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.

Italy and Turkey.

London, Jan. 22.

A telegram from Home says that in an article replying to the claim made by the Turkish paper *Tanin*, that the time has arrived to restore Dodecanese to Turkey, and denying the Porte's obligation to indemnify Italy for expenditure during occupation, the *Tribuna* absolutely insists [illegible] by a concession in Asia Minor, enabling Italy to [illegible] economic activity in the Eastern Mediterranean. The [illegible] says that such demands are moderate, and will be supported by the Triple Alliance.

Italy and Asia Minor.

Paris, Jan. 25.

Signor Nogara, Italian Member of the Commission of Ottoman Debt, has gone to London. It is reported that he will negotiate on [illegible] with concessions in the Aidin and Adalia regions which Italy extorts in return for the expenditure during her occupation of the Aegean Islands.

Albania.

London, Jan. 24.

M. Venizelos has left for Paris.

While he is reticent as to the results of his visit, Reuter learns that [illegible] in diplomatic quarters is that the actual date of Greek [illegible] importance, owing to the general belief that the [illegible] intention of following anything but a moderate and peaceful policy. News from Albania is regarded as disquieting, but not dangerous. The question of sending warships by the powers to Albania was raised, but it is hoped that such a step will be unnecessary. The question of an Albanian loan is still unsettled.

Turkey.

Constantinople, Jan. 26.

The anti-Greek atmosphere has suddenly been superseded by more conciliatory dispositions an evidence of which was given yesterday by the assurances given to the Patriarch, and by the moderate attitude being observed with regard to the Aegean. The change is ascribed to the difficulties of Djavid Bey, who left on the 12th instant for Paris to renew loan negotiations, in obtaining aid there.

A competent personality has authorised a letter to declare that Turkey's policy is not a bellicose one, and that her military activity is confined to remedying deficiencies caused by the late war.

The Minister of the Interior, in an interwiew, stated that Turkey had no intention of purchasing further warships. The *Rio de Janeiro* was only purchased to prevent its falling into the hands of Greece. The whole of the loan would be devoted to economic purposes.

A telegram from Valona states that Ismail Kemal has started for Italy, where he will spend a few days, after which he will proceed to Berlin to meet the Prince of Wied.

Aegean Isles and Albania.

London, Jan. 27.

Reuter understands that the British Government have drafted a communication for presentation at Constantinople and Athens on behalf of the Powers in a form making it clear that the unanimous decision of the Powers must be respected. The date originally fixed for the evacuation of Albanian Epirus having passed, no fresh date has been proposed but the draft suggests that the withdrawal be as quick as possible. Reuter learns that the question of the Powers guaranteeing an Albanian loan is still unsettled. Britain and some other Powers have signified their willingness, provided all participate, and under certain conditions connected with the expenditure of the money.

Reuter learns that the Powers are likely to acquiesce speedily with Sir Edward Grey's proposed drafts informing the Athens and the Constantinople Governments of the decisions of the Powers.

It is probable that the Triple Alliance will recommend the fixing of the date for the Greek evacuation of Albania.

Aligarh College.

Aligarh, Jan. 26.

As decided by the Aligarh College Trustees in their meeting of 1st instant, their representative deputation of trustees from the different provinces, and including the Honorary Secretary the Raja of Jehangirabad and Mr. Syed Wazir Hossain, waited upon H. H. the Nawab of Rampur, yesterday, requesting him to withdraw his resignation from the visitorship of the College. News has now reached here that His Hibgness has kindly withdrawn it.

South Africa

Pretoria, Jan. 22.

It is announced that the Indians promise to await the report of the Investigation Commission be are renewing passive resistance. The authorities agree to release the imprisoned passive resisters, and await

the recommendations of the Commission before they intodnce legislation.

The correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and the authorities has been published. The net result is that the Indians will await the report of the Commission before reviving passive resistance. Although Mr. Gandhi will not appear before the Commission, he agrees to Sir Benjamin Robertson appearing on his behalf. The authorities agree to liberate *bona fide* passive resisters, and await the recommendations of the Commission, adopting legislation accordingly. The Indians undertake not to press the charges of ill-treatment and brutality towards the strikers, the Government agreeing not to produce negative evidence with regard to the matter, but reserving the right to investigate occurrences resulting in loss of life at Esperanza and Mount Edgcombe. The Government repudiates strongly and emphatically, as heretofore, the charges of harsh and improper action against Indian passive resisters. The Government also says that it is anxious that any recommendations which the Commission may make on the larger issue of Indian grievances should be received at a sufficiently early date to enable proposals to be submitted to Parliament during the forthcoming session. It is hoped that those proposals, if accepted by Parliament, will ensure a satisfactory and permanent settlement. The Government consider that such a settlement of a long-standing dispute is too important to justify any risk, endangering its achievement by delaying the proceedings of the Commission, already delayed through unforseen circumstances, or by an enquiry, which would now be necessary one sided, in a point of a minor and secondary importance, relatively to the wider issues at stakeIf, therefore, the Indians decline to submit to the Commission any specific charges in connection with the treatment of passive resister during the recent troubles, the Government will not think it necessary to take any further action in refutation of the allegations against it and its officers. The reply states that the Government decided to release the passive resisters before Mr. Gandhi's letter was eceived.

Durban, Jan. 26.

At a mass meeting of Indians addressed by Mr. Gandhi and other Indian leaders, it was decided to endorse the provisional agreement reached between Mr. Gandhi and the Government. The Indian Grievances Committee has opened its sittings here. The Union Government alone is represented by Counsel. There was a fair attendance of Indians, but none of the leaders was there. No Indian witnesses were forthcoming. Judge Solomon said that the position was most unsatisfactory. The Indian's allegations of ill-treatment fell to the ground, unless they supported them with evidence. The Commission asked to be notified of specific allegations but none had been received. Mr. Charles de Villiers, representing the Government, informed Sir William Solomon that the Government was not prepared to adduce evidence regarding the allegations but was prepared to meet the allegations of ill-treatment made in evidence. The Government had not communicated with the Indians except through Mr. Gandhi. Sir William Solomon remarked that they did not know how far Mr. Gandhi represented the Indians. Mr. de Villiers, continuing, stated that the Government would give evidence regarding the allegations of the use of unnecessary force in repressing the disturbances. Sir William Solomon : There again the evidence of Indians is important as they make charges against Government officials. If they do not bring evidence, it will be most difficult to investigate as the Commission has no power to summon witnesses. Mr. de Villiers, replying to Sir William Solomon, stated that the Government's attitude concerning the general grievances was contained in the blue book of correspondence which it was proposed to put in at a later stage. Evidence was adduced regarding the Mount Edgcombe affray. The evidence was similar to that given at the magisterial enquiry, and there were no fresh points. Sir Benjamin Robertson was present throughout the proceedings listening to the statements on behalf of the Indian Government. After the Mount Edgcombe evidence had been heard, the sitting was adjourned.

Durban, Jan. 27.

The Indian Grievances Commission resumed its sittings to day. In the absence of Indian evidence, the proceedings promise to be of little interest. Mr. Polkinghorne, Protector of Indian immigrants detailed the system of recruiting indentured Indians in India. He said that the marriages of Indian immigrants were made valid in Natal by registration without regard to whether they were possibly polygamous. Whereas before the strike, 90 per cent., re-indentured on the termination of their indentures, since the strike indentured Indians had refused to re-indenture or pay the Three Pound Tax or return to India. The payment of the three pound licence had been little enforced. The latest figures showed that £9,000 had been paid out of the £48,000 due.

The Natal Indian Congress will meet tomorrow to discuss the advisability of giving evidence before the Commission.

Message to Mr. Gokhale.

Delhi, Jan. 27.

Mr. Gokhale has received the following cablegram from Mr. Gandhi, dated Durban the 26th :—" Indian mass meetings at Durban, Pretoria, Johannesburg, and other centres have unanimously endorsed agreement."

Durban, Jan. 29.

Sir Benjamin Robertson gave important evidence on behalf of the Indian Government before the Indian Commission to-day.

He said that it was most unfortunate that they were unable to enter into the charges made, because it was the decision of the Indains not to give evidence. The Indian Government was most anxious for some settlement of these grievances. While he was expressing his personal views, they agreed with those of the Government of India. The latter's view of the £3 Tax was that the object for which it was imposed, namely that of inducing the Indians to return to India, was no longer being fulfilled as was admitted by the deputation from Natal, which visited India in 1903. Negotiations were then entered upon for compulsory repatriation of indentured Indians at the termination of their indentures, but they fell through. In view of the prohibition of the immigration tax not having had the effect intended, and the invidious nature of its collection and also the feeling in India, the Government of India desired its repeal.

The coolies were most ignorant of the conditions in Natal. Many left India as the result of a family or caste quarrel, and they would not take the trouble to understand and appreciate the conditions under which they would have to serve. Sir Benjamin Robertson suggested if it was thought desirable to replace the £3 Tax by a licence until ex-indentured Indians got domiciled, the licence should be taken out once and for all. The Government of India was most anxious that means should be found to validate monogamous marriages in South Africa. The only way out of the difficulty seemed to be registration with a declaration from the man that he would take only one wife. Monogamy in India was practically the rule. The Government of India agreed that in case of plural marriages, only one wife should be admitted in South Africa. It also desired that all the existing rights of South African-born Indians should be maintained.

The Rev. Mr. Pearson advocated the abolition of the tax as coolies did not understand its significance when they left India. As the tax failed to cause the coolies to return, he suggested that some inducement should be offered to them so that they would return voluntarily, such as a gift of twenty or thirty pounds. If the whites really wanted the Indians to leave, one clear way of inducing them to go was to boycott them. Mr. Pearson also objected to the tax on the ground that it induced the Indians to re-indenture. He considered the indenture system to be thoroughly bad. He agreed that the material conditions under which indentured Indians lived were very good, but objected to its being made a criminal offence to refuse to work. This increased the criminal population. He had come to the conclusion that the indenture system placed coolies in a disadvantageous position in regard to the administration of the law.

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Our London Letter.

London, 9th January, 14.

Capt. Raouf Bey.

Capt. Raouf Bey of the Imperial Ottoman Navy, the brave skipper of the "Hamidieh", who distinguished himself at sea during the recent Balkan War, as you have been no doubt informed by Reuter, paid a flying visit to London lately and has already departed. The Press, as was expected under the circumstances, associates his visit with the recent purchase of the Brazilian Dreadnought by the Turkish Government and, no doubt, this subject must have occupied his attention, amongst one or two other matters, with which he has certainly dealt, while in London. The Captain very wisely refrained from granting any interviews to the representatives of the Press, who had attacked him by hundreds, and so the outside world knows very little of his doings in London. I have, however, very substantial reasons for believing that his visit to this country was primarily connected with the Turkish Naval Organisation Scheme, which is being matured most favourably. Considering that Turkey will have two first-class Dreadnoughts at her disposal at no distant time, it is obvious that the Ottoman authorities should seriously contemplate the proper establishment of this vital arm of the Ottoman Forces if the Turkish Empire is to have a prosperous, progressive and peaceable future—an outlook for which condition of affairs has never looked more hopeful. Turkey has every confidence in the British naval advisers at Constantinople and given a reasonable period of peace and freedom from outside interference, the future naval efficiency of the Turks, under the guidance and instructions of the British Officers employed, is assured.

The German Military Mission.

While dwelling upon the question of the Turkish Naval Organisation, mention must also be made of the new Scheme adopted for the efficiency and improvement of the land forces of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan. The German Military Mission, as your readers are aware, has already started its work at Constantinople, and though this question has caused no little annoyance to Turkey's powerful neighbour, it cannot be doubted that the Ottoman authorities have taken the right step at the right moment. If it is granted that the Turks

are entitled to improve their army—and this problem is for the Turks themselves to decide—it cannot be denied by any thinking man that it was Germany and Germany only, who could help the Ottomans in this respect. There is no other country in Europe to-day which can rightly boast of such a thorough and perfectly organised Army as Germany possesses, and this is the sole reason as to why Turkey has engaged German officers as her military instructors, although numerous political reasons are given in certain quarters for this step on the part of Turkey. Perhaps some people are of opinion that Swedish officers or Belgian instructors would have been employed with greater advantage! It is, however, admitted that the employment of German officers as instructors in Turkey is not without precedent, but what is really distasteful to Turkey's neighbours is the fact, which is not without its significance, that the present German Military Mission is enjoying much greater freedom from Ottoman officialdom, and that it is thus wielding a much larger power and influence as compared to its predecessor. This laxity allowed to the German instructors, from the purely Military point of view, however, was indispensable and will certainly enable them to discharge their duties much more efficiently and usefully than they would, were their scope of work and area of activity narrowed down to the smallest limit. The bitterness caused by the appointment of the German Military Mission in certain quarters is very greatly enhanced by the recent entry of Enver Pasha in the Turkish Cabinet as Minister of War. Those who are in close touch with this great hero and know him intimately are fully aware of the very moderate and sound statesmanship with which he is gifted, in addition to his numerous other qualities as a fine soldier, a true patriot and a wonderful organiser. Even in the British Press there is some mild yet plainly visible uneasiness felt at his appointment to the War Office, and the *Daily Mail* has gone to the extreme of heralding the event with the prominent headlines of "Firebrand as War Minister." They have lost no time in attributing Enver Pasha's new appointment to a deliberate Germanophil policy of the young Turks, coinciding, as it does, with the presence of the German officers at Constantinople. The *Daily Telegraph*, however, has published an interview, given to its Constantinople Correspondent by Enver Pasha, in which the new Turkish War Minister has clearly and plainly outlined the future Military policy of the Ottoman Government. The new War Minister is determined to place the Ottoman Army on a thoroughly organised and efficient footing, which, he says, is rendered absolutely essential for the safety of the Empire. If this defensive policy is deliberately interpreted in various quarters as the new forward policy of the "firebrand," no more malignant misrepresentation of facts could be imagined. Enver Pasha has undoubtedly taken upon himself a task of no little magnitude and responsibility, but those who have been following his brilliant career, so far, in the service of his Sovereign and country, have no doubts as to his ultimate success in his new role. May he be spared long to serve his country usefully and honourably!

THE KIKUYU CONFERENCE CONTROVERSY.

During the past week or so, the newspapers have been full of letters and articles on the keen controversy caused by the Kikuyu Conference, which was held lately in order to unite the numerous Sections of the Protestant Church for missionary purposes, if Christianity is to successfully overcome Islam as its rival in Africa and other places abroad. The energetic Christian Missionaries, it seems, have only now realised that in Islam they have a very formidable rival to deal with and are sparing no efforts to join the various branches of Protestantism together so as to be able to strike unitedly against the religion of the Moslems. This point is being vigorously pressed in the newspapers which are giving every prominence to the subject. The controversy has revealed matters of extreme interest. As an outsider, I am in no way entitled to enter the controversy, but I may just draw the earnest attention of the zealous Missionaries to the fact, which cannot be disputed, that they have before them a greater field for religous work in this country itself than in the remote corners of the world, over which they are expending unnecessary sums of money and energy. The simple faith of the Moslems carries conviction with itself and certainly appeals more to the pagans in Africa than the complicated and mysterious form in which Christianity is presented to them by different missionaries representing different Sections of the Christian faith. Moreover, the so-called Christianity which exists here to-day is itself in great danger of rapidly becoming extinct and needs more spiritual attention on the part of the priesthood for its revival than the spread of Christianity abroad by means of the most unchristian system of conversions. If these God-fearing missionaries would only attend to their own duties at home and leave the rest of the world to itself, no greater service could be rendered to the cause of universal peace in this world!

THE ISLAMIC SOCIETY.

At to-day's Juma-Namaz, held under the auspices of the Islamic Society, Mr. Kedwai, an ex-Secretary of the Society, was amongst the worshippers. His genial presence was most welcome to the present members, who are fully aware of the past services of Mr. Kedwai to the Islamic Society.

TETE À TETE

The Annual Meeting of the Aligarh Trustees.

THE annual meeting of the Trustees of the Aligarh College came off on the 31st January, and we are glad to note that the proceedings were throughout business-like and marked with good temper. One of the important matters dealt with by the meeting was connected with a series of resolutions submitted by the Hon. Secretary for the regularisation of the finances of the College and the proper administration of the various Funds held in deposit for different purposes. The Hon. Secretary had prepared a detailed note with considerable lucidity and care, pointing out the existing tangle in accounts and setting it forth in tabular form. These tables show that there ought to have been Rs. 537,603-4-11 in deposits of various kinds, up to 31st March, 1913, but that the actual amount in hand was only Rs. 211,805-7-8. The deficit of Rs. 325,797-13-3 was due to expenditure incurred in meeting the general needs of the College out of the moneys set apart for other objects. Of this about a lakh and a half cannot be made good except by collecting fresh subscriptions from the public. You may stand off emergencies for a while by robbing Peter to pay Paul, but as a system of keeping accounts it is thoroughly unsound, and though it may have led to no actual waste, it has certainly produced a muddle in the finances of the College from which it would take much patient care and labour to extricate them. We are glad the Trustees have realised this and, while marking their disapproval of the slackness of the syndic in charge of Finance, they have made it a rule that the Registrar should not pay any bill in future without satisfying himself that (1) it carries the proper sanction according to Rules, that (2) it is provided for in the Budget and that (3) there is enough money under that head. Another necessary resolution adopted at the meeting was that the Budget meetings should in future be held in March when the budget for the current year should be passed on the basis of the actual figures from 1st April to 31st December and approximate figures from 1st January to 31st March. According to existing practice budget discussions are mere academic exercises in accomplished facts. The reform in method though tardy is welcome, and we trust it will lead to greater financial efficiency and expedite work. Till now the budget meetings have been held sometimes 10 months and frequently 5 or 6 months after the commencement of the financial year. This laxity was little short of scandalous and not long ago several Trustees had brought it to the notice of the Board. We are glad Haji Mohamed Swaleh Khan Saheb brought the matter up this time with success. We are also glad that another important proposal of his was accepted, *viz.*, that the Long Vacation should begin in the College just after the annual University examinations. This change, which will come into force in 1915, is absolutely necessary, for the period of two and a half months from August to the middle of October now devoted to vacations and coming so soon after the long period of inactivity when the students are waiting for University examination results reduces the length or number of College terms and leads to a great waste of students' time. Among the five Trustees elected this year we are glad to note the distinguished names of the Hon. Nawab Syed Shamsul Huda, Dr. Ansari, Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque and Mr. Jinnah. We regret that Mr. Mohamed Faiq missed a seat by just a few votes, and hope that either the Old Boys would elect him or the Trustees themselves would do so next year. Messrs. Sultan Ahmad, Mustafa Husain Rizvi, Dr. Nasiruddin Hasan and Mr. Tasadduq Ahmad Khan Sherwani should be certainties for next year. We must also acknowledge that the Honorary Secretary of his own accord withdrew some proposals of his about the Syndicate which were not in order, and this augurs well for the future. We trust these proposals will not be pressed again and that the Honorary Secretary and the Syndicate will co-operate for the well-being and progress of their joint charge.

The Gift of the Caliph to the Indian Moslems.

When the Mussalmans of India became aware some months ago of the intention of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey to present a carpet for the Delhi Mosque, they were peculiarly gratified at this gracious mark of His Imperial Majesty's good-will towards them. It was not only gratifying to their sentiment of devotion to the Caliph. but was regarded as a visible proof of his appreciation of the help which the Indian Mussalmans had rendered in some measure to mitigate the sufferings of their Turkish brethren in the hour of their sorest need. And naturally enough, they were looking forward to the arrival of the Caliph's gift in India with much eagerness, for their highest pleasure was to receive the gift in a manner worthy of the occasion. Delhi had, in particular, been on the tiptoe of expectancy and had made elaborate preparations to mark its enthusiasm and gratitude for the honour of which it had obvious reasons to be proud. Those who witnessed the striking demonstration of the Delhi Mussalmans on the occasion of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's return from Constantinople would recall the circumstances to which in some measure it was due. A strong rumour had preceeded Mr. Zafar Ali Khan that he was bringing the carpet with him to Delhi, and the effect of the rumour was electrical. Huge throngs turned out to greet what they supposed to be the bearer of the Caliph's present, and the crowd that accompanied the procession through the hot and stuffy streets of Delhi was unparalleled in the annals of the city. It, however, transpired that the carpet had not yet arrived, that, in fact it would be brought to India by the new Ottoman Consul-General, His Excellency Khalil Khalid Bey, who would hand it over to the Delhi Moslems in person. And now began the long period of eager waiting and preparation to give His Excellency a befitting welcome. Arrangements for a magnificent public reception had been made and perfected months before. Scores of young men had enrolled themselves under the indefatiguable Mr. Chishti to form a mounted escort for His Excellency the Consul-General, and they had provided themselves with expensive uniforms. The exact date of the arrival of the Consul-General in Delhi became the one topic of discussion. It became the general talk in every Moslem household. Rumour after rumour spread and died away and yet it served to keep the people's hope alive. Much impatience naturally became manifest as days wore on and numerous enquiries began to be addressed to us every day. But there was no doubt in the minds of the Delhi Mussalmans that the Consul-General would some day come and the ceremony of handing over the sacred present of the Caliph to the Indo-Moslems at Delhi would be performed in a way befitting such an event. Well, the Consul-General has come and—for all that the people of Delhi know, perhaps gone, and the carpet must have somehow been smuggled into the mosque, for the people found it spread full length before them as they came for Friday prayers. We need not say what their feelings have been. There was a conspiracy of silence around them and their fondest hopes and desires lay shattered at their feet. They had prepared to receive the Consul General in their tens of thousands, yet the Consul-General's coming on Thursday was as secret an affair as it was sudden. Only a faint rumour was heard in the afternoon that he was coming from Bombay, which was afterwards confirmed by the Deputy Commissioner, but at such short notice that practically nothing could be done. Those who had heard the rumour went to the station, but none was sure of the exact time of his arrival and many went back disappointed to their homes. When the last train arrived at midnight a Turkish gentleman was seen alighting from a first class compartment and a couple of hundred of people who still lingered there rushed towards the carriage. They learnt that he was the Consul-General, and they saw him handing over a receipt for boxes containing the carpets to the Deputy Commissioner's chaprassi who had evidently been sent to take charge of them. The Consul-General quietly went to his hotel. The carpets were given over to the Mosque Committee that lost no time in spreading them properly before the people became aware of what had happened. The Consul-General attended the Juma prayers, and as the people saw him they grieved in their hearts that some cruel and malign fate had deprived them of the long looked-for opportunity to pour out to him their feelings of devotion and gratitude towards the Sultan and their brotherly love for his people. We need not care to enquire who is responsible for this organised method of cheating people of their hopes and suppressing their desires, but whoever he may be, we can not admire his tact, wisdom or statesmanship. He has simply exasperated the feelings of the people and this is not a very gratifying achievement. The only question that we need ask is, what is the net gain of all this secrecy and this "personally conducted" tour of the Ottoman Consul-General in which the Deputy Commissioner and his chaprassi and some members of the Mosque Committee have been so prominent? Has all this chaperoning eased a grave and critical international situation seriously affecting *Entente* or Alliance, or has it even killed the creation of the *Times*, the bogey of the "Indian Peril?" As Puck says, alas, what fools these mortals be!

The Turkish Exhibition at Delhi.

The Turkish Exhibition about which some announcements had been made in these columns from time to time was formally opened in Delhi by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur on Friday after the Juma prayers. There was a large attendance of Mussalmans and the ceremony was performed amid great enthusiasm. In the address presented to the Nawab Sahib full mention was, of course, made of the objects for which the Exhibition had been organised. As has often been stated, the primary object of the exhibition is to interest people in Turkish manufactures and industries and thus bring about closer relations between India and the Ottoman Empire. The immense economic potentialities of Turkey in Asia are well-known. The European company promoter is more than usually alive just now to the vast opportunities for exploitation that this region offers, and rival diplomacy is busy promoting a race for concessions. It would be to the mutual advantage of both Turkey and India if trade becomes more active between the two countries and the Indian capital or labour assists in the economic development of the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish Government would welcome such assistance, while Indian labour and capital would enjoy facilities that they can not obtain elsewhere. A strong and regenerated Turkey is held to be the one object of British foreign policy and this end can not be better achieved than by offering every encouragement to the growth of closer economic ties between Turkey and India. The proceeds of the Exhibition will be exclusively devoted to the promotion of the scheme of colonisation of the Moslem refugees in Anatolia. Dr. Ansari in the course of his stay in Turkey took an active part in the formulation of this scheme and promised to help in the establishment of a colony by raising subscriptions from amongst the Indian Mussalmans. The details of the work done in this connection have already been published in these pages. The exhibits cover a wide range and we shall give a detailed description of them later on. Among the attractions of the Exhibition are Dr. Ansari's lantern lectures dealing with various phases of Turkish life and Dr. Asmat Ullah's physical feats. We congratulate the organisers on the great success they have achieved in bringing their long-cherished idea into practical shape. The perseverance and devotion of Dr. Ansari, Dr. Abdur Rahman, Mr. Chishti and the band of workers under them deserve special praise. The exhibition will last for some weeks and we trust it will meet with generous patronage from the public. We shall publish next week a fuller account of the opening ceremony as well as of the exhibits to be seen.

"Distinctive Needs."

A correspondent sends us a long letter disputing some of the conclusions we have reached in our consideration of "The Indian Moslem's Tasks" He makes a wry face, in particular, at the suggestion that "the Mussalmans should evolve a system of communal education based on their distinctive needs." We regret we are unable for want of space to publish the letter in full, but we give some extracts which sum up its general line of criticism and the substance of its argument. Our correspondent thinks that "what makes it (our suggestion) particularly obnoxious is the fact that it is a perfect translation of the feelings and the wishes of the man in the street." "We seem to forget" he argues, "that God in making the Mussalman did not unmake the man." He is generous enough to allow the Mussalmans the luxury of a "distinctive" creed, but, according to him, "the creed being meant to purify and improve us as men, why should the average man parade it? The professional Mullah may wrangle with the professional Pandit. Perhaps the Padri will help to form a trinity of triangular recrimination, but why in the name of all that is sensible should an average *befazzed* Indian have distinctive needs in the matter of education surpasses the comprehension of some of his well-wishers. . . . There are hundreds of young Mussalmans who are sick unto death of this cant of formalism in religion, and who deplore the consequences of the recent revivalism and the rigid enforcement of ritual in some of our seats of learning." He does not tell us what sort of education the Mussalmans should have—perhaps the solemn mimicry that is going on in the Indian schools and colleges fills his mental horizon. He has a horror of "the man in the street," and imagines that all attempts to organise Moslem education on communal lines would be a mere pandering to his "feelings and wishes." And he evidently forgets that the progress of each community that numbers tens of millions postulates a basis of its own particular social structure and its peculiar social genius. Even the mind of a child is now no more regarded a *tabula rasa*, much less the collective genius of seventy million people.

Our correspondent seems to have no patience for that much-maligned individual—the man in the street. We do not claim to know what his conception of that being is; but we confess to a fugitive suspicion that he holds somewhere at the back of his brain a picture of a thoroughly vulgar and ignorant creature who figures in crowds and sways noisily to every gust of passion. Evidently a person of this type is a fit subject for cultured sneer. Our experience of the man in the street, however, is a little different. He may be ignorant and vulgar, but he is sure of his instincts and very often his instincts go to the roots of life. Culture sitting disdainfuly high and aloof from the common life of stress and toil would soon become a new madness, were it not that the breath of real life from the street and the market-place occasionally blows into its easy apartments and cleanses them of their scent-loaded stuffiness. The man in the street is the person who is the central fact about all communal life. He can be neither ignored nor suppressed. He creates real problems and himself supplies the energy needed for their solution. He sets the pace to all social endeavour. His needs are in real significance the communal needs. When he can not be thought out of existence, the only practical course open to communal patriots is to try to raise the level of his character and intelligence. It is for this purpose and nothing else that the organisation of Moslem education is necessary on communal lines. The man in the street amongst the Mussalmans has certain fundamental views about life, which have sunk into his consciousness and become a part of his nature. In all educational efforts these views will have to be taken into account. It is needless to insist that his prejudices and superstitions should not be nursed with tender care. Education would be a futile thing if it were not directed to cure "the average man" of his limitations. But it is absurd to imagine that the Mussalmans can grow up into a strong, efficient and prosperous community by roaming at will through the educational wilderness that the State Universities have produced in India. They, as a community with certain ideals of life, have their distinctive needs, and as long as these ideals endure, the needs can only be met by evolving a distinct type of education for Moslem boys and girls.

As regards the views of our correspondent on the Mussalman's creed, the root defect of this type of criticism is that it does not rise above the vulgar conceptions of religion and its place and function in human life. Formalism and ritual are taken to be the spirit and the inward reality: and in the name of "Truth, not Plato" much ignorant and senseless chaff is indulged in at the expense of the "the average man," as if he had no business to think about his creed. God in making the Mussalman did not unmake the man. No, he only made a Mussalman of him. And it is surely this that makes all the difference. Seventy millions of human beings have some definite title to call themselves a *community*. We do not know what the title can be, unless it is a community of ideals about life which have moulded their will and purpose and inspired their past history. Religion is the only bond of union among these millions of India, for it offers them a set of ideals which they have accepted as their guides. As long, therefore, as this bond exists, and hopes are shared in common and the wills of individuals unite freely to strive through circumstance towards the far-off Divine event, distinctive needs will continue to be felt by them for moral and intellectual equipment. There is always a class of men in all communities who look on religion as something merely decorative and picturesque, as the *chogha* of the prospective Khan Bahadur, that is reverentially taken out on the important occasion of a visit to the *Burra Saheb* and is as reverentially put back. If there are persons in the Moslem community whose attitude towards Islam is a mere sense of patriotism and loyalty to an old creed that has long ceased to satisfy their minds, they have certainly no distinctive needs and may browse at will in search of fresh fields and pastures new. But the bulk of the Mussalmans still believe in Islam and are not ashamed of the faith that is in them. This faith is to them not a drawback but a responsibility, not a disabling defect, but a distinction. To have a distant goal in view and some measure of the path ahead is surely not more perilous than to stumble about wrapped in mental fog and without the power to see farther than a few paces from the nose. The Moslem needs are distinct, if we are pardoned for the platitude, because they have a distinctive creed, distinctive history and distinctive environment. What is adored as Western education is itself the product of distinctive needs. The Canadian fur-coat is no more suited to the hot plains of India than the mental vesture of the average European is fit for "the average man" among the Indian Mussalmans. And "the average man" has a clearer perception of this than some of his mentors.

The Comrade.

The Press Act.

III.

We shall deal to-day with the most important assurance that was conveyed by the Government, through the Home Member who was in charge of the Press Bill, while enacting it in 1910, namely, the assurance that "it is not, like the Press Act of 1878, a purely executive measure." "The initiative," said Sir Herbert Risley, "indeed, rests with the "Executive Government, but ample security against hasty or arbitrary "action is provided in the form of what is virtually an appeal to a highly "competent judicial authority." Let us examine in this connection the nature of the measure, and the nature of the judicial safeguard provided therein as understood at the time, if not by Government, at least by the people of India, including those who voted for the passage of the Bill, and thereafter let us see what value is attached to the judicial safeguard by the same "highly competent judicial authority" that was to decide the appeal from the "initiative" of the Executive Government.

But before we do so, let us not forget that the Press Bill was passed when Lord Morley was still the Secretary of State for India, and it will not be inappropriate if we explained here the general attitude of that great statesman towards judicial checks on the initiative of the executive in its dealings with the Press, just as we quoted last week his opinion on the freedom of the Press generally and the evil effects of gagging the Press in India. Speaking in July, 1908, at the Indian Civil Service Dinner, Viscount Morley referred to the Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act of 1908 which had become the law only a few days previously. He said, "I have no apology to make "for introducing executive action into what would normally be a "judicial process. Neither, on the other hand, have I any apology to "make for tempering executive action with judicial elements; and I "am very glad to say that an evening newspaper last night, which is "not of the politics to which I belong, entirely approves of that. It "says: 'You must show that you are not afraid of referring your "semi-executive, semi-judicial action to the High Court.'"

We trust we are not assuming too much when we say that if it was necessary to show that Government was not afraid of referring to the High Court the order of the seizure of a Press for printing "a newspaper article inciting to murder and violence, or resort to explosives for the purposes of murder or violence"—an order, be it remembered, issued by "a Magistrate of a certain status" at the application of a Local Government—it was still more necessary to show that Government was not afraid of referring to the same judicial authority an order of forfeiture of the security, or the security and the entire Printing Press, issued by the Local Government itself, because it was used for printing anything containing "words, signs or visible representations which are likely or may have a tendency, directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise" to produce in the reader a number of feelings of varying degrees of impropriety. At any rate, the necessity of showing that Government was not afraid of a reference to the judiciary could be no less in the latter case than in the former.

It may be that at any time the political circumstances in a country may assume such a grave character that it may appear to those responsible for the safety of the State the lesser evil to withhold from the judiciary the power to pronounce on the legality of executive action. Inaction or the permission of an appeal to the judiciary against executive action may at such times appear to involve greater risks to the State than action based on considerations forbidden to law Courts, or in which impressions and personal experiences to which no expression can be given in a Court have been potent incentives to such action. It is not so difficult to imagine certain contingencies when the State may be led to adopt such a policy for its safety if it is recognised that in another set of circumstances the State may rightly feel itself compelled to declare Martial Law. In these easily imaginable contingencies those responsible for the safety of the State have a perfectly straightforward course open to them, and that is to ask for and obtain the necessary authority for such executive action as they deem proper from the Legislature. In 1878, Lord Lytton's Government, for reasons that do not seem to be apparent to us to-day, asked for and obtained such an authority, and whatever our opinion may be as to the necessity for such extraordinary powers, it cannot be denied that the course followed by Government on that occasion was perfectly straightforward and unobjectionable. This was the opinion that the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah also expressed in the course of the Press Act debate on the Hon. Mr. Bannerjee's resolution on the 9th instant. He said:

> It stands to reason that when Government ask the Legislative Council to sanction legislative measures empowering large and comprehensive powers to be given to them, they ought to follow one of two courses. They ought to say, "gentlemen, we want these powers to be conferred to

us and we want you to extend to us your trust and confidence in regard to the manner in which we will apply them." That would be a perfectly straight course, and if they do that and the Council accepts that view, there is nothing further to be said. But if they come to the Council and say that "though we want certain powers in regard to matters which are under consideration, and that in order that these powers may not be arbitrarily exercised, we suggest embodying in the Act certain safe-guards to protect people who may be adversely affected by executive action under these provisions," we are entitled to ask that those safe-guards should be effective and of such a character as to give relief which Government themselves propose they should have.

As we have already shown, Government did not desire to follow the course it had adopted in 1878, and preferred, in the words of Lord Morley, "tempering executive action with judicial elements," or in the words of Sir Herbert Risley, the provision of "a very complete check on hasty or improper action by a Local Government." We are therefore entitled to ask whether the safeguards Government intended to provide and, as everybody believed did provide, are effective or not. If we can prove that they are not effective, we are equally entitled to ask at the very least that, as Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoollah said in the Council, "those safeguards should be effective and of such a character as to give relief which Government themselves propose they should have." Now the provision in the Press Act of 1910, for a judicial reference is contained in Sections 17, 18 and 19 which run as follows :—

17. Any person having an interest in any property in respect of which an order of forfeiture has been made under Section 4, 6, 9, 11, or 12 may, within two months from the date of such order, apply to the High Court to set aside such order on the ground that the newspaper, book or other document in respect of which the order was made did not contain any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4 sub-section (*1*)

18. Every such application shall be heard and determined by a Special Bench of the High Court composed of three Judges, or where the High Court consists of less than three Judges, of all the Judges.

19 (*1*) If it appears to the Special Bench that the words, signs or visible representations contained in the newspaper, book or other document in respect of which the order in question was made were not of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (*1*), the Special Bench shall set aside the order of forfeiture.

(*2*) Where there is a difference of opinion among the Judges forming the Special Bench, the decision shall be in accordance with the opinion of the majority (if any) of those Judges.

(*3*) Where there is no such majority which concurs in setting aside the order in question, such order shall stand.

We see from this that, unlike the universal presumption of English law, the benefit of the doubt was intended in the Press Act itself to be given to the State and not to the individual adversely affected. That in itself was no small loss to the individual adversely affected as against the State, but the Legislature was further induced to enact Section 22, which bars all jurisdiction except, that of the High Court, and narrows down the jurisdiction of the High Court itself to a remarkable extent. That Section runs as follows :—

22. Every declaration of forfeiture purporting to be made under this Act shall, as against all persons, be conclusive evidence that the forfeiture therein referred to has taken place, and no proceeding purporting to be taken under this Act shall be called in question by any Court, except the High Court on such application as aforesaid, and no civil or criminal proceeding, except as provided by this Act, shall be instituted against any person for anything done or in good faith intended to be done under this Act.

We had occasion to take legal opinion on the nature and extent of this bar of jurisdiction when the District Magistrate of Delhi issued a warrant for the seizure of all copies of the *Comrade* and of the *Hamdard* in which any portion of the Macedonia Pamphlet proscribed by the Government of India had been reproduced or translated, because we were anxious to obtain from the law Courts an injunction against such seizure. And what was the opinion given? It was this, that although the publication proscribed was the pamphlet itself, and not any copy of a newspaper in which a portion thereof had been reproduced or translated, the warrant of the District Magistrate was, in the words of Section 22, a "proceeding purporting to be taken" under the Press Act, and could not be called in question by any Court except the High Court for the Province of Delhi. As the High Court of Delhi is the Chief Court situated in Lahore, it was impossible to move it in time to prevent the seizure of copies of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* by the Delhi police, and they were surrendered under protest. It is true that when on the suggestion of the Hon. the Chief Commissioner we applied to the District Magistrate himself for a re-consideration of his orders, he upheld our contention that he had acted *ultra vires*. But it is equally true that if he had not upheld our contention and had persisted in his own decision, the Press Act had provided nothing like the boasted "very complete check on hasty or improper action" even by a District Magistrate, excepting, of course, an appeal to the High Court. In fact, we were told that if Government declared the forfeiture of our Printing Press, and an over-zealous subordinate official also removed the trouser-press of the proprietor no law Court in the wide world had jurisdiction except the High Court of the Province. This is not a joke but the law of British India as enacted in the form of the Press Act of 1910, and he who doubts it may bring a test case as we ourselves did last August.

It comes to this, then, that when security is demanded as a mere matter of course, as intended by Mr. S.P. Sinha, the framer of the Press Bill, or as a reflection on a journalist, as is generally done, not only by Local Government under section 3 (*2*) or 8 (*2*) but also by District Magistrates (*e.g.* in our own case), no Court in the world has any jurisdiction, and that when any declaration of forfeiture is made, no Court in the world has any jurisdiction except the High Court.

We have explained this point at perhaps needless length, but what has impelled us to do so is the desire to make it clear that the person adversely affected by any proceeding purporting to have been taken under the Press Act has to stake everything on one cast of the die, and that the State is to receive all the benefit of the doubt. But what if the die be loaded? The decision in our own case has shown that under the present law the die is loaded, and the Hon. the Home Member, speaking on behalf of Government in the debate raised by the Hon. Mr. Bannerjea, has now frankly told us that Government has always intended that the die to be used should be a loaded one.

We shall discuss in a subsequent issue the question raised in the Pamphlet case about the grounds of Government's opinion which are to be stated in a declaration of forfeiture under Section 12 of the Press Act and the Hon. the Home Member's pronouncement on the subject. But we may explain that when the Government of Bengal had also declared the forfeiture of the Macedonia Pamphlet, and in pursuance of that declaration the Police Commissioner of Calcutta seized a copy which we had in Calcutta at the time and had submitted to him through our solicitors, we applied under Section 17 to the Chief Justice of Bengal to appoint a Special Bench of the High Court to hear and determine our appeal against the order of the Bengal Government. The Hon. Sir Lawrence Jenkins appointed a Special Bench composed of himself and the two seniormost Puisne Judges of the Calcutta High Court, Sir Harry Stephen and Mr. Justice Woodroffe, and the appeal was heard for two days towards the end of August. Our application was based on two grounds. It was contended on our behalf that, in the first place, Government had failed to state the grounds of its opinion in the declaration of forfeiture, which, not having satisfied the requirements of law, was null and void. In the second place, the proscribed Pamphlet did not contain any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in Section 4, sub-section (*1*). The judgments of Sir Lawrence Jenkins (with which Mr. Justice Woodroffe agreed) and of Sir Harry Stephen were delivered on the 1st of September, 1913, and in the course of these judgments the whole Act was turned inside out. On the first point the Chief Justice held as follows :—

"The repetetion of an opinion cannot be its grounds, and yet "that is all that the notification furnishes in the shape of grounds. "This is obviously insufficient and not a compliance with the terms "of the Act. Moreover, I think that this direction in the section is "mandatory and that the Legislature intended to impose and has "imposed on the Local Government an imperative obligation to "state the grounds of its opinion. . . . . .

"*The notification, therefore, appears to me to be defective in a "material particular, and, but for Section 22 of the Act, it would (in "my opinion) be our duty to hold that there had been no legal forfeiture.* " . . . . *The result is that though I hold the Notification does "not comply with the provisions of the Act, still we are (in my opinion) "barred from questioning the legality of the forfeiture it purports to declare.*"

This astonishing result has been due not only to the fact that Section 22 bars all jurisdiction except that of the High Court, but also because even the jurisdiction of the High Court is confined to the narrow limits of merely determining whether the publication in respect of which the order of forfeiture was made did or did not, in the words of section 17, "contain any words, signs or visible repre-"sentations of the nature described in Section 4, sub-section (*1*)." In others words, if a trouser-press was seized by the police when a Local Government ordered the seizure of a printing press, no Court in the world had jurisdiction to call in question the legality of this "proceeding purporting to be taken under the Act." Even the High Court had no jurisdiction in such a case, for in the words of the Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock, "the only issue that it was intended "should be submitted to judicial decision, and that only to a Special "Bench of the High Court, was the question whether the words, "illustrations etc., which formed the subject of forfeiture fell within "the aim of Section 4 of the Act or not. . . . There never was "any intention to give to any Special Bench of the High Court any "other power except to decide Aye or No, whether the word etc. "complained of did or did not come within the description contained "in the clauses and sub-clauses of Section 4."

This, then, is the joint opinion of the Judiciary and the Executive that unless a man feels confident of proving without a shadow of doubt and to the satisfaction of all or a majority of the Judges constituting a Special Bench that the publication complained of contained only such

words, signs or visible representations as are neither likely nor can ever possibly have a tendency, whether directly or indirectly, whether by inference suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication *or even otherwise* to produce any of a number of results of varying degrees of gravity and danger described in six sub-clauses of Section 4 (*1*), he can seek relief nowhere against the most hasty, arbitrary and improper executive "proceeding purporting to be taken under this Act."

And even if he can muster enough confidence to approach the High Court with an appeal based on this one point in which, in the words of Lord Morley, executive action is tempered with judicial elements in a matter that "would normally be a judicial process," what result must he expect? Let us consult the judgment of the Hon. Sir Lawrence Jenkins in our own case on this subject. Says the learned Chief Justice of Bengal:

> The provisions of Section 4 are very comprehensive and its language is as wide as human ingenuity could make it. *Indeed, it appears to me to embrace the whole range of varying degrees of assurance from certainty on the one side to the very limits of impossibility on the other.* It is difficult to see to what lengths the operation of this Section might not be plausibly extended by an ingenious mind. It would certainly extend to writings that may even command approval. An attack on that degraded section of the public which lives on the misery and shame of others would come within this widespread net: the praise of a class might not be free from risk. Much that is regarded a standard literature might undoubtedly be caught.

In another place the judgment goes on to say:

> If the applicant cannot establish the negative the Act requires, his application must fail. And what is this negative? It is not enough for the applicant to show that the words of the pamphlet are not likely to bring into hatred or contempt any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India, or that they have not a tendency in fact to bring about that result. But he must go further and show that it is impossible for them to have that tendency either directly or indirectly, and whether by way of inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor or implication. Nor is that all, for we find that the Legislature has added to this the all-embracing phrase "or otherwise."

Referring to the High Court's powers and functions under the Act, Sir Lawrence says:

> The High Court's power of intervention is the narrowest; its power to pronounce on the legality of the forfeiture by reason of failure to observe the mandatory conditions of the Act is barred; the ability to pronounce on the wisdom of the executive order is withheld; and *its functions are limited to considering whether the applicant to it has discharged the almost hopeless task of establishing that his pamphlet does not contain words which fall within the all-comprehensive provisions of the Act.* I describe it as an *almost hopeless task* because the terms of Section 4 are so wide that it is scarcely conceivable that any publication would attract the notice of the Government in this connection to which some provision of that section might not "directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise" apply.

"What then,' asks the Chief Justice "is the conclusion of the whole matter?" This all-important question he answers conclusively in the following manner:—

> Of the two alleged checks on executive action supposed to be furnished by the Act, one, the intervention of the Courts, is ineffectual, while the other for this very reason can be, and in this case has been disregarded, without impairing the practical effect of a forfeiture purporting to be under the Act.

Well may Mr. Justice Woodroffe in that case ask the Advocate-General, as he did in our case, "Has a reference to this Court any reality at all?" And well may the Chief Justice say in the course of his closely argued and masterly judgment that "It may be a question "whether even the *semblance* which this Act provides should not have been "withheld as it was by Act IX of 1878." Mind, this is not the opinion of that abject being, an Indian journalist, but the considered judgment of "the highly competent judicial authority" a reference to which was with such self-conscious generosity provided by Government in 1910 as "a very complete check upon hasty or improper action by a Local Government." And yet such is human ingenuity that out of this unpromising material the Hon. the Home Member has been able to extract public recognition of the moderation and reasonableness of Government. He proudly mentioned in the debate on the 9th instant that only five cases were taken up to the High Courts and not one was successful, and concluded his remarks by the noteworthy observation that "the fact that it has been difficult to prove that offending documents were innocent seems to me the very surest testimony that the "Executive authorities have exercised their powers in no arbitrary or "far-fetched manner."

And what is to be the consolation that the Indian Press is to derive from Government's recent re-consideration of the question? Sir Reginald said: "I have a very lively faith in the independence of our High "Court Judges, and I feel no doubt, if at any time the Executive "Government should use their powers under this Act rashly or "oppressively, that the Judges will find no difficulty in surmounting "these obstacles and invalidating their illegal action." We make a present of this generous commendation of the Judiciary by the Executive to the Special Bench of the Calcutta High Court that heard our own appeal, and particularly to Sir Harry Stephen who received at the hands of the Hon. the Home Member the signal honour of the citation of a carefully selected passage. For was it not Sir Harry who made the following significant observations in the course of his judgment about the very passage which was cited? "In attempting to form an opinion on it "I find myself in a position which, as far as I am aware, no Judge "in the British Empire has been placed since the remote days of "early English jurisprudence. I have to decide a question of fact "on such evidence as is supplied by one document. The side on "whom the onus of proving his case is cast is not in a position to "give any evidence. As the other side has not called any witnesses, "no cross-examination has taken place. . . . . Such information as I have is unverified and general to a high degree; it has "never been my duty to acquire information in the matter; and "absolutely none has been supplied to me on this occasion. Under "these circumstances I have no doubt that *any opinion I may express "will be received by others with the respect that is due to the office I "have the honor to hold, but it will be impossible for me to share in "this feeling.* . . . . . Acting on such information as I "have, I entertain no doubt as to what my answer should be. But "the absence of doubt is probably due to the absence of evidence "and cannot be taken as going far towards showing that the opinion "is correct."

We have now seen that the appeal to the Judiciary has proved wholly illusory and the appeal to the Executive has resulted in the praise of their own moderation. But there is yet one more appeal to make, an appeal to the conscience and the reason of humanity, whether English or Indian, both official and non-official, in India as well as in England, and we confidently appeal to that tribunal to decide between us and Sir Reginald Craddock.

The Indian Moslems' Tasks.

V.

We have dealt at some length in our previous articles with the questions relating to the intellectual and moral advancement of the Mussalmans and the organised and sustained efforts they will have to make in order to preserve their communal individuality. It will have, we trust, been clearly realised that the organisation of Moslem education holds the supreme place among the tasks of the community. This is a truism to which every communal patriot would subscribe with loud emphasis. It is, however, truisms which are frequently misunderstood and usually neglected in practise. There has been so much talk about Moslem education since the late Sir Syed Ahmad sounded his note of alarm that the problem has grown almost insipid and lost its interest and seriousness in the popular mind. Even many of those who are presumed to know better seem to be indifferent as if they believed a problem of such singular character and range could be solved by the sheer expenditure of lung-power for a full generation. The prevalent temper of a Mussalman with some taste for communal work may be summed up in "I know all about it." And primed with a "knowledge" which generally consists of a miscellaneous assortment of stray impressions, borrowed half-truths and dim echoes from the inanities of a professional preacher droning to a bored audience, he dismisses the whole subject with a glib assurance. This all-knowing, self-complacent and facile type of education-monger is an unsuspected hindrance and a danger. He has damped public enthusiasm and lulled the Mussalmans into quietude by his cheap, cribbed and mumbled phrases about Moslem education. He talks of intellectual and moral and social progress because he must, since some one else has set the fashion. But he understands his subject no more than the people he sets about to advise. His views are medley of strange desires leavened with a kind of low, practical shrewdness. Fat berths in Government offices; wealthy Hindu banyas and merchants; reminiscences of his travels in a railway train; his mild encounters with men who fill the atmosphere with new cries; his occasional glimpses into the life of great officials, with their unapproachable dignity and neat, silent ways; his rapt wonder at the huge administrative machine running on noiseless wheels—all this alternately stirs and overwhelms him, and he is driven to seek refuge in pathetic harangues at communal gatherings. The dominance of this tawdry vision must cease if the Mussalmans desire to build up a truly strong, enlightened and virile community fit to play an effective part in the affairs of its country. Intellectual equipment selected for its cheapness at some public auction, as it were, would not do. Character and personality cannot be had ready-made. Communities can realise themselves only through their own efforts, by the energy of their own wills and with the help of their own inner light. The first great thing is to feel the stress of hope and aspiration. When the goal is clearly set before the eyes, and self-confidence does not fail, the movement ahead, even through errors and pit-falls, is assured. Education is simply the necessary training of will and intelligence, imposed by the conditions of the present, to meet the demands of the future.

It now remains to see what sort of destiny the Mussalmans of India have been idealising for themselves and whether their ideals about the future are not mere will-o'-the-wisps luring them on to a

fruitless and weary quest. Some may even ask with pertinence whether the Mussalmans have reached that stage of culture and self-discipline which alone can bring about a unity of purpose and the evolution of ideals about the future. In modern Indian history there is no more pathetic chapter in some respects than the terrible dilemma of the Moslem position and the infinite travail, almost paralysis, of effort that has ensued in consequence. The advent of the British rule in India not only dispossessed a dynasty and a race of its political power, but also introduced social values and political standards which by their impact on an ancient polity led to chaos and conflict. The greatest sufferers were, of course, the Mussalmans who with the loss of their political dominance were threatened with the loss of their culture as well. The revolutionary forces which the new order of things brought in its wake set to work to demolish the symbols associated with Moslem civilisation and power. The sense of utter loss, the swift impending change, the rapid onrush of ideas which implied a rebuke and a challenge to old social axioms were infinitely galling to a proud and sensitive people. The Mussalmans looked on with sullen despair. Time has however, reconciled them to the inevitable, and they have learnt to estimate their situation stripped of the glamour of the past, in the clear light of day. They see that they are the subject race of an alien Power which has given India a firm, peaceful and progressive rule, and they also realise that they are on a complete equality of footing with the other races over whom they once held sway. To the Hindus the change did not mean any awkward shift—it meant simply a change of rulers. To the Mussalmans, however, it was a demoralising descent full of terrible mental and moral shocks. In fact, it was a fearful fall on the horns of a dilemma, which still lies athwart the political situation of the community. As long as they were the masters of the country their numerical strength or weakness did not count. The change in their status from rulers to subjects, enjoying equal rights and sharing equal responsibilities with the Hindus, has thrown them into a serious embarrassment. Western education and democratic ideals fostered by British rule have taught them the supreme value of numbers. The lesson with its far-reaching implications has haunted the consciousness of the Mussalmans ever since the first generation of India's patriots began to visualise the future in terms of Western political experience. If representative institutions and government by majority were the goal of Indian aspiration, the Moslem minority might conceivably sink into eternal political bondage. The evolution of a common nationality united for secular ends and of a lofty type of patriotism was not an impossible dream. But as long as religion was the dominant force in the lives of the Indian communities and differences of creed, temperament and social outlook remained vital, Nationalism could not become the supreme motive of conduct and endeavour, nor would the minorities cease to have their fears and their doubts. Such were the natural thoughts of the Mussalmans as they first began to take stock of their political situation. Western education was in the meantime opening up to them new vistas of thought, and they soon began to feel the insult and perversity of having to live a life of repudiation, of veiled hostility to all that has fructified and ennobled human effort in history—the strivings after freedom, the noble rage of patriotism that sets itself to purge the lives of men of all that is vicious and mean in their condition and circumstance. This has been the dilemma of the Moslem position.

It is manifest, then, that the framing of a definite, compact and inspiring political creed has been for the Mussalmans a task of untold perplexity. Political thinking among them had been till recently starved, halting and jejune. The ideas embodied in the latest programme of the Moslem League signify not so much the discovery of a straight and sure path as the protest of educated, self-respecting Mussalmans against a life of eternal apology. They recognise that the aspirations which the Indian National Congress has made vocal are legitimate aspirations, and it would be an infamous thing if they lived to thwart them perpetually. What is more, they as men, feeling all the enthusiasm for progress that has sustained and moved man in history, share those aspirations themselves. They are still wanting in political nerve and assurance and this is solely because they find as yet no basis for free participation in the general political activities of the country without losing their communal individuality. Certain recent tendencies of the Hindu and the Moslem tempers have shown that such basis is not impossible to evolve, that, in fact, it may be evolved within a shorter space of time than most pepole have hitherto been prepared to allow. For this, however, unflagging efforts will have to be made, and the existing mass of prejudices and suspicions removed from the path by carefully educating public opinion in both the communities. This is an aspect of the subject with which we may deal later on. We are concerned for the present with the character of the political thinking that is going on in Moslem India and the sort of dreams that the Mussalmans are dreaming about their future.

Now, the simple fact is that the Mussalmans have so far done no political thinking worth the name and their dreams about the future are vague and fleeting. The dilemma to which we have referred has hitherto been the bane of their political existence. They are just now beginning to have a sort of confused suggestion of the possibilities that the dilemma can be solved. Much will have to be done before these possibilities emerge in feature and outline and light the way to solution. There are, however, certain fundamental facts in the Moslem situation which must be grasped in order to form a clear estimate of the needs of the Mussalmans and the character of the ideals that they may ultimately evolve. The first great thing to remember is that a Mussalman's religion is his most exacting loyalty. In all social and political endeavour he will seek the inspiration of his faith. A time may possibly come, when religion may lose its vitality and some other secular force take its place. The political problem in India would then shift to a different plane and the Hindu-Moslem question would cease to be. But as long as religion is a vital force in India, the one pervading atmosphere in which motive and purpose take their rise, a Mussalman can never forget that he is a Mussalman any more than a devout Hindu can become oblivious of his Hinduism. When creed loyalty is the determining factor of political conduct, it is best to recognise that the preservation of its individuality would be to each community its most natural and jealous concern. Political co-operation among different communities can be secured only on the basis of such recognition. The Moslem's task in the political sphere to-day is to preserve his communal individuality as well as to participate on free and equal terms with others in the conduct of Indian affairs. The thought of his numerical inferiority and his lack of aptitude for self-assertive and pushfull political tactics have often depressed him and turned him to seek consolation in golden visions of the past of Islam and impossible dreams about its future. We do not, of course, mean that the feeling of Islamic brotherhood, which renders the sympathies of a Mussalman co-extensive with his religion, is in any way to be deprecated. The effect produced in India by the wars in Tripoli and the Balkans has been a great revelation. Amid the travail of suffering and sorrow it has proved unmistakably that the heart of Islam is alive. The future of a community that has something worth living and dying for is not quite hopeless. And it has been equally made manifest that the only motive power that can be applied with effect to Moslem communities is religion. What we mean is that idle dreams achieve little, and the habit of unrestrained indulgence in a mere sentiment incapacitates a man for practical and fruitful effort. The Mussalmans of India must bend every nerve to building up a glorious future in their own country. Their strength will contribute to the strength of Islam as a whole. Even in a democracy ultimate power does not reside merely in numbers. By dint of character and intelligence they can become an indispensable factor in guiding the fortunes of their country. A community of seventy millions, united, intelligent and virile, would be an effective power in any scheme of government that India may ultimately evolve. The future of the Mussalmans is in their own hands—to make or mar. They must accept the existing conditions and make the effort. They cannot leave India. They cannot drive the other communities out into the sea. They can not alter the broad political conditions as they exist to-day. They have to make the best of the situation and set to work to equip themselves anew intellectually and morally and meet the other communities on equal ground.

It is impossible to think of any other course that would not be an outrage to the best instincts of the community. The British rule in India has been a great blessing to the people in many ways. It is gradually and inevitably leading them on to the goal which would mark the consummation of its work and would be at once its justification and its crowning glory. The people of India are being educated and trained in various ways, and the day, however distant, would assuredly come when they will take the direction of their affairs in their own hands. The Mussalmans can delay, if they will, but cannot permanently stave off the glorious event. And if they choose to be perverse they would only stultify themselves. The ideal of a free, united, self-directing India is surely noble and capacious enough for both the Hindus and the Mussalmans to share. It is an ideal that needs many decades of toiling, devoted service before it comes to materialise. No secular enthusiasm, however, can be more fruitful and ennobling than the one devoted to this object. The Hindus and the Mussalmans can only thus rise to their full stature as men and communities. The fact, we are happy to note, is beginning to dawn on the intelligence of the Mussalmans. After the growth of modern education in the community this result was inevitable. Those narrow-minded English publicists and officials who detect in this awakening a change in the traditional Moslem attitude towards the British rule are either deliberately perverse or grievously mistaken. There has been no change in Moslem attitude, but there has been certainly a change of method. And this has been due to the lessons the Mussalmans have learnt from certain recent Government acts and measures. We have often discussed the trend and effect of the Government policy in these columns and need not refer to them again. We may simply say this that the Mussalmans regard the British rule, as they have ever regarded it before, a guarrantee for their free development. They cannot, however, be blind to the direction to which all political forces are tending to-day. They have to look ahead and mark the path that lies before them. How they would fare with their fellow travellers on the way when they together set out on their journey is a different question which we propose to discuss in our next. But even a child can understand that all progress postulates law and order and at present law and order are synonymous with a strong but popular British rule.

The Council.

By the Hon. Mr. Gup.

"As large a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please."
—*As You Like It.*

You may not believe it now, but there was a time when the sky was clear, when the Indian sun shone with all its brilliance, when the grass and the trees were green, when men could enjoy a joke even at their own expense, and women's dress bills could increase in inverse ratio to the size and weight of their dresses without endangering Prestige. Then indeed the Hon. Mr. Gup could laugh and grow more and more unfit to be a jockey, a bantam boxing champion, or the cox of the Oxford Boat at Putney, or a number of other things that carry no weight in the world of affairs. But it was not a century or two ago as readers may well imagine. Antiquarians say it was not further off than 1911 when the world was young and gay, and although the previous quinquennium was noisy without being merry, it was felt on all sides that now that the purification of the lustrum had taken place in 1910, in future noise and mirth would go together. Before the year 1911 ended, however, clouds began to darken the horizon both on the east and on the west. The Indian sun began to lose its brilliance without losing any of its blasting heat. Jokes began to require, in India as they do in Scotland, "a deal o'care." But the making of jokes was itself becoming as difficult as the enjoyment thereof, for the unbroken colt that had till then never felt the touch of bit or snaffle now began to feel itself to be a jaded hack for which whip and spur were occasionally necessary.

This lasted for close upon a year when the cloud that was at first no bigger than a man's hand darkened the whole firmament, and a storm such as imperious Lear had experienced began to make even far more robust people inclined to indulge in Lear's rage. The joy of living was gone, and in its place came the passion for death. For a time a merry mask kept undisclosed the features of tragedy, just as hereditary wealth keeps up the pretence of affluence even when *res angusta domi* insist on their public recognition. Where genuine mirth lent colour to the jocund face before, now a mouthful of blood from the heart itself accompanied the forced laughter on each occasion and incarnadined the face. With more access of grief misery began to mock itself and the laughter grew dry as the heart became drained of blood. On the 5th of March, in the course of the Council Meeting the Hon. Mr. Gup stole away from the busy scene without good-bye or even *au revoir*. The world no doubt went on as before and Mr. Gup could well say with the poet:

غالب خسته کي بغير کون سي کام بند هين
روئي زار زار کيا کيجئي هاے هاے کيون

(What is there that does not go on just as before without Ghalib?
Why shed copious tears and wherefore wail for him?)

But when misery had almost exhausted itself, another blow of affliction was struck, and this time it fell nearer the heart than before. From mocking itself misery began to mock others, and the Hon. Mr. Gup appeared in a very strange guise indeed. From chronicling the amusing weaknesses of easy-going babbling legislators, he took to recording the distressing indications of the "strength" of grim and speechless (if not unspeakable) administrators. Mr. Gup disguised as a War Correspondent and couching his grey goose quill on a field of battle was indeed a strange sight. These were almost the signs of the end of the world, and in fact the Hon. Mr. Gup did say something about the Day of Judgment before he disappeared for the second time. Well, the heights of Simla saw him not in September, for he was making an aquarial search in the Silly Season for the Sea-Serpent and was hungering after the prodigous gooseberry in London.

To-day, still under the stimulus of the New Year's resolutions, the Hon Mr. Gup resumes his seat among the gods that leisurely contemplate the dull debates and hesitating half-hearted conflicts of mere men below. Let Fakir-Lance hurl the javelin of his loyal buffoonery as before. Let the Oorya continue to make searching inquiries into the paternity of his Baby Province, and let Bootlair Sahib as usual refuse to be saddled with the cost of maintenance. Let Khushhal pipe, let Sughra roar and let Madras-Chutney-Pickle-Achar add piquancy to the cold roast beef of Sandow III. The Hon. Mr. Gup is once more there to enjoy the fun and the frolic, and even if he is bearded like the pard, it is only to catch stray jokes as in a net, as stray ethereal waves bearing news are caught in the wireless apparatus. But Mr. Gup comes back a sadder though not a wiser man, for sadness comes but wisdom lingers, and the mirth will have to be noisier and more side-splitting than before if it is to quicken a more sluggish pulse.

Council met on the 6th January and thus commenced an unusually early session. The A. D. C. announced H. E. after whom St. Vincent stepped in from the same door. When H. E. had taken the chair an excellent XI of Additional Official Members came forward to take the oath of allegiance, being lead by two skippers instead of one, Sag-Sabzi Maclagan, and St. Luke. Porter seems to have imbibed so much of the spirit of self-government which is his own province that he has begun to fancy himself as a Tribune of the Plebs duly elected by popular suffrage and not a mere bureaucratic nominee. So when taking the oath of allegiance he read out that he was taking the oath as an *elected* Member.

When unquestioning allegiance had been duly sworn, questioning commenced and Raja Khush-hal led with half a dozen questions in his piping voice, compelling the Sage, the Undesirable Alim, Sandow III and the Railway Sleeper to reply. Now this questioning very cruel in the case of the Railway Sleeper for obvious reasons, but when once he is up he is not inclined to sit down before a quarter of an hour, for the questioner, like Macbeth, has killed sleep, and the Railway Sleeper may as well stand up and talk as sit down and not snore. But when at the end of the session he exchanges a lower sleeping berth in India with a higher sleeping berth in England, questioning Councillors will miss the giver of the most informing and exhaustive replies. Whosoever among the many constituents of Raja Khush-hal wanted for his consumption ghee, gur or

grass, and wanted it carried by the Railways at a low rate, was consoled by the RAILWAY SLEEPER's assurance that the Railways had not altered their maximum rates, and if they made any distinction between sugar and *gur*, the discrimination after all was only in favour of the imported article used by the rich. May it not also be that as *gur* is sweeter than sugar, it is only sweat reasonableness that prompts the levy of a higher rate for its carriage.

Among others SRI RAMJI asked "will the Government be pleased to state whether" etc., etc., and the RAILWAY SLEEPER all of a sudden became, like other occupiers of the Government Front Bench, unduly laconic in his reply, and said that "the answer to the Hon. Member's question is in the negative." So it seems that the Government will *not* be pleased to state whether etc., etc. That is what comes of imitating others, for the RAILWAY SLEEPER never in all his Council days had felt inclined to refuse to supply any information ever asked for. The moral of the story is, beware of imitations.

SRI SITAJI asked Government to state what had been done by Government to extend free elementary education among the poor and more backward classes, in reply to which BOOTLAIR SAHEB gave a summary of the answers of the Local Governments. The Disunited Provinces had referred the matter to a Committee of all talents whose recommendations would be considered when new grants would be alloted. In the Baby Province compulsory payment of fees had been abolished and ninety per cent of the pupils in every school could still be turned out if they did not pay fees. Thus was illustrated the paradox of free compulsory education. SANDOW III's province was more business-like in its reply. No boy was refused education on account of poverty, which, as Euclid would have said, *erat demonstrandum*. So after this self-evident truth no steps appeared necessary in the way of further relaxation of fees. The Province of the late ROOSI-KEPPEL, or rather the late province of ROOSI-KEPPEL had abolished fees for the last two years, and this example was followed by private schools also. In beggarly Burma managers of lay schools could not dispense education and dispense with fees, while the monastic class could afford to do so. Hence Burma Government inclined to think it could dispense with free elementary education altogether.

CHERRY CHITNIS had noticed the laconic character of some official replies and resolved to be even with the officials. Reading out questions too long a process, so at request of SIR GUY—much missed by all the Councillors who rejoice at his membership of another Council—had requested Hon. Members only to refer to the question by its number on the list. Usual formula: "I beg to ask question number so and so put down against my name." But CHERRY CHITNIS impatient even of this, contented himself with the expurgated edition of this formula which he had himself devised, and simply said: "Question No. 15."

After the question a little legislation. In the course of this the ADMINISTRATIVE ORPHAN announced that a certain unnameable individual had not only been knighted but had also been made a Raja, and, as anticipated by a well-informed local official, had managed to slip into the Council. To prevent future action for libel, would the RAJA kindly announce that he is just the reverse of an unnameable miscreant so that there may be no mistake in the publication of his name as member of Select Committee.

WORTHY MEYER, most modest and peaceful member of Government, introduced and refered to a Select Committee a "modest" and "entirely non-controversial" piece of legislation.

But the chief business of the day was the educational debate opened by SUREN. His resolution, as he put it, was "an exceedingly simple one." It was "a mere request for information," an appeal to Government "to take the public into their confidence." Smooth, oleaginous SUREN, yours is a *sancta simplicitas* indeed, and of course you don't mean to harm a child. You only seek for information for which your dear friend of the Curzonation Durbar had invented the Official Secrets Act. You only want to be made a PEEPING TOM and a PAUL PRY. "By Special Appointment" to BOOTLAIR SAHEB and the SHARP'UN, innocently suggesting that there are and there can be no secrets in matters educational. With conviction lighting up your face you deny the possibility of every teeny-weeny skeleton in the educational pigeon-holes and you subpoena the inventor of the Official Secrets Act as your witness. Far be it from you to introduce a resolution in the spirit of controversy or contention. It is only pardonable curiosity and the desire to vindicate the character of Government that you ask for a glimpse of the documents exchanged between the SHARP'UN and other innocent educationist that shun politics themselves as they wish Indian students and their Indian teachers to shun it. Far be it from you to try the sweet uses of flattery. You only state an undeniable fact that education and sanitation are the watch-words of the Government of India. But O sage from the land of the *Rishis*! why handicap the question of the recognition of schools in which All-India is interested with the deadweight of an unknown second rate College in a far off district in which only one in the Council shared your enthusiasm and he too sought salvation in flight to Mecca?

SUREN, disdaining halting prose, commenced the "Argument" in the following manner:—

Of Bengal's Disobedience in the days
Of wilful CURZON who brought all our woe,
With loss of Dacca till one greater man
Restored it—although Delhi too regained
Her blissful ancient Seat of Government—
'Tis not, O Muse, the time to sing. Of that
Anon in Beadon Square. But of the Fruit
Of that Forbidden Tree whose deathless taste
Brought Life not Death, and an awaken'd impulse
Of Education as Bengal's reward,
Sing Heavenly Muse that on the secret tops
Of Simla and Darjeeling dost inspire
A thousand fears and dismal apprehensions.
Show thou the vastness of our Mymensingh—
A single District measuring in square miles
Six thousand and three hundred thirty two;
Or of its teeming millions sing, O Muse,—
Four and a half they number—and compare
Our single Mymensingh with all their England
In the not distant days of CHARLES the First,
Which it doth equal. Or if earlier days
Delight thee more, say that it doth contain
Twice ten times puny England's population
When it was ruled by EDWARD the CONFESSOR,
Or fifty times what tiny England had
When conquering HENGEST and proud HORSA came.
If even this doth fail to satisfy
The Indian Nation's fast expanding Ego,
Work out the flattering ratio of our millions
To England in the days of Noah's Dreadnought;
Or, earlier still, when grandma Eve prepared
For grandpa Adam her first apple-pie.
In ancient census figures I delight;
They point all morals and adorn all tales.
I seek their aid for my advent'rous speech
That with no middle flight intends to soar
Above Parnassian heights, while it pursues
Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.
And chiefly thou, O Spirit, that dost prefer
Before all Temples those of Western Learing,
That are forsooth our holiest shrines of worship,
Instruct me, what in me is well-proportion'd
Exaggerate, what's low, make tenfold loud
That to the height of this great argument
I may assert the democratic creed,
And justify the ways of men to gods.

After rapid excursions into the *Gazetteer* giving the area and population of Mymensingh—thus proving it to be ripe for partition—and thence into the biography of the late MR. ANANDA MOHAN GHOSE, and the history of the ANANDA MOHAN College, SUREN waxed eloquent over things which were moving fast, very fast indeed as fast as the motor cars, as an Irishman would say under the impetus of world-wide forces of irresistable potency and the inspiration of progressive ideals, created by education and fostered (*ahem*!) by a wise and benificent Government. Without fear of challenge or contradiction talked of Hindu and Moslem Universities Movements, with roots in the awakened educational enthusiasm, evoked by Royal Visit. Finally, came to Mymensigh ablaze with such enthusiasm that even SUREN had to swear his complete innocence of the charge of the slightest exaggeration of language. Story of the Mymensingh Hundred signing legal document within a few hours and guaranteeing half a lakh appeared like subscription of a foreign loan a hundred times over immediately on being brought into market. But wonder of wonders, Government was responsive and Government was sympathetic, and not one but *two* Directors favoured the raising of the status of the College. An ideal world indeed! and without a grievance to fill the columns of national newspapers when, lo, a shadow is thrown over it all, and like wells and tanks and rivers dried by the summer and filled in an instant by a Monsoon downpour, the newspapers are filled with "copy" by the smart showers, or rather Sharp showers according to the latest idiom from Simla. The Senate had made the recommendation, the University Inspectors had supported it and the Government of Bengal was in sympathy with it, but alas and alack! the Government of India declined to grant the affiliation. After this tale of woe, SUREN launched into some comparisons with the express stipulation that he would now speak without chapter or verse and if possible without the book itself. Wanted to know the reason of "this differential treatment" between a Government College and private institutions and claimed, admittedly with some warmth of feeling (quite tepid for SUREN) on behalf of private institutions, with one of which he had been connected for as many years as BOOTLAIR SAHEB and the SHARP'UN, had been connected with the created world, that they were entitled to sympathetic consideration. Finally, closed this part of his speech with throwing on the Council proscenium "a rag of

light and hope. "The ANANDA MOHAN College would have its B. A. class opened in six months—which was not so long to wait after all, unless, of course it was necessary to weaken the rest of the resolution.

After this SUREN came to the School Final Examination, and by showing that another examination had not proved a success, conclusively and overwhelmingly proved that the School Final was doomed, doomed to failure. Only in the last sentence did the Council grasp the significance of this part of the Resolution, for SUREN confessed he viewed with grave alarm and misgivings the operation and growth of a system which must encroach upon the ground covered by the University and eventually seriously restrict it. This introduced the third and most tragic Act in this drama when SUREN, the victor-victim of Barisal, fought a pitched battle with the SHARP 'UN and the I. C. S. over a measure which, if it had been adopted in the reign of ill-fated FULLER, would have saved him both the virtue and the necessity of resignation, and "I. C. S." the exhibition of discipline in the columns of the *Pi* dog. Having the sympathy of the entire Council with him, SUREN's oleaginous eloquence rushed over oiled castors. He escorted into the Council the Nestor of Bengal Zamindars, who never hesitated to beseige any Troy and came as the representative of the past to join hands with representatives of the present most probably to save the character of the representatives of the future, though SUREN did not say anything about the future.

As the Hon. Mr. GUP said last year also when the MILD HINDU's resolution asking for papers on free and compulsory primary education was discussed, and SUREN spoke of these matters, wonder whether any Bengali orator or journalist could perform the miracle of discussing education without building the "Temple of Learning." SUREN tried and failed ignominously. Shrines, worship and temples were all there in the speech of the Idol of Bengali students. Quoted with great effect the appreciation of the Bengal Government, on the Calcutta University Senate's recognition of schools, from the Bengal Administration Report—for writing which the too intelligent Under-Secretary was probably being sent to the most malarial District just when his furlough was due. Having argued that there was no case for transferring the power from the University to the Local Government, SUREN shrewdly entered the realm of "between-the-lines." "I cannot disguise from myself the conviction that behind all this is the old plea of efficiency." The Senate, said he, deliberates in public and decides in public, and even though it is mainly official, decides with the aid of popular representatives. But the Education Department of Local Governments would deliberate behind the *purdah* and decide in the *zenana* without outside assistance. What guarantee then that its decisions would always be guided by educational considerations! Then followed a syllogism.

Government is unquestionably a political organisation.

Therefore, its educational decisions will be dictated by the police.

One of the premisses was missing and the fallacies of Four Terms, Undistributed Middle and Illicit Process of the Middle Term were all there. But whether rules of Logic supported the syllogism or not, all realized that the conclusion was not so very wrong.

After showing that in Bengal the piper was paid by the people, SUREN insisted on calling for the tune and appealed for a policy of trust, as if assuring that the tune that will be called for would be "Rule Brittannia" and not "Bande Mataram." Just as he was launching into a praise of "our local institutions, our local environments, our local traditions," ST. VINCENT, the Prompter, walked up to the Throne with the shears of Atropos to cut short SUREN's thread of eloquence. H. E. with charactrestic courtesy asked the Hon. Member to conclude. SUREN pleaded for two more minutes, but H. E. informed him that he had had more than the regulation forty minutes and must conclude at once. This exceedingly cruel on SUREN who had an elaborate peroration to declaim. But SUREN as resourceful as he is eloquent, and saying "I will, My Lord," went on as gaily as ever. "We of the East abhor great and sudden changes whether in education or Government (No revolutionary need apply) with all the warmth of our Oriental natures," including presumably a sudden change from speech into silence as H. E. had vainly desired. After praising H. E. and Government for another minute or two, closed his stately oration with an appeal to be permitted to walk in the old ways, where their steps had been so sure, so safe and so steady, and where on the whole the results achieved had been so triumphantly successful. The C. I. D. man whose steps had also been so sure, so safe and so stealthy now laid a heavy hand on his shoulders and asked in tragic accents: *Quo Vadis!* Whither, O, SUREN, whither?

Hardly had SUREN sat down when up rose the non-official Member of the Government of India and the official representative of the Government of the Punjab. Who else could it be but the gallant FREE-LANCE, in voluminous trousers and white turban sitting behind his Despatch Box like any other Member of the Government. Many are the conjectures about the contents of this box, but none have one appear to be correct. Some think that it contains sealed samples of the food served to the chargers of the gallant Tiwana Lancers, while others suspect that it contains a *bijou* canteen for the Regiment's honorary officers. But the C. I. D. has reason to believe that if the box doesn't contain a couple of miniature revolutions originally made for a South African Republic, it contains—bombs. One of these days a raid is certain to take place, but until then FREE-LANCE can go on dropping explosives of another kind in every debate to the serious risk of the sides of Hon. Members being split with uncontrollable laughter. FREE-LANCE, a true Oriental in his politics as in his social life, would have all correspondence intended for the exclusive monopolostic use of officials remain in strict *purdah*, whereas he thinks it essential that correspondence set apart from its inception for public use should parade its charms from the *balakhanas*. Wonder why he doesn't wish to dedicate even these *murlis* to the gods. Publication of the former class of correspondence, with its charactrestic abandon, its oft-recurring allusions to the equally outspoken sentiments of the addressee, and its under-current of secret and unrestrained intimacy as indecent and scandalous as the publication of the documentary records of an interesting Bench of the British Judges in the form of "A Lover's Letter-Writer." How shocking the mere mention in public of the language used by "Popsy-Wopsy" in replying to the importunities of "Dicky Darling." Why, "the majority of those who indulge in commenting upon such publications, and who have unfortunately not very many vocations to pursue in life (Lucky beggars! Wish we had half their 'misfortune') fall short of understanding it *in the proper sense*, and some of them, if they do so, may distort the meaning in a way which may suit their own purposes," suggesting an "improper sense," not at all suiting the very proper purposes of the co-respond—(PROOF READER: Is the spelling all right, Sir? EDITOR: No. I am afraid it is not, unless the reader is Scotch, Irish or Amerrican. You better offer them another 'r' or they would take possession of the entire printing press.)—correspondents. "Thus there lies a great danger which may involve grave issues" (PROOF READER: Shall I drop an 's' Sir, to distinguish it from 'issues' requiring an early grave? EDITOR: You are too far-fetched, my man, and hope you won't give me notice to join the Punjab Secretariat where I hear they give a handsome Commission to their clerks and translators on each day's 'bag.') By so doing there are chances of giving a field to hot-blooded youngsters, and an opportunity to a section of publishers whose sole ambition is concentrated on making capital out of the sale proceeds of their publications finding a ready market at such times and who may welcome the opportunity to rouse the passions of innocent people by such stirring publications."

This was indeed a sustained argument; but FREE LANCE has to maintain his reputation even more than he has to sustain an argument, and in these days of keen competition in the Punjab for a tiny enough seat, it would never do to be the first to oppose only the resolution that has been moved. He must anticipate the next move also. Who could venture to talk of relevancy if a resolution for the publication of papers reminded FREE-LANCE of other papers too that should not be published? "I have heard," said the FREE-LANCE "that resolutions are being passed by certain organisations to persuade the Government to soften the Press Act for the benefit of the above-mentioned classes which, I hope, the Government would not listen to." Bravo, FREE-LANCE, kill two birds with the single stone of disinterested loyalty, and always ask Government to imitate NELSON with a variation, by turning a deaf ear to the people's petitions.

MAHARAJA MIR KASIM argued convincingly that where the School Final is a passport to service it should be held, but where thousands pass the Matriculation every year it should be the only examination and should be a passport to service. If you don't understand the logic of this ask anybody in Bengal. They wont understand it anywhere else.

SRI SITAJI was unusually eloquent, but as usual inaudible, and throttled the beautiful speech with which he had equipped himself. Indulging, as he said, in no language of flattery or vain compliments, characterised the blessing of English education as one of the greatest blessings of British rule, and forgetting the association of processions with torchlight and of students with processions, likened English Education to a torch. Little do you know, SRI SITAJI, what a curse it is believed to be by some of the blessed educationists, and how the torch is sometimes mistaken for a fire-brand! You may go back to the sages and *rishis* of your ancient land, but approach not the statesmen of the modern world. Indulge as much as you can in high-thinking, so long as you do not think of the heights of Simla and so long as your living continues to be plain. "Man lives more in the present than in the past", but take care that he does not deserve to die in the near future by cutting himself too much from the past, and "whereas in ancient India knowledge and learning was confined to a few," it is plain that the only policy in consonance with the genius of the East is to confine it to fewer still.

The SECOND PANDIT must have gladdened the heart of SUREN by declaring that probably it is only a question of delaying the affiliation of the ANANDA MOHAN College "for a year or two" when SUREN had condemned Government for delaying it only for six months. But he must have gladdened the heart of the SHARP 'UN still more by referring—quite unconcernedly, of course,—to the suspicion entertained by some people presumably living in Mars or Neptune or Saturn, in short anywhere but in India and in that Council Chamber, that "Government had been trying to check the spread of

"secondary education and placing difficulties in its way." He complimented the Secretariat officials on their industry by expressing the fear that even applications for affiliation may be treated as one of the numerous papers that come up for disposal and are disposed of one way or other under pressure of work."

The one and only original PANDIT followed his *alter ego* and paid a compliment to the faith of Bengal in the good intentions of Government. He suggested the policy of hastening slowly with the School Final so that "after the lapse of some little time *even* in Bengal the misgivings and the suspicions entertained against this examination will probably pass away" As regards the transfer of the powers of recognition from Universities to Local Governments, the PANDIT, with transparent sincerity, announced that he was certain "there is nothing that the Government have to conceal on this point", and yet his suspicions got the better of his faith, and he somewhat unexpectedly supported the demand for papers.

BOOTLAIR SAHEB now rose to reply. In the Moghal days every battle commenced with the play of artillery on both sides from a safe distance which never did, nor meant to do, any harm to any individual. BOOTLAIR SAHEB imitates these battle tactics to perfection. Every reply of BOOTLAIR SAHEB commences with a play of the artillery of compliments which never do, nor mean to do, any harm to any individual. After that follows the real business of the day and it is pretty terrible business. Last year these tactics were tried on the MILD HINDU who has himself become a past master in the art of showering harmless compliments charactrestic of Moderation. This year, in the sad absence of MILD HINDU which robbed Council of its greatest ornament, the artillery duel was indulged in between BOOTLAIR SAHEB and dear SUREN. "Although his words were rather strong and fulminant, (SHARP'UN, do ask the BOY AT THE WHEEL whether such a mixture of nitre, sulphur and potash comes under the Explosives Act.) I gladly recognise (*ahem!*) the moderate tone of his speech and his desire to (*voilent cough!!*) help. SUREN had been unnecessarily alarmed. Of course, all due to a misunderstanding, don't you know. Government desire whole-heartedly to take people into confidence. They have no secrets in education. How could you *think* of such a dreadful thing with me and the SHARP'UN—Yes, specially the SHARP-UN—in the Education Department? Never dreamt of such a thing as substituting mistrust for trust. In fact, I make it a point to avoid anything in the nature of a miss. And pardon me if I take cover—as we sometimes have to do—behind H. E. whom some awful fellow in Bombay was sending back to England next February with a view to substitute the Flaming Sword of the Empire. Surely it was inconceivable to associate mistrust with the Viceroyalty of H. E. Hoping that non-official gentlemen now sufficiently hoist with their own petard, let me proceed to the real business of the day. Of course, as in business—or love—rules, customs, conventions and etiquette must be observed. Those who co-res—(No, you must stick to the 'double r' at least throughout this speech—EDITOR)—correspond with Government must feel that they can correspond freely and frankly without fear of publicity except in special cases—to be arranged after full consultation with all concerned, including third parties, known in Roman Law as *extraneii* and in Simla society as the plural of *tertium quid*."

Having thus made the necessary pronouncement, BOOTLAIR SAHEB gave dear SUREN a nasty knock-out blow about differential treatment between private and Government Colleges, showing that while the Mymensingh College relied on unperformed promises, the Rajshahi College had either fulfilled the conditions or they were in train. A passing sneer at the enthusiasm that was claimed to be ablaze and a little skipping over discomfiture of the authorities in the BRAJA MOHAN College affair brought this part of the reply to an end.

Then commenced a long-drawn exegesis on the School Final more charactrestic of droning pedagogy than of the brilliance of BOOTLAIR SAHEB. Wonder why Council was not asked to take it as read, or to be read in the "*very able and exhaustive*" Quinquennial Review prepared by the SHARP'UN,—even though he himself says it as shouldn't.

After this exhausting dissertation, no one in the Council had enough energy to listen with critical ears the hurried and desultory apology for proposing transfer of recognition of schools from the Universities to Local Governments. Conveniently forgetting—as hardly a single official fails to forget, or fails to remember when necessary—the fallacy pointed out by Lord Morley, that "whatever is good for Canada is good for India," and that "because a fur coat in Canada at certain times of the year is a truly comfortable garment, therefore a furcoat in the Deccan is just the very garment that you would be delighted to wear," BOOTLAIR SAHEB declared that "every modern system of educational organisation is based on a large and growing measure of State control", and that "the control of education is a duty which the State owes to the parents and the rising generation." O, BOOTLAIR SAHEB, can you say that State control means the same thing in the half-naked Deccan that it means in fur-coated Canada! What respect does the State pay to the parents' wishes and what co-operation does it promise to the rising generation! Nay, what knows it of the thoughts that pass in the minds of the Indian parents and the dreams that the rising generation dreams?

After laying down a number of questions to be settled by Government which could not be controverted, BOOTLAIR SAHEB skipped over the all important question, whether these questions were to be judged according to the standard of the State or the standard of the parents and the rising generation, excusing himself on the ground that he did not wish "to introduce any unnecessary element of controversy into his remarks." Forgetting that he had already enunciated quite a number of questions to be settled in connection with schools, attempted to show that the Universities had no adequate machinery for ascertaining the condition of schools, as if that was all that needed enquiry. Still the main question was there and could not be avoided. Why a change of policy? So rushed through three or four "complete answers", such as, *firstly*, the new teaching Universities and, *secondly*—the new teaching Universities! But dear BOOTLAIR SAHEB, was not at least one teaching University to be made acceptable to an importunate community by permitting it to recognise schools on the condition that it did not clamour for the affiliation of outside Colleges, and now, does it "seem necessary to set free" even that teaching University "from the burden of work in connection with schools in order to give it time for its more appropriate work"?

SUREN had talked of the piper and the tune argument glibly enough but had forgotten that BOOTLAIR SAHEB was judiciously distributing his largess among private schools also, in order to call for the tune that *he* liked best. SUREN had boasted that out of 619 schools in Bengal only 63 were Government schools. BOOTLAIR SAHEB reminded SUREN that out of 929 private schools only 341 were the pipers that had not been paid for by BOOTLAIR SAHEB and, being anxious to call for the tune, "the Government of India have expressed their desire that grant-in-aid should be made more liberal and elastic." Who talks now of stopping the grant of the new Pied Piper of Alig—no, Hamelin, that wants to play the tune of his own community, of course, in order to compass the destruction of the entire rising generation?

In conclusion BOOTLAIR SAHEB wondered whether people realized the enormous changes that were coming and the necessity for recasting their ideas. "What may have sufficed hitherto will not suffice much longer now. What seems an impossible reform now will perhaps be out of date ten or fifteen years hence. Things are moving very fast in the educational world and if India wants to hold her place, we must move in sympathy with them." True, quite true, and the HON. MR. GUP echoes the sentiments of BOOTLAIR SAHEB and hopes that *everybody* would realize the enormous changes that are coming and the necessity for recasting his ideas. How very true that what may have sufficed hitherto will not suffice much longer now, and that the impossible reforms of to-day will be the anachronisms of tomorrow. Things are moving very fast in the educated world of India, and if anybody wants to hold his place, he must move in sympathy with them. Like BOOTLAIR SAHEB, MR. GUP is an optimist about Indian education, and when he too looks at the results already achieved with the materials at the disposal of India, and reflects on the possibilities as well as the difficulties of the future, he rests in hope. Only he asks Government to believe in the honesty and good intent of India, as Government whould have India believe in the honesty and good intent of Government. They are straining every nerve to make Government more responsive to the desires of the people and needs of the time, as BOOTLAIR SAHEB is straining every nerve to make education more responsive to the needs of the people and the time, and both count—and confidently count—on the assistance of each other "in the great work before us all."

SUREN responded in the duel of the artillery of compliments with more compliments about "the tone, the temper and the spirit of BOOTLAIR SAHEB's speech, and while recognising "the spirit of friendliness and sympathy with which the whole of that speech is charged", dear SUREN saw the Vision of India as it should be. He saw BOOTLAIR SAHEB as the Minister of Education, sitting on the Government Front Bench, and himself, as the Leader of the Opposition seated on the Front Bench opposite. It was a debate on a motion for publication of papers involving want of confidence in Government, and SUREN felt certain that after the division he would cross with his followers to the other side and leave BOOTLAIR SAHEB to plough the arid sands of Opposition. To be the Prime Minister of India, to be able to control a fifth of God's creatures and to settle their destinies with his "Aye" and "Nay," was indeed a noble ambition. Who, then, can quarrel with dear SUREN for saying to BOOTLAIR SAHEB, "We reciprocate that sentiment *on this side of the House*".

This was the one great thing achieved, and the rest was jejune, flat and unprofitable. After demanding greater deference to "the public opinion of the educated community who are the creators of the Government best able to instruct and enlighten Government", SUREN resumed his seat, still "on this side of the House", and though MADRAS-CHUTNEY-PICKLE-ACHAR clearly indicated that on a third part of the Resolution SUREN could hope to secure a dozen votes against four dozen votes of the Government, the much deposed Leader of the Opposition could not muster enough self-confidence to throw down to BOOTLAIR SAHEB the gage of a division. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

31st January.

Enver Bey Appointed War Minister.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Jan. 4.

The appointment of Enver Bey to be Minister of War and his promotion to the rank of Brigadier-General, which carries with it the title of Pasha, have naturally aroused considerable interest and are susceptible of a variety of explanations. It had been expected that Djemal Bey, who has also been promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General with the title of Pasha, would succeed Izzet Pasha. There is a tendency to connect Enver Pasha's appointment with the commencement of work on the part of the German Military Mission under Liman Pasha, on the ground that Enver Pasha, as former military attache in Berlin, would naturally be *persona grata* to the German officers and more capable of rendering them assistance than perhaps any other Ottoman officer.

On the other hand, it is suggested that the appointment of Enver Pasha is a perfectly natural step in the political evolution of Turkey since the definite triumph of the Committee. What, it is asked, could be more normal than the appointment to the highest office but one that is open to a Turkish soldier of one of the most conspicuous figures of the new regime. The truth probably is that, while the influence of the Triple Alliance may have had some weight with the Government so far as the choice of persons is concerned, the appointment of one of the principal Committee officers was inevitable when once it had been decided to make a change at the Ministry of War.

Constantinople, Jan. 7.

Enver Pasha has not waited long before showing his hand. An Imperial *Iradeh* issued last night permits him to place on the retired list 280 officers above the rank of Major, among whom are Hadi Pasha, a former Chief of the General Staff, and Hurshid Pasha, a former Minister of Marine, and Commander, during the recent war, of the 10th Army Corps. "Make way for the young," is clearly going to be the motto of the new Minister for War, who has agreed to submit all War Office accounts to the inspection of the civilian employees of the Ministry of Finance. Many Members of the Committee of Union and Progress anticipate, perhaps optimistically, that this concession will save Turkey between £T2,500,000 and £T3,000,000 per annum.

I learn from a well-informed source to-day that Enver Pasha proposes, for the present at any rate, to combine the functions of Chief of the General Staff with those of Minister for War, though it is difficult to understand how any one officer, however energetic can undertake two such difficult and different tasks without the asssistance of an active Turkish or foreign *adlatus*. The mystery, perhaps, is explained by the news which has reached me from the same source that Damad Ismail Hafiz Hakki Bey, a Colonel on the General Staff and formerly Military Attache in Vienna, has been appointed Vice-Chief of the General Staff. Colonel Hafiz Hakki Bey is an energetic and active officer and a keen supporter of the Committee of Union and Progress.

Constantinople, Jan, 8.

An Imperial *Iradeh* has been issued sanctioning the appointments of the Inspectors-General of the four Armies and the Commanders of the 13 Army Corps into which the Ottoman Army is to be divided beneforward. The following are the names of the Inspectors-General:—Marshal Tatar Osman Pasha in Constantinople, General of Division Zeki Pasha at Adrianople, Brigadier-General Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha, till yesterday Ambassador in Berlin, at Erjindjan, and Brigadier-General Djavid Pasha in Mesopotamia.

Among the appointments of the Army Corps Commanders I may mention those of Liman von Sanders Pasha to the 1st Army Corps, Hassan Izzet Pasha to the 2nd Army Corps. Essad Pasha, the hero of the siege of Yanina, Hertev Pasha, Fakhri Pasha, and Ali-Riza Pasha are appointed to the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th Army Corps respectively.

Another Imperial *Iradeh*, authorizing the placing on the retired list of over 160 superior officers in the Army, has also been issued. Among those who are affected by this measure may be mentioned, in addition to Hadi Pasha and Hurshid Pasha, Ghazi Shukir Pasha, the defender of Adrianople; Torgud Shevket Pasha and Ahmed Abuk Pasha, both of whom served with credit in the recent campaign; Abdullah Pasha; Ahmed Fenzi Pasha, the aged re-conqueror of the Yemen; Yaver Pasha, who was made prisoner by the Bulgarians at Peredjik; Hussein Husni Pasha, and, finally, Hassan Tahsin Pasha, who surrendered Salonika to the Greeks. Four Commanders of Army Corps and some 25 Commanders of Nizam or Redif divisions figure on this list.

Of the new appointments, that of Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha has aroused considerable interest, for very obvious reasons. Even greater interest is likely to be excited by the statement, published in the *Tanin* this morning, that Enver Pasha will be appointed Chief of the General Staff, assisted by two vice-chiefs, the first of whom will be a German officer, not as yet definitely selected, while the second, as has been already stated, is Colonel Damad Ismail Hafiz Hakki Bey, who, I may add, is connected with the Imperial Family by his marriage with the daughter of Prince Salah-ed-Din Effendi, the only son of the deceased Sultan Murad V., who was deposed in August, 1876, and died in 1904.

Russia and Azerbaijan.

(BY A TABRIZ CORRESPONDENT OF THE "NEAR EAST".)

Is this still a Persian province? It is hard to think so—

(1) With 25,000 to 35,000 Russian troops* in Azerbaijan, occupying the most important towns—Tabriz, Ardebil, Maku, Khoy, Urmi, Suj Bulak, Dilman (Salmast), Sirab, Maragha, Binab, etc.

(2) With Shuja-ed-Dowleh as Governor-General, appointed by the Russians.

(3) With Governor-General Shuja-ed-Dowleh's palace and person protected by Russian troops every night.

(4) With all the Governors appointed by Shuja-ed-Dowleh being appointed only after their names, character, and inclinations, past personal history and present personal likes and dislikes have been submitted to the Russian Consul-General for his consent and approval, and *vice-versa*.

(5) With all the candidates for Governorships *presented by Shuja-ed-Dowleh* being considered by the Russian Consul-General as *good Russophils*.

(6) With a Russian Consul, Vice-Consul, Consular Agent, or even a Tajir-Bashi in every town and city, nominally "to protect the interests of Russians and Russian subjects," but in reality to "advise" the Governor—or, in plain language, to tell the Governor what to do and how to behave towards the Russsians and Russian demands.

All these things are not at all surprising considering the fact, the indisputable fact, that Governor-General Haji Shuja-ed-Dowleh receives his instructions for the following day's work every night from M. Vedinsky, the dragoman of the Russian Consulate-General, by telephone. He dare not move a step without informing M. Vedinsky; and in order to spend a few of the hot summer days at his summer palace, at Namatabad, this *Persian* Governor-General had to ask the consent of the *Russian* dragoman before leaving the town!

Now, where is the intelligent man who has any knowledge of the Near East who would, or could, state positively that this unfortunate province of ours *is* a part of the Persian Kingdom? Sultan Ahmed Shah, the young Shah-in-Shah of Iran, had lost Azerbaijan soon after his accession to the Peacock Throne of Nadir Shah. Of this fact I was informed by a friend, who said to me: "At the time that Mohammed Ali Shah arrived in Gumesh-Tepe I was in Ardebil. A month *before* Mohammed Ali reached Persia, *before* there was any talk or rumour of his coming, I received a letter from an officer in Urmi, who wrote to me: 'Ashes upon our heads! We have lost Azerbaijan. Mohammed Ali Mirza is again returning to Persia, and he has given this province to the Russians as the price of his liberty to regain his lost throne."

That is plain enough, is it not? The Russians are, and often have been, criticised for acting as if they were "at home" here. The letter just quoted throws a bright light upon their actions; and according to their own lights, it might be argued that they have a good right to act as they do act, and have been acting, for some time past.

A Persian who was employed by the Russian in their commissariat department related the following incident recently—"I went to the bazaars to buy some cartridges for my Browning seven-shooter. The shopkeeper asked me five tomans for fifty cartridges. I offered four. He refused my offer. After much bargaining I consented to pay him the full price he had asked, five tomans; but the man then refused point-blank to let me have them. 'I do not care to sell them,' he said. 'Do you mean that you will not sell them at all, or that you do not care to sell them to me?' I asked. The shopkeeper replied: "I do not care to sell them to you!" Then I was furious. With the butt end of my Browning I struck the man on the head, forehead, nose—anywhere that the blows happened to fall. I left for the barracks, but before going I took the fifty cartridges I needed and left five tomans in the shop—for the shopkeeper, sore and bleeding, had already left his shop to complain to Shuja-ed-Dowleh. An hour afterwards two ferrashes of Shuja-ed-Dowleh came to arrest me."

I must here say that this man, with his Russian military cap, and long boots, was trying to pass himself off for a Russian, though he was a Persian subject. He continued: "I told the ferrashes: 'If Shuja-ed-Dowleh wants me, he must ask the Russian commander

* The Russian troops in the province are usually believed to number about 37,000.—[ED.]

for me, for I am a Russian subject, and neither you nor your chief could arrest me.' Thereupon the ferrashes apologised for 'not knowing' that I am a Russian subject, and left me, after bowing profoundly. Two hours later a telephone message called me to the Russian Consulate-General, and, of course, I knew at once that Shuja-ed-Dowleh had informed the Consul-General of the incident. I went, and the Consul, meeting me on the verandah, said: 'What has happened to you to-day in the bazaar?' I told him the whole story. Then he, serene and quiet, said to me: 'I do not say that you have behaved badly in the circumstances, but here in Tabriz we are treating the natives rather delicately. You had better be careful hereafter.' And that was the only scolding or punishment I got for beating the shopkeeper."

Outside Tabriz, the Russian subjects, encouraged and protected by their Consular officers, do pretty well as they please. Selling land to foreigners is forbidden; but Russian subjects buy all the land they want—and more! They lend money to Persians, who mortgage their land, vineyards, water-mills, villages, etc., and in case of inability to repay the loan the mortgaged property is appropriated. A Russian subject—a mere subject, not a Consular official—has taken under his protection thirty-five or forty Kurdish villages near and around Suj Bulak. Each of these villages will yield annually from 2,000 to 40,000 tomans. One village near Suj Bulak yields grain alone worth 3,000 tomans annually. Another produces rice worth 10,000 tomans, to say nothing of its grain, barley, hay, straw, monetary taxes, fines, etc. And the Russian subjects who "hire," "rent," or "protect" these native villages profit to the tune of thousands of tomans every year. The citizen of no other nation could do likewise in this province, however. He is not given the chance!

The Near East for October 3 has just come to hand, and I and a number of my friends have been surprised to read the following lines in your "Notes of the Week" about this province (p. 622, col. ii.) :—

"As it is the avowed intention of the British and Russian Governments to maintain the integrity of Persia and to confirm the authority of the Persian Government, it would seem necessary to inquire from what quarter Shuja-ed-Dowleh derives his inspiration for his separatist policy."

We—I and my friends—had always thought that if any man understood the politics and diplomacy of the Near East that man was the Editor of the Near East. Now it almost seems either that we have been mistaken in our opinion or else that the Editor is hiding his knowledge and feigning ignorance concerning the quarter whence "Shuja-ed-Dowleh derives his inspiration for his separatist policy." But fortunately the Editor answers his own inquiry, in the first part of the same Note, when he says :—

"Straws, which are supposed to indicate the direction in which the political wind is blowing, are very prominent at the present time in the Persian province of Azerbaijan."

Treasury officials of Persian nationality are arrested by Shuja-ed-Dowleh, and "the Governor-General's action would seem to have met with Russian approval, inasmuch as no step were taken to remonstrate with him or to protect the Treasury officers." Again: "Shuja-ed-Dowleh now appears to have decided that elections for the Mejlis would be undesirable for Azerbaijan. . . . An agitation has been set on foot against the summoning of the Majlis. . . . If the elections were suppressed in Azerbaijan, the position of the province would be tantamount to one of independence of the Central Government," All these things and all those which I mentioned earlier are "straws" which indicate in what direction the "political wind is blowing" across this unhappy country, and from what quarter the Governor-General, Shuja-ed-Dowleh, "derives his inspiration"—be it separatist, independent, or vassalist.

After all, we have not been mistaken in our opinion of the Editor's knowledge of Near Eastern winds and the quarter whence they blow!

MIRZA FIROOZ KHAN.

A French View.

Odessa, January 4.

A Frenchman just arrived here from Tabriz, where he has commercial interests, to-day said to me that he frankly did not believe the recent official announcement that Russia was about to withdraw certain of her troops in Azerbaijan to the Caucasus. It was, he said a stereotyped and empty official intimation to which they in Tabriz had become accustomed during the last three years. The reason for the partial withdrawal given in this latest announcement was that the Persian Cossack force in the capital of Azerbaijan is to be increased by 600 or 800 men, commanded, of course, by Russian officers. But even supposing said my informant, that these additional Persian Cossacks were to relieve the same number of Russian troops in Tabriz, permitting their withdrawal to the Caucasus, that would not essentially or appreciably deplete the Russian garrisons in Northern Persia, which, all arms included, number 17,400 men. Such periodical announcements of the pending withdrawal of Russian troops, further remarked my informant, were intended, not for the Russian but for the British Press; they make agreeable reading for Englishmen who, with all their admiration for the astute diplomacy of their Foreign Minister, are by no means quite content with the role of "second fiddle" which England plays to Russia in Persia. To-day Northern Persia is *de facto* a Russian province. As my French informant added, Russia in Azerbaijan has adopted the motto of Macmahon at the Malakoff, but in a more literal sense *J'y suis, j'y reste!*"

1914—The Sword of Peace.

In the course of an article in the *Nienteenth Century and after*, Major-General Sir William G. Knox, K. C, B., writes:—

1914! What a blood-red track of war has the twentieth century so far painted upon history—and does the colour promise to be fainter in the year before us? We may doubt it with reason, for the march of our so-called Civilisation has in the past Christian year of 1913 increased the already existing military burden placed upon the white man's shoulders on the Continent of Europe; the penalty due to race hatred, greed, and envy, signs of a veritable slump in Christianity. Never in history has the cradle of civilisation offered such a picture of instability, distrust, rivalry, and rancour. Not a stone has yet been quarried for the foundation of a real Temple of Peace. The world awaits with trepidation the great expenditure of blood and gold which alone will terminate the never-ending threats and rumours of war, the commercial conflicts, the political complications that periodically befog the atmosphere. Armies and fleets redoubled in numbers and efficiency are sad commentaries on Christianity's failure and inefficiency. In any future dispute an appeal to arbitration by a weakly armed nation will find no favour in this twentieth century. 'Forewarned is forearmed' has passed into more than a proverb, and no sympathy can be wasted upon a nation that draws the sword without knowing that its manhood is able and trained to grasp the hilt. Diplomacy may avert the storm for a time, but the rumbling of the thunder seems to return with marvellous regularity, and on each occasion with louder warnings of danger. War preparations have been so perfected and thought out that the flash and the crash are practically simultaneous. The aim of military war staffs is now to attain to such perfection that the armies they direct can deal a 'knock-out' blow to an adversary in the shortest possible round.

Further, so low has the code of honour fallen among some nations that a stouter material than prachment must be found upon which to write future treaties. A people thus dishonoured by tearing up solemn obligations have surely no right to be called a nation. In the honourable comity of nations they are an abomination. The example of a Great Power compounding the felony by an ally of the theft of two fair provinces from a weak neighbour was not lost upon the Kinglets of the Balkan Peninsula. Into what shreds is the Berlin Treaty not torn?—and yet in our simplicity we claimed indestructibility for the recent one of London. Would it be inept to describe the recent Treaty of Bucharest as a mere paper cone placed upon the summit of a newly raised volcano in the Near East? How can we expect that puny kingdoms which keep their flags flying under the shelter of a slender thread of guaranteed neutrality will receive consideration in the future?

It is this new interpretation of the word honour as a solemn obligation that tends to weaken the recognised chords that should go to make harmony in the Concert of Europe. A string or two may snap at any moment at the bidding of a populace blinded by rapacity or jealousy to the codes that govern chivalry and honour. Discord, the results of the break, clangs into war, and with war and in war nothing is impossible.

The Albanian Throne.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Berlin. Jan. 6.

The Constantinople correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* declares that Izzet Pasha's resignation of the post of Minister of War was due to the proposals of the Albanian Mohamedans to make him prince of Albania, and says that he will go to Avlona next week with the Albanian deputation which is at Constantinople. He is said to have expressed his willingness to accept the Albanian offer upon condition that Albania becomes not a kingdom, but a principality, and for at least ten years is placed under the control of Austria-Hungary and Italy. The campaign in favour of Izzet seems to be taken seriously here.

Prince William of Wied, who has been spending Christmas and new year at Neuwied, returned to Potsdam to-day.

31st January.

Rome. Jan. 7.

The *Tribuna* finds comfort in the reflection that the Provisional Government of Albania had evidently no part in the attempt on the part of the Turks to instal Izzet Pasha as Sovereign, and that Ismail Kemal Bey and his gendarmerie have been fully equal to the occasion. On the whole the journal is not disposed to attach much importance to this unsuccessful enterprise or to retreat from its statement that the Eastern situation has much improved in these last days.

Rome, Jan. 7.

A telegram from Avlona of to-day's date says:—

Yesterday evening an Austrian steamer arrived here from Constantinople with 200 Turkish soldiers and six Turkish officers. The intention was to land the troops by night, raise the population and proclaim Izzet Pasha as Sovereign of Albania. The Provisional Government, in agreement with the International Commission of Control and the Dutch gendarmerie officers, immediately proceeded to arrest the Turkish troops. The incident has created a profound impression here.

Paris, Jan. 7.

The rumours as to Izzet Pasha's designs upon the Albanian Throne are treated here, as in Berlin, with seriousness. It is thought that the Turkish Government can scarcely be ignorant of the Young Turkish agitation in Albania, and the rumour that bands dispatched by the Committee of Union and Progress are on their way to San Giovanni di Medua is regarded as a further indication of the aggressive policy of the present Ottoman Ministry.

The Avlona correspondent of the *Temps* states that the International Commission of Control has received trustworthy information to the effect that Young Turkish bands are preparing to land at San Giovanni di Medua. In view of this information it has been decided, after consultation with Colonel Philipps, who commands at Skutari, to obtain the consent of the Powers for the dispatch of a company of international troops to the Alessio region. Avlona was placed under martial law last night.

Constantinople. Jan. 7.

The *Turquie* to-day published a sensational announcement to the effect that Izzet Pasha, a former Cabinet Minister and now an Inspector-General in the Army and a Senator who is of Albanian origin, has been proclaimed Prince of Albania at Durazzo. Turkish official circles deny all knowledge of any such event, or of any such intention on the part of Izzet Pasha, who was recently reported as being about to proceed on a journey to an unspecified portion of Europe. The language of a section of the Committee Press, which has never ceased to express regret at the appointment of a Christian Prince to the Albanian Throne coupled with the fact that an Albanian deputation recently visited Constantinople with the avowed object of interesting Izzet Pasha or other prominent Turkish officers in the situation of the Albanian Moslems, certainly produce the impression that the Committee of Union and Progress, or at all events an influential section of that body is inclined to support any move calculated to strengthen Albania against Greece, or at least to embarrass the latter country. Whether the Powers are regarded as serious factors in the future of Albania is another question. It is certain that not a few well-informed Turks and Europeans are very sceptical about the ability of the European Concert to lend any real support to its candidate for the Albanian throne. One may add that predictions of the appearance of Albanian, Bulgarian, and Turkish bands in Macedonia in the spring are uttered with such conviction in well-informed Turkish circles to-day that one is inclined to wonder whether these Ottoman prophets prophesy because they know.

Vienna. Jan. 7,

The proclamation of a state of siege in Avlona by the Provisional Government and the attempted landing of Turkish troops in the supposed interest of Izzet Pasha have produced an unpleasant impression here, where it is believed that the Turkish Government was cognisant of Izzet's intentions.

As an argument in favour of the probable failure of any attempt such as that ascribed to the ex-Minister of War it is repeated that the candidature of Prince William of Wied has met with the unanimous approval of Christians and Mohamedans alike. It must, however, be observed that the Prince himself has not yet officially announced his acceptance of the Throne, which was made dependent on the fulfillment of certain conditions. All these, more especially the financial conditions have not yet been fulfilled, and in well-informed quarters the belief is gaining ground that the delay in regulating these preliminaries is tending to diminish what slight inclination Prince William himself may have possessed to ascend the Throne of the new Albania. To Austria-Hungary and Italy his withdrawal would be unwelcome, and it is believed that these two Powers are determined to uphold as far as possible his candidature in the face of any attempts that may be made in other quarters to set up a rival ruler.

Constantinople Jan. 8.

Izzet Pasha absolutely denies that he had any knowledge that an attempt was about to be made to place him on the Throne of Albania, or that he was party to the Avlona affair. He declines, however, to define his attitude in the event of his being offered the title which the Powers have reserved for Prince William of Wied, and explains that his resignation of the post of Minister of War was due to reasons which he is not yet at liberty to make public. Such is the substance of statement communicated by the Pasha to a representative of the *Tribuna*, which is published to-day by the *Turquie*.

Meanwhile the telegram from Rome describing the recent attempt upon Avlona are very curious reading, and suggest to some observers that, whatever may have been the attitude of the Turkish Government towards the affair, Turkish extremists have played a part in attempting to cause a revolution in Albania. Those who hold this view point out that rumours that an attempt of this sort might be made reached several Embassies before Izzet Pasha had resigned, that Ismail Kemal Bey and other members of the Provisional Government are anathema to the Committee of Union and Progress. They point out, moreover, that the departure of 200 "Albanians" on board the Austrian Lloyd steamer Meran was public property some days ago, but was explained, semi-officially, as being in consequence of the activity of the authorities, who for some months past have been ordering Albanians who lack visible means of support, or are believed to be disaffected, to quit Constantinople. Had the attempt been successful, so argue these observers, the Committee would have been able discreetly to inform its supporters that its efforts had established a Moslem Prince on the Throne of Skanderbeg. If it failed no one, with the exception, perhaps, of Izzet Pasha, would be much the worse. Altogether it was a very spirited and hopeful adventure.

On the other hand, it must be stated that not only do Turkish statesmen deny all knowledge of the affair, but that many politicians, since the news of the Avlona incident reached Constantinople, have been at pains to assure foreigners of their complete indifference to what happens in the Albanian State.

Vienna Jan. 8.

News was received here yesterday evening that a further detachment of 300 Turkish soldiers and officers in mufti had landed at Avlona. They were arrested and will be sent to Trieste, where they will be handed over to the Turkish authorities.

A telegram from Avlona states that one of the principal promoters of the movement which led to the proclamation of a state of siege was arrested at that port to-day on his arrival from Brindisi.

Hilmi Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador at Vienna, has stated to a representative of the Press that the change in the person of the Minister of War had nothing whatever to do with Albania, and that if Izzet Pasha were to assume any post in that country he would cease to be a Turkish subject and Turkey would have no authority over him. The Ambassador added that at one time proposals were made to Turkey that she should extend her influence over Albania and nominate a Turkish Governor. These suggestions were not, however, listened to, and there is no reason to suppose that the Turkish Government has since changed its policy.

The Hindieh Barrage.

The inauguration of the Hindieh Barrage on the Euphrates, which took place on December 12, 1913, marked the beginning of what will, it is to be hoped, prove a new era of prosperity for this region. Sir John Jackson, Limited, had issued invitations to the Governor-General, chief Government officials, foreign Consuls, and the chief people residing in and about Baghdad, a few days previously; and most of the guests, including the Governor-General, arrived on the scene on the evening of the 11th.

As the waters had already been diverted through the Hindieh Barrage in order to allow the dam across the old bed of the Euphrates to be completed, the ceremony was arranged to take place at the Hilla Canal, whose head is about 450 metres above the Barrage. Across this canal, short distance below the regulator had been built a temporary earthen dam, which, on being broken, would supply the first waters to the Hilla Canal.

Early in the morning of the eventful day, the Governor-General, his staff and guests, accompanied by the Military and a military band, proceeded to the Hilla Canal, the banks of which, at the site where the ceremony was to take place, were lined with soldiers, Arab Sheikhs on horseback, and crowds of Arabs. Opposite the dam was erected a maqnee, to which the Governor-General and guests proceeded. Here, Mr. Arthur Whitley (chief representative in Mesopotamia for Sir John Jackson, Limited) made a speech.

Sir W Willcock's Survey.

After thanking the Governor-General, his suite, and guests for having come there to perform and assist at the inauguration of the first completed irrigation work, Mr. Whitley went on to say that the work was destined to bring back to the Babylonian realms the prosperity which had so long been lost through want of water. It would assure a perennial supply to the district affected; and he thought that day would become historical in the annals of Mesopotamia as marking the first step towards revivifying a country which

in past times was celebrated for its productiveness. He then sketched briefly the history of the undertaking. By the sage advice of the Minister of Public Works at Stamboul, Sir William Willcocks was commissioned by the Ottoman Government to survey and prepare plans embodying irrigation schemes for the whole of the delta of Mesopotamia. The majority of these plans were ready in 1910, and it was at once decided to commence the works of the Hindieh Barrage and the Habbania Escape—both on the Euphrates. The former was for the purpose of distributing water from the Euphrates to the various canals above its site, and more particularly to the Hilla Canal (the old bed of the Euphrates); while the Habbania Escape was designed for the purposes of taking off and storing the flood waters which were the cause of disastrous floods during the months of April and May each year. So pressing was this necessity that Sir William Willcocks commenced these works while the Ottoman Government made arrangements with a firm of contractors for their construction. In February, 1911, the Ottoman Government made a contract with Sir John Jackson, Limited, of London, for the works mentioned, and this firm commenced operations immediately.

The works at the Hindieh Barrage (the speaker continued) comprise thirty-six openings, each five metres wide by seven metres high, provided with steel gates for regulating the distribution of water. There is also a submerged barrage, which replaces the old rubble barrage, situated about seven hundred metres below the new works. There are two navigation locks, head regulator for Hilla Canal, and various other subsidiary works. That day witnessed the completion of the essential part of this work, there ramianing still the strengthening of the earthen dam across the Euphrates and smaller works.

Construction Difficulties.

Mr. Whitley could not say that they had arrived at this stage without having encountered difficulties—he did not refer to difficulties of construction. which every engineer expected to meet and overcome in the course of such works. It was only necessary to cast their minds back over the last two years to understand that this had been a very difficult period for the Ministers at Stamboul; but, in spite of all, the works had made progress, and to them the country should offer thanks and congratulations as well as to the Governor-General and officials of Baghdad for having overcome obstacles which sometimes appeared colossal. He did not doubt that those who had participated in bringing matters to their present state would forget the anxieties and troubles met with in remembering that to them belonged the honour of having been the means of bringing to this part of the Ottoman Dominions a boon so large and beneficient.

The speaker concluded: "The firm of Sir John Jackson, Limited on the other hand, have the honour of being the first in this country to bring such a work to a successful conclusion, and bearing in mind that the designer, Sir William Willcocks, attaches great importance to the fact that the Hindieh Barrage and Habbania Escape should be operative at the same time, it is hoped that circumstances will permit of our soon handing to the Government another work ready to render such services as will eliminate the yearly catastrophes occasioned by the floods of April and May.

The Vali's Speech.

To this speech, delivered in French, the Governor-General replied, in Turkish. "We all know," he said, "that the Sanjak of Diwania is one of the most important parts of Irak. The present state of neglect is due to the change of course of the Euphrates, which formerly assured the prosperity to this vast tract. In spite of the difficulties it has encountered, the Government, in order to turn the river back into its former course to give the inhabitants of this *liva* the water they require, and to restore life to these region, has struggled to provide the money necessary for the carrying out of these large and important works. It has persevered in the execution of this work of good-will on behalf of the people." After referring in terms of appreciation to the technical administration, His Exellency went on to say that the works already completed not sufficing for the irrigation of the whole district and the needs of its people, he promised to spare no effort to bring about the execution of what was yet lacking in order to assure the welfare of the *liva*. He concluded by thanking the Company assembled to take part in the inauguration.

The Governor-General, followed by the principal personages present, then descended the river bank by a special staircase, and proceeded along a narrow bank of earth which held back the water of the Hilla Canal. Prayer was then offered up, the Moslems present standing at attention, with the palms of their hands extended upward, until it was finished. Then the labourers sacrificed twenty sheep on the dam on which the Governor-General stood. Thereafter the Governor-General removed a little earth from the bank with a native spade, as did the Engineer-in Chief, the Resident Engineer and other persons.

The Diversion of the Waters.

About twenty labourers had been stationed on the bank ready to cut it away; and now, at a given signal, they began to work furiously to remove the last obstacle to the progress of the water towards Hilla. In about five minutes this was accomplished—photos being taken meanwhile—and then, amidst cheers, the shrill cries of the Arab women, and the firing of shots into the air, the water broke through and proceeded down the canal. A few Arab women rushed into the water and bathed—"for good luck," it was understood. The assembly lining both banks, numbering about 6,000, then dispersed.

After the ceremony Sir John Jackson, Limited entertained the chief visitors at lunch to which about one hundred and fifty person sat down. Monsieur Edmond Bechara, the Ottoman Government Engineer-in-chief for irrigation in Mesopotamia, made an interesting speech, in the course of which he remarked that the day of Irak's misfortune were passed, and urged his com-patriots to face the future with confidence. The Barrage, he said, was a gift of the Constitution; and he paid homage to the Ministers of Public Works—Nouradunghian Effendi, Haladjian Effendi, and Nizami Pasha—who had worked so hard on its behalf, and to the different Valis who had ably seconded their efforts, especially to Colonel Jemal Bey, to whom the speaker was indebted for having been chosen as head of the Irrigation Service of Irak. Sir William Willcocks, the contractors, Sir John Jackson, Limited, their resident engineer, Mr. Whitley, and his able assistant, Mr. Warbrick, were also warmly thanked; and the speaker declared that if the opening of the Habbania works could be accomplished within two years the debt to their British helpers would be all the greater. He concluded by urging the people of Irak to take full advantage of the opportunities afforded them by the construction of the Barrage, and to unite in restoring the historic land to its former state of verdure and fertility, qouting from the Koran the words:" And by means of water hast God given life to all things."

Meissner Pasha, Engineer-in-Chief for the Baghdad section of the German railway, congratulated Sir John Jackson, Limited, on the excellence of the work he had seen.

Mr. Arthur Whitley thanked M. M. Bechara and Meissner Pasha for their kind references and took the opportunity to thank the Ottoman Government for the courtesy and good-will shown by their representative. He said that it had been a great help to recognise that the Valis had soon after their arrival in this country understood the importance of this work, and in the interests of the country had done all that was possible to further the work confided to Sir John Jackson Limited. To the Treasurers were due thanks and congratulations for having found a way out of extraordinary difficulties which sometimes had arisen, and he had no doubt that the gentlemen referred to would bear him out when he said that his firm had rendered them some assistance during the critical periods. He expressed sincere thanks to Mons. Bechara and his staff for their technical aid, which was always gladly offered. Sometimes they (Sir John Jackson, Limited) had thought that the inspection had been perhaps a little rigorous, but he had to admit that their decision was honourable and just. Before sitting down, Mr. Whitely thanked his colleague, Mr. Warbrick, and his staff for the loyal way in which they had worked and said, that if at times they had felt things were not quite like an ordinary contract it was, felt sure, all forgotten now in the knowledge that they were the pioneers for the firm in a new country. After Mr. Warbrick had replied the party broke up, the Governor-General and most of the visitors returning to Baghdad.—*The Near East*

Turkey's New Loan.

During his stay in Paris, Rifaat Bey, the Turkish Minister of Finance, was interviewed by a representative of the *Financial Times*, in the course of which he denied that his presence in Paris was connected with Turkish loan negotiations. With respect to the various rumours circulating on the subject of a Turkish loan of 700 millions of francs (or £28,000,000), and more especially with reference to the criticism that such a sum was very far from sufficient to put the finances of the Ottoman Empire in order, and that if Turkey really wished to set her house definitely in order £80,000,000 would be required, the Minister replied as follows:—

"In order to pay the salaries in arrears of a number of officials and to pay a number of outstanding debts to contractors, we require about £T6,000,000. The remainder of the projected loan is intended to be used to pay off the Treasury bonds now held by foreign bankers and to construct the Black Sea Railways.

"With regard to the assertion that if Turkey wished to set her finances completely in order a sum of £80,000,000 at least would be required, the only reply I can give you is that persons making such an assertion are not at all acquainted with the financial position in Turkey. . . .

31st January

"The economic development of Asia Minor can only take place progressively. This part of the Empire cannot be turned into a flourishing and rich country from one day to the other, but requires many long years of steady and persistent efforts. There is, therefore, no immediate necessity to provide all the capital necessary for the 'putting into value' of Asia Minor. The money could be provided as the economic conditions of the country gradually develop."

MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

Asked whether it was true that a portion of the loan of £28,000,000, projected to be raised in France, was destined to military expenditure, and especially to the purchase of a super-Dreadnought, the "Rio de Janeiro," the Minister replied: "It is quite untrue to assert that any portion of this projected loan to be raised in France will be applied to the payment of the super-Dreadnought from Messrs. Armstrong or for military supplies from Messrs. Vickers or any other foreign firm. Allow me to repeat that the £28,000,000 in question will, as I have already told you, be applied to paying the old debts of the Turkish Government, now in suspense, and next to constructing the Black Sea railways the concessions for the working of which are about to be granted to various French syndicates."

Rifast Bey was most positive in insisting that the Turkish Government would never fail to respect the engagements it had contracted with its foreign bond-holders. He added, "even if Turkey were obliged to deprive herself of her most pressing home requirements she would still honour the interest due on her foreign debts, and nothing in the world would induce her to bring discredit on the service of the public debt. "You may," he added, "formally and officially deny the statement that the Grand Vizier ever made the statements attributed to him."

THE BUDGET.

Referring to the budget, he said that the receipts are expected to total £127,334,300, and the expenditure is put at £T32,740,000, thus leaving a deficit of £T5,406,000.

All nations, except Russia and the United States, have agreed to Turkey's increasing her *ad raolrem* duties from 11 per cent to 15 per cent., and if Turkey should be enabled to carry this proposal into effect, the increase of 4 per cent., it is estimated, will produce an additional revenue of £T2,000,000, which whould thus reduce the deficit to £T3,506,000.

The Porte hopes that the Balkan States will, as arranged, take over such a portion of the Ottoman Debt as is represented by the territories conquered from Turkey, which would take the form of an annuity of about £T1,250,000. In this way, if the amount of such annuity be deducted from the estimated expenditure, it is hoped to be submitted to the Turkish Parliament two months hence, the Budgetary deficit will not exceed £T2,500,000.—The *Near East*.

Two years of Italian Imperialism.

The Italian General Elections, which took place on October 26th and November 2nd, resulted in the enormously increased number of seats and votes gained by those parties, leaders and personalities who most consistently opposed the Libyan war; and this chiefly in the great manufacturing towns and the best educated rural areas of Nothern and Central Italy; it cannot therefore be attributed to the recent enfranchisement of illiterates. Signor Luigi Villari's account of the matter in your columns last November is obviously at fault. I propose to try a completer one based on accessible sources and designed also to correct the accounts of some British writers, who either too knavely trusted Italian official information, or, as it would seem, have been more anxious not do displease the official and fashionable circles of Florence and Rome in which they move, than of attaining to historical truth.

Readers only moderately acquianted with its history, and the garland of British song it inspired, will agree that the Italian *Risorgimento* is not surpassed or even equalled by any other national movement in lofty idealism and heroic loyalty to principles of individual and national rights and of human solidarity between nation and nation. As soon, however, as social problems began to claim the hitherto undivided attention demanded by the process of national unification, a new spirit began to make itself felt. Mr Bolton King and Mr. Thomas Okey have well described in *Italy To-day* the spring-tide of Italian socialism and its undeniably great work in teaching workmen and peasants the use of the vote and of organisation; in promoting social legislation; in raising wages; and more especially in abolishing electoral bribery in most northern and central manufacturing towns and in widely extended rural areas. Unfortunately since 1902, when the Socialist Party began to exert a great and often decisive part in Parliamentary affairs (a part whose climax was reached in 1911, on the eve of the war, by the granting of a widened franchise, including even illiterates, and the creation of a State monopoly of life insurance), the party became bitterly divided on the question of lending support to, or taking office in, Liberal Ministries. These quarrels, and the crisis of the Marxian theory of social evolution, the appearance of syndicalism, the abuse of national and local general strikes in public services, often from trifling causes, brought about a falling-off of enthusiasm and energy, and the timid became alarmed at the great influence of Socialism.

University students, hitherto attracted to Socialism, began to be influenced by new philosophical and sociological tendencies. They studied social Darwinism, Nietzche, pragmatism, while the press echoed the mighty rivalries of world-wide empires for naval supremacy and economic expansion. These studies produced in many minds that confusion of thought so skillfully analysed in Mr. Hobhouse's *Democracy and Reaction*, and resulted in a non-ethical, aggressive view of life and history. It seemed such a relief to shake off the yoke of naturalistic fatalism and the nightmare of the inevitable superiority of the Teutonic over the Latin race. They sunned themselves in joyous anarchy. They felt themselves participators in a creative historical evolution. Then, if other nations were coveting colonies, why should not Italy too, from whose shores yearly swarms of four hundred or even eight hundred thousand men sailed to earn their bread abroad, often only to forget their sweet native tongue and to become citizens of foreign lands? In this spirit the spring of 1911 witnessed the celebrations of the jubilee of national unity. The great turning-point had come; the ideal impulses which had hitherto fed the Socialist movement began to flow into imperialistic channels; and it may be said with some truth that those who started the Press campaign for the Libyan war did it not without hope of preventing the advent of the widened franchise and of the State life insurance monopoly, and perhaps of dealing also a mortal blow to the Socialist Party.

But all this would fail to account for the popularity of the war apart from the influence of the Press. In Italy almost everybody reads one paper only; independence of printed matter is a very rare thing; there is practically no independent Press; all the greatest dailies are supported by powerful private interests or are owned by trusts and they promote the interest which support them by systematically discouraging habits of thoughtful criticism, by exploiting the native aestheticism of the Italian people and ceaselessly cultivating frivolity, sensationalism, gloating over details of crimes and scandals, evoking, according to the subject, either the sceptical or the arrogant mood, and chiefly bent, not on speaking but on manufacturing truth. Such a press, otherwise technically excellent and well written, is not infrequently served by unscrupulous men ever ready to sell themselves to the higest bidder, ambitions of worldly success by subserving powerful *coteries*. As a rule, each paper voices only its owner's views; no letters to the editor or opponent's articles are, except on trifling matters, admitted to give readers the other side of a question. Therefore, it is the barest truth to say that in Italy, as in France and Germany, Public opinion is a Press-created opinion. *The Libyan war was essentially a Press-organised war, the work of literati, æsthetes, and self-styled INTELLECTUALS of all sorts, exploited by the military and naval classes and the industries dependent thereon, and knavely thought to be a crusade, all whose cost in money and blood was paid for by the people at large.* Therefore, when the war broke out, public opinion was worked up to acclaim it and to *silence*, as Signor Villari humorously puts it, opposition. Four or five months before the war, a band of unscrupulous writers from Tripoli sent to the most popular dailies articles magnifying every little misdeed of Turkish administration, sketching fancy pictures of the country they dated call *The Promised Land*. They distorted and falsified Strabo and Pliny to prove that Libya was a second granary of Rome; that water was abundant; the land rich in phosphates and sulphur mines, capable of diverting from America the big stream of Italian emigration, of renewing the miracle of the colonization of the Pampas, and redeeming Italy from the necessity of buying her cotton from the United States. In vain some of the best authorities on the geography, geology, history, and economy of Libya and Islam, such as Prof. Gaetono Mosca, Arcangelo Ghisleri, the Prince of Teano (a Conservative M.P., author of the world-renowned *Annals of Islam*, and for twenty-five years traveller and student of the coveted land), uttered warning against these illusions, which are still shared by Italian writers such as signor Villari, and tried to stem the flood of geographical, economical and historical errors poured forth from the columns of the *Corriere della Sera*, *Tribuna*, *Stampa*, *Giornale d'Italia*, *Mattino*, &c., by a self-constituted university of omniscient professors; it was deemed unpatriotic to hint at their possible untruth. They were, however, systematically collected and exploded in the *Unita* of Florence, and have been mercilessly shattered by the publications of the official scientific commission sent by the Government to Tripoli, on whose report the war Press is astonishingly silent. Not the slightest trace of phosphates or sulpher mines; no hope of successful introduction of Italian agricultural methods; no superficial or deep-rising artisian wells; the problem of drinking-water for possible Italian settlers still awaiting solution; no actual or possible analogy between Libya and the American Pampas owing to the essentially different climate.[1]

(1) *Primi studi agrologici sulla zona di Tripoli*, Bergamo, 10 lire.

Moreover, every bit of cultivated land is already owned, and properties are much sub-divided. The present form of nomad agriculture is the only one adapted to local conditions, which are incompatible with agriculture of the Italian type; and the returns are always lower than the lowest in Italy. The most profitable industry appears to be cattle-raising. But given the climate and the mountain system of Tripolitania, which both preclude the existence of varying zones of cultivation, nomadic life alone is possible. Signor Ghino Valenti, one of the best agrarian economists in Italy, states that while America allows the Italian emigrant to accumulate a capital, Libya will require the immigrant to be in a position to risk a capital already in existence, in order not to relapse into a condition far worse than that which compelled him to leave his native land. Moreover, it is not true that Italian emigrants are badly paid, since they forward to Italy about twenty millions sterling yearly; and if we remember that many of them are peasant proprietors whose meagre fields do not enable them to live on their native soil, it is absurd to think that Libya will ever take the place of America. The writer of this paper has heard Italian emigrants, who joined the ranks destined for the conquest of Libya, express their utter disappointment with regard to the hopes so irresponsibly kindled in them, and deny any possible analogy, from the emigrant's standpoint, between Libya and America. What Signor Villari says in regard to emigrants anxious to settle in Libya may have been true at the beginning of the infatuation; *now* it is most emphatically true that the keenest critics of the war and its illusion are the soldiers returning to their native land. Moreover, the problem is complicated by the fact that since Libyan products are similar to Italian, they must compete with those of Southern Italy and Sicily. Finally, with regard to the alleged necessity of colonies to prevent the denationalisation of emigrants and their despised condition in foreign lands, the obvious reply is: *first*, that they would not be so despised if what to them is only ironically a *motherland* provided them with good education, developing their rich natural endowments so as to make the world feel their unique and inestimable value; and, *secondly*, that if the sense of organisation were duly cultivated they might, without war, slowly and insensibly impress their genius on and become the governing *elite* of those countries wherein they are already, or are approaching, a numerical majority.

Not unaware of the feeble, fanciful character of all these prospects, the supporters of the Libyan expedition emphasised arguments relating to its political and strategical character. The conquest of Libya, it was said, was necessary to prevent Italy being expelled from the Mediterranean and isolated and cut off from the work of civilisation; to obtain from Turkey, who only gives way to force, favours on behalf of our Levantine trade; or to raise our prestige in the world, which had fallen since the defeats of Lissa (1866) and Adowa (1896). Tripoli, others added, would then form the nucleus of a new Empire destined, in process of time, to absorb Tunis and Algeria and Egypt as far as Abyssinia. Otherwise, sooner or later, England and France might advance from the hinterland to the sea-shore, or some German interest might establish itself in Tripoli or in Cirenaica. And it would seem, indeed, that the real pretext or final determining cause of the Italian expedition was really a vague hint that some German interest was about to obtain concessions from Turkey, till then reluctant to grant similar concessions to Italy. This explanation appears the more probable since all were agreed that the occupation was to be a military promenade without the sacrifice of a dead or a wounded soldier; that the Arabs were anxious to receive the Italians with open arms, and the whole business, according to the Prime Minister's statement to the *New York Herald*, would not cost more than four millions sterling. No wonder, therefore, if in a year filled with patriotic celebrations of the Nation's Jubilee, the whole country, worked up as it was, applauded the prospect of crowning the year with one *fete* more, only just a little more dramatic? Does Signor Villari think that without the fables concerning the *Promised Land* and the belief in its peaceful occupation, the enthusiasm would have been so unanimous?

Now, so far as these arguments are concerned, it may be said: (*a*) It is obvious that, to prevent another Power obtaining exclusive privileges in Turkey, it would have been sufficient for Italy to conclude an alliance or an *entente* with Turkey in exchange for the coveted commercial concessions; or that, in joint action with other Powers, Italy might have asked for the open door and equality of opportunity in Tripoli; for, all that was worth obtaining commercially in Tripoli would have been obtained without the cost of a military occupation, which has absorbed the value of such trade for perhaps more than half a century. (*b*) In regard to the strategical and political value of the occupation, it is now admitted that, at least for the present, the nation is weakened in its European influence, owing to the army kept in Libya, and that this is one cause of the increased military armaments in Germany; it is also admitted that as soon as possible Italy must increase her army and navy: this much was admitted by the *Tribuna* and *Corriere della Sera* of April 3rd last. And even the blind can see that it is more difficult and costly to defend a widely extended coast than to defend the already long and exposed coast of the peninsula and its two greater islands; indeed, there are naval experts who believe that the national defence has been permanently weakened, and there are economists who think that the Libyan war has permanently increased the annual national expenditure by more than ten millions sterling. (*c*) In regard to the increased prestige, it may be safely said that for many years Italy has not suffered such an affront as the recent decrees of Austrian governors in the yet unredeemed provinces of Trent and Trieste, who dismissed all Italian subjects from employment in the municipal offices of these provinces, independently of the length of their service; decrees as yet followed by no satisfaction. Moreover, neither in Italy among the multitudes feeding our emigration, nor in the lands receiving them, can such prestige be increased by the fact that this year only a miracle seems likely to prevent emigration statistics exceeding 800,000.

Signor Villari feels indignant at the severe attitude of European public opinion with regard to the officially denied Italian atrocities, and explains such attitude as an expression of hostility towards Italy, by powerful international financial interests, through salaried war correspondents. I will briefly remark on this painful topic that in the war correspondence of some Italian dailies (see Luigi Lucatelli in *Secolo*, 8 November) and in soldiers' letters printed in the provincial press, less muzzled, and even inclined to take such feats as acts of bravery, such things can be read as surpassing in atrocity everything written by foreign correspondents. Several of these letters have been collected for posterity by Signor Ghisleri in his leaflet on the *Libyan War and the Law of Nations*. The official explanation of such excesses is simply untrue. Readers of the Turin *Stampa* (29 December, 1912) and the Naples *Mattino* (31 December, 1912), and even of the *Giornale d'Italia* (23 October, 1912), all three Jingo papers, besides readers of Signor De Felice's articles in Sicilian papers (he is an M.P. who went to Tripoli as war correspondent), will have received from eye-witnesses the true and hitherto unchallenged account of the Shara-Shat misdeeds. There was neither rebellion nor treachery by the Arabs, simply an encircling operation, against which the Italian military authorities took no precautions, and which caused a terrible panic among the Italian troops. There was nothing to punish; the oasis slaughter stands unjustified; nor do the Turkish atrocities affect the point, for they were only discovered later; and, after all, if you worry wasps it is silly to complain of being stung. The strictest official censorship controlled the Press, so that that alone should be printed which the Government desired should be believed; and correspondents who reported the *true facts* were mercilessly expelled. It is indeed difficult to find in modern history another such successfully organised deception of a whole nation; of a whole nation so perfectly hypnotised, now into ecstatic passiveness, now into hysterical enthusiasm or indignation by the systematic daily and hourly elaboration of new lies by the Press.

Was the war of any moral or spiritual value? Its first effect was to relax the already rather loose control over the Administration; Parliament was not re-opened, and remained closed for an unusually long period. When re-opened, opposition was silenced or abdicated its functions; in the Press, criticism was suspended; to Socialists alone was left the rare honour of standing alone against the all but universal infatuation. The naval and military industries regained the uncontrolled mastery of the State purse, which the Parliamentary enquiry of 1906 had shaken, and the war expenditure was conducted by methods which no Court would approve of in the case of private individuals; and *a greater sincerity in the compilation of Budgets* was declared desirable in his election programme by no less a statesman than Baron Sidney Sonnino, the leader of the old Conservative Party. The figures given by Signor Villari represent only money actually paid by the Treasury to the Army and Navy Department, exclusive of pensions, repairs, &c, the total cost of the war is by experts put between forty and sixty millions sterling. The war, though officially ended at Lausanne, really continues at a cost of forty thousand pounds daily. Nobody now denies that either a foreign loan or new taxes will be urgently needed; and though the Prime Minister declared that new taxation must fall on the wealthy alone, he did not explain how, under the present extremely defective Italian methods of ascertaining incomes and the ultra-protectionist fiscal system, such taxation could be prevented from weighing in the long run chiefly on the working classes.

Owing to the world-wide boom in trade, existing taxes have yielded exceedingly well, but surpluses cannot go on for ever, and these taxes weigh heavily on bread, salt, sugar, clothing, and other necessities. Owing to protection, the cost of living on the Continent has increased by about 10 per cent. more than in England. Surpluses ought, therefore, either to lead to a *pro tanto* reduction

of existing taxation, or be employed in building better roads, in openning new schools, or raising the shamefully low salaries of elementary and secondary teachers. Meanwhile, it is certain that in the proportion in which money will be wasted in more and less useless public works in Libya, *pro tanto* urgent needs in the peninsula, and chiefly in the south, will be neglected. It is now fashionable in Italy to resent the assertion that Italy is not rich, and that, though in fifty years united Italy has worked marvels, there still exists in her mids' such misery, such illiteracy, such lack of civilisation and political education, chiefly but not exclusively in the south, as to make it almost incredible that she should boast of exporting to Libya a commodity of which so many among her own people are so sorely in want. But recent elections prove conclusively that these words are not too strong. Nobody in Italy, even among so-called Radicals, feels as an anomaly the direct interference of the Government through the local authorities to obtain a majority or to ask Government support in the elections. In the south, chiefly in Molfetta and Bitonto, Government representatives, in obvious alliance with hooligans, made it quite impossible for thousands of opponents, through sheer terror, to leave their homes on election day, or allowed them to be bullied, kicked, and robbed of their certificates before the polling stations. Police delegates organised and guided hordes of hooligans, who attacked the opposition candidate not only with stones and sticks, but even with pistols and bombs. One of the commonest practices of the State police, as proved recently in a Milanese court was employed on a wide scale in the South during recent elections: knives were placed in people's pockets during meetings and processions, who were arrested and brought before the court as bearers of illegal weapons. Needless to say, judges always accept police evidence as final.

Intimidation on behalf of Ministerial candidates was unprecedented, most of whom owed their success to a compromise with Clericals. The elections, nevertheless, resulted in the moral defeat of the Ministry: the anti-war parties, chiefly Socialists and their *discredited leaders*, as Signor Villari has it, more than doubled their numbers and polled more than a million votes. The leading free trader and pacifist, Signor Giretti, who unlike more faint-hearted pacifists, did not shrink at the Peace Congress at Geneva from condemning the war, triumphed in spite of unexampled Governmental pressure. The country, owing to its moral and economic strength gained during the peaceful period of 1896-1911, has supported the war with energy and resource superior to expectation unhappily, however, squandered in a futile enterprise.

But the country is now wearied by a wasteful, arrogant policy, which destroys its reputation for Liberalism and promotes a dangerous rivalry in naval armaments in the Mediterranean, with its danger of further imperialistic ventures. Already the present Ministry is in difficulties and their successors' task will be a heavy one; already an adequate defence of Libya by sea and land threatens to involve a further expenditure of some forty millions sterling; and the working classes and the awakening South are demanding a better and worthier lot. . . . Surely it is yet too soon to draw the whole moral of the Tripoli raid.

My countryman who share Signor Villari's views will denounce as unpatriotic his account of Italian policy in a foreign periodical. But truth knows no barriers, and, moreover, it is very unfair that supporters of the now prevailing Italian policy should alone claim the privilege exalting it and of sneering at its opponents in the foreign Press, while at the same time claiming to impose on them the duty of patriotic silence, thus levelling down patriotism to an enlarged form of loyalty among associated evil-doers. Surely those who to promote this war did not shrink from organising the systematic deception of their countryman, and now appear as having offered to the world an unprecedented example of corporate stubborn mendacity, have sinned against Itlays' good name and majesty far worse than anyone humbly endeavouring to show how, after all, she was not wholly deceived and is already on the way to regaining her better self.

ANGELO CRESPI.

References: The invaluable collection of the *Unita* of Florence, edited by Prof. Salvemine, and containing the best concrete discussions of the most pressing Italian problems. Via Lungarno Vespucci 12b.

Arcangle Ghisleri: *Tripolitania e Cirenaica dal Mediterraneo al Sahara*, 3rd edition, Bergamo, Istituto d'artigrafiche, 1913; by far the best study of the region.

Arcangelo Ghisleri: *La guerra libica e il diritto delle genti*, Liberia politica moderna, Roma 1931; contains a valuable bibliography.

See in *Corriere della Sera* of November 6th, Signor Ojetti's letter on the Governmet police's brigandage in Molfetta. The Bourbons are almost rehabilitated; the *Corriere* is a Jingo conservative paper, and therefore the letter is all the more significant.

Cynicism Old and New.

Cynicism is not fashionable nowadays either as a philosophy or as a method of humour. We no longer take any pleasure in talking scandal about human nature, at least we leave it to men of science to do that, and they do it without any of the gusto of the humourist. The old humorous cynicism was a mischievous attack upon human prestige and dignity. When men were supposed to be a little lower than the Angels, there was some fun in showing their likeness to the beasts. But when that likeness has become a commonplace of science and man has been dethroned by his own thought, cynicism is merely platitude and has as little liveliness about it as copybook morality. No doubt there was a time when the saying that no great man is a hero to his valet seemed both wicked and surprising. But that epigram has been expanded into stout volumes about the connexion between genius and epilepsy, which make us almost thankful that we have not the misfortune to be great. It was possible once to be cynical about Joan of Arc, to prove with some vivacity that she was an impostor supported by priests and statesmen for their own ends,and wit could sparkle over the contrast between this imposture and the splendour of the national legend that it produced. But when medical science takes the matter up and tells us that Joan herself was only the most hysterical person in an age of hysteria, then we have no spirit left to be cynical. Rather we become hypochondriacal about humanity and are tempted to feel that a rest cure is the proper remedy for all its conflicts and glories, for all the illusions which the flesh imposes upon a non-existent spirit.

There is a kind of confidence and security in cynicism which we lack nowadays. Doctor Johnson said that any man who depreciated himself only did so to show how much he had to spare. After all the discoveries and theories of the last hundred years we do not feel that humanity has enough to spare for cynicism. We have scientific formula for all the old jokes that were made against it, and so the jokes sound to us too much like truth to be amusing. There was a kind of cynical rage in men like Swift which came of disappointment. He felt that he had been taken in by the pretensions of humanity and he reveiled them as impostors who might be chastened by the revelation of their own baseness. To him also the animalism of men was mere perversity. His yahoos were bestial by their own fault and therefore lower than beasts; there was something devilish in them which he hated and which he hoped to punish by making them hate themselves. But if Swift were alive now he would leave the description of yahoos to conscientious naturalists such as Zola. His genius, however fierce and unhappy, could not ease itself with cynicism, for it would find no pretensions in humanity to destroy. Nowadays a Swift, writing as he wrote, would have all dull men on his side, and that would be intolerable to him. His rage could not vent itself in scientific platitudes, and it would have therefore to find a vent in some kind of rebellion against them.

Samuel Butler was the last of the cynics; and his behaviour proves how difficult it is to be a cynic in the modern world; for he saw that, if he was to escape platitude, he must always keep his temper with mankind. To fall into a rage with humanity was to confess that you had harboured obsolete expectations of it, that you were making discoveries which every one else had made long ago. He therefore remained perfectly calm and treated human beings as if they were rather amusing creatures who might enjoy themselves as much as he enjoyed them if only they would not take anything too seriously. He was, indeed, the first to be cynical about modern science; for he refused to take that any more seriously than any other human product. He smiled at our modern discoveries as much as at our old pretensions. Thus he pointed the way out of the depression which those discoveries have caused. For after all, if we take our own discoveries about ourselves too much to heart, it must be because we have an excessive opinion of our own wisdom. It is conceit that makes us sure of our own insignificance, for if we were not conceited we should be sure of nothing. We are still trusting in our own understanding of the universe even when we give ourselves a very low place in it. He therefore was cynical about that understanding; and in this ultimate cynicism of his there was the germ of a new mysticism, a mysticism which smiles at the self-confidence of man when he declares himself to be nothing but matter. If we have a very low opinion of ourselves we are not likely to be right, for there is an evident inconsistency between that opinion and our confidence in it. So cynicism begins to comfort us when there remains nothing discomforting for it to say.—The *Times*.

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SUMMONS FOR DISPOSAL OF SUIT.

(*Order V, rules 1 and 5, of Act V of 1908.*)

SUIT No 271 OF 1913.

IN THE COURT OF THE MUNSIF OF FYZABAD.

Gharib, son of Durga, Kalwar of Mohalla Fatehganj, Dal Mandi, district Fyzabad ... ... *Plaintiff,*

versus

Mahabir Baqqal, etc. ... ... *Defendants*

To Raghubeer Baqqal, son of Sital, of mohalla Khodaganj, city Fyzabad, at present residing at Amra Tola Bazar, city Calcutta, as Palladar, through Madho c/o Parag Maharaj, *Dal* seller of mohalla Emami Basta, city Calcutta, No. 258 and 3, defendant No. 2.

WHEREAS, the abovenamed plaintiff has instituted a suit against you for foreclosure of decree, you are hereby summoned to appear in this Court n person, or by a pleader, duly instructed and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied by some person able to answer all such questions on the 4th day of February 1914, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer the claim ; and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to produce on that day all the witnesses, upon whose evidence and all the documents uopn which you intend to rely in support of your defence. Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given unde my hand and the seal of the Court, this 23rd day of January 1914.

BY ORDER,

(Sd.) SHIAMJI LAL, *Munsarim,*

Munsif's Court, Fyzabad.

NOTICE.

(1)—Should you apprehend your witnesses will not attend of their own accord, you can have a summons from this Court to compel the attendance of any witness, and the production of any document that you have a right to call upon the witness to produce, on applying to the Court and on depositing the necessary expenses.

(2)—If you admit the claim, you should pay the money into Court, together with the costs of the suit, to avoid execution of the decree, which may be against your person or property, or both.

(3)—A* accompanies this summons.

NOTE.—*If written statements are required, say.*—You are (or such a party is, as the case may be) required to put in a written statement by the.....day of.....

*Fill in "copy of the plaint" *or* "concise statement of the nature of the claim," as the case may be *vide* Order V, rule 2, Code of Civil Procedure.

Hours of attendance at the office of the Munsif's Court at Fyzabad from 10 A.M. to 4 P.M.

Saharanpur District Fair.

♣ ♣ ♣ ♣ ♣

The Saharanpur District Fair will take place from March the 3rd to March the 9th, 1914. Exhibits must be in their places not later than February 25th. Exhibition includes Agricultural, Machinery and Industrial Courts, Horse, Cattle and Poultry Shows, Races, Wrestling, etc. etc.

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