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The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal. Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share;
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere;
They only live who dare!

—*Morris.*

Vol. 7. Single Copy
No. 12. Annas 4. Delhi: Saturday, March 21, 1914. Annual Subscription
Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1

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The Week.

Turkish Finance Minister.

Constantinople, Mar. 11.

Djavid Bey has been appointed Minister of Finance to replace Rifaat Bey, who is ill.

King of Albania.

London, Mar. 11.

Prince William of Wied has appointed a Dutch, Major Thomson, to be administrator of the districts of Korytza and Argyrokastro. Thomson accompanied by several Dutch has gone thither.

Durazzo, Mar. 12.

A proclamation by the Prince of Wied appeals for the hearty co-operation of Albanians in promoting the progress of the country and summons them to rally round their King.

Indians in East Africa.

Mombasa, Mar. 11.

The Indian Congress has passed a resolution "adopting the fundamental principle of the right of Indians now and henceforth entitled here to complete equality of treatment." The Congress also decided to call the attention of the Governor to the absence of an Indian representative on the Council.

Aerial Port.

London, Mar. 12.

Turkey has accepted the French proposals for the establishment of an aerial postal service between Aleppo and Bagdad.

Indians in South Africa.

London, Mar. 14.

The *Times* publishes a telegram from its correspondent in Cape Town announcing that the report of the Indian Commission will be placed on the table in two or three days. It is, says the journal, unanimous with the entirely harmonious relations which existed between the Commissioners and Sir Benjamin Robertson, whose services were invaluable, greatly facilitating the adjustment of differences. The Commission will recommend the abolition of the three pound licence, settlement of the marriage difficulty, and removal of many irritations of the Immigration Act, and predicts corresponding legislation, as the Union Government is most anxious to assist the Imperial and Indian Governments in obtaining a final settlement. The *Times* correspondent forecasts legislation on the lines already indicated. The marriage difficulty, he says, will be solved by admitting one wife from India and making valid marriage with one wife in Indian marriages in South Africa, while not interfering with the liberty of Indians to take wives according to their own religion, though additional wives will not have rights attaching to wives registered under South African law.

In a leading article, the *Times* says that a compromise on the lines of the Commission's report will be honourable to both sides, and extremely advantageous to the prosperity of South Africa and the welfare of the Empire.

Cape Town, Mar. 16.

Mr. Munnik has withdrawn his motion with reference to the presence of Indians within the Union.

London, Mar. 20.

According to telegram from Johannesburg to the *Daily Telegraph* a Mohamedan deputation recently waited upon Sir Benjamin Robertson and requested that Government would recognise the religious aspect of the marriage, divorce and succession laws according to the Koran. They said that Mohamedans would accept nothing less. Sir B. Robertson while sympathising with the deputation twitted them with their long silence. He said that he would lay their request before the Viceroy, but held out no hope. It would be unfair, he declared, to ask the Union Government to change the laws.

The deputation begged Sir B. Robertson to thank the Viceroy for his efforts on their behalf and to assure him that whether the law was passed to suit them or not they would always be loyal to the King and the Flag.

Railways in Asia Minor.

London, Mar. 16.

It is semi-officially announced that the Italian Syndicate for concessions in Asia Minor has signed an *ad eferendum* agreement with the British Smyrna Aiding Railway Company, subject to certain conditions relative to railways.

Imperial Studies.

London, Mar. 16.

The Senate of the University of London has appointed a Committee to advise upon the re-organisation of the Imperial studies in London and the creation of a Department of Imperial Studies. The Committee includes Lord Rosebery, Viscount Bryce, Viscount Hambledon, Sir Krishna Gupta, Sir Harry Johnston, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir Charles Lyall, Sir Theodore Morison, and Professor Hearnshaw.

Wife's Revenge.

Paris, Mar. 16.

The wife of the Minister, M. Caillaux, went to-day to the office of the *Figaro*, which has been vigorously attacking M. Caillaux's policy and fired several revolver shots at the Editor, M. Calmette, wounding him. He is in a critical condition.

Madame Caillaux sent word to M. Calmette that a lady acquaintance wished to see him, but refused to give her name. She waited in the ante-room for half an hour, and then the porter conducted her to M. Calmette's office. Directly she entered, she opened fire without a word.

M. Calmette had risen to receive the visitor, and collapsed into the armchair with two wounds in the region of the heart and one in the stomach.

A bulletin has been issued stating that M. Calmette is wounded in the chest, pelvis, and upper thigh. Prognosis is reserved.

London Mar. 17.

Mr. Calmette has been conveyed to a nursing home. Madame Caillaux is at the police station whither her husband at once went on learning what had occurred. The affair has caused a tremendous sensation.

Later.

M. Calmette is dead.

M. Caillaux has resigned.

Paris has been excited for days by a newspaper duel between M. Calmette and M. Caillaux. The former's animus was always marked and culminated in charges reflecting on the personal honour of M. Caillaux, whom he accused of using his position in the endeavour to obtain huge sums from the Radical party fund and of changing his opinions on income-tax.

M. Calmette was leaving the office with the novelist, M. Bourget, when he received a card from Madame Caillaux. The latter in the coolest possible manner followed the editor into his room and immediately opened fire upon him with a Browning pistol. Calmette fell at the first shot and Madame Caillaux calmly fired four more. Journalists poured into room. They heard Calmette muttering "I only did my duty."

Madame Caillaux, who was a leader of society and a noted beauty told the Police Magistrate afterwards that she only wanted to wound Calmette, that she regretted the act, and would be pleased to hear that her victim was out of danger. She said that she bought the pistol yesterday afternoon.

When M. Caillaux left the police station, a mob rushed forward brandishing sticks and umbrellas and shouting "Down with the assassin," and crowds marched along boulevards crying "Down with Caillaux."

The Mediterranean Problem.

London, Mar. 19.

In the Commons yesterday in Committee on the Naval Estimates, Mr. Aubrey Herbert moved a resolution demanding the maintenance of an adequate force in the Mediterranean in view of the present strategic and political situation and need for protecting the route to India. In reply Sir Edward Grey made a general statement regarding the British policy. He said Mr. Churchill's provision for the Mediterranean could not be described as an abandonment of that position. With reference to Turkey he pointed out that the Government had used diplomatic influence to preserve the Turkish Empire. There had been no financial boycotting of Turkey so far as we were concerned Government could not press British financiers to lend money to Turkey. We had had most explicit assurances from the Turkish Government in the last few weeks that it desires to put its house in order and so do nothing to upset the peace of Europe. If it were found that Greece was fortifying the islands ceded to her in the Aegean, the British Government would sympathise with and acquiesce in any measures adopted by the Powers to prevent the islands being used as a base against Turkey, and would do their best to protect Turkey. The motion was withdrawn.

Indian Reserves.

London, Mar. 18.

Mr. Roberts, replying the House of Commons to-day to Sir Scott Robertson, said that the total amount of gold now held in London in the Paper Currency Reserve and the Gold Standard Reserve is £10,420,00 sterling.

At the rate of interest earned in the past year by the interest-bearing portion of the Gold Standard Reserve, a sum of £10,420,000 would earn £350,301 per annum, but of the gold in question £6,190,000 which is part of the Paper Currency Reserve could not, under the existing currency law, be held otherwise than in metallic form. It was decided in 1912 to increase the amount of gold in the Gold Standard Reserve to five millions. The question when and by how much it shall be further increased is under consideration.

With reference to the recommendations of the Chamberlain Commission, Sir Scott Robertson asked: "Was it not conceivable, in the event of a financial crisis in London, that Indian gold might be employed"?

Mr. Roberts: "I think it is not conceivable that these reserve belonging to India would be used except in the interest of India herself."

Cawnpore Mosque.

Cawnpore, Mar. 17.

The Lieutenant-Governor, during his stay here yesterday, met the trustees of the Cawnpore mosque and discussed with them the plans for the proposed additions to the Mosque, about which there is considerable difference of opinion. The Raja of Mahmudabad was also in Cawnpore yesterday.

Future of India.

London, Mar. 18.

The Reverend Mr. Andrews addressed the East and West Society yesterday evening. He spoke of the heroic conduct of Bengali students during the Burdwan floods, the social service in the Punjab by the Arya Samaj, and the noble self-discipline of the Gurukula at Hardwar. He had found the same spirit among the Indians in South Africa, and saw a great destiny before India, which would be known in the future by her achievements in the moral and spiritual spheres. The education of India's children on the highest indigenous lines was the greatest task before all true lovers of India in the present generation.

Indians in South Africa.

The Viceroy on the Commissioner's Report.

The Viceroy's Appreciation.

Speaking after the lunch interval at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council on the 17th March, the Viceroy said: "Before resuming the business of the Council I am anxious to avail myself of this opportunity to give to hon. members all the information in my possession on a subject which has recently occupied the very serious attention of the Government of India, that is to say the troubles that have arisen in South Africa in connection with the treatment of Indians in that country. This Council will recollect that in consequence of the outbreak of passive resistance and of the strikes in Natal in the month of November last the South African Government appointed a Commission to investigate the causes of the disturbances in Natal and to formulate proposals for dealing with the alleged grievances of the Indian population. That Commission was presided over by a judge of the Supreme Court assisted by two members and a forecast of their conclusions was made public yesterday in the daily Press. The report of the Commission has been laid on the table of the Union Parliament at 2 o'clock to-day and I should now like to explain in fuller detail to my Council, the significance of the Commission's report.

The £3 Tax.

In the first place the Commission recommend the repeal of Section 6 of an Act passed by Natal Government, No. 17 of 1895, which imposed on indentured Indians who have completed their service of indenture and failed either to re-indenture or to return to India, an annual licence tax of £3. I do not desire to weary the Council with a complete history of the negotiations between the Natal Government and the Government of India in 1894 and subsequent years which preceded the imposition and subsequent modification of the tax. Its imposition arose from the fear entertained by the Natal Government that indentured Indians on completion of their indenture, would settle in that colony in such numbers as to form an embarrassing problem to those interested in the future of the country. The Government of India at that time desired to secure the continuance of emigration to Natal as forming a valuable outlet for the surplus agricultural population while maintaining that failure to return to India or to re-indenture at the end of the original indenture period should not entail criminal prosecution and the penalties that are ordinarily attached to breaches of the criminal law. From this point of view the action subsequently taken by the Natal Government, that is to say the imposition of a £3 tax on those who failed to re-indenture or to return to India after the expiry of the period of the original contract, was considered to be the most reasonable solution of a very difficult question. Modifications in the £3 tax have been made from time to time by legislation with the object amongst others of exempting such women as were not in a position to pay. But it has been felt for some time that the tax was undesirable and burdensome and since the complete cessation by order of the Government of India in 1911 of all indentured immigration to Natal, the retention of this tax

and its capricious enforcement, even though it is not levied on more than a small number of those liable, has been a constant source of irritation among Indians in Natal. When the Immigration Act of 1913 was passed it was hoped in many quarters that the occasion might be utilised to repeal this objectionable impost, but this unfortunately was not done. The Government of India welcome the recommendation of the Commission for the repeal of the tax and although they fully realise that the Government of South Africa are not definitely committed to the findings of the Commission they earnestly hope that the Government of the Union may accept this proposal and give effect to it at the earliest possible date by means of the necessary legislation.

The Position of Women.

Next in importance to this question of the repeal of the £3 tax, there is the necessity of providing by some form of legislation for the position of women either in South Africa or desiring to enter South Africa who are married to Indians by a form of union which is not at present recognised by the laws of that country. The South African legislature has hitherto shown disinclination to give any form of legal recognition to marriages performed according to the rites of any religion which permits the practice of polygamy. This attitude has been necessarily extremely embarrassing to Indians in South Africa whether married to one or more wives who desired to obtain recognition for at least one wife. The report of the Commission contains numerous recommendations intended to meet the reasonable requirements of Mohamedans and Hindus in respect of this difficulty. The substance of their recommendations is that a law should be passed providing for the appointment of marriage officers from amongst the Indian priests of different denominations whose duty it would be to solemnise future marriages in accordance with the religion of parties to the transaction and duly to register the same. Only one marriage in each case can be solemnised and registered and it will then have the great advantage of ranking entirely with any other marriage contracted under the laws of the Union. Existing actual monogamous marriages are to be similarly recognised by this law and further provision is to be made for the admission into the Union, along with her minor children of one wife in the case of any Indian who is married according to the tenets of his religion, whether it recognises polygamy or not outside the Union of South Africa, provided that she is the only wife in the country. Further, and this I venture to think is a very noteworthy and important proposal, it is recommended that Indians after registering one wife in the manner to which I have already referred, should not be debarred in any way from contracting other marriages according to their own religious rites, though it will of course be impossible to accord to such marriages any form of legal recognition whatsoever.

Minor Grievances.

Next the Commission have dealt with some minor grievances which formed the subject of protest on the part of the Indian population in South Africa against the recently enacted Immigration Act. They have recommended that a clause in the Act, which repeats the provisions of a law of the Orange Free State directed against the immigration of Asiatics should, I understand, be made unobjectionable by the issue of executive orders of a nature calculated to remove all cause for dissatisfaction. Also that certain existing restrictions with regard to the issue of certificates enabling Indian residents in South Africa to leave the country and to return within a stated period should be modified in a very favourable manner. Measures are also recommended for increasing the facilities for the issue of permits to those Indians who desire to visit the Union for temporary purposes.

Recommendations "Complete and Satisfactory."

In these recommendations I find a very complete and satisfactory attempt to arrive at a final solution of the difficulties that have arisen in South Africa and I should like to take this opportunity of expressing the warm appreciation of the Government of India of the broad and statesmanlike manner in which these difficult questions have been approached and dealt with by the Commission. I believe the presence and active co-operation of Sir Benjamin Robertson, to whom we are indebted for his firm and conciliatory attitude, has very materially contributed to the formulation of these proposals and I feel confident that if, as I sincerely hope will be the case, they are adopted by the Union Government and combined with sympathetic administration of the existing laws, they should undoubtedly lead to a lasting settlement. The Commission of Enquiry regretted very greatly that the Indians, for reasons to which I need not refer, failed to appear before them and to give evidence, not only on the questions with which I have dealt but in connection with the various cases of ill-treatment which were alleged to have occurred at the time the Commission was appointed. I share that regret and I cannot help thinking that the Indians would have been better advised had they accepted the counsel I tendered to them in my speech in Calcutta in December last when I strongly urged that they should appear before the Commission and give their evidence on all matters that were referred to that tribunal for enquiry. The Commission, though labouring under some disadvantage as a result of this abstinence, have framed their recommendations on broad and liberal lines and should the South African Government give effect to these recommendations by legislation I sincerely trust that the settlement thus embodied in the law will be accepted in this country by all loyal subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

♣

Our London Letter.

London, 27th Feb.

Ferid Bey entertained in London.

The Leader of the Egyptian Nationalist Party, Ferid Bey, who came to London to take part in the Nationalities and Subject Races Conference last week, was entertained at the Savoy Hotel on the 21st inst. by the Sphinx Society.

In 1912 Ferid Bey had made a speech to which the Egyptian Government took exception, and the outcome was that sentence of three years' penal servitude was duly passed upon him in his absence. Previous to that, the Leader of the Egyptian Nationalist Party had already undergone a term of six months' imprisonment for writing a preface to a book of poems. He has since made Paris his headquarters and his presence in London on this occasion, as I have already said, is due to the annual Session of the above Conference, which, among other subjects, has discussed the "Press Laws in India and Egypt," with which I dealt in my letter of last week.

Hilmi Effendi, the President of the Sphinx Society, in an admirable speech, described the guest of the evening as a "democrat who believes in national and individual freedom and has sacrificed wealth and liberty and suffered banishment from his noble home for the cause he places above all others."

Ferid Bey, who was received with loud cheers on rising to reply, demanded the complete independence of Egypt from all foreign Powers. He foretold that the Nationalist Party would be very much to the fore at the next elections. "Egypt for the Egyptians," he declared amidst loud and prolonged cheers, "was still their motto and their war-cry."

A very large gathering was present at the reception.

The London Moslem League.

In order to promote social intercourse and free and informal exchange of views between the members and the Committee, the Executive of the London Moslem League have wisely decided to entertain the general body of members to periodical social gatherings. The first of these functions was held at the League's Offices in Sloane Street on Wednesday, the 25th inst. Almost all the members of the League attended and every one of the Committee members, in addition to Mr. Ameer Ali himself, was present. The enthusiasm thus shown by the members, who have hitherto been members only in name, speaks well for the future career of the London League. So far the Young Moslems, who were members of the League in London, have been justly and rightly complaining of the utter indifference with which they were being treated by the Committee. They were absolutely out of touch with the proceedings of the League as well as with the 'personnel' of the managing Body, which, in their name, had been conducting the affairs of the London League. Perhaps the only occasion on which they met the office-bearers and the Committee was at the annual meetings of the League in the summer. Even then the purely academical character of such meetings would hardly enable the general body of members to get into that personal touch and personal contact with the Executive so essential in an association of this nature.

The series of social functions, which, as mentioned above, were inaugurated so successfully last Wednesday, will certainly go a long way to achieve the desired object. The senior members of the London League have evidently realised the necessity and the importance of gaining the confidence of the younger members, who form the rank and file of the whole organisation and are thus the very backbone of the League itself. There can certainly be no "leaders" if there is no "following" and nobody could deny, not even Mr. Ameer Ali and his supporters, that for the League in London to be able to speak with due authority, it is absolutely necessary and essential for the President and Committee to thus consult the opinion and the views of the bulk of its members, if not the whole League, as to be able to adequately interpret and echo their sentiments in matters of

policy. The London League could only then become a living institution in the proper sense of the term, and it could thus be enabled to discharge its undoubtedly important duties in a manner worthy of the great Mussalman community of India.

I understand the Committee are also contemplating the holding of small informal dinners from time to time for the same reasons. Such functions, which it is hoped all the members of the League here will consider it their duty to attend, will further tend to the promotion of harmony and concord between the President and Committee on the one hand and the private members on the other and cannot fail to produce excellent results. Members can, on such occasions, give free expression to their views and ideas and offer any material criticisms they may think fit as to the actual working of the League. The Executive will likewise have the opportunity of offering such explanations as may be necessary as to their policy and the mutual understanding thus brought about will certainly lead to the common good and welfare of the League, the sucessful administration of which every thinking Indian Moslem has so much at heart.

The present younger generation of Indian Moslems in London, consisting almost exclusively of students, is fully alive to its responsibilities and duties. They are studying the great problems which are facing their community and their country with deep attention and earnestness. They are following the current events in the present history of India with no little concern. They are preparing themselves to serve the community in future disinterestedly and devotedly. It is, therefore, perfectly reasonable that even in their present transient stage they should claim to exercise an adequate degree of co-operation in the affairs of the League in London. Some of them are, no doubt, destined to take a leading and honourable part in the future public life of India. They may be a little impatient occasionally, but nobody, who has been in close touch with them, would at all hesitate to describe them as a "sober, level-minded and far-seeing lot" of young men.

Mr. Ameer Ali has a splendid opportunity before him at the moment. His eminent literary services to Islam and his varied and long experience of communal affairs, both in India and England, have given him a unique position in the Moslem world. The young Moslems in London have always treated him with due respect and admiration. They are only too willing to look up to him for advice and instruction, for which he is so well qualified. Due sympathy and encouragement from him would go a long way in winning over the young and perhaps inexperienced, though thoroughly sincere, members of the League. Differences of opinion in Committee can be soothed by sound argument and mutual but courteous give and take on both sides. The usual amount of laxity ordinarily allowed to a President will, of course, never be grudged to Mr. Ameer Ali by the young Moslem. On the contrary, from what I have been myself able to realise, they are only too anxious to extend to him all respect due to his position and all freedom of action as their President, but they would like to feel that, in taking any such action, Mr. Ameer Ali would consider himself as their spokesman. And after all no one could justly accuse the young Moslems of any unreasonable or extreme demand. However there are indications that League in London is going in future to be worked on popular lines, as suggested by the Aga Khan, and the President and his Committee are to be heartily congratulated on having at last given way to the cherished feelings of the community. The scheme they have adopted for the purpose of popularising the London League, referred to above, will commend itself to all those who have the true interest of the Association at heart. A new era is thus being opened in the history of the London League, which, if conducted honestly and conscientiously, will develop into a powerful and truly representative institution, worthy of the great Moslem community of India and equally worthy of this great Capital of the Empire, where it is so rightly situated.

The Traffic in Honours.

The recent debate in the House of Lords, initiated by Lord Selborne, dealing with the question of "honours" in England, cannot fail to interest those who are familiar with the system of distributing titles in India to "worthy" sons of the soil. In this country, of course, as is well known, the Prime Minister of the day recommends the persons to His Majesty for the various honours, and this is almost always done on purely party lines. The recipients are generally people with long purses, who are contributors of large sums of money to the Party Funds. The Lords' debate was "supposed" to be a purely disinterested non-party discussion, though, reading between the lines, one could easily detect the detestable party spirit underlying their lordships' speeches.

It is true we have no "party system" in India, but the bestowal of honours there has nevertheless been carried on in an equally disgraceful manner. It is very seldom that we find in the usual Honours Lists names of people, who have been rewarded entirely on their own personal merits or that the recipients of such favours have been really distinguished citizens of the country, of which their fellow-countrymen could justly feel proud and whose genuine services to the community, in various walks of life, one could rightly appreciate. In the long list of titled nobility and decorated aristocracy there are, of course, honourable exceptions, but unfortunately such exceptions are few and far between. It is only fair to this deserving minority as well as to the interest of the purity of public life in India that the existing practice should cease. Let science, literature, arts and public service be rewarded by all means, but do not allow ulterior motives underly the distribution of such rewards. Then and only then could public opinion in India fully realise the proper value of such Imperial recognitions, and not until then could the bearers of such titles honestly and conscientiously appreciate the full significance of their rewards.

The Times of yesterday contains a letter on this question, the writer of which—under the pseudonym of "Pandion"—appears to be fully aware of the real facts in India. I cannot do better than reproduce his own words :—

> Sir,—In the debate in the House of Lords, Lord Lansdowne said that in regard to the honours conferred upon the Sovereign's Indian subjects he did not think there was a word to be said. The statement may be applicable enough to the time when Lord Lansdowne was in India, but it does not bear examination to-day. In recent years titles of English origin have been bought and sold in India. It is not the Viceroys, but the heads of certain provincial administraitons who have been to blame. The price has not been contributions to party funds, but heavy subscriptions to various public enterprises and institutions in which minor satraps happen to have been interested. I regret to add, however, that there have been instances in which politicians in England have not disdained to negotiate with Indians for help to party funds.
>
> The result is that in India to-day there is a widespread and justifiable belief that the fountain of honour can be tapped at a price. Some Indians hold titles which are the well-earned reward of long and honourable service to their country and to the Empire: but others owe their dignities to nothing but a long purse.

The Persia Committee.

A meeting of Persia Committee was held at the House of Commons yesterday. Among those present were Dr. Chapple, Mr. T. E. Harvey, Mr. A. C. Morton, Mr. Philip Morell, and Mr. A. Ponsonby. Lord Lamington was re-elected President, and Prof. E. G. Browne, Chairman of the Committee. A resolution was passed expressing regret for the severe loss sustained by the death of the late chairman, Mr. H. F. B. Lynch, who had devoted himself to the cause of Persian independence and integrity. Attention was drawn to the grave menace to the integrity of Persia caused by the continued presence of Shuja-ed-Dowleh as the self-constituted Governor of Azerbaijan, and it was resolved to urge the Government to use their influence to extend the Swedish Gendarmerie into that province, and to secure the withdrawal of the Russian troops.

The "Times."

The *Daily Chronicle* learns from what it describes as a "reliable source" that *The Times* will shortly be reduced to a penny-paper. It will not, of course, come as a surprise to those who have been following the recent career of the "national" journal of England. The paper has been gradually though steadily losing its old influence amongst the thinking men and women of this country. In the good old days *The Times* was justly famous for its independence and its freedom and rightly enjoyed a unique reputation owing to its absolutely non-party character. As a matter of fact, even in the latter part of the Victorian era, the opinions and views expressed in the editorial columns of *The Times* would be everywhere accepted as the true interpretation of British public opinion, but, alas, circumstances, as usual, have altered the case. This hitherto great journal of Great Britain is now, as once described by a prominent member of the present British Cabinet, only a "two-penny edition of the *Daily Mail*." It now belongs to the huge Harmsworth concern, which is presided over by Lord Northcliffe. It is to-day one of the most bitter partisan papers in existence in the Conservative world and as regards its attitude on Eastern questions in general and Indian problems in particular, your readers need no further enlightenment on the subject. Sometimes, it must be frankly admitted, even *The Pioneer* of Allahabad and the *The Times of India* of Bombay must humbly take off their hats to this powerful contemporary of theirs in London for its superior and more genuine loyalty to the Anglo-Indian policy, of which they are such noisy advocates.

TETE À TETE



Our Supporters.

Last week we had to record the enlistment of nine new subscribers and the discontinuance of fifteen; but we had pointed out that this was only for the week ending on 12th March, by which time our appeal could not have produced any appreciable effect, so that we could not grieve over it as a "response" to our appeal. There were indications, however, that we had not appealed in vain, and we alluded to two letters which we had received last Saturday. During the week ending 19th instant the promise of the first day or two was kept, and while we have to record nine cases of discontinuance, we have been glad to record no less than twenty-four cases of enlistment of fresh subscribers. This is, no doubt, encouraging in a way, but the response must be far more prompt and from many more quarters than has yet been the case. We shall quote only one instance to show what a single honorary canvasser can do. From the "unpromising district" to which we had referred last week we received four fresh subscribers again this week. Now if one man can do this in less than a fortnight in an unpromising place what can several thousand not do in a month's time in more promising places? Should the hope of 2000 fresh subscribers be considered extravagant in that case? We think we have earned some title to beg for ourselves by having successfully begged for others. As regards those whose names have been removed this week from the list of subscribers, it may interest our supporters to know that we have hopes of being able to re-enlist some of them as it appears that in some cases the V. P. packets were returned without the knowledge of the addressees. In some cases the *Standard* has ousted *The Comrade* while in others some subscribers have begun to share *The Comrade* with others who have asked us to discontinue their copies. Only in one case has a subscriber desired the discontinuance of the paper on account of its delays in 1913. Now in this last case we certainly sympathise with our subscriber, and our apologies have been sincere even if they have also been numerous. But we fear our subscriber has not smypathised with us as he should have done. When one man sets out to the work of a dozen, it is certain that he could not do it as well as a dozen would do. Something must be below the standard of efficiency, and when we were engrossed in work which was not ours only but of all the Mussalmans of India, it is a wonder that our own journalistic work did not show a much greater falling off. It would have been kind of our less indulgent subscribers to have shared our labours at the time and set us free for *The Comrade*. But they did not, and as a matter of fact encouraged us to persist in all we were attempting, and morally, if not legally, they are estopped from voicing a complaint against us for the shortcomings of *The Comrade* in 1913. As for those who wish us to discontinue sending *The Comrade* to them because they have commenced sharing somebody else's *Comrade* with him, will they let us know with whom we are to share the expenses of the production of *The Comrade*. Shall we apply to Government for a subsidy, give weekly puffs to "territorial magnates" and such other "natural leaders of the people"? Had we had a long purse we could have afforded to be philanthropic enough to take the *Comrade* as a propaganda. But we make no complaint that we have not the wealth of a Crœsus.

قسمت بري سهى په طبيعت بري نهيں
مي شكر كى جگهه كه شكايت نهيں مجهى

Under the circumstances our readers must be our only supporters, as they know we have always relied upon them and only sought their suffrage. Official or demi-official subsidies are not difficult to secure. The trick is an easy one and is within the meanest intelligence. But we think our readers also know something of our limitations.

جانتا هوں ثواب طاعت وزهد
پر طبيعت ادهر نهيں آتي

(I know the reward of obedience and piety, But my nature can not be prevailed upon to incline that way.) If *The Comrade* does represent the views of a large and important section of the people and is in their estimation discharging the duties which they have imposed upon it, then it is for them to see that the paper is properly financed. It has no capital behind it now, nor did it start on its career with any such capital. Faith and Hope were the only assets and they have served us well hitherto. But Faith must be an easily convertible paper currency, and Hope may do well enough for a Reserve Fund, but cannot cover expenditure nor provide dividends. As a matter of fact one is likely to lose both Faith and Hope if subscribers who can well afford to pay for a copy of *The Comrade* cease to do so because they have found some one to share it with them. The devout believe that angels fought at Badr and filled the depleted ranks of Islam in its first encounter with the unbelievers. More recently *Haji Baghlol*, the antithesis of our valued *confrere*, the Hon. Mr. Gup, has given currency to the view that the number of pilgrims at Mecca is the same every year, angels making up all human deficiency, and that after the pilgrimage of "Political Hajees" all that will happen will be an increase in angelic contingent. We wish we could substitute angelic subscribers for all those who begin to show the far-from angelic tendency to share some other dev—, we mean subscriber's *Comrade* with him. We hope the Legislature would amend Indian Companies' Act once more and make such joint stock business punishable with transportation for life, or that the Executive would bring it under the provisions of the Press Act "directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor or otherwise."

The Press Act.

Mr. Zafar Ali Khan writes to us from London as follows:—"The "appeal which I circulated to Members of the "House of Commons has not been in vain. In "addition to Mr. John Dillon, Mr. Keir "Hardie, Mr. Phillip Snowden, and Mr. Josiah Wedgwood, who had "already expressed their sympathy and promised to join in any Parlia-"mentary protest, we have now received the support of Mr. Phillip "Morrell and Mr. Rowland Hunt, who are Liberal and Conservative "M. P.'s respectively. These two gentlemen took the earliest oppor-"tunity on the 24th instant to raise their voices on our behalf, and "they received most welcome support from an unexpected quarter—Sir "J. D. Rees. Mr. Morrell asked the new Under-Secretary to direct "a further inquiry into the question of the *Zamindar* in view of the "fact that the articles complained of contained no expression of sedi-"tious views and no incitement whatever to violence and disorder. "Mr. Roberts replied that I must appeal to the High Court before the "Secretary of State would consider the matter any further, and he "refused to answer supplementary questions by Mr. Hunt and Mr. "Morrell as to whether there was anything treasonable in the articles "or anything but fair comment. It was then the turn of Sir J. D. "Rees, who wanted to know whether it was proposed to amend the "provisions of the Press Act in view of the judgment of Sir Lawrence "Jenkins in the Macedonia Pamphlet case. Mr. Robert's answer "was in the negative, and this brought up Mr. Morrell again, who "spoke of the dissatisfaction caused by the Act and a number of "suppressions, the worthlessness of the appeal, and the desirability of "an alteration of the law. This timely speech brought a valuable "statement from Mr. Roberts, who said that the hon. member was "extending to all actions taken under the Act certains remarks which "the Chief Justice of Bengal made with regard to action taken under "Section 12. The only possible inference from this is that when "action is taken under other Sections the High Court has wider "powers. As the confiscation of the "Zamindar" Press and security "takes place under Section 6, I shall not fail to take the hint to ledge "an appeal in my own case, and I have cabled instructions to my "people accordingly. Mr. Morrell also secured a promise that "Mr. Roberts would inform the Secretary of State of the "views expressed by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah at the last "meeting of All-India Moslem League. We have thus set "the ball rolling vigorously, but we must not let it stop. It now re-"quires combined and persistent agitation, and eventually the repeal of "the Act is bound to follow." After reproducing the questions and answers to which he refers above Mr. Zafar Ali Khan writes: "The next question is as to what is to happen in the case of success-"ful appeals. A newspaper property in the great majority of cases "receives irreparable damage if its publication is suspended pending "an appeal, and it may, indeed, be impossible to restart it. How "is that to help the aggrieved party? Is the loss to be made good by "the Secretary of State? It is a poor consolation to the owner of "the property who may have been reduced to beggary to admit that the "action of the officials was arbitrary. Then we have to consider the case

"of the unfortunate proprietor who cannot afford the expense of an "appeal, and as his paper is gone, he cannot even appeal to his sup- "porters for funds; for be it remembered that it is not every news- "paper proprietor who is able to fly in the face of Deputy Commis- "sioners and Lieutenant-Governors and wealthy enough to engage "barristers to fight his case. An effective safeguard against the irres- "ponsible action of officials must be provided. We have thus a num- "ber of points which must be pressed home to the public and to the "Government both in India and in Great Britain. With the help of "a number of sympathetic English friends I have been doing all it "lay in my power by means of letters and articles in the Press, "private interviews with M. P.'s, Editors, and other influential "people. The Nationalities and Subject Races Committee held a "Conference immediately after the Parliament opened, and they "asked me to be the principal speaker on the Indian Press Act. "Sir Henry Cotton presided. I took the opportunity to suggest "the formation of an Indian Press Defence League, to be supported "by British subjects, Indian and European alike. Dr. Rutherford "(who, by the way, seems likely soon to return to a seat in the House "of Commons) immediately moved a resolution welcoming the pro- "posed League, Mr. William H. Seed seconded it, and it was carried "unanimously, Sir Henry Cotton adding his personal word of sup- "port. The League is now in process of formation, and its prospects "are bright. We are convinced it will be a powerful factor in the "situation. It is essential to its success that Hindus and Moslems "should work hand in hand in promoting it, and it will not be my "fault if they do not do so. Your support and that of your friends "is required to make it thoroughly representative. I ask you kindly "to help the cause by taking it up in the columns of your paper and "in any other way that may be open to you, as it will secure for every "paper and Press in India a voice in the Press and Parliament of "Great Britain in case they come under the harsh provisions of the "Press Act. We have many friends in Parliament, and some eminent "journalistic friends also, who are helping to found the League. I "welcome the news that a Deputation is coming to England next "April to agitate on the subject, and that it will include Messrs. "Mazhar-ul-Haque, Gokhale, Jinnah, and Surendra Nath Bannerji. "I hope by that time the League will be in full swing and in a posi- "tion to give them a hearty welcome."

The South African Commissioners' Report.

Owing to pressure on our space we have deferred a close and detailed study of the recommendations of the Commission appointed by the Union Government to enquire into the grievances of the Indians in South Africa, nor have we yet received as full a report as it required for a detailed study of the question. The £3 poll-tax was of course doomed and no defence of such extortion was possible, and we are glad that the Commission did not undertake the impossible task of defending it. We shall therefore say nothing about it should the action of the Union Government be in conformity with this recommendation of the Commission. But we feel it necessary to say that the recommendation of the Commissioners on the subject of marriage difficulty is unsatisfactory. If the motive of the non-recognition of Indian marriages is that fewer Indian women and children should immigrate into South Africa, we can understand the significance of the compromise that only one marriage would be allowed to be registered and recognised. If, on the other hand, there is an abhorrence of polygamy at the bottom of the marriage difficulty, then the compromise is futile, for the South African champions of monogamy refuse to recognise more than one wife and yet permit the polygamous Indian to wed as many as he pleases. That is a poor sort of social reform and we wonder how the Christian conscience of South Africa is going to tolerate it. We are told that monogamy must be the law of Christendom, but nobody has told us why South Africa is part of Christendom. In Natal while the European population in 1908 was only 91,443 the Indian and Asiatic population was 116,679 and the "native" population was nearly a million. In Cape Colony European population is a little over half a million, but the remaining population is three times as much. The proportion of Europeans to others in the Transval is 1 to 4 and in Orange Free State 1 to 2. If all Europeans may be presumed to be Christians, even then heathenism and other religions are in an overwhelming majority. We may be told that population offers no test as regards describing any country as part of Christendom and that such a test is supplied by the fact that Christians rule in South Africa. If that view be correct, we should like to ask for a definition of toleration. Mussalman at his very worst did not tolerate the worship of three gods when he is ruled over by Christians. The Christian at his best refuses to tolerate devotion to four wives. Which was the more awful and pernicious heresy of the two, we leave the world to judge. But there is not the least doubt that between the spirits of the non-recognition of three gods and four wives there is no more to choose than between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. Let none of our readers mistake us for advocates of polygamy under all circumstances. Only the married can appreciate single blessedness, and he was a genius who likened matrimony to a beseiged citadel. Those who are out want to get in and those who are in want to get out. That being the case our tolerance of polygamy must be the tolerance of an institution which has to satisfy the requirements of every kind of circumstance imaginable. Wherever law has permitted polygamy, fact has put its veto in the majority of cases; and it is the glory of Islam that it alone among all the religions in the world sets a limit on the plurality of wives. No other religion has done it, although the civil law of European countries has supplied this deficiency in Christianity as a religious code of laws; but even this has gone far beyond the necessary limits and has given to the institution of marriage a rigidity which should not characterize laws made for all human beings. The result has been that Europe is not satisfied with its institution of marriage, and it is the perpetual theme of novelists who propound problems of life and attempt the solution in the form of stories. When Europe is itself in this state of discontent it is strange that Europeans in South Africa should impose their own marriage laws on people who are neither Europeans nor Christians. As we said before the ideal of monogamy will not be benefited to any appreciable extent by the proposed compromise, but an endless trouble would be caused to polygamous Indians in the matter of succession and inheritence The matter is too serious to be settled by the " twitting " of a Mohamedan deputation in Johannesburg by Sir Benjamin Robertson on the score of " their long silence." We thank Sir Benjamin for all that he has done for our countrymen, but if he thinks that so important a matter can be settled so easily he is much mistaken. The argument of " Moslem leches " should by now be quite familiar to us all, but familiarity must have produced the proverbial feeling. We shall refer to this question at a greater length in a subsequent issue and have written this only to ensure that we too are not accused of laches and twitted by Sir Benjamin Robertson.

Miraculous Progress.

The readers of *The Comrade* have not perhaps forgotten the Sakhawat Memorial School for Girls at Calcutta in the fortunes of which we tried more than once, and not without success, to interest them. The late Mr. Malabari sent a contribution himself and got others to help it too, and we believe Her Highness the Begum Saheba of Bhopal also assisted the institution with characteristic generosity when she visited Calcutta two years ago. Mrs. Sakhawat Husain is the widow of a Deputy Magistrate of Behar who died quite young and left a generous endowment for Mohamedan girls' education in which he and his wife were deeply interested. This high-minded lady not only carried out the wishes of her husband by starting a girls' school in Calcutta under strict *purdah* arrangement, but has devoted all her time and a good deal of her own money to the school. One could not but praise her courage when, inspite of the failure of the Burma Bank in which a good portion, if not the whole, of the endowment had been deposited, she resolved to carry on the school. We must confess the Mussalmans of Calcutta did not support her courageous and persistent efforts as they should have done, but her own determination met every discouragement and overcame a host of difficulties, and when we left Calcutta we felt certain that nothing would daunt her. Such examples are rare even among the sex that claims a sort of monopoly of courage and determination, but when one finds it one need not despair of the ultimate triumph of so determined and bold an endeavour. About this time last year we read in the *Statesman* of the opening of another *purdah* school which owed its existence to that talented lady, Suhrawardya Begum (Mrs. Zuhhad-ur-Rahim Zahid). We must confess we prefer a large number of small girls' schools dotted all over a big city to one large school, for under the special social circumstances of the Moslem Community in India it is easier to manage a number of small girls schools, than to manage a single large school, and Moslem parents more readily trust their girls to a neighbouring small school managed by some one whom they know. We therefore rejoiced to hear of the rise of this new school and we felt sure that the talents of Suhrawardya Begum would be well utilised in such an institution. The *Statesman* of 18th February 1913 stated that the opening ceremony was performed by Mrs. Maynard and the *Hablul matin* of the 29th February gave a portion of the speech of Suhrawardya Begum on the occasion of the opening of the school. In the course of this speech, however, Suhrawardya Begum seems to have ignored the existence of the Sakhawat Memorial School and of the brave sister who had been carrying on this school with so much self-sacrifice and determination. But we attributed this to the requirements of rhetoric, for when we indulge in jeremiads we cannot always pause to be accurate. But the *Statesman* of a year later took our breath away when we read that on the occasion of the "annual prize distribution" of the same school Suhrawardya Begum announced that the cost of upkeep of the school "during the *five* years of its existence" had been borne by herself. Now if the school was founded on the 16th of

21st March.

February 1913 it will take some time to understand how it could have been in existence for *five* years on the 23rd of February 1914. We also read of "the speaker's struggle and the difficulty of her task in attempting to remove from the eyes of Mussalmans the veil of prejudice and the bondage of ignorance and to emancipate their minds from the thraldom of bigotry and self-conceit." It appears that Suhrawardya Begum's address closed with a pathetic appeal to Her Excellency Lady Carmichæl who attended the function and to other ladies present on the occasion. She said: "I appeal to Your Excellency and the ladies present here to-day not to let my humble efforts die with me but to induce some one to come forward to take up the cause of the women of Islam." This evidently touched the hearts of all present and, according to the *Statesman's* report, "Her Excellency briefly expressed her admiration and sympathy with the work of Suhrawardya Begum and exhorted her not to lose heart but to continue her efforts to make the girls of the Mohamedan community better mothers, better daughters and better wives." Now there is something peculiar in all this for, although we were near neighbours when we were in Calcutta only a year and a half ago, we never heard of a Suhrawardya *Purda-nashin Madrassa* for Moslem Girls, and unless the *Statesman* and the *Hablul-matin* both lied badly last year nothing short of a miracle could have made an institution founded last year of *five* years of age. A correspondent from Calcutta writes to us to say that "it is curious that in the list published yearly by the Education Department of all schools (both recognised and unrecognised by Government) in Calcutta and the Mofussil there is no mention of this school. In the list of educational institutions published in Thacker's Directory this institution is not to be found nor is there any trace of it in the Street Directory of the aforesaid publication." With reference to the statement that 104 girls had attended the school during the year he informs us that "it is a physical impossibility for so many girls to be accommodated in such a small building as the school has at No. 2 Beparitolla Lane, just behind the old Pumping Station at Wellington Square. To those who have seen the building it appears to be just large enough to contain only a quarter or a third of the number stated." Nothing could give us greater pleasure than the success of Suhrawardya Begum's endeavours and, if 104 girls have joined her school within a year of its foundation, we see no reason why she should talk of people letting her efforts die with her. But we must frankly say that we detest the very idea of self-advertisement on the part of our sisters for, as it is, our brothers are doing a little too much of it, and it may well be left to them as a special prerogative of the males. *Purdah* and modesty in all its forms should go together, and no one has much sympathy with the *purdahnashin* of whom Iqbal wrote:

بیٹھ کر پردے میں بی پردہ ہوی جاتی ہی

We are sure that Suhrawardya Begum whose abilities would do credit to any man would be the last to approve of such a type of woman, and we are inclined to think that in giving the report of the Prize Distribution ceremony some one has blundered. Suhrawardya Begum need not despair, for honest efforts seldom die with the person that makes them. Let us not talk of graves, but think of the perseverance of fellow-workers like Mrs. Sakhawat Husain, who has been doing a good deal of solid work quietly and without hope of any public reward.

♣

Verse.

False Life.

Wouldst make God-gifted Life a glitt'ring show,
And in false Seeming centre all delight ?
Wouldst thou, in Nature's and in God's despite
Let thy soul's darker passions overthrow
Its tranquil joys ? What charms from Virtue flow,
What motives pure the generous soul invite
To self-denial, what the heavenly light
In thee demands, wouldst thou disdain to know ?
The greed of wealth, the lust of rank and power,
Wouldst thou let these thy withering heart devour,
And mar the sweet serenity of life ?
Or let false aims and false desires control
Each wayward impulse and corrupt the soul ?
Behold thy gains—the bitter fruit of strife !

NIZAMAT JANG.

The Comrade.

A Moslem Ruler on Aligarh.

I.

ONE can have very little sympathy with theories that are entirely divorced from practice, and on the whole it is true that a long continued practice undermines a most deeply rooted theory to the contrary and finally destroys it. But it is an interesting philosophical speculation whether practice reacts more powerfully on theory or theory reacts more powerfully on practice. Indeed, some root-ideas have such a vitality that they survive even persistent and almost invariable practice to the contrary and finally mould it after the pattern of the original theory. Such a root-idea is the democratic spirit of Islam which has survived centuries of despotic rule throughout the Moslem world. Indeed, it is not often that one can put one's finger on any period of democratic government in Islam after the rule of the first four Caliphs, but so extraordinarily tenacious of life has been the principle of democracy which was practiced by the Prophet of Islam and his first four successors that even in the worst period of despotism, when the best of Mussalmans had to bow the head and bend the knee before tyrants, they clung all the more eagerly to the idea of that distant and short-lived democracy of the glorious days of Islam and dreamt through the miseries of the time of a millennium when once more their practice would conform to the divine behest

وَ اَمْرُهُمْ شُوْرٰى بَيْنَهُمْ

(And their affairs were decided by consultation among themselves.)

India has been emerging since the establishment of the British Rule from despotism into democracy ; but although she must be grateful to England for this change in the spirit of her government, Indian Mussalmans have found in the change nothing to which they could not readily reconcile themselves, for democracy has always meant to them a reversion to the practice of the earliest days of Islam. These are undoubtedly democratic days inspite of all the cheap sneers of some of our Anglo-Indian contemporaries, and having found their voice the educated section of the Mussalmans will not be silenced by any prince or potentate unless, it finds it more profitable for the entire community to hear and to obey than to be heard and to be obeyed. Nowhere in the world can one rob wealth and social rank of the consideration that is paid to them, and so young indeed is democracy in India that her Princes and territorial magnates will find the world hanging on their words for a long time yet to come. But much will henceforward depend on the words themselves which drop from the lips of Indian Princes and territorial magnates, and although even to-day their names are to be found amongst the foremost leaders of Indian Mussalmans, it is a happy augury for the future that these leaders of Indian Mussalmans maintain their position not by their wealth and social rank, but by their love of the people and their wise and wholly disinterested direction of popular affairs.

Her Highness the Begum Saheba of Bhopal occupies a unique position among Indian Mussalmans inasmuch as she is not only separated from the commonalty by the richness and extent of her possessions, but also by the rigid conventions prescribed in a by-gone age for her sex. But inspite of these disabilities, she has found her way into the hearts of her people, because her own conception of her position has not been that of a princess far removed from the occupations, haunts and ideas of the people, nor even of a preacher holding forth from a high pulpit to sinning masses far below her who deserve reams of sermons yet not a syllable of sympathy, but of one who is of the people, and must live with the people and for the people. Those who have been privileged to know Her Highness for any length of time have had ample opportunities of being able to testify to this, but even casual observers could not have failed to note that no one has appealed to her for assistance in a good cause and has failed to receive a hearty and a generous response.

Aligarh has benefitted in many ways from the generosity of Her Highness, but in our estimation Her Highness's latest gift to Aligarh far exceeds in value anything which it has owed to her generosity. She was the recepient during her recent visit to Aligarh of three important addresses by three important bodies, namely, the Educational Conference, the Aligarh College and the Girls School, and the advice that she gave on the affairs of these three institutions in the course of her replies to their addresses will prove of inestimable value if it is taken to heart and followed in the spirit in which it was offered. Her Highness has not preached homilies of the nature of those to which Indian Mussalmans in general and Aligarh in particular were becoming somewhat used in recent days. She has evidently studied the cases carefully ; she has rescued the real issues from a mass of trivialities more or less irrelevant and likely to warp judgment ; and

she has judged impartially, with the result that where she has permitted herself to criticise, her criticism goes to the root of the matter and cannot be lightly treated.

In reply to the address of the Central Committee of the Mohamedan Educational Conference, Her Highness pointedly drew attention to the paucity of Local Committees and expressed a doubt whether such Local Committees as were in existence were doing their work satisfactorily. A perusal of the Conference's Annual Reports had created in Her Highness's mind the well-founded suspicion that the Conference had established more Sections than it had been able to organise effectively and Her Highness laid her finger on the weakest spot in the Constitution of the Conference, namely the absence of a well recognised relationship between the Central Committee and the various Sections.

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan has been the Honorary Joint Secretary of the Conference for many years now, and during all this time the control of the Honorary Secretary, who is of course the Honorary Secretary of the Board of Trustees of the Aligarh College, has been nothing more than nominal. The Constitution of the Conference provides for a periodical change in the *personnel* of the Central Committee and the Constitution of the Aligarh College provides for a similar change in the office of the Honorary Secretary. But apparently the office of the Joint Secretary of the Conference is immune from such changes inasmuch as no rule has yet been framed with reference to the election of that office. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan is, therefore, in a unique position among the office-bearers of the various institutions of the Community and may well be regarded as the Joint Secretary of the Conference for life. For some reason or other the Secretary of the Conference has, as we have said, left its affairs entirely to him and one by one the members of the Central Committee who took interest in its proceedings were tired out and have ceased to take any appreciable interest in its deliberations. Therefore whatever the Conference does to-day must be placed to the sole credit of Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, and whatever it is to-day must be regarded as his handiwork. We state this as mere fact and not as our criticism, for perhaps it is best to leave things for a while as they are and avoid the counter criticism that if the end is failure it is so because of the intervention of the critics. Unlike the Aligarh College where there is danger of the work done being injurious to the growth and development of those who are studying in its quadrangles, the Conference can only suffer in one way, namely that no work, good or bad, may be done so that the community can suffer only from loss of time and money misspent.

But such happiness as falls to the lot of a public man responsible for the well-being of a public institution by reason of his being left unmolested by critic, brings along with it a heavy load of responsibility. He enjoys the luxury of despotism for a time, but when the day of reckoning comes he must be prepared to show what he has done for his charge during the period of autocracy. The fate of the Female Education Section of the Conference, of which Mr. Shiekh Abdulla has been practically in sole charge from the date of its birth twelve years ago must be a warning to the Joint Secretary of the Conference. Inspite of our criticism the Secretary of the Female Education Section succeeded in keeping off from its affairs everyone who could bring to them a fresh and independent judgment, and if inspite of the liberal assistance given to the Girls School by Her Highness the Begum Saheba of Bhopal there is nothing to show for the work, so loudly claimed to have been done all these years, but a mere building, the praise or blame for such a result is entirely his own. Her Highness who had gone to Aligarh chiefly to open the Girls School Boarding House, was constrained to declare in her reply to the address of the Conference Committee that "in connection with female education "also the Conference has not yet accomplished anything worthy "of note." This is a tremendous judgment on the work of the Female Education Section for more than a decade, and if after another five years Her Highness pronounces a similar judgment on the work of the Conference itself it would be a judgment far less on the community than on the individual in whose hand all real power in the affairs of the Conference is centred. "I had told you so before" is a remark worthy only of natures that find a malicious satisfaction in the fulfilment of their prophecies of evil, and we hope the Joint Secretary of the Conference would believe us when we say that it will cause us far more grief if in the end our fears are realised rather than his hopes.

But we see no chance of excellent results if the present apathy towards the affairs of the Conference continues in the community. It is not enough for the Joint Secretary to work himself, but he must also create in others a desire of co-operation with him. Her Highness the Begum Saheba very wisely laid stress on this point in a characteristically tactful manner. In the course of her reply she said: "Gentlemen, "even in the days of intellectual poverty Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had "succeeded in gathering together from different parts of the country "a select body of men who had devoted themselves to the work of the "national College and the fruit of whose united efforts is the progress "of the College on which we all pride ourselves. In my opinion in "these days of educational progress and new light when the important "question of the Moslem University is before us and the circle of your "needs is being extended, it is exceedingly necessary that you should "have at this educational centre a select body of men to pilot "the ship of the community." Co-operation is the touchstone of success in all national work, and the success of those responsible for the work of the Conference must be measured according to the success achieved in inducing other workers to co-operate with them in the work of communal education. No one can say that it is harder to find qualified men to run institutions like the Aligarh College and the Conference to-day than it was in the days of intellectual poverty when Sir Syed Ahmad flourished and Aligarh was not turning out sixty or seventy graduates every year as it is doing to-day. The problem now is not to discover the friends of Mohamedan education but to retain them, and it is according to the possession of this magnetic attraction that those who possess power in the management of various institutions at Aligarh will be judged.

The Muslim Deputation to the Viceroy.

I.

THE freedom that His Majesty's Indian subjects enjoy of bringing in a formal manner and collectively to the notice of the representative of the Crown in this country their hopes and fears, their gratitude and grievances is a privilege of inestimable value in the special circumstances of the governance of India. No doubt such a privilege must be exercised with a due sense of responsibility and we think it will be agreed that Indian Mussalmans have approached the Governor-General only when the importance and the urgency of the occasion have dictated such a course.

Now that the Mussalmans are once more approaching H. E. the Viceroy in a deputation it is not unprofitable to recall the circumstances when such a necessity arose and a deputation of Muslim representatives from every part of India waited on the late Earl of Minto at Simla on the 1st of October, 1906. It is difficult to exaggerate the debt which the Indian Mussalmans owe to the memory of one of their foremost leaders, the late Nawab Moshsin-ul-Mulk, who realized the importance to his community of the new political situation that was just emerging into shape at the time and in collaboration with some of the leading Mussalmans organized the memorable Simla deputation. The need for such a step on the part of Mussalmans had grown urgent in the circumstances of the day. India was entering on a new era of political development and advance. Western education had been progressing at a steady pace for upwards of two generations, and its natural and inevitable results were beginning to manifest themselves in the broadened outlook, greater social activity and new political hopes and aspirations of the people. Their demand for a steadily increasing share in the administration of the country had become more vocal and persistent, and those responsible for the good government of India were, with their sure national instincts, beginning to perceive the undesirability of delaying the politic satisfaction of a demand which was gaining every day in cogency and strength. Unfortunately this travail of a new birth was attended with horrors that heralded a new and sinister movement not only foreign to India but also alien to the spirit of constitutional advance permeating her educated classes. Lord Morley's advent at the India Office happened to synchronise with a period of grave unrest in parts of the country which made the direction of Indian affairs an exceptionally heavy and anxious charge. But it is a remarkable fact in British political history that the hour has always called forth the man. The situation in India at the time was met by Lords Morley and Minto with statesmanship of a rare order, and while the tide of anarchical crime was stemmed by the application of drastic measures, what was described as "healthy unrest" was dealt with in a wholly different spirit. The attitude and policy of Government were defined in terms of generous breath and wisdom and the task of governance was informed with a new spirit of courage and sympathy.

While a general wave of expectancy swept over the land and portents of organic changes in the machinery of Indian administration loomed above the horizon, the Indian Mussalmans also awoke to a fuller understanding of their own political situation. The prospect of important reforms designed to give to the Indian people a much larger voice in the administration of the affairs of their country could not but be gratifying to Indian Mussalmans, but could not also fail to arouse certain very natural apprehensions in their minds. Changes of such scope and character as were contemplated were to sow the seeds of constitutional development for the future of India, but the Mussalman

felt that the seed would grow into a vigorous tree and bear fruit only if due consideration was shown to the nature of the soil also. So long as the difference of creed, and all the differences that it involves in culture, social institutions and outlook, kept the Indian races distinct and separate, and so long as they lacked the vital impulse of a common patriotism urging them to address themselves unitedly and without communal bias to common secular tasks, so long would the Mussalmans have reasons to fear that in the absence of effective safeguards all new constitutional experiments tending towards the establishment of government by majority are likely to end in disaster. It was apprehensions such as these that took the Mussalmans in deputation to Simla in 1906. Lord Minto, to whom the Mussalmans can never be too grateful, and to whom the country as a whole owes not a few of its vitalising influences, recognised the justice of the Muslim attitude and accepted the principle of communal representation as the only suitable basis for representative institutions in this country. We have been led into making these observations because the Muslim Deputation in 1906 was a distinct landmark in the political history of Indian Mussalmans under British Rule, and recent Muslim activities owe to it their initial impulse. The generous policy of Government made it imperative for the Mussalmans to organise their forces with a view to co-operate with Government and with other communities in the common task of working for Indian progress. The earlier attitude of a resigned passivity would have made the community the sport of chance in the stress of the new political conditions. Government itself could no longer champion the Muslim cause without serious apprehensions of being suspected of partiality. These were the considerations that eventually led to the establishment of the All-India Muslim League which is and has always been the true representative of Indian Mussalmans and their only comprehensive political organisation.

The latent vitality of the community has been manifesting itself since the epoch-making Deputation of 1906 in all directions. Along with a keen appreciation of their political interests and an earnest desire to take their full share in the responsibilities of civic life, the Mussalmans of India realized even more vividly than ever that their salvation lay in devoting themselves whole-heartedly to the task of self-improvement through education suited to their peculiar needs and conditions. Within a year of the establishment of the reformed Councils they galvanised the scheme of the Muslim University, and all financial demands that were made by those who had to satisfy themselves that the proposed University was sufficiently well-endowed to be able to carry on its great work were met by the Mussalmans with an unprecedented and, in fact, unexpected promptitude. A no less important work, namely, the elaboration of a Constitution for the Muslim University, was undertaken in right earnest, and those who believe, or at least pretend to believe, that the present generation of Indian Mussalmans is capable of destructive criticism only will find it impossible to reconcile with this accusation the constructive work done by the community in this connection. Whenever required willing and competent workers were forthcoming, and neither time nor labour was grudged. Although it is impossible to forget that a good deal yet remains to be done, we hope we are justified in thinking that the prospect before the Mussalmans of India is far from discouraging. Unfortunately, however, the Secretary of State intervened at the eleventh hour, upsetting all plans and disconcerting the Government of India as well as the Muslim community, and the long-cherished desire of the Mussalmans for establishing a Muslim University still remains unfulfilled.

While the Mussalmans were still busy in planning their University, events of unparalleled magnitude and far-reaching importance followed one another with bewildering rapidity. Some of them were peculiarly Indian and concerned the Mussalmans of India directly, while others, although they occured abroad, powerfully reacted throughout the Muslim World. First in chronological order came the intrigues of France and Spain in the country of the Moors, the tradition of whose conquest and domination over Spain, lasting as it did for many centuries, is a memory which could not be effaced from the mind of any Muslim that takes pride in the culture associated with his faith. Close on the heels of these sad events in Morocco came the unprovoked raid of Italy on an outlying province of the Ottoman Empire in the same continent, and it was not to be expected that the Mussalmans of any part of the world would remain unmoved by the tale of horrors perpetrated in the oasis of Tripoli. After the French conquest of Algiers and occupation of Tunis, and the British occupation of Egypt, Tripoli and Morocco were the only countries in Africa under effective Moslem domination, and on its disappearance the Mussalmans of the world could not fail to experience deep and sustained grief not accompanied by anxiety and alarm.

Affairs in an other part of the Muslim World, with which Indian Mussalmans were still more intimately concerned, had for sometime past worn a disquieting appearance, and before the year 1911 came to an end, the Persian crisis had become dangerously acute. Although Arabia is to the Mussalmans a land the sanctity of which no part of the world can equal, Persia can rightly claim to be almost in an equal degree the cradle of their culture, literary grace and artistic refinement. Her poets have in innumerable instances kindled inspiration in those of Indian Mussalmans and her philosophers and mystics have stimulated in only too many cases the thoughts of their best thinkers. Even the ethics of the Mussalmans, based as it is, on their Holy Scriptures, has often come to the Mussalmans of India through the moralists of Persia, while it must be manifest even to a superficial student of the language of their daily intercourse throughout India which they cherish so dearly that its poetic imagery, its fund of allusions, its many happy turns of expression and a considerable part of its vocabulary have been directly derived from the land of Hafiz and S'adi and Omar the Tent-maker. Naturally enough, Indian Mussalmans could not contemplate the passing of Persia with equanimity, and when to the sad fate of her newly awakened political consciousness were added the unspeakable horrors of the hanging of some of her divines and the wanton outrage perpetrated at the shrine of Imam Riza at Holy Meshed, it was inevitable that a wave of indignation should sweep over the entire community.

About the same time His Majesty the King-Emperor announced at his Imperial Darbar certain momentous changes in India itself, one of which, namely, the modification of the Partition of Bengal, was received by the Mussalmans with considerable dissatisfaction. The fact that this announcement was made by His Majesty himself and that the promise of a gradual evolution of provincial autonomy was distinctly held out in the Despatch of the Government of India recommending the Darbar changes, reconciled the Mussalmans to them and they have no desire to re-open the settlement even though it was itself the result of the modification of a prior settlement. We only mention it in this connection because, coming as it did in the midst of the troubles of Indian Mussalmans, it could not but add to their distractions.

Just when things seemed to be settling down, there broke out in the Balkans with no less abruptness perhaps the bloodiest war that has yet been recorded in the annals of the world. So far as we know, there is no haven or creek, however remote and sequestered, that has remained immune from the ravages wrought by a tidal wave of anguish and indignation due to the sanguinary storm that raged in the Balkans. While bearing the amplest testimony to the wisdom and sagacity of His Excellency the Viceroy, who realized the intensity and poignance of the feelings of Indian Mussalmans at the time and showed his sympathy with them in many ways, we must say that the speeches of His Majesty's Ministers in England appeared to the Mussalmans to be not only lacking in sympathy with their sorrow but also unfeeling if not wantonly provocative. The foreign policy of Sir Edward Grey again appeared to be guided less by a desire to satisfy Indian Mussalmans than to please Russia and in fact submissively follow her wherever she led. We do not ignore the international commitments of England when we say that Sir Edward Grey seemed to have ignored her imperial responsibilities. Horror and indignation at the cruel spoilation of Moslem kingdoms and states was sufficient to create excitement among the Mussalmans in this country, but dangerous feelings might have been roused by a suspicion that instead of being a friendly advocate of Turkey and other Moslem states in the councils of Europe, England was unjustly siding with their enemies. Whether such feelings would have been natural or not can be judged best if we recall to mind what Lord Morley said in 1909 on the subject of the international position of the Indian Mussalmans in reply to a deputation of the London branch of the All-India Moslem League that waited on his Lordship in connection with the projected Council Reforms. Speaking with all the authority of a Minister of His Majesty responsible for the good government of India, Lord Morley said on that occasion: "I know very well that any injustice, any suspicion that we were "capable of being unjust to Mohamedans in India, would certainly "provoke a severe and injurious reaction in Constantinople." It therefore follows only too clearly that any injustice or any suspicion that His Majesty's Government was capable of being unjust to Turkey must naturally provoke a severe and injurious reaction among the Mohamedans of India. Whatever criticism was levelled at Sir Edward Grey and the British foreign policy during the last three years was not inspired by the belief that His Majesty's Government was guilty of wanton injustice to Turkey or any other Muslim country, nor that responsible Muslim opinion ignored the well-known fact that Lord Hardinge invariably used a restraining influence whenever events in Persia provided a plausible reason for the forcible intervention of Great Britain. Indian Mussalmans were also aware of the fact, and were deeply grateful for it, that His Excellency availed himself to the full of every opportunity that presented itself during the recent troubles of Turkey to represent to Hsi Majesty's Government the feelings, hopes and fears of Indian

Mussalmans and to befriend their Turkish brethren. What the Indian Mussalmans felt and desired was that still greater friendliness should be shown by His Majesty's Government towards the Ottoman Empire and that a settlement should be effected whereby their unimpeachable territorial loyalty should run in the same direction as their unmistakable extra-territorial patriotism. Lord Curzon, who cannot be accused of any desire to seduce Indian Mussalmans from their loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor, voiced their feelings when speaking towards the end of 1911, at the banquet of the Persia Society, he was reported to have said that "the Mohamedan countries of the world "were fully entitled to the benefit of the law of nations and with "them treaties ought to be kept. When they sought their own "salvation, we ought to give them all assistance. The loyalty and "contentment of the Muslims was one of the strongest things of "our rule in India, so we would like the Muslims of the world to "feel that in England they had their truest friend, who was pre-"pared to make every effort and to make a sacrifice on their behalf."

We have no desire to dwell any longer on painful topics such as the horrors perpetrated in Persia, Tripoli and the Balkans, but we desire to emphasise the fact that not unoften things which may appear strange in Christendom are the accepted truths of the Muslim World. One of these is the fact that Mussalmans willingly share the joys and sorrows of their co-religionists although they may differ from one another in language, race and country and, in fact, in everything that goes in the West to constitute nationality. Islam is the greatest solvent of linguistic, geographical and ethnic differences, and however much one may desire to substitute a secular basis of nationality, he is bound to admit that as things are at present and so long as the Muslim believes in Islam, his creed provides and will continue to provide for him all the cohesion that language, country and race provide for Western nations.

That being so, was it strange that the troubles of Mussalmans abroad should have had a powerful reaction among the Mohamedans of India as in other parts of the world? The situation was wholly abnormal and, as an important English official interested in the Mussalmans of India said, they had some reason even to be unreasonable. But we defy even the most captious critic of the Moslem community to point to a single incident throughout the protracted sufferings of Indian Mussalmans suggesting, however remotely, that they had departed even by hair's breadth from the tradition of staunch and unwavering loyalty to the British Throne and to His Majesty's Government established by law in India. We challenge anyone to place his finger on any record of wanton disregard of law and breach of public peace by any section of the Mussalmans of India even during the period of their greatest misery. This historic community has been noted for its sanity of judgment and self-restraint during periods of unusual gravity, and we do not think it lost these characteristic qualities at any time during the troubles of the last three years. There is nothing in its record of which it need be ashamed, and we say this not by way of apology but as a full justification of its attitude throughout its protracted sufferings.

The South African Deportations.

THE Debate on the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne was resumed in the House of Commons.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald moved an amendment asking "that instructions should be given to the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa that the Indemnity Bill, now under discussion in the Parliament of the Union of South Africa, should be reserved under Section 64 of the South Africa, Act. 1909, until a judicial enquiry was instituted into the circumstances of the proclamation of Martial Law within the Union and into the scope of the Indemnity Bill, particularly the provision relating to the deportation of trade union leaders." In dealing with the course of events in South Africa, he said that the subject was a difficult one. He was perfectly well aware of the jealousies of self-governing Dominions. He desired to be absolutely generous when giving self-governing powers, and was not anxious to interfere in the exercise of those powers once they were given. But there was another great problem now facing this Empire in a very acute form. He did not believe any Member of the House could appreciate what was the feeling as a result of the treatment of the Indians in South Africa unless they had been privileged to be on the spot, as he had been when it formed the subject of cables and articles in the newspapers every day. They had to face this problem regarding Imperial citizenship. Was there any meaning at all in the expression *Civis Britannicus Sum*? Had it any common meaning from one end of the Empire to the other? Was it going to give any pride, any inspiration? Was it, or not, a fact that the privileges attaching to Habeas Corpus, Petition of Rights, and so on, were to be carried wherever British subjects went provided they kept under the shadow of the Union Jack? If not, he ventured to say that the Empire could not possibly remain in the place of honour which it occupied to-day. If the civic liberty which had come to them, not merely by generous accident, but because it was essential to the very spirit and genius of our people, was not to be an assumption in the constitutional procedure of the Goverments of the self-governing communities, then the expression "Empire" must be used in future in an exceedingly limited and exceedingly narrow sense. But it was because, at the back of his mind, he had an idea that Empire really stood for something that was constitutionally magnificent, he felt himself in duty bound to raise this question, even though at the same time he desired to be absolutely generous in his thoughts and in his criticisms of self-governing communities exercising their rights as such.

Mr. Pointer formally seconded the amendment.

MR. HARCOURT ON IMPERIAL-CITIZENSHIP.

Mr. Harcourt, in the course of his reply, said that autonomy carried with it no immunity from the Press or public criticism, but it deserved and it was entitled to the largest amount of relief from official interference and Parliamentary censure compatible with the inherent rights of freedom. The British citizenship to which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald referred was really a misnomer. It did not, in fact, exist, and was an attempt to make too literal a translation of the *Civis Romanus Sum*. What did exist was British subjecthood, which entitled its possessor to the protection of his Sovereign through the Executive. But it gave to the individual no right and no licence in any part of the Empire to violate the laws which it was within the competence of the Dominion to pass and to administer. The Imperial Parliament could not grant responsible self-government, as it had done throughout nearly a century in varying degrees, in different climes, and to different races, with practically unqualified success, and then hope or attempt, when feelings or prejudices were aroused, to interfere or intervene as if it were still dealing with a Crown Colony or a Protectorate. He did not want to discuss the matter of the so-called "passive resistance" by the Indians, because there was a Commission now sitting in South Africa, with the countenance of the Indian Government and with the assistance of a distinguished Indian Civil Servant, which would, he hoped, arrive at a settlement.

Mr. Wedgwood, speaking as one who had had the privilege of administering justice in South Africa, supported the amendment. In the long run, that which was unjust could never be expedient. Although statesmen in South Africa might come to the conclusion that it was expedient under the circumstances to break all the laws of individual liberty, it was well known that by drawing the sword in this way, by starting a class war, by objecting passive resistance to a strike, they were inviting the sword to be drawn on the other side. That was what came of action, with the best intentions, actuated by ideas of expediency, but neglectful of those more elementary laws which are based on justice. They had no right to put a man in prison who had committed no crime, or to deport him either in India or in South Africa.

Sir J. D. Rees: In India our laws are different.

Mr. Wedgwood: The fact that the laws are different in India does not make them just.

Sir J. Rees: It makes it legal in India.

Mr. Wedgwood said that things might be a little better in that respect in South Africa, although it did not make it accord with English ideas of justice. It had been said over and over again that they could not successfully interfere. But suppose an Indian or a Kaffir in South Africa were treated in a way so monstrously unjust that they could hardly conceive South Africa to be guilty of it. They would then be justified in saying, "Unless you refuse to pass "this Act, or unless you consent to our vetoing this Act, we will "withdraw the British troops from the country." The position of the ordinary worker on the Rand was to a certain extent comparable with the position of the Indian or the Kaffir in South Africa. It was more comparable to the position of members of those two subject nationalities that it is comparable to the position of the trade unionist in England.

Sir J. D. Rees observed that Mr. MacDonald had taken exception to General Smuts' statement that he had put in a memorial prayer for the deportation of Mr. Galbraith Cole from British East Africa. He immediately accepted that denial, but did he not heartily approve of the deportation of Mr. Cole, which was a perfectly legal act, because in British East Africa, as in British India, there were laws which allowed the Executive to resort to such measures?

After further discussion, the House divided, when there appeared for the amendment, 50, and against, 214.

India in the House of Commons.

The Sitapur-Murder Case.

Mr. Morrell asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he could now give any further information with regard to the Sitapur murder case, and especially as to the trial and acquittal of a man named Bachan Singh, on the charge upon which two men who had been acquitted by the Sessions Judge were afterwards hanged, and the third man named Ganga Singh was still in penal servitude; whether he could say why no mention was made of the prosecution of Bachan Singh in the Papers laid before the House; and whether, in view of all the circumstances of this case and the suspicion that existed in the minds of many unprejudiced persons that there had been a serious miscarriage of justice, the Secretary of State would now advise the exercise of the Royal prerogative of mercy in favour of Ganga Singh.

Mr. Montague: Bachan Singh absconded after the murder and was not arrested until October 20, 1912, about six weeks after the execution of the other two men. He was tried by the Sessions Judge, Lucknow, on February 15, found guilty, and condemned to transportation for life. He appealed to the Court of the Judicial Commissioner. The appeal was decided on May 13 in favour of the appellant. At the time when Papers were presented this case had not been brought to the notice of the Secretary of State. Full information was received on August 25. After careful consideration the Secretary of State is convinced that the circumstances of this case in no way affect the justice of the decision in the previous case; and he has already, in reply to a petition on behalf of Ganga Singh, refused to advise the exercise of the Royal prerogative.

Mr. Swift MacNeill: Is the hon. gentleman aware that this man was tried and acquitted on the same evidence as the three other prisoners, two of whom were executed; and as to the one who is now in penal servitude, is he likewise aware that one of the judges, the Judicial Commissioners, who acquitted this man, constituted the bench that convicted the other three?

Mr. Montague: I think that the hon. gentleman has a question later upon the evidence. It is not the case that he was either convicted or acquitted on the same evidence. In regard to the question as to the judges, the Secretary of State took all the circumstances into consideration.

Mr. Morrell: Is it not the case that Ganga Singh, who is now in penal servitude, is serving that under a sentence which was never passed upon him by the judge who tried him, because he was acquitted by the judge who tried the case and was sentenced by a man who had never seen him?

Mr. Montague: I believe he was sentenced on appeal.

Mr. Morrell: Did my hon. friend himself say that the appeal was in no sense a re-trial, but was merely an appeal against a previous acquittal?

Mr. Montague: I believe my hon. friend remembers the elaborate discussion we had on a former occasion.

Mr. Swift MacNeill asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he was now aware that for the same offence for which Chalkan Singh, Sikhdan Singh, and Ganga Singh were tried by Mr. Bell, the Sessions Judge at Sitapur, and acquitted, and were, five months after their acquittal, re-tried by judicial Commissioners on the report of the evidence of witnesses in the Court below who were not examined or seen by the Commissioners, Chalkan Singh and Sikhdan Singh being sentenced to death and executed, and Ganga Singh being sentenced to Penal servitude, a fourth man named Bachan Singh was tried by another Sessions Judge on exactly the same evidence as was offered in the case of the Singhs, convicted by him and sentenced not to death but to imprisonment, and that that very appeal resulted in an acquittal; had he ascertained the cause of his having had no information from India as to the trial of Bachan Singh so lately as August 13 last; had he yet enquired what was the reason of this circumstance, which tends to throw additional doubts on the guilt of the Singhs and to show that the Government of India would have favourably entertained their petition for mercy if that petition had not been withheld by Sir John Hewett, not having been communicated to the India Office in the history of this transaction sent from the authorities in India and communicated by the Indian Office to this House; and whether the Secretary of State would now advise the exercise of the prerogative of mercy in the case of Ganga Singh.

Mr. Montague: I would refer my hon. friend to the answer I have just given to Mr. Morrell. But I must point out that the evidence upon which Bachan Singh was acquitted was not exactly the same as that upon which the other three men were convicted. With regard to the second and third parts of the question, I would remind my hon. friend that up to the time when Papers were presented, this House was concerned with the Sitapur case, so far as it concerned the trial of the three men acquitted by the Sessions Judge and convicted by the Judicial Commissioner on appeal, and thereby raised the general question of appeals against acquittals and the disposal of petitions of persons under the sentence of death. The records of the subsequent trial of Bachan Singh were not among the papers called for by the Secretary of State, who was then unaware of the proceedings against him, and were evidently not judged relevant to the specific issue raised. But when the appeal of Ganga Singh, under sentence of transportation, came before the local government, the possible hearing of Bachan Singh's acquittal was not overlooked by them, and the record was then transmitted to the Secretary of State, and was considered by him when he disposed of the appeal and refused to advise the exercise of the Royal prerogative.

Mr. Swift MacNeill: When did the Secretary of State first hear of this case? Bachan Singh was convicted on October 12, 1912, and the other case did not come up until June of last year.

Mr. Montague: If the hon. gentleman will look at the answer I gave to Mr. Morrell, a copy of which I will give him, he will see all the dates he asks for are set out.

Mr. Morrell: Can the hon. Member tell me if the appeal of Ganga Singh ever came before the Viceroy-in-Council?

Mr. Montague: I think it was granted, but if the hon. gentleman will give notice I will give him accurate information.

Appeals Against Acquittals in India.

Mr. Swift MacNeill asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he was aware that during the years 1902-11 no fewer than twenty-six Indians who had been tried on capital charges by session judges, and having stood in peril of their lives had been acquitted were subsequently, on appeals preferred by Government against these orders of acquittal, convicted of a capital offence, sentenced to death, and actually executed; whether the system under which in India persons tried for murder and acquitted could subsequently be retried, convicted, sentenced to death, and executed, applied only to persons of Indian birth and not to persons of European birth and descent and was of recent origin; whether in these appeals from acquittals on capital charges instituted by the Indian Government, the witnesses in the court below were not produced, their evidence given in that court being simply perused by the judges, and that the accused persons themselves were not necessarily present; and whether the Secretary of State for India, who some months ago had decided to consider if there were grounds for re-examining this method of procedure in conducting such appeals, had yet taken the matter into consideration; and, if so, whether he had decided that the same method of trial for capital crimes should obtain for Indians and for Europeans alike, that in cases other than capital, in which appeals from acquittals were allowed this procedure should be reformed; and, if so, what were the contemplated reforms in that procedure.

Mr. Montague: The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. The system dates, as my hon. friend is aware, from 1872; that it indirectly applies in the manner stated in the second part I have already explained in my answer to him on July 8 last. The answer to the third part is in the affirmative, except that the Appellate Court may take additional evidence. With regard to the remainder of the question, the Secretary of State has under consideration the whole of the important question of appeals against acquittals in all its bearings; no decision has yet been reached.

Mr. Swift MacNeill: Is the hon. gentleman aware that this appeal against acquittals was instituted by Sir Fitzjames Stephen in order to prevent Europeans being improperly acquitted, and that it is now being used against a different class of persons?

Mr. Montague: I heard the hon. gentleman argue that.

Death Sentences in the United Provinces.

Mr. Swift MacNeill asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he was aware that, of the twenty-six cases, in which, during the years 1902-11, Indians acquitted as the result of trials before sessions judges on capital charges where subsequently retried, convicted, sentenced to death, and actually executed, no fewer than thirteen were in the United Provinces and not one in Bengal; and whether he could assign any reason for this divergence in the number of death sentences executed on prisoners in the first instance acquitted of murder in the United Provinces and in Bengal.

Mr. Montague: The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. With regard to the second part, I would hesitate to give an opinion which, having regard to the differences between one province and another, would not be authoritative.

Mr. Swift MacNeill: Is the hon. gentleman aware that judges upon the Bengal Bench, especially the Chief Justice, have expressed themselves in unmeasured terms about Executive action?

Whipping Sentences in India.

Mr. Swift MacNeill asked the Under-Secretary of State for India the result of his enquiries into the prevalence of whipping sentences in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and in Burma.

Mr. Montague: The Secretary of State has received reports from the two local governments concerned, and is satisfied that in both provinces the spirit as well as the letter of the Whipping Act of 1909 is carefully observed, and that the punishment of whipping is in neither case unduly awarded.

Mr. Swift MacNeill also asked the Under-Secretay of State for India if he would state how many judicial sentences for whipping were passed in India, province by province, during the years 1911 and 1912.

Mr. Montague: Burma—1911, 2,158; 1912, 2,205. United Provinces—1911, 2,992; 1912, 2,662. Punjab—1911, 1,135; 1912, 1,149. North-West Frontier Province—1911, 81; 1912, 120. Bombay—1911, 859; 1912, 901. Central Provinces—1911, 518; 1912, 529. Madras—1911, 618; 1912, 684. Bengal—1911, 816 (including Behar and Orissa, but not Eastern Bengal); 1912, 689 (including Eastern Bengal). Eastern Bengal and Assam—1911, 223; Behar and Orissa, 1912, 256; Assam, 1912, 123.

Mr. Swift MacNeill asked if the United Provinces did not top the list.

Mr. Montague said he believed that was the case.

The School of Oriental Languages.

Sir J. D. Rees asked the Prime Minister if he would state what progress had been made with the School of Oriental Languages.

Mr. Asquith: The charter for the school is now being considered by the Privy Council. The alterations in the buildings recommended in the first interim report of Lord Cromer's Committee are still under consideration.

Sir J. D. Rees: Is the right hon. gentleman aware that progress has been much faster in the smaller City of Vladivostock, where they already have a well-equipped Oriental School?

Mr. Asquith: I am not acquainted with that.

Ottoman Public Debt.

Sir Adam Block's Report.

The annual report of the Council of Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt for the period from March 14, 1912, to March 13, 1913, is now published, with a special report by Sir Adam Block, the representative of the British and Dutch bondholders. Referring to the war, immense areas of territory, he says, were for months devastated by the opposing forces, and in those districts the collection of revenue was naturally almost out of the question. "Owing to the naval operations of the belligerents, all business and trade, as well as transport and sale of salt, were restricted on the coasts of the Ægean and of the Red Sea. By the closing of the Dardanelles communication with the Capital was almost entirely suspended for a considerable period. It is not surprising under these circumstances that the receipts of the Public Debt Administration should show a decrease compared with the preceding year. From the outbreak of the war with the Balkan States the Council of the Debt had to rely chiefly on the Anatolian Provinces for its revenues, and in spite of the natural reaction of the war in these districts the receipts have come in with praiseworthy regularity, the decrease on the total receipts being, as I have said, less than was to be expected. The results of last year compared with the preceding year show decrease of £T386,461." "Pessimistic rumours," says Sir Adam Block, "have been so persistent that anything I may say of an optimistic nature may be received with scepticism, but nevertheless I have no hesitation in affirming that the check in the steady improvement of the economic condition of the country for a number of years past is only temporary, and that in spite of the war and the financial straits of the Turkish Government there is every reason to believe that with peace assured the revenues will continue to show a steady increase." The Bondholders, it is said, need have no apprehension of any serious fall in the yield of the revenues in general. The Turkish Government have been hard put to it to make both ends meet, but great credit should be accorded to them for having throughout scrupulously respected their engagements to their creditors. Not only have they observed a perfectly correct attitude with regard to the ceded revenues but they have, as in preceding years, afforded the Debt Council all possible assistance throughout twenty-four months of political and financial crisis.

The Paris Conference.

As soon as the Council perceived that the occupation of the Turkish Territories in Europe and in the Ægean Islands by the Balkan States would interfere with the collection of the assigned Revenues, urgent representations were made to the Great Powers with the object of protecting the rights of the Bondholders of Turkey in those districts where the Turkish writ no longer ran. The Debt Council subsequently received assurances from the Balkan States that no prejudice would be caused to the creditors of Turkey. These assurances, unfortunately, were not entirely adhered to. A considerable loss of Revenue has been incurred which the States concerned will be called upon to make good. In spite of the representations made by the Council of Foreign Bondholders, and some of the other syndicates, the admission of a representative of the Debt Council was found unacceptable. The Council of the Debt has recently prepared tables for the next meeting of the Conference fixing the share of the Debt for each State in proportion to the new territory acquired, and it is to be hoped that the final decision of the Conference will not long be delayed, and that ultimately the Great Powers will ensure that the rights of their respective bondholders are duly respected. Should this prove to be the case, the bondholders will not suffer by the loss of territory to Turkey.

The Future.

The last two years have been a most critical period for Turkey, and it has seemed at times as if the financial resources of the country could not stand the strain without recourse to the adoption of regrettable measures which would have affected the acquired rights of the creditors of Turkey. If the Balkan States are called upon to pay their proper share of the External Debt of Turkey, the loss of revenue will not be so keenly felt, and the Anatolian Revenues, which will show renewed elasticity as soon as the effects of the war have passed away, will not be burdened by an increased share of the Foreign Debt, thus depriving Turkey of the means of ensuring a better administration and of consolidating the financial stability of the country. It is on this that the interests of the Bondholders of Turkey depend for the future security of their holding, and the settlement of the share of the Balkan States in the Foreign Debt of Turkey requires therefore the special attention and the vigilance of all those who possess a stake in the Ottoman Empire. The situation to-day is very serious, and the finances of Turkey will require careful handling and much care and attention. But, whilst the situation is undoubtedly critical, it is by no means desperate. If Turkey continues to be deprived of legitimate means of placing the finances on a sound basis, that danger becomes more imminent. If Turkey is to be financially boycotted for political ends, the Bondholders may have to suffer, even if only for a time. Immediate financial relief is necessary in the form of a consolidating or funding loan. The Government cannot without risk impose further direct taxation on the agricultural population of the country. Serious efforts are being made to reduce expenditure, and it is confidently believed that in the coming year a very large reduction will be effected both in the civil departments of the State and in the military estimates. It is hoped that the deficit of the coming year of the ordinary Budget will not exceed two millions. "Turkey," says the writer, "has for many months past been asking the Great Powers for foreign experts and inspectors, as well as for gendarmerie officers, for the reform of the Civil Administration of the Anatolian provinces, and for the reorganisation of the provincial gendarmerie. The Government have spontaneously offered to give foreigners so employed very extensive powers. Up to the present, however, for reasons which it is difficult to understand, no decision seems to have been come to, but I have reason to hope that the Great Powers will no longer decline to agree to the proposals made, nor further hesitate to accord what they themselves have been advocating and insisting upon in the interest of Turkey for more than a quarter of a century."

The Morning Post's Opinion.

Sir Adam Block's annual report on the Ottoman Public Debt is one of the most trustworthy sources of information not only about Turkish finance but about many other aspects of Turkish government and Turkish affairs. Its author is a Member of the Council of Administration of the Debt and has the great advantage of a mastery of the Turkish language. He thoroughly understands the Turks and has their confidence, and in his reports aims at explaining their position, as far as financial report allows, to the British public. His official position on the Council of the Debt is that of representative of the British and Dutch bondholders, and he has therefore to consider their interests. This year he has to review a period in which Turkey was at war, and in which she has lost the greater part of the European territories from which two years ago she was still collecting revenue. During the war, of course, revenue was not to be had from the

European provinces. But from the Asiatic provinces, especially from Asia Minor, the receipts were regular and the decrease of income was less than had been expected. The loss of Tripoli has not been a loss of revenue except for the period of the war with Italy, because the Italian Government has paid Turkey two millions, equivalent to the capitalisation at four per cent. of the revenue of Tripoli in the period before the war. Nor will the loss of the European provinces be more than a limited financial loss, for the Powers have agreed that arrangements are to be made by which the Balkan States are to make up to the bondholders whatever revenue would disappear in consequence of the annexations. The financial conference meeting at Paris for this purpose has not yet finished its work, but the principle of compensation by the Balkan States appears to have been established without question.

The war has upset for the time the attempts made for a year or two before it began to set in order the financial administration of Turkey. It was natural and necessary that all the resources of Turkey should be devoted to the war and that the civil departments of the State should be temporarily starved. It is now needful to restore those departments, without depriving the bondholders of the interest due to them. This will be difficult without a loan, and Sir Adam Block pleads for a loan. The total external debt of Turkey is a hundred and one millions, together with new loans, Treasury bonds, and advances from banks, amounting to twenty-four millions. Sir Adam Block thinks that sound security can be found for a loan which would pay off the recent advances and provide for immediate administrative wants. These are urgent. Officials, Judges, and Police cannot work unpaid, and though salaries were paid regularly from 1908 to the outbreak of the war they have fallen into arrears. Unless their regular payment is speedily resumed the administration will slip back to the old system of corrupt and inefficient officialdom which had brought Turkey to the verge of ruin." The Turkish official, in the opinion of Sir Adam Block, is as good as the official of any other country so long as he is regularly and adequately paid and properly controlled. Meantime the receipts are not yet adequate to cover the ordinary expenditure. Accordingly Turkey must for some time to come practise economy. Her Government must understand that the only salvation consists in a policy of thrift, and that a period of peace is necessary for restoring the vitality of the country. This is, so far as the Turkish Government is concerned, the chief moral to be drawn from Sir Adam Block's report. But unless there is some assurance that the Turkish Government is determined on a peaceful policy there is little prospect of any fresh loan, at any rate from Western Europe. The expressions used with regard to the islands of the Ægean in the Turkish reply to the Note of the Powers were consistent with the intention to begin another war against Greece at an early date, and the recent expenditure of a large sum, which Turkey obtained not from revenue but by borrowing, upon a battleship seems to point in the same direction. The Governments of the Powers have in their hands a means of influencing the Turkish Government towards peace. It consists in making the settlement of the financial conference dependent upon the definite acceptance by Turkey of the decision made by the Powers in regard to the islands. This would be a right and proper step to take, for it would be absurd for Greece to pay Turkey money to cover the Turkish debt in respect of Macedonia and the islands if that money were to be used for mobilising the Turkish Army and Navy for an attack upon Greece. The improvement of Turkish administration is impracticable without European assistance. This Sir Adam Block freely admits, and he points to the excellent work done at the request of the Turkish Government by Europeans such as Sir Richard Crawford at the Customs. But he reminds his readers that Turkey has for many months past been asking the Great Powers for foreign experts and inspectors, as well as for gendarmerie officers, for the reform of the civil administration of the Anatolian provinces. Up to the date of the report, however, which was the 9th of January, no decision had been reached in regard to what Sir Adam Block evidently thought the greatest service the Powers could render to the Turkish Government and the population of Turkey. There were some reasons for this delay. Some of the Powers are jealous of the employment in the Turkish service of subjects of some of the others. The matter is therefore one requiring delicate and sometimes prolonged negotiations. But since Sir Adam Block wrote progress has been made. Only the other day it was announced that an argeement had been reached between Turkey, Germany and Russia for the administration of the two Armenian provinces under European inspectors.

If there is, among those who now have control of the government and policy of Turkey, a statesman large-hearted enough to be devoted solely to his country's welfare and large-minded enough to face the real facts he may learn from Sir Adam Block's report, from which he will be able to read between the lines, what are the conditions of the preservation of the Turkish Empire and of the restoration of its prosperity. They are to begin with a frank acceptance of the result of the late war and a resolute preservation of the peace for the next ten years. The first necessity is the establishment of efficient administration in Anatolia. That means competent and upright heads of provinces and districts; impartial courts administering justice to all classes, races, and creeds; and the construction of good roads through the country as adjuncts to the railways that have been made and are about to be made. If these three things are done the people will have security for work, for earning, and for saving. The revenue will then increase, and it will be possible to establish a budget and to have a series of years with a surplus instead of a deficit. Then it will be possible to look further into the future, for Turkey's credit will then be re-established. Any other course, and above all a fresh war, means that Turkey will run further into debt. In the case of a State in Turkey's condition an increase of debt means an increase of foreign control. Turkey is no longer independent. She is in the hands partly of her creditors and partly of the States that have created interests in her territories. If she aims at recovering her independence she must choose the right means, which consist in solvency or financial independence. A Turkey able to pay her way would be in a position to have a policy and to play a part in the world. A Turkey drifting towards bankruptcy must be drifting at the same time towards disintegration.—*The Morning Post.*

Honor.

The idea of honor is supposed to be one of the contributions of Norse chivalry to the ethical culture of mankind. In the age of chivalry, said Gibbon, all the men were brave and all the women chaste, and the two virtues embodied the distinctive 'points of honor' for each sex. The fusion of Christian sentiment, which in its original purity knew nothing of military bravery, with barbaric militarism produced the peculiar cult of personal dignity as centred on a restrained strength which could be used only in a righteous cause; and the *very parfic, gentil knight*, who might fight for God or his lady, for the weak and oppressed, but in no less noble contest, become a central figure, is the moral ideal of the western world. The code of honor supplied gaps in the ordinary system of morals and law. Debts of honor were those which a sensitive man felt to be only the more binding because they could not be enforced. Honor forbade to take the advantages which circumstances, law, or public opinion might allow. Even conscience was less sensitive. A thing might be within the bounds of actual right, but honor, as a super-conscience, would avoid anything that could seem tainted by winds wafted, however far, from the realms of the base or the weak. Who shall deny that honor has really meant these things to many, and has motived acts beyond count, unnoticed and unrecorded, of chivalry and abnegation?

But, as with other servants of mankind, the best work that honor has done has been secret and unnamed. As a reality, she whispers in the ear of the individual man or woman, stimulating or shaming him in the most intimate of his personal dealings. When she goes forth into the market-place, or offers her wares as the badge of a caste or of a nation, her leadership is of very different quality. When we begin to hear talk of the national honor on the platform or in the Press, we know that there is going to be a hard time for common sense and common decency. The national honor, far from being hypersensitive on nice points of conduct, knows very little of the commonest obligations, and will barely leave to the public men who serve it the rags of private honesty to cover the nakedness of their dealings. It is in vain for a few to protest that the nation's honor cannot be exalted by acts that would disgrace its humblest member as a man; that, on the contrary, a great civilized people may win its highest honor by scrupulous regard for the rights of a weaker nation, and that a land which boasts itself the mother of liberty may add to its laurels by extending the borders of freedom within its world-wide empire or by holding out a hand to oppressed Armenians or threatened Persians. To the upholders of national honor, these are words, breath, garnished possibly for platform rhetoric when they happen to chime in with other needs of policy, but utterly incongruous with the real forces which underlie their appeal to public sentiment. To them the national honor means the power of the nation to make itself respected, and respect for a nation means fear based on physical force. For honour in this connection, we should read brute strength and the determination to use it remorselessly.

It is much the same when the code of honor is the creed of a caste. It may be even worse, for honor as a caste possession is something exclusive. Outsiders do not share it, and to admit them to its laws and usages is contaminating. All the circumstances of the birth of honor, all its history and lineage, play upon the meaning of the word in this connection. The code of honor is the appanage of those that bear arms, and except as mere 'common' soldiers, flesh for the cannon, men hired for slaughter at a shilling a day, or driven into battle under the lash of conscription, and commonalty are not arm-bearers. The mastery of arms is the hall-mark of aristocracy.

and use of arms the foundation of honor. The shameful accusation, the insult, the blow, must be wiped out in blood. Not only is it a point of honor to give satisfaction to the man one has wronged, but to stand his fire, to measure swords with him, wipe out the wrong from the scutcheon of the doer. The tarnish is removed from the name, baseness is redeemed by the overshadowing greatness of courage, which, like charity in the rival code, covers a multitude of sins. But if the wrong is due to or by the inferior, who can bear no weapon, no such remedy is of avail. To cross sword with such a one would be to derogate from the dignity of caste. He may be chastised, but not fought.

These conditions of the law of honor have been refined and softened in many dwelling codes. The duel could not wipe out all offences, and there are acts of baseness which would make a man unworthy to be fought. The duel, moreover, at least contemplates a fight on equal terms, in which each party exposes his life, and to most votaries of honor the principle of the fair field is elementary and the meanness of undue advantage axiomatic. The legendary chivalry of the duellist is replete with instances of the surrender of points vantage, the return of the dropped sword, the courteous delay till the opponent has recovered a slip. Here at least, if honor means anything but brutality, we expect to see her restraining hand at work in the hottest of the encounter.

It is reserved for Prussian militarism, with the characteristic national thoroughness, to work out the real implications of honor as the machine-soldier is to understand it. Honor for the German officers is that which can brook no insult; so far we are still in the duellist's code. But the Prussian officer in resenting insult must make no miscalculation of the chances as between him and his opponent. He must know no restraints, and submit to no delays. He must give chase to those who have ventured to smile in his dignified presence, and if he only catches a lame cobler, he must then and there slash him over the head while his underlings hold the man's hands. To this he is prompted, not by hot resentment, not by innate brutality, but by the inexorable command of a lofty duty. It is his honor which is appeased, his personal dignity which is exalted, by this exposition of the power of ten men, armed, to deal with one in his shirt. To what strange uses do words come. The private schoolboy in his first term learns, if he did not know it before, that to hit a smaller boy is mean, that to get others to hold him for the purpose is still meaner, and to belabour him so held with a weapon, mean beyond the credibility of meanness. But with the Prussian the dialectic of honor, as a metaphysician might say, has worked itself through. Its inner contradiction has come to the surface, and it has passed over into its opposite of the utterly abased.

Take honor in its sub-intention as that title to the respect of others which is justified by their well-grounded fear, and you have its full meaning proclaimed in all its glory in the sabre marks on the lame cobbler's head. Hideous to all beholders in its nakedness, this same conception parades through the speech of many of us, muffled up in the trappings of lofty sentiment when we talk of saving the honor, it may be of a man, it may be of a family, a class, a profession, or a nation, by that which, if revealed to all the world in its essence, would only cover them with disgrace. The logical Prussian—worthy countryman of Kant—only shows us whither we are going, and where our half-thoughts tend, just as he teaches us what the rule of the soldier means when it realizes its ideal of emancipation from the restraint of Parliaments and the checks of civil law. It is not our part to scold him, but to thank him for a double object-lesson in sincerity and in political philosophy.—The *Nation*.

The Bagdad Railway.

In 1875 the first section of what was known as the Anatolian Railway was built by German Engineers to the order of the Turkish Government. In 1888 it was transferred to a German company. In 1899 the Sultan, Abdul Hamid, granted to the Emperor of Germany, whom he styled "his only friend in Europe," the concession "for the extension of the said railway from the Bosphorus, across Asiatic Turkey, to the mouth of the Shat-el-Arab, on the Persian Gulf."

This concession was transferred to a German Syndicate, which assumed the name of "The Bagdad Railway Company," and after certain modifications, it commenced business.

In 1903 the German company made certain proposals to England, Russia, and France to participate in the construction—by taking shares in the company.

Russia refused, as she believed it was an aggression against her spheres of influence in Armenia and North Persia, and her frontier south of the Caucasus. The interests of France were mainly financial, but the alliance with Russia compelled her to act in unison with her. England feared an intrusion upon her interests in the Persian Gulf and so also refused.

The concession to the German company was in the following terms:—

1. A ninety-nine years' lease.
2. The construction of the line from Konia, the terminus of the Anatolian Railway to Bagdad, the ancient capital of the Saracen Caliphate on the River Tigris, and from thence to the Persian Gulf. The distance from Konia to Bagdad is 900 miles, and from Bagdad to Bassorah, 350 miles.
3. The line to be divided into twelve sections of 200 kilometres each—and to be built under so-called "Kilometric Guarantees."
4. The company to receive an annuity per kilometre of 11,000 francs for construction, and 4,500 francs for working when the line was opened.
5. The capitalised value for each of the twelve sections to be calculated at 54 million francs, and Turkish 4 per cent. bonds to be issued to the company, before starting work on any given section.

These bonds, though not worth their nominal value, have nevertheless, so far been enough to enable the company, not only to meet its expenses, but also to make a fair profit.

If Russia, France, and England decided to boycott the Bonds then the German company could proceed only very slowly in the construction. This is what has occurred.

The line, so far, has been built to Burgulu, which is situated at the foot of the Taurus Mountains, a distance of 125 miles. It was opened in 1904. Tunnelling through the Taurus Mountains is proceeding. It has still to cross these mountains, and to cover more than two-thirds of the distance to Bagdad.

Financial difficulties, revolution, the deposition of Sultan Abdul Hamid, and the publication by the new Sultan, under the inspiration of the Young Turks (the so-called Committee of Union and Progress), of constitutional government, have all operated to retard its progress.

The Young Turks really disapproved of the concession, but German diplomacy, and the natural leaning and good-will of the leaders of the Turkish Army toward the German Government restrained them from annulling it.

Since 1903, when the Conservative Government rejected the overtures of the Bagdad Company, our relations with the German Government have been very strained. This is indicated by the following extracts from German papers:—

1. *Die Post* brands English demands for control of the Gulf terminal of the Bagdad Railway as "interference with the rights of Turkey, which the Ottoman Government cannot, and will not in any circumstances tolerate. The Bagdad Railway is a Turkish line, crossing Turkish territory. No State has a right to demand supremacy over any section of this work of civilisation. England has no right in the Turkish Bagdad Railway, other than finance. The railway is Turkish, and will remain Turkish, from the Bosphorus to the Persian Gulf."

2. The *Vossiche Zeitung* accuses Great Britain with "trying to secure for herself rights of predominance, to the exclusion of Germany, which represents the capitalists concerned in the German portion of the Railway." And adds that "other ways and means to solve the problem must be found." Further, "that British proposals will not be considered satisfactory unless Germany approves of them, and that Germany can, if necessary, refuse her consent to the 4 per cent. increase of Custom duties"; also that "*the Wilhelmstrasse will repay Downing Street on the Persian Gulf for unfriendliness shown in the Morocco question.*" With regard to 1903, it says that "Mr. Balfour was not wholly responsible, but he failed to resist the popular agitation aroused by an ill-informed Press. The mistake he then made continues to bring its own punishment to the present day, and it will grow worse the longer England delays to repair the mistake."

3. The *Boerse Courier* says: "If Great Britain fails to profit by Germany's conciliatory attitude with regard to the Gulf section of the railway, that section, like the rest of the line, will be built without the co-operation of British capital."

4. The *Kreuz Zeitung* says: "The British claim to a protectorate over Koweit is unjustifiable, and should be submitted to the Hague Tribunal."

5. The *Berliner Tageblatt* says: "Turkey, as the Sovereign Power over the whole region traversed by the railway, has the right to have the first word in the matter, also the final decision. The question whether Bassorah or Koweit shall be the terminus requires a solution by which Turkish interests are not threatened. Germany seeks nothing more."

6. The *Abendpost* says: "British influence at Koweit, which is the only possible Gulf outlet to the Bagdad Railway, has hitherto proved a fatal obstacle to this great project."

7. *The North German Gazettee* says: "It is Britain's business if she has any special wishes regarding the Bagdad Railway, to formulate and submit them to the only factors contractually concerned in the undertaking, namely Turkey and the Bagdad Railway Company."

21st March.

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8. *The Frankfurter Zeitung*: "While people in Germany have accustomed themselves to treating the Bagdad Railway as an exclusively commercial affair, Englishmen are apparently unable to divest it of the political aspect with which it has been artificially endowed. English supremacy in India, control of the Persian Gulf, the pretended protectorate over the Turkish town of Koweit, all serve as a basis for demands directly concerning what is, indisputably, Turkish territory. The British Government is urged to demand control of the terminal section of the railway, and to make the granting of this demand a *sine qua non* for future friendly relations with Turkey and Germany. That England lays claim to a protectorate over Koweit and to a control of the terminal section of the Bagdad Railway is an incontrovertible fact. But the question is: What right has England in connection with the terminal of the Bagdad Railway?

"No matter how the Koweit pretensions may be settled, no sort of half, or full, protectorate would give the English any claim upon the southern section of the Bagdad Railway.

"As soon as the English Government applies the right standard of their own practical interest to this question, they will find the Turks and German sensible parties with whom to deal."

9. The *Frankfurter Gazette* says: "The Grand Vizier has made the important pronouncement that the construction of the Bagdad line as far as Bagdad is an absolute necessity, and he was personally, and irrevocably, determined to carry this policy into realisation. But in regard to the final section, from Bagdad to the Gulf, an understanding was inevitable; and he pledged the credit of the Government to the attainment of a suitable settlement."

A semi-official communication in the same paper offers to English people who are nervous about the danger to the Indian Empire the advice to consult a map, pointing out that the distance from Koweit to the Indian frontier is about the same as from Portsmouth to Naples. And it hopes that the sound instincts of Englishmen will enable them to overcome the political Chauvinism from which their handling of the question has hitherto suffered."

10. The *Norddeutsche Zeitung* invites England to formulate her wishes and demands regarding the final section of the line, and adds that they will be sure to receive friendly consideration on the part of Germany.

11. The *Vossische Zeitung*, in an issue subsequent to the one previously quoted, says: "Any proposal which would involve British control of the final section of the Bagdad line would, under no circumstances, be entertained by Germany. The agreement with Russia enables Germany to override British resistance. If England persists in her demands, Germany will know how to act, despite England.

"If Englishmen would reckon up the net profit which has accrued from their country's anti-German policy of recent years, they will find that the total is *nil*."

As a sequence to the above extracts, I will quote what the *Tanin*, a Turkish paper says:—

"In 1901 Great Britain undertook not to occupy Koweit, or to extend protection to Sheikh Mubarak. Turkey simultaneously agreed not to send troops to Koweit and to respect the *status quo*. Nevertheless, in consequence of the project to build a railway from Bagdad to Bassorah, the existing situation cannot continue. Moreover, there is a necessity for securing order in Mesopotamia."

It adds: "As Turkey will respect the rights of Great Britain in the Persian Gulf, she hopes, by friendly negotiations, to obtain a favourable solution of the Koweit question."

I think there is very little doubt that the article in the *Tanin* was inspired by German diplomacy, and that the Turkish Government has been tutored to lay claim to a suzerainty over the Sheikh of Koweit. It is borne out by a further article in the *Vossische Zeitung*, to the effect that "the British Government has proposed that the four Powers chiefly concerned, viz., England, Turkey, Germany and France, should each participate in the financing of the scheme, to the amount of one quarter of the capital required; in return for which England is willing to admit the Turkish claim to the suzerainty over Koweit." It appears, however, that the proposal of participation in the financing of the scheme emanated from Turkey, and not from England, and was to the effect that Turkey and Germany should each hold 30 per cent. of the shares, and England and France 20 each. As this would have placed the control of the line entirely in the hands of Turkey and Germany, England objected to the proposal.

Now let us examine the political status of Koweit. In 1899, when the Conservative Government was in power, and Lord Cranborne was the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Curzon, then Viceroy of India, concluded a secret treaty with the Sheikh of Koweit, by which "the Sheikh agreed not to cede any territory to third parties, and to conduct all this foreign relations in accordance with our wishes." This treaty bears the date January 25th, 1899. Either the Sheikh had the power, or he had not, to make this treaty. It is argued that, though he was practically independent, as all the Sheikhs in those parts are, he acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sultan; and that the Crescent, as an emblem of the suzerainty, floated over his house. His explanation of it was that it was merely an emblem of the Moslem faith, and by no means a symbol of Turkish sovereignty; and that he paid no taxes to the Sultan.

When Lord Morley was Secretary of State for India, this subject was discussed in the House of Lords, and this is what he said on the 22nd of March, 1911:—

"The position as his Majesty's Government found it in December, 1905, when they assumed office, was that the concession of the Bagdad Railway, from Konia to Bagdad, Bassorah, and some indeterminate point on the Persian Gulf, had been granted some years before. The concession was not only for the main line, but also for certain branch lines, the most important of which was the line to Kanakin, on the Turco-Persian frontier. Articles appeared in the papers daily assuming that we had a right there to do what we pleased. But the fact was, it was not our soil, but belonged to Turkey. The Germans were there, because the Turkish Government had given them the right to be there." He understood that certain important arrangements had been recently arrived at in Constantinople, and that they were substantially as follows:—

"By arrangements between the Turkish Government and the German Concessionnaires under the Convention of 1903, the Bagdad Railway Company acquired the right to build a line to some point on the Persian Gulf, to be determined thereafter. Under Article 12 of the Convention, the Company acquired certain preferential rights to construct branches to the Mediterranean, on the coast of Syria.

"Under the arrangements now arrived at in Constantinople, His Majesty's Government understood that the Company renounced their right to the section of the railway between Bagdad and the Persian Gulf, and also their right to construct a port of Bassorah, on condition that they received a certain share in any new Company—presumably a Turkish Company—formed to carry out the parts of the line which they had now renounced. On the other hand, in fulfilment of the terms of the Concession, the Company had come to an arrangement whereby first their branch line was to be built from Oormanich on the main line to Alxandretta—on the Gulf of that name. And secondly, that certain revenues were to be allocated to them, in accordance with Article 35 of the Concession of 1903. By this arrangement the Turkish Government had ragained its liberty of action regarding the section of the railway between Bagdad and the Persian Gulf. His Majesty's Government now wished to arrive at a settlement which would remove all apprehension that the Bagdad Railway and its terminus would create diplomatic friction between the parties interested. But Germany, as the original Concession-holders would have to be consulted, and her agreement would be necessary."

Since the 22nd. of March, 1911, when the above speech was delivered, further developments have been as follows:—

1. A correspondent, writing from Constantinople to the German paper, *Lokal Anzeiger*, says: "The Porte has decided to negotiate with Germany alone about the construction of the Bagdad Railway as far as Bagdad. There is to be an exchange of views between Turkey and Germany with reference to the extension of the line to the Persian Gulf, and on the basis of these views negotiations will be opened with England and France."

2. In furtherance of these views, the following proposals were made:—

The capital to be equally divided between Turkey, Germany, Great Britain, and France. Each to have equal participation on the Board of Directors, the President to be an Ottoman, with, however, one vote only. Regarding the branch railway to Alexandretta, mentioned by Lord Morley in his speech, the Ministry of Public Works in Constantinople, having finally approved the plans for the Mediterranean port of the Bagdad Railway at Alexandretta, and the Branch line from Toprakkale to Alexandretta work on these lines is being carried out.

The negotiations regarding Koweit, and England's sphere of influence in that State and the Persian Gulf, were temporarily suspended when the Turko-Balkan War broke out. Russia has withdrawn her opposition, as the result of the meeting between the Czar and the Kaiser at Potsdam in November, 1910, and no longer desires to have a share or any control over the railway. The reason for the withdrawal is said to be an arrangement that Germany will not oppose the construction by Russia of a railway in the north of Persia, linking on to the Bagdad Railway at Khanikin on the Persian frontier.

I really cannot see what interest financial or otherwise, France has got in this matter. She certainly poses as the protector of the Syrian Christians, and has done so ever since the Druses and Maronites of Mount Lebanon were at war with each other about

fifty years ago; but this does not give her any claim to share in the construction of the Bagdad Railway. And now that her ally and predominant partner, Russia, has retired, we ought, if our "Entente Cordiale" is more than a name, to get her to retire also.

It appears from the Paris papers, notably the *Temps* and the *Libre Parole*, that the French Foreign Office still thinks it has an interest in the negotiation. We ought to be able to convince it that the continuance of this attitude only perpetuates the existing friction between ourselves and Germany, and prevents an amicable settlement. The question would then concern only Turkey, Germany and ourselves. And with resolution and firmness, we ought to be able to arrange that Germany should construct the railway as far as Bagdad, and we from Bagdad to the Persian Gulf. We should strive to get our protectorate over Koweit acknowledged by the Sultan (Germany has no right to object to it) or under his suzerainty. If possible, we should try to arrange matters amicably, and not be deterred, or intimidated, by bluff and bluster. Our attitude must be immovable; we cannot divide with Germany the control of the line between Bagdad and Koweit. In the words of Lord Lansdowne, spoken in 1903: "We should regard the establishment of a naval base, or of a fortified port, in the Persian Gulf by any other Power as a grave menace to our interests, and should certainly resist it by all the means at our disposal."

The following is the present Grand Vizier's statement on the subject:—

"The granting of the Concession to a German Company, with kilometric guarantees, in preference to an English Company, which was ready to undertake the enterprise without such guarantees, was the work of a previous Government. It would be useless to criticise it now.

"The duty of the present Government is to respect the arrangement. We shall never tear up the convention which we have concluded. The state has lost nothing through kilometric guarantees. The prolongation of the line has been definitely decided. The linking up of Constantinople and Bagdad will guarantee our future prosperty. The £300,000 a year which the final section to Bagdad will cost us is nothing beside the result we are determined to attain. We will never abandon the scheme. Regarding the line from Bagdad to Bassorah, we hope to conclude a satisfactory arrangement. We shall overcome all obstacles. Our only aim is the interest of our Empire."

It will be observed that he has said nothing about the German Company's right to continue the construction of the line from Bagdad to the Persian Gulf, nor has he touched on the claim of Turkey to the suzerainty over Koweit.

Since the above statement was made, a considerable change in the demeanour of Germany has occurred. Some people attribute it to Lord Haldane's mission to Berlin, followed by Lord Morley's visit; others, to Sir Edward Grey's firm attitude, he having declared that it was England's firm intention to insist on our rights in the Persian Gulf. These combined appear to have impressed Germany and Turkey with the conviction that England cannot be trifled with, and that without her adherence and wholehearted consent, the difficulties which exist at present cannot possibly be removed. This is shown in the more moderate language now used by the German Press.

In almost similar terms, the *Norddeutsche, Allgemeine Zeitung*, and *Kolnische Zeitung* publish the significant statement that "there is not the least reason, political or otherwise, why English money should not be allowed to share in the construction of the final section of the line, the railway being nothing more than a route intended to open up the districts of Turkey-in-Asia, at present unapproachable, to the trade of all nations."

The *Frankfurter Zeitung* and the *North German Gazette* say: "We desire to call special attention to the fact that the name of Koweit does not appear in any form in the Bagdad Concession. The Bagdad Company is authorised to build the line from Zobeir (near Bassorah) to some point on the Persian Gulf. It need not, therefore, be built directly to Koweit, although the harbour of that place has many advantages."

The *North German Gazette* further "assures England that doubts regarding anti-British preferential rates on the Bagdad line are groundless.

The French paper, *Le Temps*, remarks on this: "The English Government will, no doubt, recognise Turkish sovereignty at Koweit, on the condition that the autonomy of the Sheikh is respected, and that English interests are fully admitted and safe-guarded."

It is now said that an Anglo-Turkish understanding, in connection with the Persian Gulf, has been arrived at, as follows:—

"The Turkish Government recognises the British protectorate over Koweit, and concedes the eventual right of the construction of the line from Bassorah to Koweit; that Bassorah shall be considered the terminus of the Bagdad Railway, and that the line shall be continued from Bagdad on the same conditions as the other sections of it.

"At least two British delegates shall be appointed to the Directorate, in order to supervise all transactions, and prevent discrimination in the treatment of goods."

Now let us consider the agreement at which the Emperor of Germany and the Czar of Russia arrived, when they met at Potsdam in November, 1910.

By this agreement, as already stated, "Russia withdraws all opposition to the construction of the Bagdad Railway, on condition that she is allowed a free hand in the building of railways in the North of Persia. That is, that Germany will raise no objection to it." And that the "Bagdad Railway Company will connect at Khanakin with the projected Russian line."

I presume that, if our present relations with Russia continue, the projected railways, from Baku on the Caspian Sea to Julfa, Tabriz, Enzeli, Resht, Kazvin, Teheran, and Meshed in the north of Persia, and branch lines from Teheran to Astrabad, and from Tabriz to Khanakin—as shown on the accompanying map—will be constructed. Although they will not pass through Turkish territory and do not concern Turkey, they are a much greater menace to our Indian Empire than the Bagdad Railway, and apparently beyond our control. Meshed the sacred city of Persia, is only 200 miles from Herat, which is on the boundary of Western Afghanistan, and about 340 miles from Merv in Russian Turkestan. Russia has already a railway line extending from Merv to the borders of Afghanistan. If we should ever be at war with her, and this, owing to her tortuous policy and the difficulty of our placing any reliance on her diplomatic methods, is very probable, she would have two lines of railway, by which she could throw large bodies of troops into Afghanistan, and overthrow all the force that the Afghans might bring against her, long before we could reach Herat, which is 399 miles from Kandahar and 881 miles from Peshawar. The *Novoye Vremya* of December 9th, 1912, says, with regard to Lord Curzon's speech in the House of Lords: "It is criminal. Even England's enormous influence in Asia would not avail to put back for a single day the inevitable destiny of Persia, if Russia determined to bring matters to an end there. The invincible British Fleet could not prevent Russia from occupying Teheran, if she so desired."

It does not appear probable, at the present moment, that the Ameer of Afghanistan would agree to our extending the Scinde-Peshin Railway to Kandahar, and from Kandahar to Herat. Even if he did, it would take years, and cost millions of money, before it could be completed. What is there to prevent Russia from forestalling us, and occupying Herat on the commencement of hostilities?

It cannot be too seriously impressed upon Parliament and the Foreign Office that our interest in Persia and the Persian Gulf have been in existence ever since the founding of our Indian Empire; that Russia's interest, if at all admitted by us, is, in comparison, of very recent date; while Germany's interest in Asia Minor and Asiatic Turkey dates only from 1888 and 1899.

Our *entente* with Russia, for which France is responsible, has not only created ill-feeling in the hearts of all the Mohamedan races throughout the world, but has also discredited us in the eyes of Europe. It is openly talked about on the Continent that the war between Turkey and the Balkan States, with its dire results, has been due to the intrigues of Russia and France. That they were both jealous of the influence which Germany had acquired in the councils of the Sultan, and of the concession for the construction of the Bagdad Railway. The first step in the intrigue, it is said, was the instigation of the Young Turks (a great many of whom were educated in France, and who formed a large proportion of the leaders of the army) to depose the Sultan Abdul Hamid, and to set up a constitution. The second step was an attempt to induce the new Sultan and the Young Turks to cancel the Bagdad Railway concession, on the plea that, owing to his deposition, all the acts and concessions of Abdul Hamid lapsed *de jure et de facto*. But the Young Turks, and the Turkish people generally, had for years been in favour of the railway, believing that it would be of great advantage in assisting them to consolidate their military strength, and to bring over large bodies of fighting men from the Asiatic provinces, and thus enable them to cope with the Balkan States in the war which they knew was approaching. The Balkan States had not completed their arrangements when Montenegro precipitated matters by proclaiming war. It is said, and believed, by Germans, Austrians and Hungarians that this was done at the instigation of Russia. We have been drawn into the negotiations which are now taking place, although we have no political interests in the quarrel.

An article in a French paper, *Le Temps*, now states: "The position in the negotiations between Turkey on the one hand, and England and Germany on the other, in connection with the Bagdad Railway, is as follows:—Several months ago Turkey and England arrived at an agreement with regard to the Bagdad-Persian Gulf section (1) that English capital was to be represented

the Bagdad-Bassorah section by two English administrators ; (2) that the Bassorah-Koweit section was not to be constructed ; (3) England obtained certain advantages in the Koweit region."

The German Government, on being informed of these negotiations, declared that "it by no means considered the rights appertaining to it by virtue of the *Firman* of concession of the Bagdad-Persian Gulf section had been annulled by the concession of the port of Alexandretta. *It claimed, therefore, to participate both in the negotiations and the Construction of the Bassorah-Koweit section of the railway, or at any rate to secure compensating advantages.*"

"The advantages it claimed were : A promise that, at the financial conference in Paris, the representatives of Great Britain will support those of Germany when they ask that the Customs tariff affected by the guarantee of the Bagdad Railway be maintained, *and renunciation on the part of England to construct a branch starting from Mohammerah.* This matter is being discussed with the French Government." 1

In connection with it, let us carefully study the announcement just made in Parliament by Sir Edward Grey, viz. :—

(1) "That Great Britain withdraws objections to German construction of the Railway as far as Bassorah."

(2) "*An extension of the Railway from Bassorah to the Persian Gulf must be conditional upon British approval.*"

(3) "Two British Directors will have seats on the Railway Board, as a guarantee against differential rates ; not that these have ever been a subject of grievance on the Anatolian and other German Railways in the Ottoman Empire."

(4) "Great Britain waives the idea of participation in the construction of the line."

(5) "The navigation of the river up to and beyond Bagdad is of substantial British interest which may be developed and consolidated." 2

(6) "Turkey's suzerainty of the Gulf is recognised ; and the proposed agreement is direct between Great Britain and Turkey, not between Great Britain and Germany ; but Turkey recognises the autonomy of the Sheikh of Koweit at the Gulf."

(7) "In south Persia Great Britain claims the right to construct railways ; and such a railway is under survey from Mohammerah to Khoramabad." 3

As we have "waived the idea of participation in the construction of the Bagdad line," the right of it, of course, will belong entirely to Germany. Suppose—and it is not an impossible supposition—that Russia and Germany were at some future date to join hands, the peril to our Indian Empire would be very serious.

In the explanation given in 1908 by Sir Edward Grey in Parliament, in connection with the treaty with Russia regarding spheres of influence in Persia, he said : "The main part of the agreement is not commercial but strategical, and of the strategical position Seistan is the key. To have left Seistan within striking distance of Russia would have been a real danger, and would have led to an increased charge on India for extra defence." No doubt this was all quite true. But when Russia has completed her railway from Batoum and Baku, on the Black and Caspian Seas, to Meshed—within striking distance of Herat—the danger to India will be very much greater, and very real.

A French paper, the *Journal*, now states that, in addition to the diplomatic negotiations relative to the interest of Germany and Russia in Turkey and Persia, pourparlers have been opened for floating a Russian loan of twenty million pounds in Berlin ; and that the banking firm of Mendelssohns will undertake it.

I append a translation of an article in the *Berliner Tageblatt* of December 29th, 1913, alluding to one in the *Tagliche Rundschau*, regarding the developments which have taken place in this matter :—

"For years this undertaking (the Bagdad Railway) has threatened to become a bone of contention between Russia, England and Germany. The German Government has now, through cleverness and tenacity, succeeded in removing all differences, and in bringing the line altogether into German possession.

"When the 'Deutscher Bank sought and succeeded in obtaining the first concession for the Anatolian Railway, that forerunner of the Bagdad Railway, nearly twenty-five years ago, the first section of the Anatolian Railway was granted to France, as later the section of the present Bagdad Railway to the Mediterranean (Adana-Merina) fell to an English Company. At the present moment the completion of the whole line from Constantinople to Bassorah via Bagdad ; from the Bosphorus to the Persian Gulf ; is secured by a Company controlled by the 'Deutscher Bank' without English or French participation. And in three years' time the Bagdad Railway will run from the Bosphorus to Cassorah, via Bagdad, and will be able to convey its passengers and goods to the steamers of the Hamburg-America line. Not only is the main line across Asia Minor secured, but also two branch lines, stretching east and west—from Bagdad past Khanakin into Central Persia, and from Aleppo to the Mediterranean, via Alexandretta. In addition, three forts, Constantinople-Haiderpasha on the Bosphorus, Alexandretta on the Mediterranean, and Basra on the Persian Gulf, all bear witness to the result of German enterprise and capital."

In this way will be accomplished, says the *Tagliche Rundschau*, a work in which Germany has from the beginning invited the participation of all the Powers, including France, England and Russia ; it will be achieved without Russia, England, and in spite of their opposition.

Russia was the first to come to terms with the Bagdad Railway —which, though it could not be prevented, could still be delayed— in the Potsdam Treaty of two years ago, which brought about the understanding between Germany and Russia, and arranged that they should share in an extension from Bagdad to Teheran. By this, Germany obtained the yield of the rich petroleum wells on the Turco-Persian border, and access for her trade with Persia itself ; Russia gained access to the Mediterranean and, *via* the Bagdad Railway, to the Persian Gulf, both hitherto prohibited by England.

England has also, during the Balkan war, seen her way to change her Eastern policy, and that with regard to Germany especially. An understanding was arrived at in the Anglo-German negotiations, and an agreement was reached as to the future extension to Bassorah by the Bagdad Railway Company, to give it its present title ; and, in addition, the completion of the harbour of Bassorah on the Gulf, by means of an Anglo-German company under a German board of directors.

Paul Dehn reckons the Indian parcel traffic over the Bagdad Railway at fifteen trucks a week, and 15,000 passengers per annum.

With regard to shipping on the Tigris, and the African and other questions, the Anglo-German agreement shows a satisfactory understanding. Turkey on her part, changes her false position in Koweit for the real advantage of the consent of England to the increase of the Customs duties there, and the employment of them for the Bagdad Railway.

Finally, France also has now made up her mind. She was originally invited to join, but Delcasse refused, putting, as he did the policy pursued by Russia before the consideration of the interests of the French railways in Asia Minor in connection with the Bagdad Railway. France now renounces all further opposition to the railway, and agrees to the increase in the Turkish Customs, and its employment on the line.

She also gives up all influence in the Bagdad Railway by returning to the Dutscher Bank all her shares (one-third).

Le Temps is right in saying, with resignation, that only one settlement could be expected in the future. There were two possiblities ; the admission of the Bagdad shares on the Bourse, or the return of them to the Deutscher Bank. It is the second of the alternatives that has taken place.

With Russia and England indifferent, the French share in the capital of the railway, a mere third, ceased to have any practical influence on the management of the German undertaking in Asia Minor. Therefore, a settlement was obviously necessary.

This shows clearly that German diplomacy, backed up by German bluff and bluster, has gained its ends. It will, no doubt, in time squeeze us out of Asiatic Turkey, as it succeeded in squeezing us out of East Africa, where we surrendered to her country which was ours by virtue of having been explored by Speke, Grant and Stanley.

Parliament alone should have the power in the making of treaties. The Foreign Secretary should be only the medium for presenting the necessary information.

—T. A. O'Connor in the *Fortnightly Review*.

(1) Evidently the above article has been inspired by the French Foreign Office.

(2) Bagdad is on the River Tigris, 190 miles above its junction with the Euphrates. Nothing is said about the latter river, although it is also navigable almost up to Aleppo.

(3) It will be noticed in Germany's claims already mentioned, and underlined by me, she claims "renunciation on the part of England of her claim to construct a branch starting from Mohammirah." There is therefore, apparently, a conflict between her and England on this point ; and she very probably thinks that as she has gained her wishes on all other points, she will succeed in this one also. The Government (Conservative) which was then in power is very much to blame for allowing her to obtain a footing in Asiatic Turkey. Perhaps it was in return for the assistance she gave us at the Berlin Conference in 1878, regarding which the Earl of Beaconsfield declared that "he had brought back peace with honour."

Going to Work.

School was only yesterday, and yet it was finished for ever. The little world of green fields, of wide walls covered with maps, of well-thumbed, dog's-eared books, of all kinds of friendships, jealousies and competitions had already faded so distantly that it seemed faint as a dream.

About him now were wide, long streets, and all the bustle and movement, of a strange world. Outside, cars with their eager drivers were spanking past; there were cabs and trams, lorries and bicycles —a very whirlpool of movement, which seemed to have neither direction nor purpose. They came from all sides, and they went away from every side without as much as a look at him. The footpaths were equally thronged. So many different people, and all grown up! Only now and again were boys to be seen. The world had suddenly become moustached and grave, and yesterday a moustache was the badge of age! It seemed that the world was full of people who had moustaches and spectacles. Yesterday a person who wore spectacles was called "Old Four Eyes." It meant a silly person, an incompetent, at whom one flung snowballs or clods in their season, and whom one held at a distance always.

A fat man was waddling along the road, but no person looked at or made fun of him. A woman fought with her umbrella, which had become twisted among parcels—not a living soul laughed at her! A driver had just set down his fare, and, climbing to his seat again, he slipped on the greasy wheel and fell, but nobody shouted the funny things which were customary.

These matters would have been enough to make one die of laughing yesterday, but yesterday was undoubtedly dead, and to day was a world in which he had no part. Things had always centred about him before. Lessons, fights, games, all had swung in his immediacy, not alone within focus, but actually within reach of his hand, and here, suddenly, he was out of focus and out of touch. There were happenings on every side, which had nothing to do with him. None of the drivers of these cabs and cars looked to him for approbation or assistance. Not a tram-man suggested that he should do anything for him. The very cyclists kept their eyes for themselves as they whizzed steadily past. No one stopped even for a minute to ask him a question, or to say—"It's a nice day!" or "That's a fine building over yonder!" Nobody said a word. They went here and there, and if he did not get out of their way, they got out of his without so much as looking at him.

He was lonely, it is true, but he was not unhappy. A curious person has no time to be miserable, and he was very curious. There were such multitudes of things to look at and listen to—the never-ceasing stream of people who came towards him on the pavement, and the hurrying swarm of those who caught up, passed, and disappeared every moment. Where did they come from, and to what places were they going? They appeared before him, vital and human, for one brief moment, and then they disappeared. Had he anything to do with them? Was there no point of contact between himself and these hurrying strangers? Were they hastening utterly out of his sight, or would they return to-morrow or the next day to clap him on the shoulder and say—"You and I must know each other well: we will walk together and tell our secrets to each other and be friends"; for, without knowledge, he knew that people must be friends, and that no other life than that of friendship is possible.

He had these feelings, but not these thoughts, and even the feelings were not verifiable because the sun was shining, and the bustle and movement of the world forbade any exercise other than those of eyes and ears, but somewhere, without effort and without cognizance, he was recording and storing away impressions and intricacies, raw stuffs of every kind, which his mind would digest later on when it got a little time to itself.

Meanwhile, there was something to be done which did not admit of loitering. He looked again at the paper in his hand: it was crumpled and dirty, but he clung to it as to an anchor. The pencilled address on it was almost indecipherable, but, although he knew it by heart, he read it again with the same care as at first. At the end of each street he had asked some hurrying stranger "Did he know the way to——Street?" and they had all given him a complicated direction, of which he could remember nothing but the first turning. He halted again and asked one of those flying nobodies, and the stranger replied without looking at him—"You are almost beside it," said he: "it is the second turn on the right," and the stranger melted away as all the others had done.

He paced on. All kinds of thoughts were in his mind. Perhaps that man did not really know where the street was. He might have answered only to get rid of him, or he might have thought, honestly enough, that he was giving the proper direction and yet was mistaken, for in a place of the hugeness of this city one might easily be mistaken. There were streets everywhere, and off each street other streets branched endlessly. It did not seem possible that one could know with such readiness where any particular place was in such a congeries of streets: furthermore, he had a feeling that the place for which he was seeking could not be so easily discovered as the man's remark implied. It was only one street off! Can one reach a place of wonder and terror in half-an-hour's easy walking? One should take ship and fight through savage forests and naked enemies to come to any place worth winning to.

At the end of this street also he halted, and although his heart began to beat painfully, yet he was chilled. There was a sensation of emptiness at the pit of his stomach. He felt that now he had come so near to the end he would be glad not to search any further. The end was too definite, too immediate. Half-an-hour was not sufficient time to make one accustomed to any consummation. He might have turned and walked away again, but there was no place to go to. He would not be allowed back to school, and his parents were away in England—he walked on.

At the next turning he halted again, and asked another man where——Street was?

The man looked at him.

"This is it," said he calmly. He raised his hand slightly and pointed, "There it is," said he, and he also went quickly away.

He was standing by the very street. Six paces more, and he was standing in it. It was a narrow place. Two lines of high houses frowned over a long strip of road. The road was dotted here and there with a few cars, and there were perhaps half-a-dozen people walking in it. It was very silent.

He walked down the street consulting his crumpled piece of paper, and at a certain house he halted. Then he put the scrap of paper in his pocket, and knocked very gently on the door.

James Stephens.

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Candidates for admission into the Bengal Veterinary College should be present at the College at Belgachia, Calcutta, with necessary certificates in original, as required in the rules at 11 A. M. on 15th April 1914. Rules will be supplied free on application.

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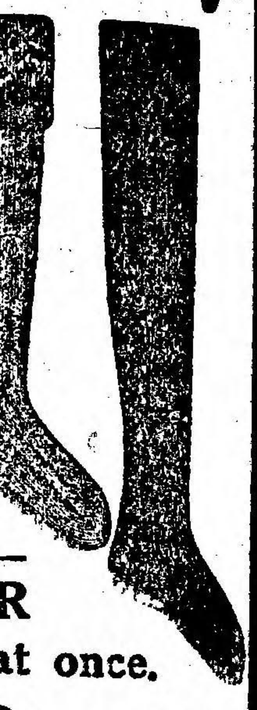
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Supplement to the "Comrade", 21st March 1914.

The Muslim Deputation.

THIS week's *Comrade* was ready on Saturday, but in view of so important an event as the projected Muslim Deputation to H. E. the Viceroy which was to be received on the 25th instant we delayed the publication of the week's issue and now reproduce both the Address and His Excellency's reply. The Deputation was fully representative of various shades of Muslim opinion in India, and although some notable Mussalmans such as Dr. Iqbal, the Hon. Mian Mohamed Shafi, and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca were unavoidably absent, they have expressed their sympathy and full agreement with its objects. The veteran leader of the community, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur, was to have headed the Deputation at the invitation of the Hon. the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad who organised it; but ill-health prevented him from doing so, and his medical adviser, Dr. Ansari, after examining him carefully could not agree to the proposal to bring the Nawab Saheb to Delhi in his present state of health. It is worth noting, however, that the Nawab Saheb expressed the fullest confidence in the Raja Saheb and said that although he was formerly a prey to grave apprehensions about the well-being of the community in the future, he was now happy in the belief that a man of the devotion, courage and determination of the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad had been found to guide the counsels of the Mussalmans of India. The Raja Saheb headed the Deputation, reading its Address and subsequently presenting its Members to H. E. the Viceroy who shook hands with every one and graciously asked them to partake of refreshments served in the adjoining room. To-day we publish our first article on the subject of the Deputation and shall deal with His Excellency's reply in our next which we hope to bring out at an early date.

Address of the Muslim Deputation.

To

His Excellency the Right Honourable

BARON HARDINGE of PENSHURST,

P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.

G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., I.S.O.,

Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WE, the representatives of the Muslim community, reflecting various shades of responsible Muslim opinion in India, humbly beg to approach Your Excellency on behalf of our co-religionists and ourselves with a view to lay before Your Excellency certain matters of the highest moment relating to our community. For this opportunity so graciously afforded to us by Your Excellency we cannot but be deeply grateful. The privilege which enables the Indian subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor to wait in deputation upon his representative on occasions of importance is highly prized, and is, we venture to think, of inestimable value in the special circumstances of the governance of India.

As Your Excellency is aware, the political activity of our community in recent years took its initial impulse from the great Deputation that waited in 1906 at Simla upon Your Excellency's predecessor, Lord Minto, whose recent sad death we, along with the rest of the people of India, so deeply mourn. The extended opportunities for participating in public affairs which the liberal policy of the Government was then creating for the people of this country had brought home to the Mussalmans the imperative necessity of organising themselves for effective and fruitful co-operation with Government and with other communities. Responding to the call of such a generous policy on the part of Government, the Mussalmans succeeded in a great measure in drawing together and organising their social and political forces in an incredibly short space of time, and as a prominent instance we may quote the establishment of the All-India Moslem League, which has ever since continued to be the true representative organisation of Indian Mussalmans. The latent vitality of our community began to manifest itself soon after, and marked the new era of an awakened consciousness. Along with an earnest desire to take their full share in the responsibilities of civic life, the Mussalmans of India realised even more vividly than ever that their future progress depended chiefly upon the energy and vigour with which they undertook the task of carrying out the educational policy formulated by their greatest leader, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, more than three decades ago.

Your Excellency, we may with pardonable pride here refer to the unprecedented promptitude with which the community met and overcame the financial difficulties that stood in the way of the grant of a Charter for the establishment of a University of our own. In this connection it will not be perhaps out of place to mention that the extremely arduous and constructive work of elabora-

ting a Constitution for the Muslim University was taken up by the community with earnestness and zeal, and the result leads us to hope that, whenever required, willing and competent workers will be readily forthcoming. That long cherished desire, however, for the establishment of the Moslem University still remains unfulfilled.

Before we could secure the result of our labours in this connection events of unparalleled magnitude and absorbing interest to Mussalmans followed one another in a rapid and bewildering succession. Your Excellency, it could not have been expected that they would fail to make a deep and painful impression upon the Mussalmans of this country. It must be apparent to all observers that the combination of such unfortunate events as then occurred was absolutely unprecedented, and the Mussalmans of India were face to face with a wholly abnormal situation. Your Excellency, whose great sympathy was with us throughout our protracted sufferings, is well aware of the intensity and poignance of our feelings in that dark hour. But no one can point to a single incident suggesting, however remotely, that the Mussalmans of India had lost their sanity of judgment and self-restraint during a period of unusual gravity, or that they had departed even by a hair's breadth from the tradition of staunch and unwavering loyalty to the British Throne and to His Majesty's Government established by law in India.

Despite these undeniable facts, we have noticed with deep pain and resentment a series of deplorable attempts that have recently been made in certain quarters to vilify our community, misrepresent our attitude towards Government, and cast unmerited aspersions on the character and motives of whole classes of His Majesty's Muslim subjects with a view to discredit them in the eyes of Government and of their British fellow-subjects. It has been openly declared that leaders of the Muslim community inflame religious passions, promote racial antagonism and lose no opportunity of abusing British Rule and vilifying the Christian religion, and that a new party already begins to dream of expelling the British from India. It has also been stated that a sinister feature of this new Muslim movement is that Aligarh graduates are in the van and are openly preaching hostility to British Rule, and that attempts are being made to tamper with the loyalty of Muslim troops.

Your Excellency, after having stood the repeated test of actual experience in times of great public excitement, we never expected such cruel attacks at a time when we were under the shadow of a great calamity and needed all the sympathy and good-will to which we were entitled. Your Excellency will, we trust, pardon us for any warmth of language into which we may be betrayed in repudiating such wicked libels on the fair name of seventy millions of His Majesty's loyal Muslim subjects in India. We, on behalf of our community and ourselves, unhesitatingly characterise these allegations as gross and baseless calumnies opposed in the highest degree to the best interests of the Empire. In ordinary circumstances irresponsible attacks on communities, as on individuals, may be treated with the silence of contempt. But those who have taken upon themselves the task of maligning our community are both presistent and resourceful, and their sinister efforts have been assisted by the wide publicity given to their allegations in England as well as in this country. We, therefore, apprehended that, unless some opportunity such as this was afforded to us, it was not possible for a community circumstanced as ours to give such allegations an effectual, authoritative and adequate contradiction.

Your Excellency, our desire is not to prefer requests or to give expression to grievances of a character such as in ordinary practice form the subject-matter of deputations. But there is nothing that we prize more highly than the recognition of our loyalty, and it is with reference to this that we have craved Your Excellency's leave to approach you. We avail ourselves of this opportunity to declare with all the emphasis that we can command that Indian Mussalmans cherish this tradition no less dearly to-day than they did at any time previously in their history.

Your Excellency will, we trust, accept our assurance that we desire nothing better than this, that absolute confidence should exist between the people and the Government, and that that friendlist feelings should prevail between the various communities of India; but it has pained us greatly that sinister motives should be ascribed in some quarters to the efforts that are being made to make the relations between the two great sister communities of India more harmonious and friendly.

Your Excellency has endeared yourself to the whole of India by your large-hearted sympathy with the people of this country, your generous appreciation of their aspirations and the high statesmanship which has characterised your rule. Grateful as we are for the benefits that have resulted from your liberal and progressive administration in which we have participated with the rest of India, we have special reason to offer our respectful gratitude to Your Excellency for the unfailing consideration that you have shown for the feelings and sentiments of our community, and for the policy of Your Excellency's Government with regard to our educational requirements of which we hope to see an early fruition. It is, therefore, a matter of special pleasure to us to approach Your Excellency with this our humble address conveying to Your Excellency our heart-felt assurances of the continued and unimpeachable loyalty of the community we represent, and we trust Your Excellency will be pleased to communicate these assurances to His Majesty the King-Emperor.

We have the honour to subscribe ourselves

Your Excellency's

DELHI: *March 25th, 1914.*

Most Obedient Humble Servants

[We give below the names and distinctions of the signatories to the Deputation's Address. Ed. *Comrade.*]

Signatories to the Address.

1. Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan Saheb, C.S.I., of Maler Kotla. (Formerly Member of the Imperial Legislative Council.)
2. Dr. Naziruddin Hasan, M.A., (Cantab.) LL. D., (Dublin) Bar.-at-Law, Lucknow.
3. The Hon. Raja Sir Mohamed Ali Mohamed Khan Bahadur, K.C.I.E., of Mahmudabad.
4. Haji Mohamed Musa Khan Saheb of Datauli, Aligarh.
5. Munshi Mohamed Ehtesham Ali Saheb of Lucknow.
6. Prince Ghulam Mohamed, Ex-Sheriff of Calcutta. (Mysore Family.)
7. Aqa Syed Husain Saheb Shustari of Calcutta.
8. Prince Afsar-ul-Muluk Akram Husain, Calcutta. (Oudh Royal Family.)
9. Prince Ahmed Halim-uz-Zaman, Calcutta (Mysore Family.)
10. Haji Bakhsh Ellahi Khan Saheb, C.I.E., Delhi.
11. Shafa-ul-Mulk Hakim Raziuddin Khan Saheb, Delhi.
12. The Hon. Captain Malik Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana, C.I.E.
13. Mufti Fida Mohamed Khan, Bar.-at-Law, Peshawar.
14. Mazharul Haque Esq., Bar.-at-Law, Bankipore. (Formerly Member of the Imperial Legislative Council.)

15. Mohamed Azhar Ali Esq., B. A., Vakil, Hon. Joint Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, Lucknow.
16. Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari, B.A., M.S.,M.D., (Edin.) M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., (Lond.) Delhi.
17. Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh Saheb, Retired Political Assistant of Lahore.
18. Captain Nawab Ahmed Nawaz Khan Sadozai, Dera Ismail Khan.
19. Nawab Abdul Majid Saheb, C.I.E., Bar.-at-Law, Allahabad. (Formerly Member of the Imperial Legislative Council.)
20. The Hon. Khan Bahadur Khwaja Yusuf Shah, Amritsar.
21. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Ghulam Sadiq Saheb, Amritsar.
22. Syed Abdur Rashid, B.A., LL.B., Hon. Secretary, Provincial Muslim League, Ajmere.
23. The Hon. Mr. Ghulam Husain, B.A., LL. B., Hyderabad Sind.
24. Haji Usuf Haji Ismail Sobhani, President Anjuman-i-Islam, Bombay.
25. Moulvi Syed Abul-Aas Saheb, Honory. Magistrate, Patna.
26. Khan Bahadur Nawab Sarfaraz Husain, Khan Saheb, (Formerly Member of the Provincial Legislative Council.) Patna.
27. Mohamed Ali Tyebji Kaderbhoy, Esq., Bar.-at-Law, President, Anjuman-i-Zia-ul-Islam, Bombay.
28. Shaikh Mohamed Faeq Saheb, B.A., LL. B., Fyzabad.
29. Hafiz Mohamed Abdul Halim Saheb, Cawnpore.
30. Syed Fazlur Rahman Saheb, B. A., LL. B., Cawnpore.
31. Mohamed Ali Esq., B. A., (Oxon.), Editor of "The Comrade" and "The Hamdard" Delhi.
32. The Hon. Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali, Madras.
33. The Hon. Syed Qamarul Huda, Bar.-at-Law, Bakhtiarpore, Patna.
34. Mohamed Ali Jinnah Esq., Bar.-at-Law, (Formerly Member of the Imperial Legislative Council.) Bombay.
35. Shaukat Ali Esq., Mo'tamid-i-Khadim-ul-Khuddam-i-Kaba, Delhi.
36. Maulvi Habibur Rahman Khan Saheb Sherwani, Aligarh.
37. Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan Esq., Bar.-at-Law, Aligarh. (Formerly Member of the Provincial Legislative Council.)
38. Shaikh Abdullah Esq., B.A., LL. B., Aligarh.
39. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Maqbool Alum Saheb, Vakil, Benares.
40. Tasadduq Ahmed Khan Esq., Bar.-at-Law, Aligarh.
41. The Hon. Mr. G. M. Bhurguri, Bar.-at-Law, Sindh.
42. M. Abdul Aziz Esq., Bar-at-Law, President N.-W. F. P. Muslim League, Peshawar.
43. Shams-ul-Ulama Moulvi Shibli Saheb Nomani.
44. Maulvi Gholam Haider Khan Saheb of the "Zamindar," Lahore.
45. Nawab Mohamed Jafar Ali Khan Saheb of Shish Mahal, Lucknow.
46. Nawabzada Mohamed Syed Ali Khan Saheb, B. A., Shish Mahal, Lucknow.
47. Maulana Maulvi Abdul Bari Saheb, Firangi Mahal, Lucknow.
48. Moulvi Gholam Mohiy-ud-din Saheb of Kasur, Pleader, Punjab.
49. Khan Bahadur Shams-ul-Ulama Maulana Abul Khair Saheb, Ghazipur.
50. Masudul Hasan Esq., Bar.-at-Law, Moradabad.
51. The Hon. Maulvi Syed Mohamed Tahir Saheb, Vakil, Monghyr.
52. Chawdhry Mohamed Ajirul Haque Saheb, Bakhtiarpore, Monghyr.
53. Maulvi Shaikh Kamal-ud-din Ahmad Saheb, Zamindar Mushkipore, Monghyr.
54. Shaikh Zahur Ahmad Esq., Bar-at-Law, Allahabad.
55. Khan Saheb Maulvi Bashir Ali Khan Saheb, Hony. Secretary Anjuman-i-Himayet-i-Islam, Lahore.
56. Nawab Mohamed Ali Khan Saheb Qazilbash of Lahore.
57. Abdul Majid Khwaja Esq., B.A. (Cantab.) Bar.-at-Law, Aligarh.
58. Syed Ali Abbas Bokhari, Esq., Hon. Secretary, Provincial Muslim League, Peshawar.
59. The Hon. Nawab Mohamed Ibrahim Ali Khan Saheb, Kunjpura, Punjab.
60. Syed Zahur Ahmed Esq., B.A., LL.B., Joint Secretary, U.P. Provincial Muslim League, Lucknow.
61. Syed Abdul Aziz Esq., Bar-at-Law, Bankipore.
62. Khan Bahadur, Syed Ali Hasan Khan Saheb, Retired Member of the Council of Indore State, Ex-Prime Minister of Jaora State.
63. Syed Wazir Hasan Esq., B.A., LL.B., Hon. Secretary, All-India Muslim League, Lucknow.
64. Ahsanul Haque Esq., Bar-at-Law, Jullunder.
65. Maulvi Mahboob Alum Saheb, Editor of "The Paisa Akhbar", Lahore.
66. Maulvi Mohamed Yaqub Saheb, Vakil, Moradabad.
67. Khan Bahadur Maulana H. M. Malak Saheb, President, C. P. Muslim League, Nagpore.
68. The Hon. Mr. Abdulhusain Adamji Peerbhoy, J.P., Bombay.
69. Haziq-ul-Mulk Hakim Hafiz Ajmal Khan Saheb, Delhi.
70. Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, M.D., D.PH., I.M.S., Retired.
71. Khwaja Gul Mohamed Khan, Pleader, Punjab.
72. The Hon. Sir Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy Ebrahim, K.C.I.E., Bombay.
73. The Hon. Raja Syed Abu Jafar Saheb of Pirpur, Fyzabad.
74. The Hon. Khan Bahadur Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhry, of Dhanbari, District Mymensingh, Bengal.
75. The Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla, Kt., Bombay.
76. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Wahid-ud-din Saheb of Meerut.
77. Syed Alay Mohamed Esq., Bar.-at-Law, Retired Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow.
78. Maulana Syed Karamat Husain Saheb, Bar.-at-Law, Ex-Judge, High Court, N.-W. P., Lucknow.
79. The Hon. Shaikh Shahid Husain, B. A., LL.B., (Cantab.) Bar-at-Law, Lucknow, Taluqdar of Gadia.
80. Nawab Mohamed Ishaq Khan Saheb, Hon. Secretary to the Board of Trustees of the M. A.-O. College, Aligarh.
81. Shams-ul Ulama Syed Ahmed Saheb, Imam Jami' Musjid, Delhi.
82. Qazi Najm-ud-din Ahmed Saheb, Meerut.
83. R. M. Ghulam Husain Esq., B. A., Sub-Editor of "The Comrade", Delhi.
84. Maulana Khwaja Hasan Nizami, Delhi.

H. E. the Viceroy's Reply.

GENTLEMEN,—

It is a source of much pleasure to me to have this opportunity of receiving a deputation of the Mohamedan community of such a representative character as that which I have the pleasure of seeing here before me to-day.

You have referred, in the address which I am very happy to receive from you, to the reinvigorated vitality of your own community during the past few years, and it is a fact to which I am able to bear testimony and at the same time to welcome. There is no doubt that during the past 40 years a great change has swept over Islam in India, but zeal for the Moslem faith and for the uplifting of the community, and the loyalty of the Moslems to the Government of this country where they live and find freedom of worship, have gone hand in hand, and have created a high ideal from which the community has never wavered. This indeed was the policy advocated by the late Sir Syed Ahmed, the distinguished reformer and leader of the Indian Mohamedan community, and I can only state my firm conviction that in pursuing that policy the true salvation of the Mohamedans of India is to be found. It is a policy worthy of a community of political and social importance such as your's. There is no doubt that Mohamedan sentiment has been greatly stirred by recent events outside India, and that for a time a restless spirit prevailed which might have been interpreted by those who regarded merely the troubled surface of the water as a dangerous portent, but which those who could see below the surface were well aware, betrayed no real antagonism between Government and your community. It is true that feelings have been sore, and that here and there this has found expression in bitter or heated words, which it would have been better to have left unsaid. And it is true, unfortunately, that writers in the English and foreign press have been misled by such expressions and, owing to a merely superficial comprehension of the Mohamedan train of thought, have misrepresented the attitude of your community and attributed to them actions and thoughts which those who know you well can only regard as a deep misunderstanding. I can well sympathise with your feelings of resentment at aspersions that have been cast upon you and your people as a whole, but I can only assure you that I and my Government have never doubted the unswerving loyalty which we know quite well to be one of the noblest and most sacred traditions of your community. I need hardly repeat to you here what I said in the Legislative Council at Simla on the 17th September last to the realisation by the British Government of the absolute necessity for the maintenance of the *status quo* as regards the Holy Places in Arabia, but I would point out that this is an important and powerful link between your community and the Government of our King-Emperor, for it is only in view of the religious interests of the Mohamedans of India and the value that the Government attach to religious freedom and Mohamedan control of the Holy Places that such a responsibility could rest upon Great Britain. Now that peace has been happily restored in Europe and Asia, I look forward with hope and confidence to a period of peaceful development of the Mohamedan community by means of self-improvement and education, and to a policy of solidarity and co-operation with Government of all loyal, moderate and sober opinion for the welfare and progress of this Empire which we all of us have so much at heart.

In conclusion I thank you very warmly for the friendly tone of your personal references to myself and the policy that I have tried to follow. I cordially welcome the assurances that you have given me of the continued and unimpeachable loyalty of the community which you represent which I will not fail to transmit to the King Emperor, although for me such assurances were not needed, and I devoutly hope that the pure and unalloyed faith of your people in the unity of God and of loyalty to their rulers may burn like a flame and ever grow brighter to lighten your path for many ages to come.