# The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal. Edited by - Mohamed Ali.


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

—*Morris.*


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# The Week.

## Indian Finance.

*London, Mar. 19.*

Presiding at the meeting of the Chartered Bank of India, Sir H. C. Turner said that it had been decided to open a branch at Peking. It was impossible to look for great improvement in China until the finances had been put in order. He suggested that the Powers should reduce or abolish the Boxer indemnity payments in return for which they might arrange for the abolition of likin on foreign goods, paying only Customs duty of 5 per cent.

He referred to India's adverse balance in trade and thought that over-importation was symptomatic of India's increased spending capacity. He endorsed Sir William Meyer's statement that "the staying power of the Indian people had increased." The collapse of native banks was entirely due to the absolute disregard of elementary principles of banking. The position of European banks had not been impaired. It had even been strengthened. He paid tribute to the prompt and skilful action of the syndicate which restored confidence by taking over silver, and extolled the Currency Commission's report, which he said would dispel many misapprehensions, and show that the Government of India had not mismanaged the finances as was believed. He agreed with most of the conclusions of the Commission, notably in regard to more liberal granting of loans to Presidency Banks from treasury balances, which the mercantile community of India would much appreciate. As regards a State Bank, he endorsed the opinion of Mr. Robert Campbell of the National Bank of India, that it would be a serious and new departure for the Government of India to interest itself in a State Bank.

## Patna University.

*Bankipore, Mar. 21.*

The Government has published the report of the Patna University Committee to-day for opinion. The Lieutenant-Governor in Council will consider the report on 1st May before which suggestions should be submitted. There are eleven notes of dissent appended to the report. The Beharee members have opposed the introduction of the School Final Examination. The report states that the University Colleges will be teaching and residential, and admit a number of non-collegiate students also. There will be the Patna College, the Bisheshwar College, (the present Behar National College), a Missionary College, besides Law and Sanskrit Colleges. The mofussil colleges which have all been made Government Colleges will be affiliated to the University for examination purposes. There will be a paid Vice-Chancellor. Students, after passing the Intermediate Examination, will be admitted into the Law College for a three years' course for a degree in Law. Science teaching in B. A. will be concentrated in the University College and also the Cuttack College.

*Later.*

The report of the Patna University Committee is just published. The University will be located west of the new capital on a comparatively high plot of ground, well-wooded and suitable for building purposes. It comprises an area of nearly two square miles. It is proposed to open a railway station close to the University area and run trains at convenient times and issue cheap season-tickets. There will be a good direct road from Banpikore to the University and a subscription of a rupee a month can place the student in possession of a bicycle "which would ultimately become his own property." The new University will be composed of the following colleges situated within the University area:—Patna College, Bisheshwar College (by which name the Behar National College will henceforth be known), King's College, a Mission College, a Sanskrit College, a Training College for teachers, and a non-collegiate department. For the present the following will be the external colleges of the new University: Greer College of Muzaffarpur, T. N. J. College of Bhagalpore, Ravenshaw College of Cuttack, and St. Columba's College of Hazaribagh. Of these, Muzaffarpur and Cuttack Colleges are shown as Government institutions. One feature of the University will be the Archæological Department. The fees paid for tution, residence, athletics, and social amenities will vary in the different University Colleges and classes from Rs. 7-8 to Rs. 17. Another feature characteristic of the Patna University will be that students will be allowed after passing the Intermediate Examination in Arts or Science to sit for the L.L. B. Degree without being required to graduate in arts or science, as is at present the case. The administration of the University will be vested in a Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Convocation and Council. The Lieutenant-Governor shall be the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor will be paid at Rs. 2,250 a month, in addition to a sumptuary allowance of Rs. 250 a month and free quarters. The Convocation will consist of about 160 members, of whom 25 will be elected by the general body of registered graduates. The Council will be the supreme executive authority of the University, and will be responsible for its general and financial administration. The capital expenditure has been estimated at Rs. 77,40,030, and the recurring charges will amount to a little over Rs. 10 lakhs. There are in all 16 notes of dissent, of which the most important are the two signed by all the five Behar members. There appears to be considerable opposition to the abolition of the Matriculation Exami-

nation. The Raja of Kanika, in the course of his note of dissent, given expression to the hope of the Uriyas to have a University of their own in the near future.

## Indians in South Africa.

*London, Mar. 20.*

According to a telegram from Johannesburg to the *Daily Telegraph*, a Mahomedan Deputation recently waited upon Sir Benjamin Robertson and requested that the Government would recognise the religious aspect of the marriage, divorce, and succession laws according to the Koran. They said that the Mohamedans would accept nothing less.

Sir Benjamin 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 Benjamin 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.

## Greek Navy.

*Athens, Mar. 20.*

In the Chamber to-day, the Minister of Marine announced that orders had been placed for additional three dreadnoughts, three armoured cruisers, and a proportional number of light units.

## Gardens of the Moghals.

*London, Mar. 20.*

At a crowded meeting of the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts yesterday, Mrs. Villiers Stuart epitomised her recent book on the Gardens of the Moghals. She urged that the possibilities of the new capital were not even yet fully realised. "It is not "necessary," she said, "to confine ourselves or the Indian craftsmen "to imaginative reproductions of the East. The new needs and our "modern wealth of flowers would give a fresh life of loveliness to "the ancient symbols and ideas, while by busts and statues, Indian "heroes could be honoured in the garden of their Emperor."

Mr. Abbas Ali Baig said that the idea of beautifying New Delhi in conformity with the traditions and sentiments of the Indian people was both realisable and desirable.

Mr. Lawrence Weaver, of *Country Life*, pointed out that Mr. Lutyens had done more than any other architect to develop the water gardens so praised by the lecturers in this country.

## Delhi Sedition Trial.

*Delhi, Mar. 23.*

The application made by the defence in the Delhi sedition trial to have the case heard at Lahore, instead of Delhi has been refused by the Chief Court.

Rash Behari Bose, the absconding accused, has not yet been arrested. Rewards of five thousand and two thousand rupees are offered for information concerning him. The preliminary examination will be resumed to-morrow.

## Esperanza Riots.

*Durban Mar. 22.*

Thirteen of the Indians charged with public violence in connection with the affray at Esperanza last November have been sentenced at Umzinto to six months hard labour. The fourteenth Indian was acquitted.

## Epirotes' Revolt.

*Athens, Mar. 24.*

Fifty-two Albanians, including 25 gendarmes, were killed and many wounded and seventeen Epirotes wounded in a four hours' battle at Andritsaina, which ended in the rout of the Albanians. Many bands of Epirotes are marching on Korytza, which Albanian gendarmes have abandoned.

*Vienna, Mar. 24.*

The *Neue Wiener Tagblatt* understands that in yesterday's conversations between the German and Austrian Emperors the international situation was adjudged absolutely peaceful and reassuring.

## Petroleum Near Bagdad.

*Constantinople, Mar. 24.*

The British and German Governments have reached an agreement with regard to joint exploitation by an Anglo-German Company of petroleum fields in the Vilayet of Mosul, the concession for which a British petroleum syndicate obtained two years ago. An application will be made to the Porte with a view to the transference of the concession to the new Company.

*Constantinople, Mar. 24.*

The British and German Ambassadors have informed the Porte of the agreement reached with regard to the exploitation for petroleum in the Vilayet of Mosul, and negotiations will now proceed with the Porte.

## Kurdish Revolt.

*Constantinople, Mar. 24.*

The newspapers report a serious riot on the Bagdad Railway near Jerablus. Several hundred Kurdish labourers, it is said, revolted on the question of pay. Firearms were used and three Kurds were killed and five are missing. It is believed that they were drowned. Many were wounded in the affray, including seven employees of the Company. The Vali with the British and German Consuls and troops here started for the scene.

*London, Mar. 24.*

According to advices received at the offices of the Anatolian Railway Company, the rioting at Jerablus was more serious than was at first supposed. Eight German engineers, one Austrian, and one British were among the wounded.

## British Consul's Report.

*Constantinople, Mar. 25.*

A telegram received from the British Consul at Aleppo on the subject of the rioting at Jerablus makes no mention of any British subject having been wounded, but states that two British subjects, who were excavating on behalf of the British Museum, had difficulty in restraining their own Kurds from joining in the fray.

The Circassian Guard belonging to the Germans fired on a British subject, who, however, was not hurt.

# Our London Letter.

*London, 6th March, 1914.*

THE LATE EARL OF MINTO.

THE death of Lord Minto will undoubtedly cause as much sorrow and grief in India as it has caused in this country. His opponents in common with his supporters could not fail to recognise in him that broad sympathy, honesty of purpose and courage of conviction so essential for an administrator and a governor. The late ex-Viceroy was by no means a brilliant Governor-General, but he was amply gifted with an unusual degree of insight into affairs and fortitude, which proved of immense value to him during his trying period of office in India. It was Lord Minto who had to face the perils and the dangers of a situation that had been created by his immediate predecessor. To him fell the burden of ruling an India which had been saturated with sedition and anarchism as a direct sequel to the misdeeds of Lord Curzon, whom the *Times*, by the way, has described as "the most brilliant and energetic Viceroy India has had since Dalhousie." The Indian situation on Lord Minto's appointment was indeed critical and required very sound statesmanship for its solution. His appointment to the Indian Viceroyalty did not at the time create any degree of confidence in those who "knew" India, both in that country as well as in England. Lord Curzon's resignation, they argued, was nothing less than a disaster from the Imperial point of view. The retiring Viceroy, who had revelled in the most barbarous splendour, who had always looked down upon the Indians from a lofty eminence of superiority and who was ever remote from the spirit of the Indian peoples, according to them, was the only man who could successfully tackle the then existing condition of affairs. In other words, these "well-informed" personages did not hide their well-known doctrine that India was to "be ruled with a rod of iron," if all discontent and sedition were to disappear. They had openly drawn their swords against the new Viceroy with malice gleaming over the steel. They had condemned the man before he was tried. Things, however, proved otherwise. From the very moment Lord Minto landed in Bombay, in the end of 1905, he won the affection and the esteem of the Indian population by his characteristic courtesy and his well-known amiable disposition. India at once recognised in him that genuine sympathy which he so vividly demonstrated throughout his term of office. It cannot be denied that Lord Minto, notwithstanding his faults and shortcomings, was a sincere man. He was no slave to the detestable characteristics of self-consciousness and conceit, which were the prominent features of his predecessor, who had attempted to act the despotic Moghul of Delhi. Lord Minto had at once made it abundantly clear that his first and foremost axiom was to "serve" India. On the other hand Lord Curzon had endeavoured to "rule" the great Dependency of the Empire with such disastrous results. The contrast was indeed astonishing. The changes brought about in the political life of India during Lord Minto's Viceroyalty were equally bewildering.

During the epoch-making five years, when Lord Minto presided at the head of the Government of India, a series of measures were for the first time introduced in the administration of the country, which will render his association with the continent of India truly historical. The appointment of two Indian representatives on the India Council and the subsequent inclusion of an Indian Member in the Viceroy's Executive Council were the most important items on the programme which Lord Minto's far-sighted policy had laid down in active co-operation with Viscount Morley, that

Veteran "Guru" amongst the Liberal statesmen. The enlargement of the Councils, inspite of the not unjust criticisms levelled at them in certain quarters in India, was another honest attempt on the part of Lord Minto towards the more extensive and closer association of the Indian people with the administration of the country. It has not really provided for the long-felt want, but it has certainly proved itself as the first step in the field of representative Government. The creation of the All-India Moslem League in 1906, when the late ex-Viceroy received the famous Mohamedan deputation at Simla, is another great event, which will for ever maintain his memory fresh and revered among the successive generations of that great community.

There are, however, one or two factors connected with Lord Minto's administration which do not unhappily permit of the period under review being recorded as wholly and completely successful in every respect. Part of the repressive measures directed, contemporaneously with reforms, towards the suppression of sedition, was a very serious restriction on the freedom of the Press. Attacks upon the liberty of opinion are always dangerous, just as a plausible case for them can usually be made out; but in India they went beyond the point at which justification ceased, and the change in the temper of the new India makes their inaptness to-day particularly glaring. Here is the opportunity for a simple and highly desirable change. It is also to be regretted that Lord Minto did not succeed in throwing open the commissioned ranks in His Majesty's Indian Army to the Indians themselves. Had his government introduced this over-due military reform in India, his name would have certainly gone down to posterity in the annals of the Empire's military history and the introduction of such a highly desirable measure would have added the crowning glory to his undoubtedly otherwise successful Viceroyalty. The martial races of India keenly feel the persistent denial meted out to them, on the part of the authorities, of their traditional privilege of defending the country and the Empire. The loyalty and the bravery of the Indian soldier have been repeatedly tested and found true. The Indian subject of His Majesty is second to none in his devotion and attachment to the King-Emperor's throne and person. The Indian commissioned officer will be equally devoted to his King and country and in fact will be able to exhibit his loyalty to, and his sense of duty in the service of, the King-Emperor to a still higher degree. It is now well-known that Lord Minto was personally in favour of awarding commissioned ranks in the Army to suitable Indians and that as a matter of fact he had strongly urged upon the India Office the adoption of his scheme. But the Secretary of State did not find himself in agreement with Lord Minto's views and the proposed reform was necessarily dropped. It is certain that at no distant time this matter will again become prominent, and let us earnestly hope the authorities will see their way of immediately removing this stigma, which has for so long stained the military administration of the Indian Empire.

It must be mentioned to the great credit of Lord Minto that inspite of numerous trials and ordeals, which had fallen to his lot in India, and notwithstanding the admittedly difficult and serious questions which had constantly engaged his attention throughout the stormy and critical period of his office, the late ex-Viceroy never mistook the constitutional demands of the Indians for revolutionary agitation and never for one moment confused the legitimate "unrest" in the country with sedition and anarchism, as has been done in certain ill-informed quarters. Lord Minto was a true servant of India and in that noble capacity promoted her interests and welfare to the best of his ability. He may have had his weaknesses and his failings, but judging his work in India as a whole, it will be no exaggeration to say that to-day India mourns the loss of a man who had treated her with that sincerity, sympathy and devotion, which the millions of His Majesty's subjects in the great Eastern Dependency of the Empire rightly and with justice expect in their Emperor's representative. Lord Minto discharged the duties of his high office honestly and conscientiously, and his name will hold an honourable, if not an eminent, position on the dintinguished roll of Indian admin strators.

### Mr. Shaw Desmond's Article on India.

"Shall We Lose India?" forms the subject of a remarkable article by Mr. Shaw Desmond in the March number of the *London Magazine*. The article is illustrated and contains the portraits of Lord Morley, Lord Curzon and Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal. Mr. Desmond, according to the editoral note inserted in the Magazine, has for some years been in very close touch with prominent people—both English and Indian—who have made a close study of the question of Indian unrest in the great Dependency itself. That Mr. Desmond honestly believes the statements made in his article to be absolutely true the editor does not for one moment doubt, but he is quite prepared to find that many well-informed people will take a different view of the Indian question and he (the editor) will probably be able to publish letters taking a more hopeful view of the situation in an early issue of the *London Magazine*. What is wanted, of course, is to get at the absolute truth about the matter. (says the editor), whether that truth is pleasant, or unpleasant. Nothing can be gained by living in a fool's paradise; and if there is any justification at all for what Mr. Shaw Desmond says in his article, it is only right that the British public—which, after all, is responsible for what occurs in India—should be acquainted with the facts.

A careful study of the article itself makes it clear to an impartial observer that, notwithstanding the true representation of the Indian situation on the whole, as far as poverty, discontent and strained feelings go, the writer is certainly acting the alarmist to an unusual degree. He is creating an "Indian peril" almost akin to what was so recently dealt with in the columns of the *Times*. Mr. Desmond's article is also deficient and imperfect in the sense that, inspite of his having narrated at length the various factors responsible for the present "dangerous" situation in India, he concludes his communication without in any way attempting to offer any remedial measures for its solution. This is to be regretted as the panic, which his article is bound to cause in the mind of the average Englishman, would have been necessarily mitigated, had he tried to produce a suggestive plan on the lines of which he would advise those concerned to follow, if peace and happiness were to be restored in India.

"The cord", Mr. Desmond proceeds, "which binds Britain to "India may be cut at any moment. The great Brown Continent is "becoming so packed with combustible matter that a flare-up is only "a question of time unless Britain wakes to the truth at once, and, "by sweeping reforms, sets her Indian palace in order." One, however, searches in vain in the article for the expounding of the "sweeping reforms" referred to in the above lines. He shows, however, a proper acquaintance with facts when he goes on: "The men who are "sending home 'official versions' have a dreadful blood-guiltiness on "their shoulders. Official versions are—well, just official versions. "They are routine—'comfortable' versions. They represent the "skeleton, not the soul, of India." He again shows a real grasp of affairs in India in the following lines:—"Official reports may be some-"where near the truth when they start from the men at the bottom "of the ladder, but they are trimmed and pruned as they ascend, "through higher officials, until, on reaching the Imperial Government, "they are merely documents of deceit. Heaven help the lower official "who tells the naked truth"! "India," the writer concludes, "is the "powder-magazine of the world, into which a spark at any moment may "be thrown, followed by such an explosion as will reverberate around "the globe. If English officialdom has any imagination, it will tackle "the problem of India ere it be too late." But the reader is not enlightened as to how Mr. Shaw Desmond would require English officialdom "to tackle the Indian problem." It is not without its significance that this article on the "Indian bogey" has been prominently advertised in the *Times*, from which your readers will no doubt draw their own conclusions.

"India" has been rather a favourite theme on which great "authorities" have been lately airing their views in the periodical Press of this country for the "benefit" of their less-informed fellow-citizens. Mr. F. H. Brown has written an article on the "Social Dawn of "India" in the current issue of the Nineteenth Century. It is a harmless communication, which deals more with the recent report on the Indian Census than with anything else and is not likely to furnish the reader with any particularly intelligent material for consumption. Incidentally we are told by Mr. Brown that Christianity is "spreading" in India and also that the number of Indian literates is likewise increasing, which is a new "discovery" indeed. The former piece of information will, let us hope, bring some consolation to the broken-hearted Church dignitaries in this country, who are at loggerheads with one another over the Kikuyu controversy, though those who are in touch with the missionary propaganda in India can well understand what is meant by Mr. Brown when he says Christianity is "spreading" there. However, as I have said before, his article is perfectly harmless, thoroughly uninstructive and absolutely devoid of any special significance and as such, I suppose, has been unfortunately considered well worthy of publication in the Nineteenth Century. In fairness to the high reputation this periodical enjoys amongst thinking men and women of to-day, it must be frankly admitted that the article under review is not likely to enhance its good name by any means.

"Asiaticus" contributes an article in the *National Review* on the South African Indian problem, in which he takes the Indian National Congress and its leaders to task for having deliberately neglected the question until lately, eulogises himself with becoming modesty for his past efforts in warning the public men in India of the urgency of the situation in South Africa and thinks Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree is the only Indian deserving any praise for his constant advocacy of the cause of his fellow-countrymen in that Colony. The Hon. Mr. Gokhale and Sir Pherozeshaw Mehta and the other Indian leaders, who have devoted all their energy, time and attention to this burning question it is curious to note, do not receive any recognition of their services at the hands of the superior "Asiaticus."

The current number of the *Fortnightly Review* also contains an able article on the same subject from the versatile pen of Sant Nihal

Singh, who is a frequent contributor to the British periodical Press. Obviously he traverses the old familiar grounds of argument, but on the whole his article is certainly entitled to careful consideration on the part of those who are desirous of studying the present Indian situation in South Africa.

### Turkish Aviation Disaster.

The recent disaster to the two Turkish airmen, Fethy Bey and Sadick Bey, at Samha Station on the Hedjaz Railway, during their flight from Damascus to Jerusalem, will no doubt cause universal grief and sympathy throughout the Moslem world. Fethy Bey was one of the most daring aviators that has ever ascended in the air and his death will certainly be a great loss to the Ottoman Army. He had distinguished himself during the Balkan Campaign and had proved himself of immense value to the military authorities for "information" purposes. Sadick Bey, though an officer of bright promise, was comparatively a novice in military aviation and was in the fateful flight, which has cost him his life, merely a passenger.

Such sacrifices are the necessary toll of the conquest of the air and Turkey, ever ready to sacrifice her sons for the defence and welfare of the Empire, will in this case accept over her recent bereavement with her traditional and accustomed fortitude. The loss of two gallant lives in the service of the Caliph will still infuse greater enthusiasm and keener passion amongst the Ottomon soldiers for further proficiency in this modern arm of the Sultan's forces. It is satisfactory to note that aviation is very popular in the Turkish military circles.

### Khwaja Khal-ud-Din's work at Woking.

I have from time to time informed your readers of the useful work which is being done at Woking by Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din. Gradually though steadily the Khwaja Sahib's work in that secular little town in Surrey has been expanding, and now the influence of his spiritual activities is being happily spread over the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. He has recently started a series of lecture-sermons in the beautiful Mosque at Woking mainly for the benefit of the local residents, for whose convenience he has selected Sundays for his meetings. Men, women and children flock to the Khwaja Sahib's sermons on Islam every Sunday afternoon, and though a good many of them are no doubt attracted to his meetings in the mosque by the novelty of the proceedings and merely out of curiosity, yet from what I could see last Sunday, the learned lectures of the Khwaja Sahib on matters Islamic and his eloquent sermons on the teachings of the holy Prophet are undoubtedly creating a sympathetic interest in Islam among the townfolk, who are being greatly impressed by the simplicity and straight-forwardness of the faith of the Moslems. Inspite of obvious difficulties which are facing him in his sacred work—to a great extent due to the missionary reaction in Woking, brought to bear just recently in order to counteract the Khwaja Sahib's religious activities—the attendance is increasing week by week and last Sunday the mosque was overcrowded. As a matter of fact, the lack of accommodation in the mosque, judging by the present enthusiasm that prevails in Woking, will be a serious drawback, as the small rooms in the adjoining Sir Salar Jung Memorial House do not permit of the sermons being delivered there. Besides the sanctity of the mosque itself and the sacred character of its environment naturally exercise a unique and wholesome influence on those present. Our old friends, the missionaries, now preaching at Woking, almost all of whom have served in India, have started, it seems, a regular campaign against Islam in that particular locality. It appears that they have been trying their utmost to convince their congregation of the fact that the Islam preached to them with such dignity and force by the Khwaja Sahib is quite alien to the Islam practiced in India and other Moslem countries. The reason for this, of course, is not far to seek. Finding, much to their disappointment, that all their usual tricks had hopelessly failed in Woking to prevent the "Christian" public from entering the mosque and week after week listening to the truly practical, common-sense and self-convincing doctrines of Islam—which they had themselves for years deliberately and wantonly kept away from their hearers and which they had studiously represented as a terrible form of heathenism—the ever-zealous missionaries have now adopted this new line of attack. Nothing could be further from the truth. Every true Moslem in England is fully alive to the fact that the advocacy of Islam in Europe on sectarian principles would serve a fatal blow to the great cause in this part of the world, and nobody has acted more conscientiously in accordance with the letter and even the very spirit of this sound and only possible doctrine—one of the unwritten laws, so to say, for the promotion of Islam in non-Moslem countries—than the Khwaja Sahib himself. Those who have had the privilege of listening to his sermons in London will, I am sure, completely bear me out in what I have stated. His lectures at Woking similarly deal with that beautiful and magnificient picture of "United Islam," which has been checking the Christian missionary efforts abroad with such telling effects. For the moment, at any rate, Woking is the centre of Islam in England, and until the proposed mosque in London is an accomplished fact, that little town in Surrey will continue to be our religious head-quarters. Where are the *workers*?

### The Oriental Society Inauguration at Newcastle.

An Inaugural Dinner was held last week for the Orientals residing in Newcastle-on-Tyne, at the Collingwood Restaurant, to form an Oriental Society, with Mr. M. Ba Gyaw, B. Sc., in the chair.

After the loyal toasts to their "respective rulers," the Chairman proposed the toast of the "Oriental Society," which was eloquently supported by Messrs. F. C. Li (China), A. K. Motawi (Egypt) and A. David (India).

The object of the Society is to promote the spirit of co-operation and closer social intercourse amongst all the Orientals in Newcastle; to discuss and adjust matters that relate to their well-being, both as a class and as individuals and to carry with them the spirit of good-will to their respective homes. This was the greatest gathering of its kind ever held at Newcastle and the large presence of the representatives of different Oriental nationalities showed promising signs that this small beginning will have a great future. Mr. A. Fahmy was appointed Honorary Secretary, after the Provisional President, Mr. M. Ba Gyaw, and Vice-Presidents, Messrs. David and Li were duly confirmed in their respective posts. The Society deserves every encouragement and has the best wishes of all Orientals in this country for its successful career.

### Indian Boxer at Cambridge.

Mr. P. L. Roy of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, a son of the well-known lawyer of Calcutta, who obtained his boxing Blue at the University last year when he was still a fresher, has won further laurels in the art. He went up to the 'Varsity with no little reputation as a boxer, which he had gained for himself at St. Paul's School. While at Cambridge Mr. Roy has fully maintained his reputation as a young pugilist and the expectations of his friends about him have been realised. He represented his University as a bantam-weight in the recent inter-'Varsity competition held at Oxford on the 3rd inst. when the Light Blues won by five events against four. The Indian on this occasion met R. Balcombe-Brown of Oriel College, Oxford, whom he beat fairly easily on points. All these St. Paul's boxers have been well taught, but Roy is exceptionally good. Footwork and quick leads (left or right) are all his; moreover, he has nice height and reach. Roy outclassed his man from the start. Balcombe-Brown went the three rounds with great pluck, but Roy, like a chivalrous boxer, let his man off lightly when he had him beaten. Everyone was impressed with the class of Roy; a year's experience has made a wonderful difference to his general work, and it looks as if he had had a good turn with Jim Driscoll. His future career in the ring will be followed with great interest by the lovers of this branch of sport.

### Mr. H. E. A. Cotton.

Your readers, I am sure, will hear with great interest of the appointment of Mr. H. E. A. Cotton to the Deputy-Chairmanship of the London County Council, on which he has sat as a Progressive for some years and where he has been, until his present appointment, acting as Junior Whip to his party. As a son of Sir Henry Cotton, he has a traditional connection with India, where the honoured name he bears is a household word throughout that vast continent. Mr. Cotton is the prospective Liberal candidate for the Harrow Division of Middlesex at the next General Election and his success at the polls will be undoubtedly an immense advantage to the cause of India in Parliament, where he is certain to enhance the significance of an illustrious name.

### Mr. Mushir Hoosein Kedwai.

Mr. Mushir Hoosein Kedwai attended, by special invitation, the ordinary monthly committee meeting of the Islamic Society yesterday, at which he was requested to take the chair, as a mark of the universal esteem in which he is held by the present members of the Society. Mr. Kidwai, it will be remembered, had for several years ably acted in the capacity of Hon. Secretary to the Society, which in his days was known as the Pan-Islamic Society. His many friends in India will be glad to hear that his cardiac affection is giving way under treatment since he has arrived in London, and it is hoped he will be soon restored to his normal health.

### The London Moslem League.

During the temporary absence of Mr. G. M. Ebrahim in India Mr. Ghulam Rasul is officiating as the Honorary Secretary of the Moslem League in London. Mr. Ebrahim's tour in India, it is understood, will extend over three or four months. He has been away from his home in Bombay for several years now, during which he has made a prolonged stay in the United States, where he was busily engaged in business. It is interesting to recall that, before finally settling down in London, Mr. Ebrahim, whose knowledge of Persian is very great, had acted as Mr. Morgan Shuster's Secretary, during the whole yet only too brief period of the American Treasurer-General's term of office at Teheran.

# TETE À TETE



His Excellency Halil Halid Bey, who has resigned his post as Ottoman Consul-General at Bombay owing to ill-health, sends to us for publication the following farewell message to his co-religionists in India :—"To all my moslem friends,—Fate has been against my residing amongst you longer. Ever since my arrival at Bombay I did not enjoy good health and therefore I have been obliged to resign my post as the Ottoman Consul General. I deeply regret to go away from India so soon, but I shall always take a most sympathetic interest in the affairs of Mussulmans of India and will always remain a devoted servant to the cause of Islamic regeneration wherever I go. With affectionate greetings to you all." We deeply regret that the stay in this country of such distinguished and cultured Ottoman representative as H. E. Halil Halid Bey should have been so brief. The Indian Mussalmans share our regret in full measure, and it would be their earnest wish that Halil Halid Bey may be speedily restored to health and continue his life of active service to Islam and his country for many years to come.

A Farewell Message to Indian Moslems.

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The situation in Ulster has suddenly grown desperate and it is difficult to exaggerate the apalling magnitude of the disruptive elements that have dramatically emerged into view. The Government proposals for the conciliation of Ulster have not proved to the taste of the Tory leaders. They have almost rejected them and declared that nothing would satisfy them short of a Referendum or a Dissolution. The Liberals who are not mere tyros at such game fully understand what it means. The subtle plans carefully laid by Sir Edward Carson and his followers have in the meantime begun to move with fearful rapidity and the results of the bold preaching of Ulster's right to rebellion are revealing themselves. Several high officers of the army resigned as they refused to fight against Ulster. The discipline of the army has been undermined. The War Minister has resigned and other high officials of the War Office are said to contemplating resignation. The Liberal Ministry has evidently been shaken by the new developments. The end is difficult to foresee. It is quite possible the Opposition may succeed in forcing the dissolution before the Home Rule Bill is passed. But the political situation in Great Britain has grown in consequence of the Tory campaign of an utterly unscrupulous character to be the most desperate within living memory. The most democratic and oldest Parliament in the world is face to face with the supreme issue whether it shall, in the last resort have to bow to military dictation. The issue carries tremendous implications and we will consider them at some length as soon as the situation becomes a little clearer. It is enough to remember for the present that the Tories have, by reckless playing with fire, raised a conflagration with which may destory some of the most cherished political symbols in their history.

The Ulster Crisis.

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We have received a letter for publication which has been issued by the Hon. Nawab Sir Salimulla Bahadur of Dacca and K. B. Syed Aulad Husain Secretary of the Reception Committee of the Bengal Moslem Educational Conference. The letter, after refering to the recent administrative changes and the creation of the Presidency of Bengal and the need for the amalgamation of the two Educational Conferences now existing in Eastern Bengal and Western Bengal, states that a conference of the Mohamedans of the whole presidency has been invited to meet at Dacca during the Easter holidays, *i.e.*, on the 12th and 13th April next. This will be the first session of the amalgamated conference after the constitution of the Presidency and urgent matters are obviously pending the decision of the community. The chief office-bearers such as President and Secretary are to be elected ; rules and regulations have to be finally amended and framed ; the whole organisation is to be adapted to existing needs and placed on an efficient basis ; and definite and practical programme is to be devised for the future. The letter proceeds : "No patriotic movement can be successful, unless men "of education, culture, position and wealth take an active and vigo-"rous part in all its affairs. It is hoped that the Mohamedan public "will be pleased to extend their kind co-operation and sympathy by "joining the Conference and taking part in the proceedings and "also by trying to return delegates and send visitors to attend the "Session of the Conference. The Reception Committee will make "necessary arrangements for accommodation, etc., and concession "certificates in respect of Railway fares will also be issued on getting "reply. All correspondence should be addressed to Khan Bahadur "Syed Aulad Husain, Secretary, Reception Committee, Dacca."

The Bengal Moslem Educational Conference.

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The custodians of the European commercial interests in Calcutta and their mouthpieces in the local Press have never forgiven Lord Hardinge for abandoning that city and transferring the seat of the Government of India to historic Delhi. The change was announced on a peculiarly solemn occasion to which the King-Emperor himself had set the seal, and it was hailed throughout the rest of India as highly appropriate and gratifying to the people's instincts. But neither the direct association of the King-Emperor with the announcement nor the approval of an overwhelming body of opinion in the land could restrain the press stalwarts in Calcutta from engineering a peculiarly vindictive and violent campaign against the change. The papers like the *Statesman* and the *Englishman* have raved disconsolately since the dethronement of Calcutta and they have disdained to choose their epithets in their rabid and vulgar attacks on Lord Hardinge and his Government. In the delirium of their frenzy they have permitted themselves to say all sorts of wild and bitter things, all manner of devices have been pressed into requisition that the authors of the change might be held up to public ridicule both in India and England. Delhi was first of all pronounced to be insanitary, the haunt of mosquitoes and of snakes, of malaria and cholera and all the dire pestilences that the flesh is heir to. When this scare refused to "boom," the glories of Calcutta were discovered with unctuous pride. It was declared to be the living monument of the rise of British power in India, the mighty symbol of the creative energy of the British muscle and mind. To desert it was a rank betrayal. This tune, too, yielded few stirring notes, and finally fell flat. Recourse was then had to the primitive human instincts, and the stuffed chambers of superstition and creeping legendary horrors were exploited to the full. Delhi was the grave of empires and the spirit of death brooved over her traditions. The activities of a mordern State would be unconsciously affected in the atmosphere of a vast, silent graveyard, with its haunting memories, its perpetual reminder of the unreality of things, its gaunt, unnerving suggestions. Arguments of less supernatural pretensions were of course not neglected. Government of India, we were told, would be condemned to isolation and would degenerate into a cumberous, ill-fitted machine after the manner of all self-sufficing bureaucracies. It would be shut out from all healthy influences of progressive opinion and independent and enlightened criticism. As if the great "critics" of Calcutta were the sole guarrantee for Great Britain to hold together its Empire in India! But the one argument that has helped to feed the fury of the Calcutta journalists has centred round "the cost of new Delhi." These reputed and well-tried "well-wishers" of India feel immensurable anguish at the horrifying prospect that the backs of the poor Indian tax-payers should be bent with the addition of enormous burdens to gratify the vanity of a wasteful and reckless Government. To embark on fresh expenditure necessary to rear huge palaces in Delhi has been described as little short of criminal extravagance. India is too poor to be saddled with a huge capital outlay on an object of sheer vainglory. And the cost would be enormous. The Government of India know this, but they have been afraid to make a clean breast of themselves lest they should provoke hostile criticism and alarm public opinion in England. They have been deliberately bungling with figures. Their estimate of probable cost of £4 million, as set forth in their despatch of 1911, was false ; the cost in no way could be less than £10 million.

Vested Interests and New Delhi.

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One would have thought that such misrepresentations would be effectually stopped after the clear exposition of the Government attitude and policy in regard to the building of new Delhi which was given by the Viceroy in the course of his speech at the close of the Budget debate in the Imperial Legislative Council. According to a careful revision of the estimates the cost of new Delhi would not probably exceed £6 million. Lord Hardinge emphatically declared that "you may "safely rely on my vigilance and on that of the Hon. Finance Mem-"ber and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, whose experience in the "Finance Department stands him in such good stead, to see that no

A Vulgar Attack on the Viceroy.

"extravagance or waste of public funds is permitted." He rightly emphasised that India is worthy of a capital and the capital must be worthy of her. All the non-official Members of the Council who spoke on the subject made it fully manifest that the people of India would not grudge the cost of building a capital worthy of India. Yet the *Statesman*, whose love for India has become so demonstrative in this case, returns to a fresh attack on Lord Hardinge and his Government with habitual virulence and delivers itself with a malicious vulgarity that it would be difficult even for its henchman of the Hare Street to rival. It accuses the Government of bad faith and deliberate suppression of facts and starts by saying that "at the outset of the undertaking it was necessary to keep "down the estimate to a minimum. If the full facts had been dis-"closed, the British public, who have a certain amount of conscience "in matters of this kind, would have rebelled against the monstrous "proposal to spend ten millions sterling upon a new capital." After this uncharitable fling it charges in full fury at Lord Hardinge, who had dared to describe the falsehoods of his Calcutta critics as "irresponsible "statements made by interested persons." It absolves the innocent merchants of Calcutta of all ulterior, sordid motives in their denunciations of the change of capital. "They have not lost "a rupee by the transfer," it declares triumphantly; though an unkindly critic may discern in the agonies of "disinterested" Calcutta merchants the sting of a very human pang at the loss of opportunities for social "distinctions," and for figuring in Viceregal functions and levees. But the *Statesman* and its clientele are, of course, above such petty snobbishness. It is only the Viceroy and his colleagues who may succumb to a petty desire for selfish gains. "Lord Hardinge and his "Council have been considerable gainers." Says the *Statesman*, "His "Excellency receives a considerable entertaining allowance. How "much has he saved by the attenuated hospitalities of Delhi? Mem-"bers of Council are paid an absurdly high salary to compensate "them for the expensiveness of Calcutta. What rent are they paying "in Delhi?" And after a lengthy rhodomontade on the "project "estimate" and "probable cost" it rounds off with a hope that public opinion in India and England may be roused to percieve "the "cruelty and folly of wasting the resources of a comparatively poor "people upon a luxurious toy." The insinuations in the words we have quoted are pointed enough. All we need ask is if the Press Act is impotent to stop this wicked campaign to discredit the Viceroy and his Government, a campaign which is frankly directed to bring into disrepute their motive, attitude and policy.

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**Kikuyu and the "Menace" of Islam.**

THE *Times* published extracts from the letter of Khwaja Kamal-ud-din in its issue of the 20th February to which Mirza Abbas Ali Baig Saheb refers in his letter to us. We have, however, received the letter as published in its entirety in another journal, and reproduce it here. It runs as follows:—"On behalf of "the members of the Islamic faith residing in England we desire "to enter an emphatic protest against the hostility to Islam displayed "at a conference of missionaries belonging to a number of Protestant "denominations at Kikuyu, in East Africa, and we rely on your courtesy "and the fairness of your journal for the publication of our letter in your columns. We are convinced that the whole of the hundred millions of Moslems within the British Empire share our feelings of regret and indignation at the gratuitous attack on our faith; and we feel no doubt that the vast numbers of Christians, who believe with us that conscientious opinions are too sacred to be made the subject of attack by the followers of rival creeds, will consider our protest fully justified. A single quotation from the proceedings of 'The Committee of the Church Pastoral Aid Society' on the 15th January of this present year will be sufficient to show the latent hostility which animated the proceedings of the missionaries' conference referred to above. According to a published resolution of this body:—

> The Committee of the Church Pastoral Aid Society desire to express their gratitude to the Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda for their patient efforts to promote unity on the East African Mission Fields in the face of the menace of Islam; and to assure the two bishops of unreserved confidence, and also to express to the Committee of the Church Missionary Society their sense of fellowship with them at this moment of solemn responsibility.

There can be no doubt that these important agencies of Protestant missionary enterprise have adopted against Islam the device of an artificial and pretended unity, for the purpose of increasing the chance of Protestant propaganda against Islam. We are entitled, therefore, to ask, What is the 'menace' of which the Protestant missionaries are afraid? The humble missionary of Islam, without the accessories of wealth and power at the back of others, carries his simple faith to people immersed in absolute darkness; uplifts them from pure heathenism, teaches them the duties of life, and turns them into beings with a true conception of the relation of God to man; he preaches to them the power, glory, and love of God, the Omnipotent, the All-Seeing, Who is not made by hands, Who is the Creator Eternal, Who alone can give happiness to man. He teaches them the universal brotherhood of mankind in the faith of Islam; making no distinction of colour or race. He tells them that Moslems are brothers, and that there are none higher or lower in the faith of Islam. He endeavours to turn them into orderly members of the society in which their lot is cast. He impresses on them the value of human life and the responsibility of man to God. He weans them from drink and the barbarous rites of heathenism to the simple worship of an All-Seeing, All-Wise Creator, and he asks them to revere the great Teacher who, in an age of utter darkness, called back the world to worship and the love of God. Is this the 'menace of Islam' against which the Protestant conference at Kikuyu has invented a pretended 'unity' in order to disguise the real divisions and contradicitions of the sects represented at Kikuyu, in order to induce a factitious combination against the work of the Moslem missionary? The fundamental differences of belief, doctrine, and ritual are accordingly to be kept in the background with the object of driving the preacher of a simple faith, which admittedly raises the degraded heathen in the scale of humanity, from the field in which he has laboured so successfully. Upon the great question of the equal and absolute brotherhood of all men in Islam, without distinction of race or colour, are the Protestant sects agreed to denounce the colour line in Protestant civilisation? Will they abolish the colour line before asking any longer the natives of Asia and Africa to become members of a Protestant Church? They ask the African and the Asiatic to desert the faith of Islam in the One God, to desert the human brotherhood in the faith of the One God which Islam teaches to all mankind. What do they offer them in return? Had the religion they try to spread among the people of Africa helped to raise the proselytes in the scale of humanity, weaned them from drink, kept them from the vices of what is commonly called 'civilisation,' there might be some justification for the attitude they have assumed against Islam. But when every candid observer admits the difference between a convert to Islam and a convert to any rival creed, in sobriety, manlines, observance of parental and filial duties, and such homely virtues, we ask, would it not be a crime to prevent the Moslem missionary from pursuing unmolested his humanising work? The letter of the Bishop of Uganda published in *The Times* of Saturday, the 14th, shows exactly the spirit which animates the Christian pastors who seem bent on carrying into 'benighted Africa' the intolerance common in Europe and Asia."

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**District Advisory Councils.**

THE Hon. Mr. Surrendranath Banerjea moved a resolution on the 19th instant in the Imperial Legislative Council, which, among other things, pleaded for the creation of advisory councils to help the district officers in the discharge of their executive duties. A similar resolution was moved the year before last which was negatived. Mr. Banerjea's resolution has also met the same fate. As we said on the previous occasion we do not think a district advisory council would prove a very useful institution. There are obvious reasons to fear that it might become an embarrassing dead-weight to a district officer who has real enthusiasm for his work and has genuine sympathy with the aspirations of the people. The district administration depends for its success on the type of the official that is placed in charge of it. A district officer with little sympathy for popular hopes and wishes would have little patience for his advisers, and if they mutually quarrel only the public interests would suffer. A sympathetic officer needs no formal advisory boards, for he would rather be hampered than assisted in his work if he is obliged to hold formal consultations at every step in the discharge of his duties. The real object that evidently underlay Mr. Banerjea's motion was to bring the district administration more closely into touch with the needs and wishes of the people. This object can best be gained by the appointment of increasing numbers of Indians of capacity as district officers. This is the real direction in which the reform should move. It is also desirable that the district officer should be relieved of some of the duties that he has now to discharge. At present he has to do enormous work as he controls all the threads of the district administration. He is responsible for the peace of the district and for the collection of revenue and the control of a large revenue staff; he supervises the work of subordinate magistrates; he is the head of the Police and the Forest departments and is President of the District Board; he is District Registrar and Political Agent for any Native State attached to the district; he is the head of the P. W D., supervises the work of Municipalities and is responsible for famine administration and for measures to deal with cholera and plague epidemics. In the first place he should be divested of his magisterial powers, and there are some other functions which he should hand over to District Boards or Municipalities or other local bodies which may be deemed necessary to create for the purpose. The Hon. Home Member said that the proposed advisory council would impair the responsibility of the district officer. It would,

however, be well for the Home Member to bear in mind that the almost unlimited range of the district officer's duties makes it exceedingly hard for him to attend to his responsibilities with unimpaired efficiency. His functions should be distributed and purely local matters such as sanitation, education and sundry other things should be administered by local bodies. And for the efficient administration of the district generally more Indians should be raised to the position of the district officer. As things are, the Hon. Home Member's defence of his attitude is not altogether reassuring. If the reform along the lines suggested by us is opposed on the score that the district officer's authority would be impaired by the intrusion of middle men, we would rather have this "intrusion" inspite of its obvious drawbacks, for it is far better to have a sluggish administration of district affairs than to leave them to be looked after by a single man enjoying almost unlimited authority and occasionally possessing eccentric views on matters closely related to the welfare of the people.

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**A Petition to His Majesty the Amir.**

We have received a copy of the pathetic petition which the grief-stricken and aged mother of Mr. Mohamed Husain Khan B.A. (Alig.) has submitted to His Majesty the Amir and in which she humbly prays for the release of her son. It is an appeal for mercy and no one can read it without emotion and fail to be affected by the deep anguish that moves the heart of the hapless mother. The story of Mr. Mohamed Husain Khan's luckless plight in Cabul is already known to most of our readers. He is one of the most earnest-minded and talented graduates of Aligarh. He comes of a respectable Afghan family in the Jullundar district, and his love and enthusiasm for the progress of his race was boundless. Soon after he left Aligarh he applied for service under His Majesty the Amir in the new Education Department which the enlightened ruler of Afghanistan was organising with a view to create facilities for the education of his subjects on modern lines. The services of many Indian Moslem graduates were requisitioned for the purpose, and Mr. Mohamed Husain Khan was chosen as the head of the Translation Department. He went to Cabul filled with characteristic zeal for his task. The letters that he used to send to his friends in India in the course of the first two years of his service furnished a measure of the devotion that he felt for H. M. the Amir his master, and of the enthusiastic joy with which he dwelt on the prospect of the great Afghan race eventually reaping a glorious harvest of an up-to-date training and culture of which they were beginning to sow the seed. By a curious turn of the fortune's wheel this glorious vision of his was shattered, and he found himself one day suddenly flung into prison with several others including Dr. Abdul Ghani, the then Director of Public Instruction in Afghanistan. How this came to pass no one can exactly tell. Only wild rumours reached India at the time suggesting that Mr. Mohamed Husain Khan and his fellow prisoners were implicated in some sort of a revolutionary plot aiming at the introduction of a democratic form of government in Afghanistan. No authentic facts have come to light since then, no trial of the prisoners has been held up to this moment, and as far as we know no charges have been regularly framed or substantiated against them. In these circumstances it is not difficult to believe, especially in view of the conditions in Afghanistan, that Mr. Mohamed Husain Khan along with his fellow sufferers has been the victim of some cruel conspiracy. All those who know him well can hardly believe him to have been capable of plotting against His Majesty the Amir to whose personality he was attached with loyal and fervent devotion. He has suffered terribly and long—it is upwards of four years that he has been in prison. The sufferings of his poor old mother and his wife, who have none else to support them, have been no less great and pitiful. We appeal to His Majesty the Amir, and we are sure millions of Mussalmans in this country join us in this appeal, that he may exercise a gracious act of clemency and restore the unfortunate prisoner to freedom and to his home which his sufferings and those of his mother and sisters and his wife and his little child have made desolate. We do not know whether the case of Mohamed Husain Khan is ever allowed to come to the notice of His Majesty; but we trust it would be dealt with fairly whenever it reaches his ears, for the ruler of Afghanistan is well-known for his sense of justice and his kingly attribute of mercy. We hope the appeal of Mohamed Husain Khan's mother will reach His Majesty, and we are confident that it will not go unheard.

# The Comrade.

## A Muslim Ruler on Aligarh.

II.

Last week we referred to the criticism that Her Highness the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal offered in her reply to the address of Mohamedan Educational Conference. To-day we deal with her to reply the address of the Trustees of the Aligarh College. Although Her Highness disclaimed any desire "to receive "an excellent address and say a few pleasant things in reply," one must read Her Highness's reply to the Trustees' address carefully before he can discover the slender thread of criticism that runs throughout her speech. It must be remembered that unlike the reply to the address of the Conference, this speech of Her Highness was addressed to a mixed audience of Trustees, members of the staff, Old Boys and present students of the College, and this fact always makes it difficult for a critic to speak on such occasions as frankly as could be desired.

Despite these difficulties Her Highness has indicated clearly enough where progress has been slow and improvement is necessary. Referring to the growth of the College and the increase in the responsibilities of those who manage its affairs, Her Highness said: "It would be a clear indication of the evil fortune in store for "the community if strained relations should exist between "those who had devoted a valueable part of their abilities, "time, wealth and life to the work of the community, "spread education, founded this great College, strengthened "it and endeavoured to spread its fame, and those others who had "tasted the fruit of the tree which they had planted, that is to say, "had received their education at this College and had become capable "of sharing their educational efforts and the great responsibilities of "the management of the College."

We do not think it would be difficult for those who are interested in the College to recall the time about ten years ago when one or two Old Boys of the College were the only critics of those who managed the affairs of the College. There was no "Young Party" then in existence, but only a couple of young men ten years younger than they are to-day. If the poet's principle be true and the Brahmin should deserve burial in the Ka'ba, because devotion, if steadfast, is the very essence of faith, then these early critics of Aligarh have ensured for themselves a grave in those sacred precincts. Nothing has yet daunted them, nothing has effectively discouraged them. But that is not their only merit. Their criticism was just and they did not stop at mere criticism. They fought for the good as well as railed at the evil. And the result is that many of those, that did not then comprehend their motives and their meaning are now their friends and comrades. You cannot name a single man, whether old or young, about whose independence of character there is no question who does not agree with them in interpreting the educational policy of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. At least this is incontrovertible that you cannot point out a single Mussalman whose sycophancy is above suspicion who does not invariably vote against them! And because sycophancy is every day losing ground and independence of character, which generally, though not invariably, follows English education, is every day on the increase, the old Cabal can no longer count upon a comfortable majority, while the old minority of two or three is every day enlisting fresh recruits and compels respect for its views even if not acceptance.

Had there been any antagonism between those that planted the tree and those that ate of its fruit, it would have been very strange indeed, and the fault would have had to be traced to the seed that had been sown, the soil on which it had been cast or the husbandry that followed. As ye sow ye reap. But if the affairs of Aligarh are closely examined it will be easily discovered that the grouping of men into parties follows neither the line of cleavage between the Young and the Old, nor between those who created Aligarh and those whom Aligarh has created. Who among those living to-day could be older or more intimately connected with the foundation of the College than the venerable Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur or could be younger than some of the Old Boys of the College who have only recently been co-opted as Trustees with the votes of some of the oldest of Trustees? Yet the late Honorary Secretary of the College is undoubtedly the leader of the so-called Young Party, and it is some of the Old Boys of the College themselves who do not yet boast of wrinkles and gray hair that lead the so-called Old Party. Had it been only a cleavage between the young and the old, those who side with the young would have easily

found consolation in patience, for time is always on the side of the young. But the party of privilege which is in power can always secure a few recruits for its depleted ranks by dangling a certain amount "of distinction," and the victory of those who desire to place the control of a national institution in the hands of those whom the nation elects is thereby delayed. But it is encouraging to know that even under the present system of co-option more Trustees are being recruited on the side of democracy than on the side of oligarchy, and though delayed the hour of victory is not distant.

In the meantime those who are hostile to the interests of the Mussalmans and have recently knocked their heads against the wall of Muslim solidarity have spared no efforts to create a breach. At first a split between the All-India Muslim League and its London branch was loudly proclaimed and many Cassandras prophesied a second Surat at Agra last December. But even when the prophets were proved false, hope was not altogeter lost and it was believed that the two meetings of the Trustees within a month would provide sufficient sensation. We are glad that even this hope was belied and it is a pleasure to note that Her Highness the Begum Saheba has fully grasped the significance of the result of those meetings. While inviting attention to the mischief that every division in the ranks of the Trustees is likely to cause, Her Highness said that she thanked God that the sagacity of the Trustees had suppressed the mischief a great deal. We have so often appealed for a better understanding and with so little avail that we must frankly admit the only cure for the evil is that the reforms which we have long advocated in the Constitution of the Trust should now be speedily adopted and the Board of Trustees should be wholly composed of men periodically elected by independent constituencies. They alone can rightly claim to represent the community, for they alone would reflect the views of the community that elects them. So long as this is not done, Aligarh will be shot from one crisis into another as the experience of the last decade has amply shown.

We have referred to two efforts made by the enemies of the Mussalmans to create a split in the community. We have now to refer to a third and still more sinister attempt, namely the effort to create a split between the Shias and the Sunnis just at the time when Mussalmans had removed from their minds every sectarian bias in secular matters. Shias had sympathised with the troubles of the Turkey as sincerely as Sunnis, and Sunnis had felt the same grief at the troubles of Persia that the Shias had experienced. It was at such a time that old grievances were brought out and clothed with a new significance, and a most unfortunate series of incidents that occured at Aligarh came to be looked upon as a God-sent by these enemies of the community. Much as we are inclined to praise the present solidarity of Mussalmans we must acknowledge that the foundation is none too strong as yet, and the greatest care must be taken in building up a superstructure that it can bear. But inspite of our intimate acquaintance with the time-honoured unsectarian traditions of Aligarh we must say we did not anticipate that Aligarh undergraduates of to-day would be able to bear the tremendous strain of recent incidents so well as they have done. Her Highness devoted a considerable part of her speech to an earnest appeal to the students on this subject, and we know how it will rejoice her heart to know that the appeal was not made in vain. The recent meeting of Aligarh undergraduates and the resolutions that they have passed on the subject of sectarian differences has a great and an unmistakeable significance, and although we are loath to pamper men who have yet to win their spurs in the world, we shall be guilty of injustice if we did not say that by displaying such brotherly affection among themselves in the face of such difficulties the Aligarh students have set a noble example of unity and toleration to the older members of the community. They have magnificiently upheld the traditions of their elder brothers and the ideals of Khalifa Mohamed Hasan Khan Saheb and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.

Her Highness quoted two from among the many encomia passed on the Old Boys of Aligarh and in doing so said: "This is a kind of "praise which should be handed down from generation to generation as "a heritage and trust, and the present generation of students has "always regarded it as such. But this heritage and this trust can "remain safe so long only as your own character remains as high as "that of your predecessors." Had we to select two testimonials from among the many earned by the Old Boys of the College that do justice alike to the claims of the Mussalmans and of the Government under which they are progressing, we could not have improved upon Her Highness's selection. The first testimonial which Her Highness recalled to the minds of the students was that given by Sir Auckland Colvin, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces. He had said: "To have been an Aligarh man is, I have "over and over again found, a passport to the respect and confidence "both of Englishman and Native. They carry with them the stamp "of their training, the impress of the man under whom their training "has been accomplished." He had also said: "An Aligarh College man "has become synonymous with a man of liberal ideas, advanced education and independent character. He has become, above all, the type "of the class of Indian who endeavours to do full justice to English "desires, but expects us to do equal justice to his own." Another former Lieutenant-Governor of the Province had made the following observation with regard to Aligarh students. "They have the "character of being upright and manly, loyal to the Government "under whose protection they live, courteous and respectful "without servility, and fitted by their uptraining for the "practical work of their lives." This and no other is the heritage and trust which Her Highness would like to be handed down from generation to generation, and this and no other is the character Her Highness would like an Aligarh student of to-day to possess. He who would seduce the undergraduates of Aligarh from their loyalty to the Government under whose protection they live, he who would teach them to be discourteous and disrespectful, he who would like them not to do full justice to English desires is no doubt a traitor and we are willing to consign him to the worst hell in Dante's Inferno. But what of him who would make them servile, who would not have them expect the English to do equal justice to his own desires and would rob them of manliness and make them too selfish to be upright? We feel certain that at least Her Highness would not open the gate of heaven for such a man if she had in her hands the keys of St. Peter.

Her Highness did well in reminding the students that for them the present is only a time for study, contemplation and research, and that all active participation in the daily recurring affairs of the practical world is for the present absolutely disallowed. If we can presume to add something to this advice, we would like to say that many of those whose duty it is to take an active part in the daily recurring affairs of the practical world envy them the leisure they now enjoy. They must not yet attempt to do prematurely that which they will only too soon be called upon to do on pain of their community's serious displeasure if they neglect or bungle. But the object of sound education must be to create the complete citizen, and obviously the study of politics in an academic fashion cannot be tabooed. As Sir Charles Crosthwaite had said, they must be "fitted by their uptraining for the practical work "of their lives." Her Highness has therefore done well to place these time-honoured ideals of Aligarh once more before all concerned, and we trust those who press for their translation into reality will not be accused of innovation and heresy and a departure from the policy of Sir Syed Ahmed.

Her Highness praised the work of Mr. Towle and the College staff and expressed the hope, which we fully share, that their students will long continue to profit from their affectionate treatment, and that, because gratefulness is a sentiment inculcated by their religion, they would repay this affection by sincerity and obedience. Her Highness also said that she trusted that the European members of the staff would not only consider it a duty to impart instruction to the students but would also guide the students to the goal of success by impressing upon them the stamp of their character and personality, so that on the one side they would earn the gratitude of Mussalmans and on the other they would discharge the duty towards their nation and their Empire which is imposed on them by the very fact that they are Englishmen. Her Highness added that "this must always be kept in view that the "relations of the staff, the students and the Trustees should be pleasant "and sympathetic, for the hopes of Muslim success and progress are "bound up therewith, and on this also depends the object which the "former popular Principal of Aligarh, the late Mr. Beck, expressed "in these words: 'the political aim of this College is to produce "harmony and friendship between the English and the Musalmans.'" We have no wish to to rake up the past, but if it is in the least true that the relations between the Mussalman and the English are strained then it will serve no useful purpose to blame only the Mussalmans for such an undesirable situation. The name of Theodore Beck must rank among those of the greatest Empire-builders that England ever sent out to India, and those that bear the impress of Theodore Beck under whom their training was accomplished cannot reasonably be suspected of attempts to create ill-will in the minds of the rising generation towards his countrymen. This is not the place nor the time to apportion praise or blame; but we hope we shall not be guilty of injustice in reminding the English staff of the College that it is within their power to win over the younger generation of Mussalmans, all efforts of any others in the contrary direction notwithstanding. As we said once before, he who would like to win the heart of Muslim India must win the heart of Aligarh, and Mr. Towle and the band of able and vigorous young Englishmen who are working with him at Aligarh can have the affections of Aligarh for the asking.

# The Muslim Deputation to the Viceroy.

II.

Last week we had dealt with the various events that had severely tried the temper of Indian Mussalmans and had challenged any one to point to a single incident throughout their protracted sufferings suggesting, however remotely, that they had departed even by a hair's breadth from the traditions of staunch and unwavering loyalty, or 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. We had declared that this historic community, noted for its sanity of judgment and self-restraint during periods of unusual gravity, had not lost these characteristic qualities at any time during its recent troubles, and that in short there was nothing in its recent record of which it need be ashamed.

Despite these undeniable facts, however, a series of vile attempts had recently been made in certain Anglo-Indian quarters to misrepresent the attitude of the Mussalmans towards Government and to discredit them in the eyes of Government and of the British public. We need not refer here in detail to these wicked libels as we have had on more than one occasion since last summer to refute them, and our readers can easily recall the articles that appeared in the *Times* and in the *National Review* and our rejoinders to them. But it had now become clear that those who had taken upon themselves the task of maligning the Indian Mussalmans were both persistent and resourceful, and the unscrupulous manner in which some organs of the British Press for obvious reasons lent themselves to this evil propaganda made it necessary that the repudiation of such calumnies should not be left to a single newspaper, no matter how representative, but should be undertaken by a Deputation of a very comprehensive character which should reflect every shade of Muslim opinion in India.

This project was discussed by the Hon. the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad with some prominent Mussalmans who were then at Delhi, and was referred to some others who were invited to Delhi for the purpose by the Hon. the Raja Saheb. The project met with general approval among those who could be consulted at that early stage, and encouraged by this response the Raja Saheb consulted some more prominent members of the community, and when their assent was obtained, a long and comprehensive list of more than 200 Mussalmans, representing all provinces and every shade of Muslim opinion, was prepared in consultation with many prominent members of the community and letters were despatched to them inviting their co-operation. The object of the Deputation was clearly explained in the letter, and soon after several rough drafts of the proposed address were despatched to the gentlemen who had been invited to join the Deputation. Unfortunately the interval for organising the Deputation was extremely short, but it is a noteworthy fact that men of all recognised shades of opinion agreed to the project and showed their willingness to co-operate with each other in this matter and the general frame-work of the address was universally approved. On the 22nd and 23rd instant, the Address was fully discussed and finally approved. The list of the signatories to the address is remarkably comprehensive, even though many prominent Mussalmans who heartily approved of the Deputation and had given their assent to the general framework and tone of the address were unavoidably absent. Nevertheless the eighty-four Mussalmans who signed the address and who were received by H. E. the Viceroy on the 25th instant were fully representative of the community and well qualified to speak in its name.

The address, which we reproduced last week very closely followed the views we expressed in our last articles on the subject of the Muslim Deputation, and it seems needless to dwell on it any further. Turning to the reply of H. E. the Viceroy, we note that it deals in the first place with what the address of the Mussalmans called "the new era of an awakened consciousness." In the next place, it deals with the reaction in India of the "events of unparalleled magnitude and absorbing interest to the Mussalmans," which, in the words of the address, "followed one another in a rapid and bewildering succession." In the third place, it deals with the charges that had been levelled with such rancour and persistence against the Mussalmans for more than half a year in some sections of the British and the Anglo-Indian Press. In the next place, it deals, with the question of the Holy Places in Arabia, and, finally, with the improved outlook for the future.

The address of the Muslim Deputation had referred with significant prominence to the All-India Muslim League, which, according to the Deputation "has ever since its establishment continued to be the true representative organization of Indian Mussalmans." We are glad that so comprehensive a Deputation expressed itself in such clear terms and with such emphasis about the All-India Muslim League, for although the matter is too obvious, attempts have not been wanting to create misunderstandings as regards the scope and character of the Muslim League since its acceptance of the ideal of self-government suited to India.

In this connection it may be stated that no progressive institution or country can stand exactly where it did some years ago, and thanks to the progressive character of British rule in India, the changes which are taking place from day to day in this country make it difficult for India to remain stationary in its policies and ideals. Even in 1906, Lord Minto told the Simla Deputation that it had addressed him "at a time when the political atmosphere is full of "change." "We all feel it," said Lord Minto, "It would be foolish "to attempt to deny its existence. Hopes and ambitions new to "India are making themselves felt. We cannot ignore them. We "should be wrong to wish to do so. But to what is all this unrest "due? Not to the discontent of misgoverned millions, I defy any-"one honestly to assert that; not to any uprising of a disaffected "people; it is due to that educational growth in which only a very "small portion of the population has as yet shared, of which British "rule first sowed the seed, and the fruits of which British rule is now "doing its best to foster and to direct." It would have been a poor recognition of the progressive character of the present regime to suggest that the progress which was going on 1906 had since been arrested, and that the new hopes and ambitions which were then making themselves felt had now ceased to vitalise the people of this country. Even in the short space of time since Lord Hardinge took up the reins of office, education, financed much more generously than before, has been able to move with great strides, and every day an increasingly large harvest is being gathered from the vast fields wherein British rule had sown the seed. The atmosphere is still full of change and even the Mussalmans, who seemed to have been tied to the spot by ancient traditions and more recent intellectnal poverty, are now beginning to become more and more susceptible to the changes of the political weather. In the words of Lord Minto, it would be foolish to deny the existence of an atmosphere full of change, and we should be wrong to wish to do so. The new voyage of political discovery on which the Mussalmans set out in 1906 has necessitated a revision of their political charts. The recent activities of the Muslim League simply mean a much-needed defining of the direction where it was comparative vagueness and uncertainty before. As the attainment of the ideal of self-government depends not upon any drastic changes in the system of administration almost amounting to a revolution, but on the slow growth and evolution of a nationality based upon the co-ordination of and harmony and goodwill prevailing among the various communities of India, the All-India Moslem League has rightly held out the hand of friendship towards the great sister community of Hindus. But sinister motives were ascribed even to this, although the Mussalmans had only just commenced to practise what the officials had preached so often before. This the Mussalmans naturally resented very deeply. In his reply to the address the Viceroy was able to say: "You have referred in the address, which "I am very happy to receive from you, to the re-invigorated vitality "of your 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*." His Excellency added that "zeal for the Moslem faith "and for the uplifting of the community and the loyalty of the "Muslims 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 is a testimony which should easily sweep away all the cobwebs of suspicions and sinister surmises woven with a crafty malice by the calumniators of Indian Mussalmans.

As regards the reaction in India of a bewildering succession of events to which the address referred, His Excellency the Viceroy was equally emphatic when he said that, although Muslim sentiment had been greatly stirred, and for a time a restless spirit prevailed, there was no real antagonism between the Government and the Muslim community. The charges that the leaders of the Muslim community inflamed religious passions, promoted national antagonism and lost no opportunity of abusing British rule and vilifying the Christian religion, that a new party had already begun to dream of expelling the British from India, that Aligarh gradutes were in the van openly preaching hostility to British rule, and that attempts were being made to tamper with the loyalty of Muslim troops were condemned by His Excellency the Viceroy as clearly as they deserved to be. According to His Excellency, writers in the Press had "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." After all, the Mussalmans must take into consideration the limitations of the phraseology suited to the pronouncements of His Majesty's representative in his Indian Empire, and

must treat the phrase "a deep misunderstanding" as a synonym for Mr. Churchill's "terminological—inexactitude" and Mr. Kipling's "unmitigated—misstatement." Their consolation must, however, be that lies are lies and stink in the nostril just as much in whatever phraseology we may clothe them. It is sheer charity, however, to suggest, as His Excellency has done, that these writers were misled by the troubled surface of the water and gave currency to such foul libels merely on account of "superficial comprehension of the "Mohamedan train of thought." No doubt, His Excellency was not called upon to sit in judgment upon these men, and it was enough for His Excellency's purpose to indicate clearly that their charges were false. But if His Excellency had been sitting as a judge upon them, we have no doubt he would have also found them guilty of malicious conspiracy. The deputation had said that "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 goodwill to which we were entitled." The Viceroy, to whose unfailing sympathy offered in the most practical manner throughout their protracted sufferings, the Deputation's address bore such willing testimony, assured the Deputation in the following words :— "I can well sympathise with your feelings of resentment at as- "persions that have been cast upon you and your people as a "whole, but I can only assure you that I and my Government "had never doubted the unswerving loyalty which we know quite "well to be one of the noblest and most sacred traditions of your "community." Again, when cordially welcoming the Muslim assurances of the continued and unimpeachable loyalty of the community, the Viceroy said he would not fail to transmit them to the King-Emperor, "although for me such assurances were "not needed."

This is as clear and emphatic a testimony against those who charged the Mussalmans and, particularly the Aligarh graduates, with sedition as the Mussalmans could have ever desired, and it would be conceded that a Viceroy who has come forward to clear the reputation of the Mussalmans in this manner is entitled to address words of counsel to the more ardent spirits in the community. But the Mussalmans must be thankful to His Excellency that he showed no inclination in the course of his reply to preach a long-drawn sermon such as more than one provincial satrap has indulged in recently. All that the Viceroy offered by way of criticism or advice was a passing reference to the use "here and there" of "bitter or heated words which "it would have been better to have left unsaid." But no one of a different faith and nationality was in a better position to judge the extent of the Muslim temptation than His Excellency, whose words and actions proved such a great corrective of the silence Edward Grey and the speeches of several of Sir Edwards' colleagues. His Excellency did not, therefore, forget even in his reply to suggest that, however unwise the use of heated or bitter words here and there, it was after all only natural. For His Excellency prefaced this slight criticism with the observation that this was due to the fact that the feelings of Indian Mussalmans were sore.

As regards the Viceroy's reference to the Holy Places of the Mussalmans, His Excellency's pronouncement, following as it does the Guildhall pronouncement of Mr. Asquith and His Excellency's own speech in the Legislative Council at Simla in September last, would, we feel sure, be welcomed throughout the Muslim world. His Excellency wishes the Mussalmans to understand that the British Government has already realized "the "absolute necessity for the maintenance of the *status quo* as regards "the Holy Places in Arabia," and in view of the fact that it is a great religious interest of the Mussalmans and the acceptance of the British responsibility for the maintenance of such a *status quo* would strengthen the loyalty of Indian Mussalmans, His Excellency was fully justified in pointing out that this is an "important and powreful link "between your community and the Government of our King-Emperor." This shows what value the Government attach to religious freedom and Mohamedan control of the Holy Places, and if the intensity of the Mussalmans' feeling on the subject of a Muslim control of the Holy Places can induce the British Government to accept the responsibility they have taken upon themselves, that intensity of feelings provides a much clearer justification for the action that the Mussalmans have themselves been taking recently in order to safeguard the sanctity of their Holy Places from violation. If it is the Government's political duty to maintain the Muslim control of Holy Places, it is only because it is a Mussalman's religious duty to maintain such control. Therefore it is a first charge on the Mussalman himself and then on his non-Muslim Government. We hope His Excellency's pronouncement will set at rest all those who pretend to see danger in such a frankly peaceful religious society as the *Khuddam-i-Ka'ba*.

In this connection it may not perhaps be amiss to say that although it is only in view of the religious interest of the Mohomedans of India and the value that Government attach to religious freedom and the Mohamedan control of the Holy Places that such a responsibilty rests upon Great Britain, it will not be right to conclude that the views of seventy million subjects of His Majesty can be of no moment in the shaping of an Imperial foreign policy. Great Britain has already accepted the eleven million European Colonials to partnership in the business of Empire, and it would be strange if India alone, which, as Lord Morley once told the House of Lords, "is your Lordship's only Empire", should be excluded from the benefits of such a partnership. She has always shared most willingly every Imperial liability with Great Britain, but we should like to know what Canada, or, in fact, any other Colony has yet done in this matter. Indian Mussalmans do not ignore Great Britain's Imperial commitments and do not ask for the impossible. We repeat once more that they only desire to maintain a permanent friendship between Great Britain and Muslim States, and they can be relied upon to insist on a friendly attitude towards Great Britain on the part of the Muslim States just as they can be relied upon to complain if they are led to think that Great Britain is lacking in its friendly sympathy towards them.

His Excellency referred in conclusion to the restoration of peace in Europe and Asia, and we trust Great Britain would be able to induce the Powers to be fairer to Turkey in finally settling the question of the Aegean Islands, and that every assistance, such as the loan of British officers for the administration of the Armenian Vilayets of Asia Minor, would be rendered to Turkey. On the face of it, it is unfair to strengthen the position of a Christian Prince in Muslim Albania by offering to Greece as a compensation some islands of Turkey vital to the existence of her Asiatic Empire. Nor is it fair to complain of mis-management in Armenia when Turkey so willingly offers to appoint British officers in those regions. The way to preserve the independence and integrity of her Asiatic Empire is not by recognising spheres of influence of European Powers such as Russia and France in that Empire. Surely British diplomats could have not forgotten the fate of Persia's integrity and independence which the Anglo-Russian Convention with its spheres of influence was created to preserve. We trust these matters will result in speedy and just settlement, and we look forward with His Excellency with hope and confidence to a period of peaceful development of the Muslim community by means of self-improvement and education. The Muslim community is loyal, moderate and sober and can desire no better policy than one of solidarity and co-operation with Government and with other communities for the welfare and progress of this Empire, which, His Excellency rightly said, we all of us have so much at heart. We too devoutly hope that the pure and unalloyed faith of the Mussalmans in the Unity of God and of loyalty to their Sovereign may burn like a flame and ever grow brighter to lighten their path for many ages to come.

## The Unitarians of Islam.

Mr. Khwaja Kamal-ud-din (of Woking) has addressed a letter to the *Times*, in which, "on behalf of the Islamic faith in England" he enters "an emphatic protest against the hostility to Islam displayed at a conference of missionaries belonging to a number of Protestant denominations at Kikuyu, in East Africa." "There can be no doubt," he writes, "that important agencies of Protestant missionary enterprise have adopted against Islam the device of an artificial and pretended unity for the purpose of increasing the chance of Protestant propaganda against Islam. We are entitled therefore to ask: "What "is the 'menace' of which the Protestant missionaries are afraid." What indeed? We are inclined to think that the fears of the excellent Mr. Ud-din are quite unnecessary. One prominent figure of the Kikuyu Conference appears to hold views which, to the mere lay mind, are practically indistinguishable from those of Mr. Ud-din's co-religionists. We have just learned that a communicant in the diocese of Mombasa was informed by the Bishop of that diocese that unless she desisted from the practice of making the Sign of the Cross before receiving Holy Communion she would be refused the Sacrament. We can well understand that the Cross, which was to the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Greeks foolishness, would be also an occasion of offence to our brethren of the Mohamedan religion, and we had hoped that it was in their interest that the Bishop was acting. It appears, however, that the excellent policy of inclusion inaugurated by the conveners of the Kikuyn Conference is limited in its sphere of operations. We are far from suggesting that the antiquated and poisonous superstitions of Popery should receive the least encouragement or support from any truly Christian body: but we must take leave to point out that no scheme for the federation of Protestant Churches can be considered as complete which fails to take into account the Unitarians of Islam.—*The New Witness.*

# Interview with Ali Hikmet Nahid Bey.

(From Our London Correspondent.)

Ali Hikmet Nahid Bey, one of the Vice-Presidents of the London Islamic Society, who is the senior partner in the well-known Ottoman firm of Hussain and Co., in the city, has just returned from an extensive tour in the Balkans and Turkey. He has been travelling for the last three months, during which period he has also visited Asia Minor. Nahid Bey has recently completed his long apprenticeship with the Imperial Ottoman Bank of Throgmorton Street. He is on terms of intimate friendship with most of the leading statesmen of Turkey to-day and several of his relatives are at present holding important positions in the political, commercial and educational world at Constantinople. I called upon him at his office in the city without any previous engagement, within two hours of his return from the Continent and inspite of his fatigue after the long overland journey and notwithstanding the pressing work that lay before him as a result of his recent absence from town, he received me with very great courtesy, which I attribute entirely to my being a representative of the *Comrade*, of which the Bey is a regular reader and which has lately become very popular with the Young Turks. After apologising to him for taking his valuable time and assuring him of my determination to trouble him as briefly as possible, I put him the following questions, to which Nahid Bey answered in fluent English. With the well-known hospitality characteristic of his race, he offered me several "real" Turkish cigarettes, in the course of the brief interview, which certainly went a long way in making me immediately feel perfectly at home with my distinguished "host," though my guilty conscience kept on worrying me for having taken so much of his precious time during the busiest hour in the city:—

Was your recent visit to Turkey a mere holiday?—Well not exactly. I had certainly been away from home for some time but this trip was really undertaken by me on business mixed with pleasure.

Did you visit Adrianople at all?—Yes; in Thrace I saw nothing but ruined villages and demolished mosques, particularly on the Railway line between Adrianople and Constantinople. In Adrianople I met Haji Adil Bey, an ex-Minister of the Interior, and now Governor-General of Adrianople. He is an extremely capable man and has several splendid schemes in hand. We have very great hopes in him, as he is a real patriot and is gifted with great intellect and a perfect constructive mind.

Was normal life restored in Adrianople?—Practically the ordinary life was restored, but owing to the great damages done to the buildings by the Bulgarians during the seige, people have not quite settled down. There is, of course, very great military activity in the place and the town is being thoroughly refortified.

What do you think of the present garrison in Adrianople?—The condition of the troops is splendid and every soldier is fully determined to defend the honour of Islam, should the occasion arise. The military authorities have immensely gained by their sad experiences of the past and are now preparing themselves for any emergency. No effort is being spared to render the Army well-organised and efficient. I spent three days in Adrianople.

Can you tell me anything about the situation in Constantinople?—I have had long interviews with the leading members of the Committe of Union and Progress including the General Secretary, but you will, I hope, forgive me if I would rather not disclose what has passed between us. It concerns some important points of administration, which it may not be to the Turkish interest to insert in a newspaper. (I assured the Bey that I fully appreciated the delicacy of his position). I also had the privilege of securing an interview with the grand Vizier, His Highness Prince Said Helim Pasha. He is sparing no pains in the work that lies before him, the reorganisation of the Turkish Administration. I likewise met Mehmond Essad Effendi, an ex-professor of Theology in the Imperial University and now a prominent Member of the present Cabinet. He is keenly interested in Islamic movements and has for several years spent his holidays in various Moslem lands, apart from his wide travels in Europe. He is thinking of visiting India in the near future.

Do you think the ties of brotherhood between the Turks and Indian Moslems have become closer?—Very much indeed, the practical sympathy which the Moslems of India had so vividly shown to their co-religionists in Turkey in their hour of trial has brought our Indian brothers ever so much closer to us now. The brilliant All-India Medical Mission under Dr. Ansari, which rendered such noble and sacred service to the cause of Islam during the recent war, has fostered our relations to an unparalleled degree and the bond of unity and brotherhood now existing between our Indian co-religionists and ourselves will for ever promote that close association and increase that mutual confidence and goodwill which are vitally necessary for brotherly co-operation and fellowship.

Do you think the public at large in Turkey are alive to the doings and destiny of their fellow-Moslems in India?—Certainly; you will be surprised to hear that the leading organs of the Press in Turkey are unanimously giving every possible prominence to matters that concern our Indian brothers. For instance, almost all the speeches that have been delivered by Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali in London, during their recent visit to England, have been reported practically in *toto* in our Press, who have even written editorially on the mission that brought these two gentlemen to England. Mr. Mohamed Ali's speech at the Islamic Society's Banquet at the Cecil last November, in which he dealt with such force with Turkish affairs, has made a very deep impression in Constantinople, where they were much disappointed at the two delegates' inability to visit Turkey, when they were recently in Europe.

Is their any favourable sign of commercial activity amongst the Turks?—Yes, I am very pleased to tell you that, much to my delight, I have found on my last visit that there is at last a hopeful sign in this important field, which as you know has been sadly neglected by us. I was particularly struck with the new phase of commercial life at Broussa in Asia Minor. We have at last realised the dignity of labour and industry and I am to-day very hopeful of my expectations in this respect being gradually fulfilled. There is a great tendency and desire now to trade more with the East, particularly with India, which we all welcome.

Have you anything to say about the Naval and Military Missions at Constantinople?—Nothing except that they are both attending to their duties seriously and earnestly. We are confident in our British and German instructions and they will in due course of time bring the two vital arms of the Empire to perfection. We cannot afford to neglect the defences of our Empire any more, for our very existence. Enver Pasha is thoroughly overhauling the Army and is bent on placing it on an efficient and firm footing. The Navy is being likewise seen to by the British Admiral, who is instructing the Turkish naval officers in the art of Sea-Warfare. The Turkish Admiralty and War Office are giving the British and German Missions respectively every help possible. On the whole we are very hopeful of the future.

What do you think of the Armenian question?—Since I understand the Armenians have decided to take part in the Parliamentary Elections according to the regulations laid down by the authorities. I do not think it advisable to revive the question here. Personally I am of opinion that the Armenians as a body are most loyal to the Sultan and very law-abiding. They fought for Turkey in the recent campaign with exceptional bravery and heroism and if left to themselves are only too anxious to remain under the Turkish flag. The misdeeds of a few, instigated by external influences, must not prejudice one against the whole race.

Do you think Turkey will be successful in her negotiations for a loan in Europe?—From what I could gather at Constantinople, there is every hope for a successful negotiation with France. We are not, of course, prepared to borrow on impossible conditions, which would be disastrous to the country in future, but we are confident Djavid Bey's diplomacy in financial transactions will succeed in securing us the necessary loan at reasonable terms. You must remember Europe is not to-day dealing with Turkish statesmen of the old school. Besides now-a-days public opinion in Turkey is not a negligible factor either.

Before I left Nahid Bey showed me some beautiful pictures which he had brought with him as gifts to the Islamic Society. They are coloured enlargements of H. I. M. the Sultan, H. I. H. the Crown Prince, the Holy Shrine at Medina and the Sacred Stone of Mecca, etc. No doubt these gifts of the Bey will be immensely appreciated by the Islamic Society and will serve as excellent decorations for their proposed offices. Nahid Bey also informed me that the Society's telegram to the Grand Vizier last December entreating His Highness not to resign his high office had made a very favourable impression on the Ministry. It will be remembered that in those days sinister rumours were current in the European Press of the Grand Vizier's intended resignation over the Armenian question. Fortunately they proved baseless.

# Lord Morley on Federalism.

Lord Morley took the chair at University College, Gower-Street, on 23rd February, at the first of a course of five Rhodes lectures by Professor J. H. Morgan on "Federal Government." Among those present were the Spanish Ambassador, Lord Dunedin, Lord Reay, the Belgian Minister, the Bulgarian Minister, the Mexican Minister, Sir F. Pollock, Dr. Herringham, and Dr. Gregory Foster.

Lord Morley said that every political crisis turned up its own conjuring word that did duty for an idea, or for a practicable scheme. At the moment, the conjuring word was Federalism. The use of that term was causing a good deal of current political controversy to be something very like a jungle of confusion. Though well-ordered ideas ruled the world, there was nothing like one of

those good ready-made terms, with all the implications, inferences, illusory analogies, and slippery parallels that men of ingenious wit were able to discover in it. Some found a defence for a given constitutional proposal, which was now before them all, that it leant to Federalism ; others said that if the proposal leant to Federalism so much the worse. In what Mr. Sydne Low had styled the inflamed controversy of the hour, let them take care that Federalism was not made a handy and highly respectable screen for people who had the happy gift of what was charitably called thinking intuitively. They looked to Professor Morgan to clear the air, and to show people who heard or talked of federalizing the United Kingdom—cantonizing it, if he might use an old word—where they seriously were and whither they were going. He agreed with very competent publicists who said that definition would not carry us very far ; but he was sure that Professor Morgan would try his hard at explaining what was meant by the spirit of federation and show, if he could, how it was to be adjusted to a system of which the supremacy of Parliament was the cornerstone. Professor Morgan would carry them round the awkward corner between the oracles who pronounced Federalism to be the surrender of power by independent or semi-independent States, and the other oracles who took the name as a synonym for devolution which it was not by any means—that was, the surrender by a central Government of power to subordinate Governments.

### Bonds of Disunion.

There were excellent reasons why Federalism should be the catch word in the discussion of the day. There were two questions of active and urgent interest upon which the subject had a direct bearing. One was a new construction to be attached to Pitt's famous Act of Irish Union, so mortally wounded at the very hour of its birth by the disastrous prejudices of George III.—prejudices, it must not be forgotten, for even Kings must have justice done to them, which were heartily shared by the great majority of King George's subjects. The other, less cogent, more far-reaching, and happily not at all embittered, was the question whether machinery could be devised for linking together the common interests of Great Britain and British Dominions over the seas in a federal union; or whether on the contrary, inconveniences and embarassments, unsuspected in an hour of ideal enthusiasm, would not be sure to turn formal ties of federal union into what a colonial writer 30 years ago, in words of paradoxical sound, rather boldly called bonds of disunion. He could think of no service to be rendered by the universities to politics more fertile or more decisive than systematic treatment of political science. The time demanded it, and would demand it still more. More and more directly would opinion be a master-element in the government of the world, and it must be a fatal gap in an educational curriculum if politics should be the only field in the expanse of thought and knowledge in which intellectual conscience was neglected or left out. (Cheers.)

Professor Morgan, in the course of his leeture, offered as a working definition of Federalism that it was not a revocable treaty of alliance from which the allies might secede ; but a political union involving a permanent surrender of certain powers, the erection of a new state to which the citizens of the constituent states owed allegiance as well as to their own state, and the embodiment of these conditions in a federal Constitution or fundamental law binding upon both the federal authorities created by it and the state authorities which created it.—*The Times.*

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# Mr. Kipling on Travel.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling gave a lecture before the Royal Geographical Society in the Queen's Hall last night on "Some Aspects of Travel." Lord Curzon presided. Mr. Kipling said he had noticed that what travellers told the public in print was one thing, and what they told their friends by word of mouth was another ; he therefore had tried to deal with some of the more intimate and personal, though it might be trivial, aspects of travel.

Lord Curzon, in introducing the lecturer, said that great travellers had sometimes—perhaps rather more frequently than was generally supposed—been great men of letters, and the writings of some of the most famous travellers in the world, from Herodotus down to Kinglake and Doughty in our own times, had also been masterpieces of literature. That evening they were to have presented the inverse phenomenon, and a great man of letters, one of the foremost whom our race had produced (cheers), was to show that he too, had tasted the joys, understood the romance, and penetrated the secrets of travel. (Cheers.)

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## Mr. Kipling's Lecture.

Mr. Kipling said that the time was near when men would receive their normal impressions of a new country suddenly and in plan, not slowly and inperspective : when the most extreme distances would be brought within the compass of one week's travel ; when the word "inaccessible" as applied to any given spot on the surface of the globe would cease to have any meaning. Experiences such as his own were on the eve of being superseded. Going on to discuss what might be called "the psychology of moving bodies under strain," the lecturer said that it seemed to him that a number of men who worked under train and responsibility as leaders of expeditions, surveys, prospecting, exploration, or scientific work came to evolve a more or less definite image of their work within the limits of which, or with reference to which, they accomplished that work. These images he called pressure lines. This term he illustrated by a number of examples, among them being the case of a friend engaged on a survey in a little-known part of Asia, whose mind moved in an uneasy triangle—he traced it in the air as he spoke—between supplies, possible sickness, and mileage. It was an isosceles triangle with a narrow base, in the centre of which he felt himself to be walking, between supplies on the one hand and sickness on the other, always looking forward to the always retreating point "M." When his work was ended and the survey connected up the point "M" opened and let him through. Till then he had felt himself constricted—"harnessed up" was his phrase—between these imaginary lines. The phenomenon did not show itself till he had been worked rather hard. Speaking of his own experience of a hurried march, Mr. Kipling said that his impression was that of the unrolling ribbon. His single object was to get himself and his coolies out of a certain disirict as soon as possible. His mind projected itself along an imaginary straight line, white against dull green. He had heard that the dog-train mail-runners of Alaska and Northern Canada sometimes saw their winter trails as short straight lines strung with beads—that was to say, as a diagram of the taut sleigh-traces with dogs attached.

After quoting other instances of pressure-lines, the lecturer said he noticed in every case that the lines did not show themselves till the man was physically tired out—and a little more. When the pressure of the work was removed and the man was fed again, the lines gradually faded and could only be recalled by an effort of will. He remembered, too, when he was a young man, listening to Stanley, who was talking, half to himself, of some work he had done in his early days. He had had to cover a certain distance in a certain time, and he ended his monologue with an abrupt fore-reaching movement of his first finger, as though he were pegging or hooking up something, and he said, "Of course, it was the mileage that worried me!" He often wondered whether that gesture of Stanley's was characteristic.

### Mental Travel Pictures.

Mr. Kipling next dwelt upon the question of visualization. He suggested that first-class leaders of expeditions either did not visualize too much or kept their powers of visualization under control. An old prospector once warned him : "As long as you've "only got yourself to think about you can think as much as you "damn well please. When you've other folks' hides to answer for "you must quit thinking for your own amusement." So, however "great the strain, responsibility did not encourage detailed imaginative excursuses on the road—or on any road—while the work was in hand. Later, when a man was boiling down his log and notes into book form, he fell back on his store of mental pictures, but in the actual stress of travel the first-class man, as distinguished from the very first-class second-class man—and this was an important distinction—did not or decided not to visualize. Emphasizing the importance of being able to retain a mental impression of the geography of a district, the lecturer said that motoring had tremendously increased our powers in that respect, for a man who could read a county could learn to read a country and so on. But the time was not far off when the traveller would know and care just as little whether he was over sea or land as we to-day knew and cared whether our steamer was over 40 fathoms or the Tuscarora Deep. Then we should hear the lost ports of New York and Bombay howling like Tarshish and Tyre. Incidentally, too, we should change all our mental pictures of travel.

But this was all in the air. "Let us leave it there," said Mr. Kipling, "and consider for a while the illimitable, the fascina- "ting subject of smells in their relation to the traveller. We "shall soon have to exchange them for blasts of petrol and ato- "mized castor-oil. Have you noticed wherever a few travellers "gather together, one or the other is sure to say, 'Do you remember "that smell at such and such a place?' Then he may go on to speak "of camel—pure camel—one whiff of which is all Arabia ; or of "the smell of rotten eggs at Hitt, on the Euphrates, where Noah "got the pitch for the Ark ; or of the flavour of drying fish in Burma. "Then the company begin to purr like cats at Valerian and, as the "books say, conversation becomes general." There were only two elementary smells of universal appeal—the smell of burning fuel and the smell of melting grease—the smell of what man cooked his food over, and what he cooked his food in. Mr. Kipling dwelt at some length upon the number and variety of scenes and sensations which might be called back to the mind by a certain smell. The smoke of rank wood fuel he suggested as being the most potent.

### Qualities for Leadership

Mr. Kipling next referred to the choice of companions. A man had been asked why he invariably followed a well-known man into the most uncomfortable situations; he had replied:—"All the years I have known So-and-So. I've never known him to say whether he was cold or hot, wet or dry, sick or well, but I've never known him forget a man who was." Self-sacrifice, loyalty, and a robust view of moral obligations went far to make a leader, the capacity to live alone and inside himself being taken for granted. But then came the accidents for which no allowance could be made. A good man, who had held a disorganized crowd together at the expense of his own vitality, might be tried, slowly or suddenly, beyond his limit, till he broke down. There was a limit for every man, an edge beyond which he must not go. But at home only the doctor, the nurses, and the clergymen saw what happened next—not the caravan, not the grinning coolies, and the whole naked landscape—and afterwards all the world.

However, these things, and worse, were part of the rule of the road. They had never hindered men from leading or following. Even in those days a man had but to announce he was going to gamble against death for a few months on totally inadequate cover, and thousands of hitherto honest Englishmen would fawn and intirigue and if necessary, lie, in order to be allotted one life share in the venture. Nearly all that could be accomplished by the old means of exploration had been won. The old mechanism was scrapped; the moods and emotions that went with it followed. Only the spirit of man carried on, unaltered and unappeasable. There would arise—they were shaping themselves even now—risks to be met as cruel as any that Hudson or Scott faced; dreams as world-wide as Columbus or Cecil Rhodes dreamed, to be made good or to die for; and decisions to be taken as splendidly terrible as that which Drake clinched by Magellan, or Oates a little further south. There was no break in the line, no loads were missing; the men of the present had begun the discovery of the new world with the same devoulty careless passion as their predecessors completed the discovery of the old.

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## The "Times" on Mr. Kpling's Lecture.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling's delightful address to the Royal Geographical Society last night upon "Aspects of Travel" was meant rather for the explorer and the pioneer than for the commonplace traveller; but he touched upon topics of the deepest interest to all who have ever sailed and marched and even journeyed by train across the world, and seen the Southern Cross rise above the horizon, and faced the salt winds at sunrise from a swaying deck. He spoke, for instance, of pressure-lines, those sometimes indefinable mental images which haunt the traveller who is under the strain of continuous and exhausting movement. To the leader of an expedition, or the head of a scientific survey, the lines may appear as a ribbon of road unrolling behind them, or a straight bar across the vision which constantly draws nearer. We would add to his examples the feeling which almost invariably overtakes the more conventional wanderer who evades toil, and circles the world in comfortable cabins and luxurious expresses. It is a sense of utter weariness, the gradual growth of indifference to externals, a consciousness of blurred impressions, an unwillingness to see more. There are no definite pressure-lines, perhaps, but there is the kind of mental exhaustion which would develop in a man who tried to look successively at all the pictures in the Louvre on a single day. Why untravelled doctors should so constantly recommend tired elderly gentlemen to go round the world is an abiding puzzle to those who have done the thing. Except in ardent and receptive youth, the world should be taken piecemeal, and not at one swift swoop. Mr. Kipling thinks the time is near at hand when men will literally soar and swoop around the world in one long flight. If that is so, we venture to predict that on their return they will only have very vague new conceptions of the terrestrial globe. Except for the thrilling memory of their rush through the upper air, their notions of the world will very much resemble the mind-pictures of imaginary travel, the pleasures of which Mr. Kipling rightly extolled. Like Stevenson, most men "con voyage in an atlas with the greatest enjoyment." Mr. Kipling has made the interesting experiment of asking men who had not been there what picture or diagram the words "He went down to the Cape" summoned to their minds. We are surprised that the answers did not include a vision of a flat-topped mountain crowned with a wisp of white cloud. Many who have been to the Antipodes will not endorse his mental shorthand of the run to Australia. For them it is a zig-zag of five, not three, and the lines run:—London—Gibraltar; Gibraltar—Port Said; Port Said—Aden; Aden—Colombo; Colombo—Fremantle. The call at Colombo is a vivid and welcome stage. There is one definite image which lives in the minds of some of those who have made the long stormy mid-winter passage by the northerly route across the Pacific. It is like sailing uneasily along the rim of the earth.

The subject of smells in their relation to the traveller is an old and favourite topic with Mr. Kipling. Has he not said somewhere that the smell of the Himalayas always calls a man back? And does not his time-expired soldier sing of the "spicy garlic smells" of Burma? He made the prosaic statement last night that there are "only two elementary smells of universal appeal—the smell of burning "fuel and the smell of melting grease." Man cooks his food over the one and in the other. But surely there are other smells, less material in their appeal which almost come within the range of his definition. One is the first chill smell of mountains, especially when the heights are reached towards sunset or after dark. Another is the odour of a forest, of which it has been said that "of all smells "in the world, the smell of many trees is the sweetest and the most "fortifying." Both awake in mankind dim unconscious memories of primeval life, when the race had not sheltered itself beneath roofs and behind shutters. But the smells of travel are indeed innumerable. The voyager gets his first real whiff of the East when he lands at Aden, and drives along a dusty road to the bazaar within the Crater. It lingers in his nostrils for evermore. On the coast of Burma, and down the Straits, the air is redolent of rotten fish and over-ripe fruit. Tropical jungles leave keen olfactory memories of decaying vegetation. The smell of Chinese villages is like nothing else in the world, but the odd thing is that to the true traveller it soon ceases to be disagreeable. There is one smell which is unique. To encounter it, one must be steaming through the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb on a hot still night in July or August, one of those nights when it is impossible to stay below, and the deck is strewn with sleeping forms. Towards dawn, as one is tossing restlessly from side to side, one is aware of a strange dank odour arising from the scummy waters. It suggests a stagnant duckpond, but in reality the ship is passing through the lees of a mighty ocean, swept into one small corner. All along the coast of Southern Arabia, where few ships go, the same smell is met in lesser degree. Wreckage is carried thither, and the trunks of trees, and immense masses of weeds; and often may be seen strange fish leaping from the oily surface, or a spouting whale or two, or a turtle floating asleep, for the deserted back-wash of the southern seas swarms with marine life.

Mr. Kipling seems to think that with the coming mastery of the air we shall reach the golden age of travel, when we shall journey with "neither sweat nor suffering," and shall be freed from the "checks" that have hitherto "conditioned all our travels." We are not sure that he is right. Will travel, for instance, be less of a trial or a discipline to the temper when we can all sour upwards and forsake muddy roads, and the grit and dust of railways, and the discomforts of the sea? Mountaineers know very well the splenetic irritability which often assails them when the tree-line is passed; and we seem to have heard that airmen do not always find that a flight in the empyrean produces in them a holy calm. Mr. Kipling recognizes that the earth is shrinking actually and in imagination, that we are cutting down the world conception of time and space, and that "the new machines "are outstripping mankind"; but his robust optimism leads him to hope that when humanity can get its breath all will be well again. We trust he may be right; but new conditions are evolving new dangers, notably for a world-wide and scattered Empire. And when all his dreams are realized, it will still be true that they see the earth best and nearest who walk upon it on their own feet. Moreover, whether we walk or ride or sail or fly, the most abiding joy of travel will always lie in retrospect. Better and more precious even than books, because more truly a possession that remains to the end, are the ineffaceable memories of travel, a rich store to live with and to think upon in the eventide of life—The *Times*.

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# The Age Limit.

(By E. S. P. Haynes,)

My more revolutionary friends have often aspired to exclude all citizens over forty years of age from any active part in public affairs, even as regards voting. The Millennium, they think, would be immediately realised by the suppression of the old and the despotism of the young. I use the words "old" and "young" because of their obvious convenience; but I am much too near forty myself not to be aware that everyone not only is as young as his arteries, but also, so long as health lasts, *feels* scarcely any change of personality right up to the end of life; in fact, I know a gentleman of ninety-three and a lady of eighty-eight whose spirits are habitually more buoyant than my own.

Probably all ardent reformers have moments of impatience with the older generation, though I am sure that such feelings exist rather in regard to persons between forty and sixty than in regard to those from sixty upwards. The mellow enlightenment of men like the

late Mr. Crackanthorpe is very rare among the forty to sixty people, who are mostly occupied in trying to impose on their juniors the ideas which occupied their own minds while they were suffering from the same effacement. That is perhaps why each rising forty to sixty generation is always so much more severe on its immediate predecessors than on its remoter ancestors; the memory of suppression lingers.

It is extremely difficult to ascertain what change (if any) occurs at the age of forty; physically, I suppose, one can only note the change in the lens of the human eye; nor does even this change occur precisely at forty, but only round about forty. There does, however, seem to be a psychical change. Insensibly, men and women begin to look back rather than forward; and the more actively they are absorbed in what interests them the less open-minded they become in regard to life as a whole.

It must not be forgotten that different people are always thinking, so to speak, at different milestones, and man who has been thinking thirty years ahead of his contemporaries begins when over forty to excite the notice of the younger generation just when his hitherto more successful rivals have begun to discern premonitory symptoms of neglect. Yet this does not mean that he has escaped the psychical change. Just as the lens of his eye is becoming flatter, so he is ceasing to think so far ahead of his age. Up to forty he has perhaps thought more rapidly by reason of hereditary intelligence or better environment than his fellows, but these advantages count for less (except in respect of recognition) after forty than they did before.

Collateral circumstances nail men and women down to fixed opinions quite apart from any growing sluggishness of mind due to physical causes. For example, some of my friends consider that any efficient community should be ruled by officials chosen for eminence in the department to which they are promoted, that these officials should be responsible to a cross between a shareholders' meeting and a debating society, and that any form of government is preferable to what is called democracy. They think, and I agree with them, that so-called democracy is invariably the fraudulent parent of a concealed caucus, whereas a monarchy or an oligarchy is at least criticised, and therefore controlled, by those who are governed. To them a modern political programme resembles a *rechauffe* of reforms which were all very attractive thirty years ago, but which have often become unnecessary because the problems have been solved differently. For instance, a conveyancer will say that Land Registration was an excellent idea in 1880, but that most of the defect it sets out to cure were in fact cured by Lord Cairns's legislation in the early eighties. New reforms appeal to a younger generation; Socialism becomes smarter than Liberalism; Syndicalism, than Socialism; and so we get round again to private property under different terminology.

Now, five or ten years hence, a few of my friends will get a hearing, and will become known as preachers of particular ideas. Directly that happens they will be labelled. A. B. will be known in the newspaper worlds as the champion of some political nostrum, and he will be almost coerced into thinking of nothing else—into what Sir Henry Maine called the "doubtful virtue of consistency." C. D. will be known as a professional secularist; E. F. as the acknowledged exponent of a scheme for leasehold marriages with financial safeguards, and so forth. Let any of these gentlemen swerve a hair's breadth from what the world is in the habit of expecting from him, and he will be called a "wobbler." He will produce the same consternation as Ruskin, or, in our own day, Mr. Belloc, has produced by writing about economics instead of about Turner or the French Revolution. All this process of environment tends to make the mind as rigid as age makes the arteries brittle.

Moreover, as the grove becomes narrower, the practical energy becomes more concentrated—often up to extreme old age. If cancer is what a doctor once called it, "Nature's protest against decay," so the phrase of "an old man in a hurry" recalls the feverish excitement that comes from a subconscious effort to feel young again. This effort explains the phenomenon of what is called "the dangerous age" in women, although there is also a dangerous age for men between forty and fifty—a craving for adventures, either amorous or financial, which has often proved disastrous.

The subconscious effort is usually associated with a feeling of boredom. A woman of (say) forty, has married well and succeeded in bringing up a family of three or four children: she sees nothing before her but a grey vista of launching the children into the world and possibly seeing grandchildren. She resents being left on the shelf and wants to start life again as a young girl. Here is a typical woman. Let us give her a typical husband.

He is a successful man aged (say) forty-five, of the type who has usually achieved either in business or in the humbler professions about as much success as he is ever likely to have. His work and his family are interests, but not absorbing interests. The monotonous security of our civilisation startingly sudden when we remember that our grandfathers could scarcely cross Putney Heath at night, almost wearies him. His life is always repeating itself. The amorous or financial adventure rejuvenates him.

Life, therefore, is not such a bed of roses as the suppressed "young" people imagine it is for those who have apparently achieved all that they want. Yet the "old" people could otherwise rejuvenate themselves if they took the trouble to keep more in touch with the "young" people, and the "young" people would feel less rebellious if they were given greater scope both for action and expression. The fact remains that in action they are often much under the thumb of their elders, while as regards expression nearly all newspapers and periodicals are written for the "old" because commercially speaking, it is safer to cater for the generation in power. One need only take up *The Nineteenth Century and After*, *The Times*, and, in fact, the whole of the daily Press; *The Spectator* and nearly all the weekly periodicals, to find that the only point of view expounded *ad nauseam* is that of the "old."

I have sometimes read what seemed to me almost a platitude in *The English Review* and have subsequently been astonished to observe in other periodicals an explosion of quasi-parental wrath from the "old" brigade. Oftener, of course, such juvenilities are carefully ignored, as when Mr. G. K. Chestertorn recently addressed a crowded meeting during the Reading election on certain political controversies, and no mention whatever was made of it, even in the local Press.

It is less controversial, perhaps, to go back twenty or thirty years. I often get circulars from such bodies as the anti-Socialist League appealing for large sums to demolish Socialism. I should like to know what all these worthy people were doing in the 'nineties. They never took the trouble to find out about the Fabian Society or to meet the arguments that were being disseminated by some of the ablest men of the day among the youth of that period, yet one of the main attractions of those arguments to youth was that their elders ignored the whole movement and thereby made their juniors feel an enchanting sense of orginality about it. *Hinc illæ lacrimæ* of the Anti-Socialist League.

Generally speaking, the "old" gain nothing by yielding to the insidious influences of the forty to sixty attitude of mind and by bolting the door of reflection on nascent opinion. On the other hand, they gain a great deal by assimilating new idea in order to teach them how to shoot, and they must not be too much astonished if the shooting is occasionally exuberant.—*The New Witness.*

# The English Moustache.

THE writer of a review in this week's *Literary Supplement* observed that the photographs of old Oxford and Cambridge groups supplied an interesting history of the changes of fashion in hair-dressing. The same purpose is served almost equally well by an old family album wherein many an uncle whom we now regard as sublime appears by the addition of a mere suspicion of whisker to have been in his youth supremely ridiculous. It is evident that a slavish regard for fashion stunts the imagination, for as we gaze on those old groups of athletes we do not merely think that they look very odd and dismiss their whiskers that once curled so ambrosially as "a growth "of weeds of an alarming and sangvinary natur." We find it almost impossible to imagine that they could have run as fast or jumped as high as their hairless successors; it is only by a conscious effort of faith that we can believe that they ever progressed save at a dignified and middle-aged walk. What young man of to-day, finding himself matched against an "old man with a beard," would not consider the game as good as won, and that though he has happily still before his eyes the luxuriant example of the greatest of all cricketers? It would seem, moreover, that we not only lack imagination but courage into the bargain. There was perhaps a deeper meaning in the words of the General Commanding the Prussian Guards Corps when he spoke of the "so-called English or tooth-brush moustache," which he declared not to be "consonant with the German national character." May not a hidden sarcasm lurk in the term "so-called," since the modern Briton fears his fate of possible ridicule so much that we bid fair to become a race of priests and play-actors? We clip ourselves with scissors, even before the blushing acquisition of a safety razor, and go down to our graves with our wealth of natural resources still undeveloped.

To grow even as much as a moustache is unquestionably an adventure demanding a spice of courage. In the London of to-day there may occasionally be seen some gallant spirit, his neck enveloped in a stock and a modest inch or so of whisker creeping down his cheeks. Even if we smile covertly as he passes, we ought to acknowledge his bravery and enterprise, for here at least is the "young man with brains "enough to make a fool of himself." When the Baron de Marbot first joined a Hussar regiment, the jolly roystering old sergeant with his shako over his ear, to whose care he was entrusted, took a pot of blacking, and with his thumb made two enormous hooks covering the upper lip and reaching almost to the eyes of the young recruit. That was an adventure, but its end was certain and glorious; the boy became a man and a Hussar. With most of us the end is all uncertain: we put

forth on an unknown sea, where the charts of no earlier mariners can help us, and cannot tell to what outlandish port our individual barque will take us. A moustache may be trimmed and clipped; it may by brute force of scissors be kept within the bounds of the "so-called English or tooth-brush variety," but, even assuming that it does not blaze out into new and indiscreet hues, it will make a new man of its owner. If it be allowed to follow unchecked its natural bent, there is no knowing how preposterously things may fall out; seen by the light of it, there may stand out traits so odious that the smooth-cheeked Jekyll suddenly becomes the hairy Hyde, and even if it do no worse, a moustache can disclose depths of vulgarity or futility hitherto unsuspected. There is a type of moustache that will turn a man into a walrus; there is another which will, if we may disregard historic accuracy for the sake of antithesis, make him look like a carpenter. A beard calls for still greater fixity of purpose, even though it is no longer considered the mark of a Jew pedlar, since it is necessary that the grower should pass a time occult from observation, during which he must suffer attacks of deadly faintness and nausea whenever he looks in the glass.

The enterprise must not be thought of in a sensibly less heroic light because such commonplace remedies as soap, hot water, and a razor are always at hand. It is true that by their aid a fresh beginning in life may at any time be made, but to make it involves a humiliating admission. It is hard for a man to start out full of vague hopes on a high and fantastic enterprise and to return after a while with clipped wings; to confess that he is only an ordinary humdrum person after all and to be smiled at by those who have never dared the extraordinary. It is very easy for us who are less brave to call our lack of courage a lack of self-conciousness, and to confuse a servile regard for appearances with a splendid disregard of them; but we should at least respect those who have the full-blooded and adventurous spirit of their uncles, as revealed in those dim photographs.—*The Times.*

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# The Indian Immigration Crisis in South Africa.

(By Sant Nihal Singh)

ITS EFFECT ON INDO-BRITISH RELATIONS.

I.

THE Indian immigration crisis in South Africa has fanned into flame a problem which for long has been smouldering. The conflagration thus started, if left unchecked, threatens to eat its way to the very vitals of Indo-British relations, and may prove to be much more dangerous than any other contention that has arisen since the dread Sepoy Mutiny of 1857.

The hot wave of "unrest" that spread over Hindustan in the middle of the last decade, and generated the anarchist movement, indeed was menacing. But political discontent affected only the educated Indians, who constituted a "microscopic minority." The cult of the bomb appealed to a yet more circumscribed section of literate Indians. Grievances of a purely political nature did not and could not interest the masses, who were not enlightened enough to understand them. With a little exertion the agitator could be barred out of the barracks, and so the native army could be kept from becoming inflamed.

In the matter of emigration, however, almost the reverse is the case. The bulk of Indians who leave their country in quest of rich pastures abroad belong not to the educated classes, but to the illiterate millions. Moreover, prominent amongst the brown settlers in the Colonies are the tall, stalwart forms of soldiers, chiefly Sikhs, who wear on their bosoms decorations earned at the cost of imperilling their lives for the British Empire, in many cases in battles fought outside India. The emigrants come not from one race, creed, or caste, but are recruited from all ethnic and religious groups. Hindus, Moslems, Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, and Indian Christians, one and all, furnish their quota. The voluntary exiles do not emigrate from one particular corner of the country, but hail from all points of the compass. Sikhs, Sindhis, and Pathans from the north-west; Gujeratis and Deccanis from the south-west; Madrasis from the south-east; Bengalis and Beharis from the north-east; and natives of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and Central India travel to the over-seas dominions and colonies. This means that the grievances which are so grave that they lead peace-loving, patient Indians to go on strike, to submit to being fired at by the police and flogged by their gaolers, rouse the ire, not of the minority of their countrymen who are engaged in a struggle to wrest political preferment and administrative office from the Government of India, but of practically the entire population of the Peninsula, including, be it especially noted, the native army.

The tie of relationship, it must be remembered, is much more binding in the Oriental Dependency than it is in the West. A native of Hindustan invariably refers to his cousin, or to an intimate acquaintance, as his "brother" or "sister." Children always speak of the friends of the family as their "uncles" and "aunts." In such circumstances, therefore, it is inevitable that anything which concerns the welfare of the dear ones in a far-off land must strike very deeply into the hearts of the relatives and friends left behind in India, who are so closely bound to the exiles that they never for a single day cease to think of them.

In addition to sentiment, the masses of India, on account of economic interest, are seriously affected by anything that harms their relatives who have emigrated to the outlying portions of the Empire to labour there. The absent ones, with negligibly few exceptions, remit all the money they can scrape together to their wives, children, aged parents, indigent relatives, and other dependents (whose kinship often is nominal to such a degree that no Occidental would acknowledge any obligation towards them). Anything that occurs to cut off this monetary current will violently disturb the financial economy of the residents of the remotest rural districts of the Peninsula.

This, then, is the crux of the situation. The problem of the Indian immigrant in the Colonies, if left to lacerate the feelings of the 244,267,542 brown subjects of King George, will menace Indo-British relations far more than any political agitation that may be whipped up by a few malcontents. For these reasons everyone interested in promoting the good will of Indians towards the Empire must make an effort to learn what is trying the temper of the natives of Hindustan settled in the Dominions and Colonies, of their connections in India, and of their country-people all over the world, and must seek to remove their grievances.

II.

The issues involved in the South African crisis are manifold; but, putting the case in a nutshell, the present trouble appears to be due to the fact that by little and little the door has been shut in the face of the emigrants from India; and bit by bit those already established in the Provinces of the Union have been insulted, harassed, oppressed, and deprived of their rights, to such an extent that their manhood (aye, and womanhood) refuses to be bullied and cudgelled any more. During the past few years the Colonial authorities have devised numerous measures to badger the natives of Hindustan not working there as coolies under an indenture, but engaged in independent business as merchants, hawkers, and professionals. Amongst these instruments of inquisition employed to wound the susceptibilities of Indian settlers and jeopardise their material interests, the following may be mentioned:—

(1) The registration of the brown settlers in the spirit and manner in which the records of criminals are kept.

(2) Compelling them to reside in reservations out of the pale of civilisation and in unhealthy and insanitary quarters, inadequately supplied with educational facilities for their children, etc.

(3) Obliging Indians, no matter how high their rank and deep their culture, to ride in railway and tram cars meant only for "niggers" (as the Colonials contemptuously term the blacks and all natives of Hindustan, despite the enlightenment of the latter, stretching back generations before the Caucasian became civilised).

(4) Making it difficult for them to acquire, and even to lease, property.

(5) Hampering them in their efforts to secure licences to engage in trade and vending.

(6) Ruining the business they have established by refusing to readmit them when they return to South Africa after a temporary absence on a trip to India, and refusing to allow them to bring in fresh employés.

(7) Imposing a poll tax of £3 per annum on each Indian who remains in South Africa after the expiration of his indenture; and on his wife and each of his sons above sixteen and each daughter above thirteen (note the low age in the case of girls).

(8) Harassing the settlers by preventing their wives and children (even though they may have been *born in the Union*) from joining them.

(9) Openly questioning the legality of marriage contracted according to Hindu, Moslem, Sikh, and other non-Christian rites, and the legitimacy of children born in such wedlock.

(10) Interfering in religious observances by barring out priests and preceptors; and

(11) Unduly restricting the right of appeal to the Judiciary against the high-handedness of the immigration authorities.

Other minor grievances exist, but the chief objectionable and unjustifiable features have been noted.

Two points—the poll tax and the regulations concerning women and children—call for special notice.

The impost is levied, not for the sake of revenue, as the Union Government has admitted more than once, but for the express purpose of compelling Indians who entered South Africa under indenture either to go back to serfdom or to leave the country. Originally it was proposed to exact £25 per annum from each adult, and non-payment of the exaction was to be deemed a crime. But these demands were so drastic that the Government of India was obliged to protest against them. The Colonial authorities, however, were so bent upon driving ex-indentured Indians either back into slavery or out of the land that they refused to give up the idea, but reduced the tax to £3, and provided that in case it was not paid it should be collected by a summary civil process instead of by criminal procedure. However, the economic status of ex-indentured Indians generally is so low that even this rate proved to be quite beyond their means. In not a few cases its imposition has been instrumental in driving girls into prostitution. The measures enforced by the authorities to collect their "pound of flesh" have been so stringent that the concession made as the result of the protest of the British-Indian Government has been nullified in the spirit, if not in the letter.

Needless to say, the Indians detested this tax and opposed it with all their might. Finding that appeals and resolutions were of no avail, they set out, under the leadership of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, esteemed by his countrymen as one of the ablest and most patriotic sons of India, to carry on a campaign of *passive* resistance. The struggle led to a compromise whereby the Government was to pass an Act which would restrict the number of Indian immigrants, but would make life bearable for all those who were in the Union at the time, and who might be permitted to enter.

This promise, however, has not been kept. The poll tax still is in force. The laws and regulations have been made worse instead of better.

Indians of the standing of Mr. Gandhi and of the Hon. Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale (whose absence from a recent session of the Indian Imperial Legislative Council led Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, who, as the senior member, was presiding over its deliberations, to describe the meeting as being like *Hamlet* played with the title-*rôle* left out) assert that solemn undertakings were given them by the South African Ministers that the objectionable tax would be wiped off the statute book. The Ministry, on the contrary, declare that no definite pledge was made.

It is asserted by those who contend that the Union Government has broken its word that the Botha Cabinet is being taunted by its opponents (the followers of General Hertzog) for "toadying to the Mother Country," and that the Ministry, in turn, is taking its revenge on helpless Indians. Those who subscribe to this theory further allege that the Boers hate the Indians because their wretched condition in the Transvaal was stated by responsible British statesmen to constitute a reason for going to war with them; because the natives of Hindustan then in South Africa served in the Army Bearer Corps during the campaign; and because Indians like Dr. Ranaday, of Bombay, especially went to South Africa to give medical and surgical relief to sick and wounded British soldiers.

Referring to the other serious cause of friction between Indians and the South African authorities (namely, the hardships entailed on the women and children), the Union Government decided some time ago that marriages of domiciled Indians, when celebrated according to the rites of religions which permit polygamy, were illegal within the terms of South African law, and therefore the wives of Indians who had been married according to Hindu, Mohamedan, Sikh, and other ceremonies of like nature, were not lawfully wedded, but were mere concubines, whose children necessarily were illegitimate. This measure ever since has been used to bar out the wives and progeny of settlers (in some cases those who had merely gone to their Motherland for a short visit and wished to return to their husbands and homes in the Union Provinces), and has been employed to deprive the wives of Indians of their exemption from testifying against their husbands. These decisions animadvert alike against monogamous and polygamous unions, but are even more severe in the latter instance.

As was to be expected, the policy of the South African Government has wounded the susceptibilities of the women, and impelled them boldly to step forth from their secluded life into the thick of the fight. Some of them have not hesitated to break the laws which they considered to be unjust by refusing to register themselves, and crossing the border into the Cape Colony—which, by the way, is a criminal offence—and gladly have gone to gaol for conscience' sake. Though imprisonment with *hard labour* has been meted out to them, these shy and gentle creatures refuse to give up the struggle, in which the question of their honour and their conjugal and maternal rights are involved.

This has had a reflex effect upon the women in India. The intelligent amongst them have been stirred to the depths of their being, and are joining the men to exert pressure on the Government of India. Some of them are displaying great activity in collecting funds for the cause. Mrs. Jamnabai Sakkai, of Bombay, especially deserves to be mentioned in this connection. Absolutely without knowledge of English, but highly educated through the medium of her mother-tongue (*Gujerati*), she possesses extraordinary mental and physical vigour and a persuasive and ready tongue, and is working hard to coax her country-people to contribute to the South African Indian war chest.

The fact that Indian women have been thus aroused shows (perhaps more than anythig else that has occurred) how intensely the immigration question affects Hindustan.

## III.

Though South Africa happens to be the storm centre, it is not the only unit of the Empire in which the Indian immigrants are having trouble. Indeed, in whatever Dominion or Colony they have settled, they feel aggrieved at the treatment accorded them. The attitude of those which have rigorously excluded them (Australia, for instance) has embittered India even more than the policy of those from which they are not absolutely barred out. In other words, the problem of Indian immigration within the Empire is an Imperial question of the widest dimensions.

The matter does not end here. It forms an important part of the complex international question which the meeting of the East and the West, and of the white and coloured races, has brought into existence. Emigrants from Asia are knocking at the doors of all the countries of the American continents, just as they are seeking to enter the European colonies in Australasia and Africa. All the peoples of the world—white, yellow, brown, and black—vitally are interested in this perplexing and insistent issue.

However, it is more imperative for the British than for any other Power to solve this problem, because no other nation is saddled as they are with the responsibility of administering the affairs of many millions of "coloured" people. The interests involved between Britain and India are so delicate that they are bound to be strained if matters are not adjusted in this respect.

## IV.

The outstanding feature of the trouble is that objection is made only to the presence of *free* Indians and of indentured labourers who wish to remain after their term expires. Those who are slaying in the mines and on the plantations as coolies at a definite (and preposterously low) wage, under conditions which have been painted in the blackest colours before investigating committees, or who go there for such a purpose, are not objected to. Indeed, a much stronger statement than this is warranted by the facts, namely, that in more than one part of the British Empire the indentured Indian labourer is warmly welcomed because he does work which a white man would not stoop to perform, and which the black and red autochthons, through lack of experience, are incapable of undertaking.

A number of causes unite to make the Indians who enter the country under indenture wish to stay on after their contract expires. Exile lifts them out of the rut of life and labour in India. They naturally desire to continue working in the country in which they have lived for many years, and to whose conditions they have grown accustomed. Moreover, the Colonies, on account of the thinness of their population, offer better opportunities for earning a livelihood than does crowded Hindustan.

The conservatism innate in an Indian so strongly binds him to his native land, that if starvation did not stare him in the face the lures of the labour agents (which are responsible for the presence of the majority of the Indians in the Colonies) would not induce him to leave it. The man who has been abroad, however, and realised the possibility of earning a better living with comparative ease, would not be human if he placidly went back to a life of penury in his old village. Thus he selects to stay where he is.

But he has no desire to continue to be a serf in the land of his adoption. For one thing, the love of freedom, despite all the cant that prevails in the West to the contrary, is innate in the breast of every Indian. For another thing, the ex-indentured labourer knows what a hell on earth contract labour is, and once he has escaped from that inferno, the highest pressure is needed to goad him back into it. The £3 tax imposed on each adult member of his family tends to force him to re-indenture—and hence he has resisted it, first by passive and later by active measures.

## V.

The ex-indentured Indians are not encouraged to stay on, and the free Indians are *de trop*, it is alleged, for the reason that these

men, with their low standards of life and their thrifty ways, are able to beat their white competitors. Another cause of aversion to them, it is asserted, is the race prejudice entertained by the people who are dominant in the continents that erstwhile belonged to the coloured aborigines. In addition, it is said that Indians are unclean and insanitary in their habits; that they marry when they are young, before they leave their homes, and for that reason do not wed in the country in which they elect to live; that such intermarriages, in any event, would be undesirable on account of the racial differences and the dissimilar standards of civilisation; that, in short, they cannot be assimilated in the country of their adoption.

The allegations grouped towards the end of the last paragraph may be noticed before the more important one at the beginning is adverted to. The objection on the plea of uncleanliness will not hold, for Indians are religiously punctilious in regard to ablations. The dislike on the score of unassimilability cannot well be urged in the case of countries like South Africa, where, according to the census of 1911, there are only 1,276,242 Europeans and 4,019,006 black natives. The question of intermarriage, complicated as it is by racial and colour prejudices, is of too complex and controversial a nature to be discussed with any advantage in this connection; much, doubtless, can be said on either side.

Referring to the more serious contention that economic disturbance is caused by Indians in the various colonies, it at once may be conceded that the Indian standards of living are far below those of Europeans; and that this certainly does enable the former to underbid the latter.

But it may be pointed out that the Indians in such countries as South Africa rarely undersell the white British, for the simple and sufficient reason that the latter do not engage in the kinds of petty trades that the brown British follow. The Indian competition mainly is directed against Europeans who, in some cases, both politically and commercially are the rivals (and, some would say, the potential enemies) of the British, and who, be it noted, succeed in trade because their standards of life are lower than those of Britons. It is therefore manifestly unjust to drive out the dark-skinned subjects of his Majesty King George in order to protect foreigners and enemies of the Empire.

In countries like Canada, Australia, etc., where white men engage in manual labour, and where, therefore, Asiatic wage-workers come in direct competition with settlers of pure British extraction, an effective deterrent to underselling in the labour market may be provided by prohibiting anyone from working under the trade union scale of wages.

## VI.

These suggestions may or may not lead to a solution of the problem; but some satisfactory settlement must be found for the vexatious situations arising from the oppression of Indians in the British Colonies. Broadly speaking, the matter can be adjusted by one of the following three measures:—

(1) Full freedom of entry for Indians on the basis of that enjoyed by the white British subjects;

(2) Total prohibition of Indian emigration to any part of the British Empire and repatriation of those already in the Colonies; or

(3) Restriction of Indian emigration with the proviso that those admitted are to be treated on terms of perfect equality with the white subjects of the British Sovereign.

The first alternative at present is out of the question on account of the prejudices entertained against Indian immigrants. It readily may be conceived that no Colony voluntarily would agree to such a measure, and the Imperial Government could not force such a course of action upon any Dominion against its will.

The second alternative would please some of the Dominions, for it would solve the difficulties emanating from the influx of Indians; but it would not be welcomed by all the units of the British Empire. More than one Colony would refuse to take a step that would result in the loss of the cheap indentured labour from India which enables its capitalists to exploit the mines and plantations at immense profit to themselves. The Indians feel so sure of this point that more than once they have urged their Government to chastise the Colonies by withdrawing all the Indian coolies.

If India were to agree to permit its immigrants to be expelled from the Colonies, it certainly would demand (and with every moral and legal right) that all those thus expatriated should be fully indemnified for the loss of the business they have built up and the goodwill thereof which they would be compelled to relinquish. Would the Colonies be willing to incur such expenditure? Besides, what feelings would the expatriated Indians nurse in their bosoms, and what would be their effect on Indo-British relations? It is not for this writer to answer the first question; but the second query may be replied to in the words of a telegram recently sent to the Premier of Canada by a party of Indians who were not wanted in British Columbia:—"We intend to return to India, but *we go back with flames in our heart.*"

However, it is not likely that India's temper and material interests would permit it to agree to such a proposition. Intelligent Indians would think for a long time before they sacrificed the rights which, as British subjects, they possess in the Dominions overseas.

There already is a strong agitation on account of the fact that those who owe no allegiance to the British Sovereign are much better treated than the Indian subjects of his Britannic Majesty. Indians have freely shed their blood for the Empire in and out of Hindustan; Western education has bound at least the classes to the Britons with chords of intellectual affinity; and common political and trade interests unite Hindustan with its Occidental Suzerain; and thus they feel deeply hurt when they see enemies of the British Empire given preferential treatment over them. To such an extent has this discrimination against brown British subjects been carried out that some time ago a young lawyer from Goa, who had been denied entry on the ground that he was an *Indian*, was freely admitted into a part of British South Africa upon his declaration that he was a *Portuguese*.

The exclusion of Indians from the Colonies would force the Government of India to give ear to the persistent native demands to pay the Dominions back in their own coin. Hindustan would insist that no Colonials should be allowed to enter its services through any loophole whatsoever; and it might even wish to declare a complete boycott of Colonial merchants and trade.

If, for the sake of argument, it be conceded that such wild threats may be even partially put into actual operation, what effect would it have upon the solidarity of the Empire, of which the millions of India form the bulk?

As Lord Hardinge pointed out in a recent speech, in which, however, he expressed hearty sympathy with the Indians in the present crisis, his Government would find itself involved in limitless and unsolvable perplexities were it to translate such retaliative sentiments into tangible measures.

But in the event of Indians being absolutely excluded, and the Government of India refusing to retaliate to the satisfaction of its charges, the result naturally would be the initiation of a campaign of sedition which would have for its slogan the impotency of India when its national honour and material interests are trampled upon. These propagandists would not be likely to stop at anything, fair or foul, overt or covert, until they had placed their country in a position where it effectively could adopt a retaliative policy. The menace to *Pax Britannica* involved in such a situation is too obvious to need to be pointed out.

Therefore the third appears to be the only alternative that is thinkable in the present circumstance. It certainly would not solve the problem for ever; for it is inconceivable that Indians altogether can resist the economic and other pressure which is impelling them to emigrate. But until the time arrives when education has advanced in Hindustan and its citizens have developed that power which enables a nation to extort just treatment, the measure would do admirably well. Be this as it may, the Indians at present are in a mood to agree to the restriction of immigration on the condition that after entry they would not be discriminated against. This proviso is highly important, because the Indian pride will make any solution short of that unacceptable.

## VII.

The collision between the self-governing Dominions and India places the Imperial authorities in a very difficult position. On the one hand, Whitehall has to face the fact that South Africa, Canada, and Australia are autonomous in the administration of local affairs. On the other hand it cannot ignore the petitions and memorials from literate Indians that it shall use the ample power it possesses to shield their country people from Colonial oppression, nor the pitiful pleadings of the illiterate masses that their Ruler shall protect their relatives and friends in other portions of his territories.

The uneducated Indians look upon the Sovereign as their all-powerful protector. They believe in the divine right of kings. They know nothing of constitutions or of self-government. So far as they are concerned, the only personality that exists in the political world is that of their Emperor. For generations they have been given to understand that the long, strong arm of their white monarch can and will protect them and theirs from harm. If now they become disillusioned, if they find that the Imperial authorities are not able to shield their kindred and loved ones from Colonial harassment, a situation of the most alarming nature is bound to be created.

It is this essential fact that all Imperialists must face in solving the problem of the Indian immigrant in the British Colonies.—*The Fortnightly Review.*

# Turkey and the Islands.

THE decision of the Great Powers in regard to the Ægean Islands has been made known formally to the Porte and the Greek Government. Turkey has been requested to acquiesce in the loss of all the islands now in Greek occupation except Tenedos and Imbros. This solution of one of the phases of the Near Eastern question is admittedly an arbitrary one. Turkey in her quarrel with the Balkan States elected to appeal to the sword, and the verdict was against her. But the issue was not fought to a finish. In their own interests, no less than in the interests of the Ottoman Empire, the Powers saw fit to intervene. The Bulgarians were forbidden to proceed beyond Chatalja; the Turks were counselled to make their submission without further delay, and the Powers undertook to adjudicate upon the question of the Ægean Islands. In these circumstances the fate of the islands must be regarded as a matter quite distinct from the terms of settlement imposed by the verdict of the war. It is true that the Greeks are in occupation as a result of their Naval superiority; but as an offset to this aspect of the situation we have to remember that the end of hostilities in the Balkans saw the Turks once more in possession of Adrianople, while, as a result of the quarrel between the former Allies, instead of four States in alliance against Turkey we have an understanding, or the basis of an understanding, between Turkey and Bulgaria which could not fail to disturb the equanimity of the three other States if they had not been able to fall back upon the support of Roumania, acting as the "policeman of Europe." For the purposes, therefore, of a settlement of the problem presented by the Aegean Islands the slate could only be regarded as clean. The one guiding principle actuating the Powers in arriving at a decision ought to have been the desire to bring about as durable a peace as possible in the Near East, and the chief determining factor the relative capacity for unrest of the islands in Greek and Turkish hands respectively. On the Greek side the argument—and it is a strong one—is that the nationality of the islanders is Greek, and that, having been freed from Turkish rule, they will never be content to be placed under it again. The Turks urge that if they are to be confirmed in the possession of Asia Minor—and no one contemplates for a moment their exclusion from any Asiatic territory—then they ought to be given the islands that are geographically part and parcel of the mainland. A decision on one or other of these lines would have commended itself as an honest endeavour to cope with a difficult situation, while the moral support of the Powers given to the Greek or the Turkish point of view, as the case might be, would have helped the cause of peace by acting as a deterrent to the unsuccessful claimant.

Once more, however, in the history of the Near Eastern question the Powers have sought to evade the issue. The present decision in regard to the Aegean Islands is in the nature of a compromise between the Greek and the Turkish point of view, which satisfies neither party and lacks the advantage of being justified by a clearly defined principle. In part the Powers have admitted the justice of the Turkish contention that the islands immediately adjacent to the mainland belong to Asia Minor. Geographical position has been allowed to overrule claims of nationality in the case of Tenedos and Imbros, which are considered necessary for the defence of the Dardanelles. But the Straits are probably the most strongly fortified portion of the Turkish Empire, and are susceptible in themselves of ample defence, apart from Imbros and Tenedos, as was proved during the first Balkan war. If Greece is to be debarred from using the other islands as naval bases, the same embargo could have been placed on Tenedos and Imbros. The fact that the Powers appreciated the difficulties in the situation in regard to these two islands justifies Turkey in doubting the efficacy of the restrictions imposed on Greece in the case of the other islands. While the Dardanelles, the Turks point out, can take care of themselves, this is not the case with the Asia Minor coast line. Mytilene and Chios command the entrance to the Gulf of Smyrna, and Turkey can hardly fail to be concerned for the protection of this important commercial centre. For this reason the Porte is pressing for the possession of these two islands, and it will smart under a sense of injustice until it obtains them. If the prospects of peace, then, are to be measured by the relative capacity of Greece and Turkey for creating unrest over the possession of Mytilene and Chios, we have on the one hand Turkey standing as it were at bay over this question; on the other hand there are the Greek islanders for whom the Greek Government is naturally and rightly solicitous. Visions of a series of Cretes have been conjured up; but the islands in question are no more comparable with Crete than the Isle of Wight is with Ireland. No doubt the Greek inhabitants wish for incorporation in the Greek kingdom as fervently as their kinsmen in Cyprus desire the same fate for that island, but without support from Greece the capacity of the islanders for unrest is restricted within very small limits by their numbers.

We cannot help feeling that the decision of the Powers in regard to the Aegean Islands is unwise, inasmuch as it does not offer the best prospect of lasting peace. With the Greek point of view we have the fullest sympathy, and Greece is justified in trying to keep all she can. She has pleaded her cause more astutely than Turkey, and the Powers have overrated the trouble that the islanders were likely to cause if guaranteed satisfactory government. On the other hand, trouble is bound to ensue from the smuggling between the islands and the mainland that Greece, with the utmost goodwill, can never hope to eliminate. Our chief regret is that Great Britain should seem in this matter to have gone out of her way to take sides against Turkey. The maintenance of European peace may have appeared the paramount issue; but there was no valid reason why the fate of the Aegean Islands should have been linked with any menace to this peace. Whatever the shortcomings of any particular Ministry in Constantinople, the Ottoman Empire has a claim on our friendship and on our belief in its future under good government. Here was an opportunity to give effect to that belief. The question of the Ægean Islands turns on Turkish maladministration in the past. We believe the Ottoman Empire to be capable of better things, and that it is to realise its destiny in Asia Minor. The islands adjacent to the mainland might well have played the part of an administrative barometer. If good Government were to be established in these within a reasonable period Greek fears would subside and the Porte would be entitled to moral support in the event of unreasonable agitation on the part of the Greek islanders. If, on the other hand, the latter were goaded into unrest, the experiment would have been pronounced a failure and the islands would revert to Greece. Turkey in those circumstances would have less cause than she now has to resent the decision of the Powers, and the chances of a lasting peace would have been brighter. We hope, however, that some arrangement may yet be made between Greece and Turkey to remove any sense of bitterness over the Ægean Islands.—The *Near East*.


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