substantiate the allegation that these are the Indian Mohamedans' views. It is unlikely that you have read Indian Mohamedan newspapers published in Urdu, and your source of information could obviously either be the newspapers published by Mohamedans in English or the opinions attributed to Indian Mussalmans by the Anglo-Indian Press and Anglo-Indian correspondents of some English papers. I should esteem it a great favour if you would enlighten me as to which of these sources of information has supplied you with the data for your denunciation. If it is newspapers published by Mohamedans in English, I would prefer the specification of their demands which you charaterise as preposterous. If, however, your source of information is Anglo-Indian newspapers, or Anglo-Indian correspondents of British newspapers, then let me assure you that they have done us the grossest injustice, and it is indeed very depressing to find that even men of your character and judgment can be so easily influenced by the most partisan Press in the world.

It is an open secret that Anglo-Indians very seldom know any vernacular of India to a degree that would entitle them to the claim that they can understand Urdu newspapers as thousands of Indians understand English newspapers. Anglo-Indian journalists are no better than the rest of the Anglo-Indian community, and I do not know that any Anglo-Indian newspapers employs a competent staff of translators for placing the views of Indian journalists who write in the veranculars before its editorial staff. And yet this wholly uninformed body of people presumes to interpret the views of Indians to the British public! However, it is not only un-informed but prejudiced also. A publicist of your vast experience need not be told that it is unsafe to trust too far an Opposition paper to do justice to Govenrment measures and policy and the Ministry in power, or vice versa. And yet the Anglo-Indian Press is not only a party organisation, but is also influenced, as English party organisations are not influenced, by prejudices of race and colour. It is because this organisation had done everything in its power to mislead His Majesty's Government and the British public at large that Mr. Wazir Hasan and I were persuaded to undertake, at considerable expense, inconvenience and sacrifice of time, a long journey to England, in order to lay the true Indian Moslems' point of view and the salient features of the situation, in the first instance, before the Ministers and other men of influence, and, in the last resort, before the British public. The Ministers have, for reasons which have not appealed to us and which will not convince our fellow-countrymen and co-religionists any more than ourselves, refused to give us a hearing. But so anxious were we to avoid the appearance of the least desire to embarrass them that we reluctantly refused some opportunities that were very courteously and kindly offered to us for the ventilation of our views; and the final reply of the Secretary of States for India and some of his colleagues came so late during our sojourn that we could not effectively and in detail explain the position, views, and political attitude of those whom we had come to represent. However, we had one or two opportunities of repudiating certain opinions attributed to us by the lying Anglo-Indian correspondents of newspapers, like the *Times*, even though the *Times* itself consistently refused to publish a line from us inspite of repeated vilification of us in its columns. The first occasion on which Mr. Wazir Hasan and I referred to the attitude of Indian Mussalmans towards Turkey and Great Britain, and Great Britain's attitude towards Turkey and Indian Mussalmans, during Turkey's troubles, was, as the President of the Positivist Society points out, when we took part in the Positivist Conference on the 26th October at Essex Hall. A fortnight later I referred to the subject at greater length in responding to the toast of my health at the dinner which the Islamic Society very kindly gave to us. On both these occasions I repudiated as emphatically as I could any desire on our part to dictate the foreign policy of the British Empire. But I have equally emphatically declared that the foreign policy of the Empire must be "imperial" and not only "national" as even you evidently wish it to be. It must be remembered that if the Christians subjects of His Majesty are no fewer than his Mohamedan subjects, that is no reason why the foreign policy of the Empire should be the "national" policy of the Christians of the United Kingdom or the "colonial" policy of His Majesty's Christian subjects in the overseas dominions.

I find that Mr. Swinny would like it to be made clear that Indian Mussalmans do not desire British foreign policy to be swayed by any question of creed or colour, and should like it to be neutral between contending sects. This is exactly what Indian Mussalmans wish to make clear. But it is more than the speeches of your Prime Minister have made clear, for I should like a Positivist to convince me that in referring to the Greek occupation of Salonica, in his Guildhall speech last year, Mr. Asquith did not speak with the accents of the jubilant crusader who exulted over the seventy millions of His Majesty's Moslem subjects, as well as over other Moslems, that Salonica, the gate through which Christianity entered Europe, was once more in Christian hands. Nobody could accuse Mr. Asquith of enthusiasm of a character that would make his utterances otherwise than deliberate, and yet it was such a speaker that made the famous Guildhall speech of 1912!

One word more about British neutrality. I have never seen any explanation of the inconsistency involved in the fact that Great Britain was a party to the declaration of the Powers, when the

Balkan war broke out, that the territorial *status quo ante* in the Balkans would be preserved irrespective of the results of that conflict, and Mr. Asquith's emphatic pronouncement, only a month later, that the fruits of victory must be assured to the victors. You will remember, Sir, that after the Græco-Turkish War, the doctrine of the fruits of victory going to the victors was considerably modified by the Powers, including Great Britain. Indian Mussalmans *did* doubt the neutrality of Great Britain when these contradictory pronouncements were made by the responsible Ministers of Great Britain, and their doubts were not removed but, on the contrary, strengthened by the Brimingham speech this year of that very deliberate speaker, Mr. Asquith, when he sought to turn back the Turks from Adrianople—the Adrianople from which Europe wanted the Turk to be turned out even before it was taken—by threats which I do not remember the Minister of any other Power having held out at the time. It is not for me to say whether this contradictory attitude of British Ministers, which naturally created doubts in ur minds about British neutrality, was dictated by religious partisanship or not. But the fact remains, and it will take a good deal of explanation before it can be entirely explained away. I do not know who are the professional critics of your Foreign Office, or the amateur diplomatists who see some criminal purpose in every despatch that issues from Downing Street, nor have I come across any of the plenty of tourists from India or Africa whose business, according to you, is to denounce Sir Edward Grey, any possible successor, and all his predecessors alike. But whosoever they may be, their task was certainly made extraordinarily easy by the speeches of the Liberal Ministers during the troubles of Turkey, and surely it is not necessary to steal Downing Street despatches in order to denounce Sir Edward Grey.

What has pained me considerably is your statement that the religious creed and social system of the Mussalmans are things with which Englishmen have neither sympathy nor interest; for if this is so, I can well understand why England has so often blundered in dealing with the Mussalmans in India and abroad. As one who desires the continuance of the British connection with India, my hopes of the continuance of this connection are not unlikely to receive a rude shock if I was to be convinced that Englishmen are lacking not only in sympathy with Islam, but also in interest therein. If Englishmen are to wrap themselves up in cotton wool lest their Christianity, or for the matter of that their Positivism, catch cold if it came into contact with the Islamic atmosphere, whatever one may think of their prudence, one cannot admire the power of their conviction in their own creeds.

I presume it is this absence of sympathy and interest with Islam which has led even such a great thinker as yourself to make the statement that the Mussalmans of the Indian Continent have no kind of contact with the Arabs of Tripoli, the Moors of Morrocco or the Turks of the Sultanate, by race, history, intercourse or interest. So far as race or intercourse is concerned, I need not say anything here. But surely if the Mussalmans of the Indian Continent took no interest in the Arabs of Tripoli, the Moors of Morrocco or the Turks of the Sultanate, they would not have felt for them all that they have felt in recent years. And we refuse to be bound by an insular, or, at any rate, a Western European convention that unless men are of the same country or race they have no business to take an interest in each other. It is true that the point of union between the Mussalmans of the world is the Koran. But what more rational or peculiarly human point of union could there be for mankind? Race is nothing more than breed, and in that respect the sympathy of men of the same race for each other is not unlike the sympathy of other animals of the same breed with each other. As for the country supplying a point of union, we should like to be told why territorial patriotism, which generally means "my country, right or wrong", is a nobler feeling than the extra-territorial patriotism of the Mussalman, even if it is based on your assumption: "the Koran, right or wrong." So long as Indian Mussalmans are law-abiding, and contribute loyally their proper share to the strength of the Empire, why should they abate one jot of their extra-territorial and religious fervour? It may be the very foundation of Positivist sociology to keep political action clear from any religious sectarianism, to keep an impartial course in the clash of religious bigotry. If it is so, the Positivist sociologist should have thundered forth against the religious bigotry of the Balkan Allies, who did everything in their power to give a religious colour to the war, and they should have denounced the speeches of Mr. Asquith, which did not seem to keep British political action clear from Christian religious opinions. I have no doubt that Mr. Swinny and other Positivists did so; but when we find the revered name of Frederic Harrison associated with no such powerful denunciation, but with invective directed against the Mussalmans of India without reference to anything that the Mussalmans had said or done, we have reason to deplore the ignorance of the true facts of the situation, from which we find not even the best in this land are free. You say that of the Mussalmans of India not one in a hundred thousand could have any clear knowledge of the Turks in Europe or of the race questions in the Balkans, and that the few Europeanised Indian Mussalmans who know anything about either Turks or the Balkan peoples, look at it solely as a matter of religious ascendancy. Could you honestly say that of the Christians in Europe, and particularly in England, even one in a hundred thousand has any clear knowledge of the Mussalmans in India or elsewhere, or that even one in a hundred thousand of the Britons who exulted over the victories of the Balkan Allies had any clear knowledge of the Turks in Europe? As for the question of looking at the war as a matter of religious ascendancy, did not the Balkan Allies deliberately assist the world in forming such a notion of the war? Nay, has not religious ascendancy a great deal to do with the conflict between the followers of the Greek Patriarch and, of the Bulgarian Exarch? Are these questions looked at merely from a political or social point of view by the Christians in the Balkans? It is true that, with the progress of materialism in Europe, the force of religion, whether it be the religion of humanity or the religion of divinity, has greatly abated. But unfortunately we see everywhere signs that even though much of religion may have evaporated, there is still a great deal too much in Christendom of the residuum of ancient religious prejudices. Nobody who has been for some time among the Mohamedans, whether in Turkey or elsewhere, thinks so badly of them as the stay-at-home Englishman who has imbibed from his infancy prejudices against Islam and Turkey which are as old as the passions of Peter the Hermit, and of the Pontiffs of Rome that organised three Crusades against Islam.

It seems to me that when you trace the course of corruption, confusion, disorder and tyranny of Mussalman States of our age to the fact that the law of Mohamed is still held to remain the law of modern civilisation, you are asking us to accept your own religious creed and your own religious prejudices even though they be not the creed of Christ or the prejudices of Christians. Will this explain the corruption, confusion, disorder and tyranny of some Christian States of our age, for you cannot find integrity, order and freedom everywhere even in Europe and Christendom. I would rather be ruled by men of God according to the word of God than by some men who deny the Deity and wish to rule according to their own prejudices and idiosyncracies which are coloured by greed and selfishness. Believe me, the enemies of modern civilisation would be found lurking within its own fold more than anywhere else. No doubt you bear in memory all the evil done in the name of Mohamed. Christ, Buddha and Confucius, but do you not forget the still greater evil done to humanity in the name of nationality and patriotism which, while lacking religious sanctions, have seldom provided themselves with the sanctions of reason. Look at the wars of the last and this century alone, and count the number of those who have died on the battlefields leaving behind them uncared-for orphans and unprotected widows, and tell us if these are fewer in number than those who lost their lives in Crusade or Jehad. If British imperial policy—I will not say national, for to me the "British nation" signifies very little—should not be coloured by any kind of religious sympathy or religious antipathy, should it be secular in the sense in which the wars dictated by capitalists are secular? Do you not realise to what extent the nations of to-day are puppets in the hands of these wire-pullers? Just think to what extent European manhood and the substance of Europe are being sacrificed to the creed of nationalism and the greed of the capitalist, instead of contributing to the growth of civilisation. No doubt Europe is to-day in many respects more civilised than any other continent, but there are a thousand things in which a Mohamedan can reasonably despise the civilisation of Europe, and it is for clear thinkers like a Frederic Harrison to point out to Europe that civilisation is not after all the same thing as comfort.

I have taken a great deal of your time, Sir, but you will understand the strength of the motives that impel me to do this, when I tell you that I have written this letter at a time that I could hardly spare a minute for anything in the hurry and worry of packing for India on my very last day, in England. By all means condemn Indian Mussalmans if they ask for anything more than their legitimate share, and denounce Turkey if its existence is a source of danger or even disadvantagous to humanity. But, in the first place, do not condemn us for views that are not our own, and, in the second place, keep an open mind for the thoughts that are ours, even though they may not be your own thoughts. There is room enough in the world for all of us to live peacefully, but when greed for gold or earth-hunger masquerade as civilisation and rationalism, it is not as absurd as you are led to think if we try to snatch away the veil and expose the reality of European passions and prejudices. Indian Mohamedans have a great deal to gain by the continuance of British rule just as British rule has a great deal to gain by the continued loyalty of Indian Mohamedans. Nothing should be done on either side which would prejudice either; and it is just because we wish to remove those prejudices that we came here, and that I have taken the liberty of addressing you in this frank manner. My reverence for you is unabated, and I trust you will not misunderstand my desire to remove the misconceptions which I think have led you to write as you have done. We can ill afford to lose the sympathy of a Frederic Harrison by heated arguments but we can afford still less to lose the sympathy of Great Britain, which is certain, if the case goes against us by default.

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