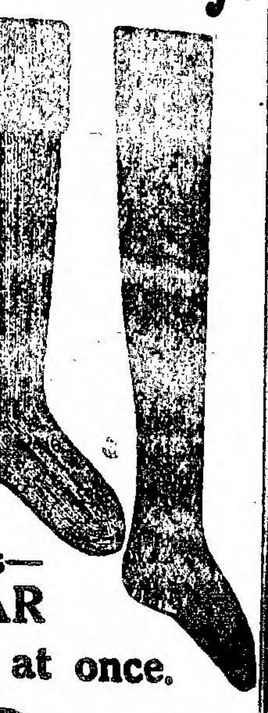
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# The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal. Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

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

***—Morris.***

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## MANAGER'S NOTICE.

*Subscribers are requested to quote the Subscriber's Number in every communication to the Manager otherwise the office will not be responsible for any delay in replying to such communications.*

# The Week.

### Ulster

*London, April 12.*

Colonel Seely, speaking at Draycott, said there had been grave danger of bloodshed in Ireland through hot-headed persons seizing arms in isolated depots. Hence this moving of troops to Ulster. His orders were punctually and implicitly obeyed but Conservative newspapers went mad on the subject. Colonel Seely, denied that there had been a plot to butcher Ulstermen, s many, including the majority of officers and men of the army, apparently believed. Moreover, the belief of many Liberals that there was a plot in the Army to disobey, and to shatter Home Rule, was groundless. His determination simply was to safeguard Government property, and it was never intended to employ the Army to crush political opposition. Thereby, the great principle for which their forefathers had fought had been upheld.

### The Civil Service Commission.

*London, April 10.*

The report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service will be published shortly. The *Daily Telegraph* understands that it will contain drastic proposals, including a complete discontinuance of patronage.

THE FOURTH REPORT ISSUED.

*London. April 14.*

The Fourth report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service has been issued. It deals with the home Civil Service and recommends closer co-ordination of the educational systems and the Civil Service examinations and also greater facilities for progress from primary to secondary schools and Universities. When a person is appointed through patronage to a high administrative position, a statement of his qualifications *et cetera* must be laid before Parliament. Various similar regulations are proposed, restricting patronage in professional and technical appointments.

### Turkey

*Constantinople. April 15.*

The Vali of Mosul reports fighting at Barzan between Turkish troops and rebel Kurds under Sheikh Abdul Selah. The Kurds lost heavily, the casualties including eight Chiefs. They fled and are being persued by the troops.

### Turkish Loan.

*London, April 10.*

Agreements in connection with a big Turkish loan and other financial facilities, also regarding Turkish concessions to French groups have been initialled in Paris.

*Constantinople, April 13.*

A corresspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* says that according to the Bill ratifying provisional loan agreements, recently initialled in Paris, the loan amounts to 35,400,000 pounds Turkish.

### Turkey and Egypt.

*London, April 9.*

The Mussalman world in Egypt is greatly perturbed over the unconfirmed report that the Egyptian Officer Aziz Ali who organised the Arab resistance in Cyrenaica has been sentenced to death in Constantinople. The charges have not been published but it is stated that he was charged with mismanagement of Government funds it Tripoli. The *Times* in an editorial says that if a judicial murder has been perpetuated, relations between Turkey and Egypt will be seriously affected and propably not only between Turkey and and Egypt.

### Tripoli.

*London, April 11.*

The Italian garrison at Magusal Tripoli repulsed an attack by six hundred tribesmen killing and wounding a hundred. The Italians had nine casualties.

*London, April 10.*

According to a telegram to the *Times* from Teheran. brigands have attacked and looted a gendarmerie convoy between Sultanabad and Kum. Major Moeller was wounded.

### Bitlis.

*Constantinople, April 8.*

A telegram from Bitlis reports that all is quiet and that troops have arrived there.

### Albania.

*Durazzo, April 9.*

It appears that the Albanian Government has mastered the situation at Korytza and that the insurgents hare surrendered. The movement is regarded as suppressed.

*Vienna, April 9.*

**The reply of the Triple Entente to the Greek note regarding Albania and the Aegean Islands has been handed to Count Berchtold. The Entente proposes to use its influence to secure that the rights and wishes of the Epirotes shall be respected in Albania and demands guarantees for the rights of the Mohamedans in the Islands, ceded to Greece.**

*London, April 11.*

The *Times* in a special article describing the situation in Northern Albania says that while everything is at present quiet, conditions do not inspire confidence for a peaceful future. The paper pays a tribute to the restraining influence of Colonel Phillips commanding the international garrison at Skutari in averting the tribute and counselling patience to restless tribes who object to the incorporation with Montenegro but says that the trouble is inevitable unless the frontier is altered.

*Durarzzo, April 15.*

Preparations for the equipment of the Militia are proceeding actively and will be completed in a few weeks. Then, if necessary, the Prince will march southward at the head of his troops and will take forcible possession of territory assigned to Albania by the Powers.

## Epirotes' Revolt.

*Athens, April 12*

Albanians occupied villages between Premoti and Leskoviki. They were attacked by Epirotes and compelled to withdraw with heavy loss.

*Athens, April 14.*

The programme of Albanian concessions to the Epirotes includes a sort of local self-government with scholastic and religious autonomy on condition that the Epirotes make immediate submission.

*London, 14th April.*

Athens: The programme of the Albanian concessions to the Epirotes includes a sort of local self-Government with scholastic and religious autonomy, on condition that the Epirotes make immediate submission.

## Hedjaz Railway.

*Bombay, April 13.*

An interesting report has come to hand regarding Turkish activities in Arabia. He says the Turks are said to be determined to extend the Hedjaz Railway from Medina to Mecca. A party of Turkish engineers and surveyors are reported to have arrived at Medina for the purpose of making fresh preliminary investigations in connection with the project. It is reported, however, that the Bedouins who have hitherto monopolised the pilgrim traffic between Medina and Mecca are opposed to the scheme and are threatening to give trouble and are said to have sworn that they will not allow the line to reach Mecca. It is already rumoured that the tribe of Hurb have raided Jeddah and lifted some cattle and camels.

Writing on the situation in the Hedjas the Mecca correspondent of the Cairo Arabic paper the *Al Makattum* says:—"The Vali Wahib Boy, a brother of Essad Pasha, who defended Janina in the recent war, is trying to recruit young Arabs for Turkish army inspite of the fact that the people of the Hedjaz are already exempted from military service. He is also attempting to introduce changes into the administration and to start various innovations. Many Hedjaz notables of the Vilayet have sent telegrams to Constantinople demanding the dismissal of Wahib Bey. The Sheriff of Mecca has also intervened in the question in consequence of some sanguinary encounters taking place between the Turkish troops and the Arabs. There is an unconfirmed rumour that an attempt has been made upon the Vali's life.

## Afghanistan.

*Allahabad, April 15.*

The *Pioneer's* frontier correspondent states that on reaching Kabul the Amir issued orders for the Governor of Kandahar to send to Kabul two Raisis from each tribe as he intends to raise volunteer regiments from the tribesmen, under officers to be selected from their respective tribe.

*Constantinople, April 15.*

The sentence of death passed on the Egyptian officer Aziz Ali has been commuted to one of fifteen years' imprisonment.

## The German Emperor.

*Bukharest, April 13.*

**The German Emperor will shortly pay a visit to the King of Rumania. In diplomatic circles it is declared that the object of the visit is to strengthen the relations between Rumania. and the Triple Alliance in view of recent Russian efforts to obtain influence with Rumania.**

# Our London Letter.

*London, Mar. 27.*

### The Political Crisis.

The political crisis arising from the resignation of General Gough and the officers of the Cavalry Brigade in Ireland has been exclusively engaging the serious attention of the country and Parliament during the past few days. Nobody seems for the moment inclined to discuss the question of Ulster or the Home Rule Bill. The Army problem is the sole topic of comment and it has eclipsed all other important political matters. The debates in the House of Commons have surpassed anything that I can remember in the way of heat and party feeling. Not even at the height of the Veto Bill or the Insurance Bill controversy was the House ever so excited and so uncontrolable as it has been these days. "Scenes" are of frequent occurrences and disorders and interruptions follow as a matter of course. The most violent unparliamentary language and expressions are being constantly thrown across the table and the speaker's position is a most unenviable one for the moment. I have never before seen hon. members so fully determined to take advantage of the least provocative. Even a challenge for a duel has been flung to an Irish member by a Unionist. Only two days ago, the First Lord of the Admiralty was "reluctantly and with respect" obliged to withdraw the expression "hellish" in obedience to the chair. Mr. Winston Churchill was certainly provoked by a question from Mr. Amery, which, as the Speaker remarked, ought not to have been put. Mr. Amery had asked whether the First Lord hoped there would be bloodshed and disorder in Ulster so that he may use the Navy to put down the revolt. The Speaker was immediately on his feet. The hon. member had no right to put a question of that sort and he would not allow it. But, all the same, Mr. Churchill rose soon after. "Since the question has been put," he proceeded angrily, "With your permission, Mr. Speaker, and that of the House, I would like to say that I repudiate that hellish insinuation." The Opposition was instantly in an uproar. Even Mr. Lowather, who had risen to intervene, could not be heard for a few minutes. He was at last understood to say that he hoped the right hon. gentlemen would see his way to withdraw the term "hellish," which was quite unparliamentary. He quite appreciated the feelings which had prompted the First Lord to show his temper, but he really could not allow an unparliamentary expression to go on record. "I have been in this House for 14 years," retorted Mr. Churchill gravely, "and have never been requested to withdraw anything I have said before. If you rule it so, Sir, I beg, with respect, to withdraw the epithet "hellish." This is after all a small incident in the House, but it serves to indicate the kind of feeling and the party spirit which is to-day surrounding hon. members in all quarters.

Brigadier-General Gough and his officers had resigned their Commissions rather than to lead their men against the Ulster Protestants. They were summoned to the War Office and, as a result of negotiations between them and the Army Council, have been, for the time being at any rate, satisfied and accordingly reinstated in their former ranks. Though the public was given to understand by the Brigadier that he had received a written assurance from Col. Seely and Sir John French to the effect that he and his officers would never be called upon to act against Ulster in order to force upon them the Home Rule Bill, the officers had hardly returned to the Curragh camp in Ireland, when the ministerial statements in both Houses of Parliament disclosed the extraordinary fact that such assurance had not been given to General Gough on the responsibility of the entire Cabinet, but on that of the Secretary of State for War alone, that it was therefore inoperative, and further that Colonel Seely, for having thus misled the Prime Minister and his colleagues, had resigned his office and that, still further, Mr. Asquith had refused to accept his resignation. The Cabinet had approved of the following reply being sent to General Gough, when Sir Arthur Paget, Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, had informed the War Minister that the Brigadier and most of the officers of the Cavalry Brigade had decided to send in their papers of resignation, if they were ordered to proceed to Ulster. The document, which was initialled by Colonel Seely, Sir John French, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and Sir J. S. Ewart, the Adjutant-General, proceeds thus:—"You are authorised by the Army Council to inform the officers of the 3rd Cavalry Brigade that the Army Council are satisfied that the incident which has arisen in regard to their resignations has been due to a misunderstanding. It is the duty of all soldiers to obey lawful commands given to them through the proper channel by the Army Council, either for the protection of public property and the support of the Civil Power in the event of disturbances or for the protection of the lives and property of the inhabitants. This is the only point it was intended to put to the officers in the questions of the General Officer Commanding, and the Army Council have been glad to learn from you that there never has been and never will be in the Brigade any question of disobeying such lawful orders."

As mentioned before, the above text was approved by the Cabinet, but, through an "error of judgment," the War Minister, who was not present during the whole sitting of the Cabinet Council when the draft of the above document was under discussion, added the following lines to the official reply sent to General Gough: "His Majesty's Government must retain their right to use all the forces of the Crown in Ireland or elsewhere to maintain law and order and to support the Civil Power in the ordinary execution of its duty. But they have no intention whatever of taking advantage of this right to crush political opposition to the policy or principles of the Home Rule Bill." The inclusion of this additional statement to the official reply, of course, would at once serve a death-blow to the Government and it would clearly indicate their submission to the Army demands—which could never be tolerated by the country as a whole. For some reason or another, Lord Morley has admitted a sort of "half-share" in the responsibility with Colonel Seely for these additional clauses in the document, but he never tendered his resignation to the Prime Minister on that account; whereas the War Minister's reason for so doing was the fact of his having unconsciously committed his colleagues in the Cabinet to a statement, which they had never approved of. There are all sorts of rumours in the air to-day—that Sir John French and Sir J. S. Ewart have also resigned, that the War Minister and the Colonial Secretary are exchanging places, etc. The Premier is making an important statement in the House to-night and until the official announcements are made, one cannot, of course, rely upon such rumours.

In certain quarters, both Liberal and Labour, it is being freely hinted that the King has used his influence in favour of the Army demands in this crisis. Mr. John Ward, the Labour member, who sits on the Liberal Benches, was the first to give expression to this view. During a fiery speech in the House the other day, he emphatically declared, amid loud Ministerial cheers, which were renewed again and again, that the question was whether the people through their representatives in Parliament were to make the law without interference from the King or the Army. This view, it must be frankly admitted, is generally shared by the rank and file of the Liberal Party. No more convincing demonstration in favour of this view could be witnessed than the spontaneous scene that occurred in the Smoking Room of the National Liberal Club the other day, when the deliberate remarks of a member—"three cheers for John Ward for saying what we all think"—were received by an outburst of cheering and applause that could not possibly render its meaning and significance at all doubtful. The Commons debate has at all events disposed of the mischievous rumours relating to the King. It is not, however, the least of the services of Mr. John Ward's memorable speech on Tuesday that it has brought these rumours to the floor of the House and settled them finally. The Prime Minister's unequivocal assurance that the King has throughout this trying ordeal acted in strict accordance with constitutional practice—that is, entirely and exclusively on the advice of his ministers—will give universal satisfaction.

What effect the Government's official withdrawal of Colonel Seely's additional clauses in the reply to General Gough will have as to the future attitude of the Brigadier and his officers is yet to be seen, but it is certain that the matter will not be allowed to rest where it is.

The Government for obvious reasons cannot afford to submit to the demands and the dictates of the Army. That would at once break up the very fundamental principles of Parliamentary Government. The Army has obeyed in the past, and must obey in the future, the orders of its constituted authorities, whether the Liberal or the Conservative Party is in office. Nothing but disaster and ruination will overcome the British nation, if the Army were to take sides in politics. The soldier's duty is to obey his superior officers, whether he happens to be a Private or a General. It is not for him to argue one way or the other. The Army is maintained by the nation as a whole—not by the Conservatives or the Liberals exclusively. If General Gough's example is allowed to go unpunished, it will no doubt serve as a most mischievous precedent. Mr. Asquith must deal with this problem firmly and promptly and in any steps that he may take to establish the lawful and constitutional rights of Parliament he can depend on the entire and unwavering co-operation of all thinking men and women, irrespective of any political creed or party, who believe in the formula—"Government of the people by the people."

### Reception at the Persian Legation.

The Persian Minister held a Reception at the Imperial Legation last Saturday, the 21st inst. on the occasion of *Nowroze* or the Persian New Year. A very large gathering, which included the prominent members of the Persian colony in London, had responded to His Excellency's invitation, among those present being His Excellency Tewfik Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador, the Argentine Minister and Mme. Dominguez, the Greek Minister and Mme. Gennadius, the Norwegian Minister and Mme. Vogt, the Rumanian Minister and Mme. Misu, the Portuguese Minister, the Bulgarian Minister, the Servian Minister, the Siamese Minister and Mr. Archer, the Spanish Minister, M. Tomanowsky, Sir Arthur and Lady Clementine Walsh, Lord and Lady Lamington, Col. C. E. Yate, M. P., and Mrs. Yate, Sir Alfred Newton, Lady Owen-Mackenzie, General Jardine Hallowes, Mrs. Moud, Sir J. D. Rees, M. P., Mr. Arthur Ponsonby, M. P., Sir Henry Dalziel, M. P., Sir John Rolleston, M. P., Mr. and Mrs. Ameer Ali, Dr. Rutherford, Sir Joseph Walton, M. P., Lady Harcourt Smith, Sir Thomas and Lady Barclay, Sir Thomas Jackson, Sir Albert Rollit, Sir Hugh and Lady Barnes, Colonel and Mrs. Sykes, the Hon. Harry Lawson, M. P., General Beresford Lovett, Mr. Abbas Ali Baig, the Hon. Eustace Fiennes, M. P., Sir Charles and Lady Lyall, Colonel Rundall, Mr. Stephen Gwynn, M. P., Dr. Chapple, M. P., Mrs. Alwyn Parker, Mr. Percy Armytage, Mr. R. F. Synge, and Mr. and Mrs. Greenway.

### The Aga Khan.

His Highness the Aga Khan has arrived in Europe and is at present in Monte Carlo. His Highness, I understand, is contemplating a visit to East Africa in the immediate future and is not likely to be in England for some months, possibly till the beginning of the autumn. This, of course, is the Aga Khan's present arrangement, which he will certainly carry out, unless anything unforeseen may occur, which might possibly necessitate a change in his programme. So far as one can judge now, it is unlikely that His Highness will be able to preside at the annual meeting of the London Moslem League in the summer, which will be keenly regretted by the Indian Moslems here. His presidential address last year, in which he gave such splendid and sound advice to the young Indian Moslems, stands as the distinguishing feature of that memorable occasion. The London Moslem League's Annual Meetings, unless relieved by the presence and the eloquence of some distinguished Moslem from India, such as His Highness himself or a few others, who have honestly and faithfully served the community—and that too, let it be at once said, without the least personal interest or selfish motive—are very dreary and dismal proceedings. One or two "friends" of Indian Moslems—almost invariably drawn from the ranks of the retired Anglo-Indian community—are generally put up to act the "adviser," and we meet, on such occasions, with the old old story again. The speeches of individuals like Sir John Somebody, K. C. I. E., or Mr. Thomas Something, C. I. E., do not now-a-days appeal to the bulk of Indian Moslems in London, particularly to the younger generation.

As I have mentioned in one of my recent letters to you, Mr. Ameer Ali has an excellent opportunity before him, if he would only take advantage of it. Let "bye-gones be bye-gones" and let him seriously rise to the occasion and he is sure to find the young Moslems perfectly willing, and in fact only too anxious, to extend to him their respectful co-operation and their humble recognition of his position, for which his eminent literary services to Islam in the past have rendered him so highly qualified.

### Memorial Service for Dead Turkish Aviators.

After the usual *Jooma-Namaz* last Friday at Lindsey Hall, held under the auspices of the Islamic Society, a short memorial service was held for the repose of the souls of the three Turkish aviators, who have recently lost their lives during a flight across Turkey to Egypt. The Khwaja Kamal-ud-din of Woking Mosque and Kazi Haireddin Effendi, who is attached to the Ottoman Embassy, officiated. The service, which was intensely impressive, was attended by a large congregation.

### The Proposed Women's Medical College at Delhi.

The announcement in the Press, which has appeared through Reuter's Agency, of the laying of the foundation-stone of the proposed Women's Medical College at Delhi by Lady Hardinge, is heartily welcomed here by the Indian colony. This institution will undoubtedly provide what has been a long-felt want in India and is certain to facilitate the conditions for the proper study of medical science by Indian women to an unparalleled degree. It is true the existing medical colleges in India have been open to lady-students as well, but the fact remains that, under the present conditions, there are numerous intelligent and industrious young women, who, though anxious to qualify themselves as doctors, have not been tempted to join such institutions. The new scheme, under which the future lady medicos will be able to pursue their studies and investigations in a medical school exclusively reserved to themselves will in time produce excellent results.

A country like India is particularly in need of capable lady-doctors. The handful of European and Indian lady-doctors who are to-day so nobly attending to the sufferings and agonies of the women in that vast Continent are hardly sufficient and the supply is hopelessly out of proportion to the large demand throughout the country. No sensible Indian can have anything but admiration for

the small army of European lady-doctors in India to-day, whose devotion and attachment to their patients, rich or poor, and whose professional efficiency and scientific attainments have rightly earned them the universal esteem and regard of their Indian sisters. But it will not be ungenerous or disrespectful by any means if one has to lay it down as an axiom that the conditions and the circumstances prevailing in India require the discharge of these heroic and sacred duties, mainly at any rate, through the medium of the noble daughters of the soil themselves: just as one keenly feels now-a-days the great necessity for the wider recognition by the Government of the stirling worth and professional eminence of the numerous Indian medical men, with the best and the highest British qualifications, who could bring nothing but honour and fame to the teaching staff of any hospital in the country, but whose merits are entirely overlooked in favour of English surgeons, mostly from the ranks of the I. M. S., which Service is to-day practically enjoying the sole monopoly for all the "prize" appointments on the various hospital staffs in India. I hope to write shortly a special article for the *Comrade* on this all-important question and so I am not entering into it in this letter, but am only contenting myself with the problem of female medical education in India. Already there are some Indian lady-doctors in practice, who possess the best medical qualifications, degrees and diplomas that the English Universities and Examining Boards could give. It may perhaps be interesting to recall that the very first lady member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, after that highest surgical Body in Great Britain had permitted women to offer themselves as candidates for its various examinations only three years ago, was a Parsee lady. I do not for one moment insinuate that there are no European lady-doctors in India with good qualifications, but I am perfectly confident of the existence of Indian lady-doctors to-day with at least equal, if not higher, qualifications. Such Indian lady-doctors will be offered a new avenue for serving their sisters and their country, if they are appointed as teachers in their respective special subjects in the Delhi Medical School, when fully matured. No doubt, at the beginning it may not be possible to fill all the appointments by Indian lady-doctors, and it will be necessary to engage suitable European lady-doctors from England or perhaps from the existing hospitals for women in India, which are, at least as far as the higher grades of appointments go, entirely conducted by European lady-doctors. But, even at the beginning, those responsible for the proposed Delhi Medical College would be well advised to make an appropriate number of Indian appointments on its staff. It is perhaps premature to discuss these points now, but the matter, even at this early stage, is well worth considering.

A great move has thus been made in the field of female progress and female enlightenment in India. The question of the medical training and medical education of Indian women is of vital importance to the country as a whole. The problem goes to the very root of the progress, welfare, health and well-being of the community at large. There are at this moment thousands of Indian women perishing for want of medical care and medical attention. They are ready to sacrifice their very lives rather than seek the advice and assistance of medical "men;" and we know there are not sufficient medical "women" to alleviate their sufferings and, if possible, to save them from certain death and disaster. They are hopelessly ignorant of the most elementary principles of Eugenics and are equally in the dark as to the sacred duties and responsibilities of motherhood. What an appalling mortality in child-birth prevails in the country!

Inspite of the various excellent lying-in institutions in India, it is a fact, and a very deplorable fact indeed, that there are hundreds of women there who daily discharge the perilous functions of matrimony in their own homes, amidst the most unfavourable surroundings that could be possibly imagined, rather than take advantage of the comfort, safety and luxuries of science that would be at their disposal in such hospitals. Is it, therefore, surprising that statistics show such a dreadful mortality amongst Indian women on such occasions? The so-called midwives, who in most cases attend them, know nothing, not even the rudimentary essentials, of the science and art of obstetrics and the abominable ignorance of such midwives of the fundamental laws of antiseptic surgery—the very thought of which would make Lister shudder in his grave—is responsible for the vast sacrifice of so many precious and dear lives. There are scores of other instances and other afflictions peculiar to women which are so cruelly allowed to proceed to their fatal terminations for the mere want of timely gynacological assistance. All these calamities are chiefly due to the great lack of Indian lady-doctors in the country.

The proposed Medical College for women, as I have said before, supplies a long-felt want, and the institution will have the best wishes of all those who have the true interest of India at heart for its success and welfare.




**The Ottoman Treasury Bonds.**

We desire to inform the subscribers to the Ottoman Treasury Bonds that the Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris has been authorised by the Ottoman Government to pay the first instalment of the capital (one-fifth) and also the interest for first year on the Treasury Bonds which were in the first instance directly or indirectly purchased through this Bank. The coupons of those Bonds purchased from other banks may also be sent to this Bank for collection. The coupon to be cut is the one on the right hand side of the Bonds (No. 1) and both the coupons for interest and redemption should be sent together. We had received numerous letters from subscribers asking us to state what procedure they should adopt in case they did not desire to get the interest. We have now been informed, in reply to our inquiry, by the Acting Ottoman Consul-General at Bombay that those subscribers who are not willing to draw interest on the Bonds, while sending the Bonds for payment, may write on the Coupon of interest: "Interest is not "required and left for the benefit of the Ottoman Treasury."

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**An Indian Deputation to England.**

An Associated Press message from Bombay states that the deputation to England from the Indian National Congress, consisting of Messrs. Mazharul Haque, Sachchindananda Sinha, Krishnashahay Samarth, S. Iyer, S. B. Sarma, and Mohamed Ali Jinnah left Bombay by the mail steamer on the 18th. instant. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu will not, however, leave for another fortnight. Mr. Jinnah interviewed about the object of the visit stated that the deputation would place themselves in the hands of Sir William Wedderburn, who was making all arrangements for them. The most important question to be dealt was the reform of the Secretary of State's Council, as it appeared that the idea was to change the character of the Council from a consultive to an administrative one. Other questions included the Press Act and separation of judicial and executive functions. "We propose" said Mr. Jinnah, "to put our views on behalf of the people of India before the Secretary of State for India if possible, and before the members of "Parliament in support of the demand which was made at the "Congress last session as well as at the meeting of the All-India "Moslem League. We trust the people of India will back us up "by holding public meetings and passing resolutions as soon the "Bill is before the country." The questions that the deputation will have to deal with have been most seriously engaging the attention of the Indian public for some time past, and each of them formed the subject of important resolutions at the last sessions of both the Congress and the All-India Moslem League. We trust the deputation will do its work thoroughly and will receive full and unanimous public support from this country. The Bill for the reorganisation of the India Council has not yet been introduced in Parliament, but in view of the anticipated changes in the constitution and powers of the Council it is bound to be an important measure, and the Indian public opinion should be on the watch to prevent it from becoming a reactionary one.

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**The Preaching of Islam.**

We are glad to learn from Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din Sahib that his missionary efforts in England are daily growing in fruitfulness. His regular series of lectures on Islam in the Mosque at Woking every Friday attract large audiences who evince great interest in the religion of Islam and earnestly follow the discourses in which the Khwaja Sahib expounds its spirit and doctrines. This "invasion" of Islam has produced anxiety and alarm in the

Christian missionary camp, as is evident from the two extracts from the English papers which are reproduced elsewhere. It is not without its significance that the Christian missionary should have begun to recollect his duty nearer home only after a Mussalman missionary has appeared on the scene to preach his simple message of faith in a Christian land. The difficulties of the Khwaja Sahib's mission are obvious enough, but he is gradually overcoming them by his courage, patience and noble zeal for his faith, and the success that he has already achieved is in every way solid and full of abundant promise. We learn that two more Englishmen have embraced Islam a few weeks ago through the Khwaja Sahib's efforts. Their original names were Edward Woodward and Albert Smith (dental surgeon), and they have been given the Islamic names of Mohamed and Abdul Qadir respectively. It is of the utmost importance to orgainse regular and adequate financial help in India in order that the scope of the Moslem missionary effort may expand according to its growing needs in England. More funds are needed as well as more competent and devoted workers to help Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din Sahib in his great and arduous undertaking. In his long communication published in *Hamdard*, the Khwaja Sahib explains the nature of the work he has to do, the difficulties that he has to face and the type of the workers he needs to help him at this stage. He points out with special emphasis that the missionaries that may be sent out from India to share his labours must be staid, experienced men of mature age. Young men with imperfect training and little control our the impulses of youth would probably involve the whole missionary effort in disaster. He rightly advises the Delhi committee that has selected a youngman like Anis Ahmad for the purpose to leave him first of all to gain experience in India and prepare himself by self-discipline for missionary work before he goes out to preach Islam in foreign countries. Intellectual training is only a part, and by no means the most important part, of the missionary's equipment. It is the living example of a well-ordered, clean and noble life that wins converts to a new faith.

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**The Conspiracy of Silence.**

We noted last week how the majority of the Anglo-Indian papers have tried to belittle the importance of the Moslem Deputation to the Viceroy by the simple method of "ignoring" it. Nothing more decent or honest could apparently be expected from the amiable gentlemen who had taken a hand in the innocent game of mud-splashing and scandal-mongering. We were curious to know how the matter would be treated by the arch-instigator of the campaign of slander against the Mussalmans and creator of the "Indian Peril," the *Times*. We searched through the copies of the *Times* received by the last mail to find any reference to the Moslem Deputation, and it was only after a long search that we came accidentally across a few lines thrust away inconspicuously in a corner without any headline, which seem to have been taken from the Reuter's message on the subject. This is how the public in England is served by one of the loudest custodians of Imperial interests. Surely the Deputation's Address to the Viceroy and His Excellency's reply deserve at least as much space as the *Times* devoted to "selections" from the corrsepondence between the Rt. Hon, Syed Ameer Ali and Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan. No Mussalman can forget the part played by the the *Times* in creating the fog of suspicion and mistrust about the attitude of his community, and it was due to its own journalistic sense of duty and fairplay to make some reparation to those whom it had tried to injure by its wicked libels. But fair dealing is not a part of the game in which the *Times* and its numerous henchmen are engaged for the glory and prestige of the Empire. Only a future historian will be able to measure accurately the harm done to true Imperial interests by the type of journalism which flourishes by pandering to the vanity of dominant cliques, by exalting expediency at the sacrifice of truth, by setting class against class and by denouncing whole communities in unmeasured terms if they show the least desire to claim a fair and decent treatment in the councils of the Empire. The suppression of the truth is not less wicked at times than the active propagation of falsehood, and if the *Times* has not hesitated to preach falsehood occasionally, it is not unoften that it has deliberately suppressed the truth. We think the *Times* is not unaware that there is a law of contempt in British India, and nothing would give us greater satisfaction than if it brought a charge of defamation against us in the court of the District Magistrate of Delhi.

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**Aziz Ali Bey.**

The trial by the military court at Constantinople of Aziz Bey, the Egyptian officer in the Turkish army, on certain grave charges has created some amount of sensation—thanks to the chivalrous efforts of certain disinterested English onlookers in Egypt and the very chivalrous *Times*. From the gushing narratives of the correspondents of some English newspapers—the inevitable Egyptian correspondent of the *Pioneer* is, of course, in the front rank of this gallant band—it would seem as if the whole of Egypt were seething with ferment and the entire Arab world were in revolt on account of the monstrous decision of the Turkish authorities to try according to the law an officer accused of corruption, dishonesty and insubordination. This mischievous agitation seems to have been working to set design. First of all came the shrieking little paragraphs from "our own correspondents" in Egypt and elsewhere who discovered the growing excitement and indignation amongst the Egyptians and the Arabs, whose love for Aziz Ali Bey, we were assured, verged on infatuation. Then came the deliberate assertions that the trial would be a farce, that Aziz Bey was innocent, that the charges framed against him were vague and false and that he was to be got rid of in that way because he had incurred the jealousy of Enver Pasha on account of the great fame and popularity he had acquired amongst the Arabs by his heroic deeds in Cyrenaica. Last of all came that grave and ominous portent in the political sky, a leading article in the *Times*, bristling with all the dread phraseology that it can command so well when it is trying to exaggerate or create an international crisis. It felt a sudden sympathy for the Egyptians and made the fate of Aziz Bey its special concern. It drew attention to the deplorable impression that would be produced "throughout the Arab world were sentence of death, "whether executed or not, to be passed upon this gallant officer, "whose chief offence seems to be that he served the cause of his "fellow Arabs too devotedly, and thus acquired a prestige that gave "offence in influential Young Turkish and Pan-Islamic quarters." One fails to see why the prestige of Aziz Bey should have given offence in influential "Young Turkish and Pan-Islamic quarters." The Young Turks have often been denounced by the *Times* itself as "Pan-Islamites" and the "Pan-Islamism" of the *Times* imagination has always appeared to us to be some sinister attempt to organise the entire Mussalman races of the world into some militant confederacy against Europe or Christendom. But this is a mere inconsistency that can hardly touch the invulnerable honour of the *Times*. It suited its object just at present to play the Arabs and the Egyptians against the Turks and the case of Aziz Bey was fastened upon as lending itself magnificently for the purpose. It went on to say that the passionate interest taken at Cairo and in other Arab centres "in "what must be termed his persecution by the Young Turkish "authorities indicates the nature of the feelings that would be aroused "should harm befall him." Gathering up all its solemnity at this point it continued: "Great Britain is responsible for the mainte-"nance of order in Egypt, and cannot therefore remain indifferent to "any untoward incident that would stir Egyptian feeling." It admitted that Aziz Ali is not technically an Egyptian. He is, as a matter of fact, of Circassian descent domiciled in Cyrenaica. It also admitted that he "is a Turkish officer and is subject to Turkish "military discipline." One should have thought after this that the fate of Aziz Ali would be of no concern to the British Government or even the *Times*. But, no; the *Times* discovered a warm and sympathetic corner in its heart for the Mussalmans and would see them treated fairly. Turkey might yet be an independent sovereign State, and Aziz Ali an Ottoman subject and amenable only to the laws of the Ottoman Empire, but the *Times* in its excessive love for the Egyptians and the Arabs and the Mussalmans in general would have little patience for the Turk, his independence, his soveriegnty or his laws. "Great Britain, who is responsible for the good and just "government of so many millions of Mussalmans, is in duty bound to "see that no legitimate means of preserving Aziz Ali from "accident" "of any kind is left untried." And it wound up with a solemn exhortation to the Ottoman Government "to appreciate the importance of "our position, and take it fully into account in their dealings with "Aziz Ali Bey." It would be hard to find in journalistic banalities anything to match the mockery of it all. The *Times* in its role as a friend of the Mussalmans is often a sight for the gods. We need not recall the circumstances, still fresh in the memory of the Indian Mussalmans, how the *Times* had sympathised with them in their recent troubles. Its love for the Egyptians and the Arabs is also an old passion, the full measure of which was tasted by them just after the memorable affair at Denshawai. We have full admiration for the services of Aziz Bey in Cyrenaica and we regret as much as any of his admirers that he should have been found gulty of serious crimes. But the Turkish Ministers are not a pack of fiends who are bent on hunting to death all patriots and devoted servants of the Ottoman Empire. They know their business and their duty, and can well afford to treat the vile attacks and insolence of the *Times* and their other traducers with the contempt that they deserve. The men in power at the Sublime Porte to-day are not of the pliant and feeble stuff of which Kiamil was made. The *Times* is very well aware of this, and hence its subtle efforts to sow difficulties in their path by cleverly playing on the alleged susceptibilities of the Egyptians and the Arabs. We doubt, however, if the patriotic and intelligent Egyptians can be easily made its catspaws and its dupes.

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**An "India House" in London.**

In the course of a letter received with the last mail, Mr. J. H. Polak, whose son's great services in the cause of Indians in South Africa are so well-known, writes to us: "The last news from South Afrion by "cable seems to be much more satisfactory and "I have hopes that a permanent settlement, in accordance with the "wishes of the leaders of the Indian community there, will soon be

"arrived at. Of course one cannot expect to get all they ask for, but "I believe that the principal points have been conceded." Writing about the proposal of Mr. Frank O'Donnell to establish an India House in London, Mr. Polak says: "The idea of Mr. Frank O'Donnell, *re* a "grand India House in London—non-sectarian, non-political, not "under the influence of the India Office or of any other official body "—managed by a joint body, partly on the lines of a club and some-"what on the lines of the Colonial Institute and Society of Arts com-"bined—is a *splendid one*. You ought to be able to collect the funds "in India, say £150,000, within a month, if you try personally. It "could also be a sort of Indian Chamber of Commerce in London. "I should be pleased to act on its executive and make it a huge "success. India does not advertise itself sufficiently in England." We invite the attention of our readers once more to the suggestion of Mr. O'Donnell and we think a discussion of the scheme and its details by our readers would be appreciated by Messrs. O'Donnell and Polak.

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**Indian Students in England.**

Mr. Syed Abdul Aziz, Barrister-at-Law, Bankipore, writes to us:—"There are very few Indian problems which "are more pressing and important than the "question of Indian students in England. "But it is not easy to get the apathetic Indian "public interested in a subject which is neither sensational nor "sectarian. Matters of real importance are apt to get obscured and "shelved when the country is so easily plunged in a ferment either "about Cawnpore affair, Ajodhya riot, special electorate or election "to various Boards and Councils, which mostly occupy the anxious "thoughts of our politicians. It is, however, a matter of satisfaction "to me that a section of the Press and a few public spirited men "have from time to time taken notice of the Indian students in England. "The news that an unofficial committee is being formed under "the presidency of Lord Haldane for bringing young Indians into "intimate touch with the better sides of English life will be received "with great gratification by all those who take interest in the educa-"tion of the Indians. But none can welcome this announcement with "greater delight than I do, for during my residence in England, which "terminated over a year ago I had the occasion to discuss at some "length in the Press the question of Indian students in England. In "dealing with their situation which called for serious consideration, "I urged the necessity of some such unofficial movement as the one on "foot which will minimise the evils of the official Bureau at 21, Crom-"well Road. As one who has endeavoured within his small powers "and opportunities to remove misunderstanding and promote friend-"liness between the English and the Indians, I feel constrained to "remark regretfully that the bitterness of feelings and disagreeable "experiences of the Indian students have largely grown since the creation "of the central Bureau, whose method of operation, with all its good inten-"tions, has resulted only in subverting the object which thoughtful "Indians and Englishmen alike have at heart. Any genuine desire "to help Indians in making the best of their stay in England is bound "to be appreciated by them. The hospitable treatment which Indian "students are likely to receive at the hands of some eminent and "magnanimous men who are forming the Committee will bear fruits "that will be enjoyed both by Indians and Englishmen. I trust the "students will realize their sense of duty and responsibilities and will "avail themselves of every opportunity to enhance their social status, "to advance their intellectual attainments and to improve their physical "fitness." It would not be without interest to peruse the following sentence in a letter addressed to *India* by an "Indian Resident in London." He says: "I have occasion to see a good many Indian students in "town, and am in a position to say that the majority of the students "look upon this and similar other attempts of organised patronage "as charity, which no self-respecting Indian would think of a "accepting. Although the Committee is said to be unofficial, and, "as it were, spontaneous, yet the names of many officials, and others "connected with the Cromwell Road organisation, are to be found in "the list of the members of the Committee. This point has not passed "unnoticed." For our part, we are not inclined to agree with the view that the "Hospitality" Committee regards the social assistance it proposes to give to Indian students in England in the light of "charity", and there is such a thing as super-sensitiveness. As for "21, Cromwell Road", we do not think it right to pass an adverse judgment without further enquiry, though we have no hesitation in saying that it is in very bad odour with Indian students who suspect it of espionage. Many have dubbed it "the *Thana*." But the "Hospitality" Committee need not be involved in the same odium and we await with interest the result of this new and welcome experiment. Its membership, though somewhat mixed, gives promise of excellent results and, to point out only a few names, who could distrust a Committee which includes men like Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Herbert Roberts, M. P., Mr. Edwyn Bevan, Mr. Havell, Mr. Herbert Burrows, and, last but not least, Mr. H. G. Wells. We wish the Committee every success.

# The Comrade.

## Aligarh Old Boys.

Since 1907, when the Aligarh Old Boys' Association for the first time secured a constitution, every recurring annual re-union used to be attended with a crisis of no little importance to the College and to the Association; for the forces which had succeeded in securing a constitution for the Association after a hard struggle had still to contend with those who were anxious to keep the Association within "manageble" proportions from the point of view of the reactionary that mistrusts the multitude. Luckily, however, the Old Boys' Association had a franchise that was the despair of the reactionary. Unlike the Trustees of the Aligarh College, whose numbers are limited and who become members of the Board by co-option, every Old Boy of Aligarh could become a member of the Association by contributing one per cent. of his income. The reactionaries aimed at killing all interest in the Association on the part of its present and prospective members, so that they could always remain in office and use it as a tool in furtherance of their own designs and in thwarting the efforts of those who held different opinions. On the other hand, those that desired to see the Old Boys take a deeper interest in the affairs of their *Alma Mater* and a correspondingly larger share in the administration of its affairs worked hard to increase the membership of the Association. For many years one saw the strange spectacle of the office-bearers of the Associations doing less than nothing to increase the number of its members and yet reluctantly offering the tribute of well-deserved praise on this score to those whose influence in the Association they heartily desired to diminish.

But even though the Association became "unmanagable" in size, its office-bearers continued to "manage" it, because most of its members were scattered over a vast area, and when they met together once a year at Aligarh, they were no match for a powerful clique that controlled resident members. These latter were for the most part in the service of the College, and thus in awe of the Association's office-bearers who also happened to be Trustees possessing enormous power on the Board of their employers. The non-residents, however, could not be easily canvassed by any party, and when they came to Aligarh their votes could be easily divided. Naturally, they were averse to the making of parties within the ranks of a brotherhood, and a certain excess of "conscience" supplied the place of party discipline. The result was, however, intolerable, and a Reform League was founded with a view to canvass the members and secure a solid vote in the Annual Meeting of the Association based on the views of the majority of the members of the League. In other words, a new party was created with a view to crush the party feeling created by an existing clique.

This homeopathic treatment succeeded in effecting a cure in a remarkably short space of time. Those who established the Reform League had always had logic and ethics on their side; but logic and ethics do not always prevail in such contests, and, therefore, "brute force" prevailed. By organising their forces on party lines, they added "brute force" also to their stock of ethics and logic. Their opponents soon gave up the game as lost, and one by one fell away and ceased to take any interest in the Association. The result is that among the resident Old Boys also, the remnants of the old clique cannot secure a majority, and the Association is at last free to work without party machinery. Those that honestly apprehended a permanent split among the Old Boys through the establishment of the Reform League are now satisfied that they were wrong to think so, for the Reform League has quietly disappeared after the breakdown of the old clique. This has synchronised with a period of unprecedented prosperity for the Association. For the first time its membership reached four figures and its income reached five last year. The Report of that year was a record of great progress, but even more significant was the tone and temper of the meeting in which it was presented by the new Honorary Secretary. The proceedings were characterised by a *camaraderie* which was wholly unlike the party spirit of the previous years, and the perfect unanimity that prevailed was shown by the easy passage of a new set of rules and the voting of so large a sum as Rs. 25,000 for the construction of the Old Boys' Lodge which was first decided upon in 1907.

When the Old Boys met once more this year, the atmosphere was to some extent charged with electricity. This looked something like a return of the old clique days and needs some explanation. Last year a new element, then only imperfectly understood, was introduced in the annual meeting. An Old Boy had proposed that Sir Theodore Morison should be received in a fitting manner by the Association a few days later when he intended to revisit the College. There was nothing strange in honouring a former Principal, though many members of the Association frankly mistrusted the attitude of Sir Theodore towards the College, and almost all disapproved of his share in the decisions

of the Secretary of State with regard to the Muslim University. But signs were not wanting to show that the honouring of Sir Theodore Morison was intended by some of those who had at first suggested it not as the honouring of a former Principal, but of a present member of the India Council. When this event came off, the suspicions entertained at first began to be confirmed, and more recently they have been proved to the hilt. Whatever one thought of the old clique one had to admit that its motive-power was te be found among a section of the Old Boys themselves. But the new element that has begun to make itself felt seems to receive its mandate from the outside. Last December, on the occasion of the Annual Sessions of the Educational Conference and the Muslim League, there was a remarkably large attendance of Old Boys, and the mandatories asserted themselves with a degree of self-confidence that was alarming. They insisted on the Honorary Secretary's renunciation of his connection with the "Servants of the Ka'aba Society" and threatened to go on a strike if their demands were not accepted. This stiffened the attitude of the Honorary Secretary who had been contemplating a resignation of his office in the Association itself, and he now announced the intention of continuing in office for the full term. This resolve was assisted by the confidence which an overwhelming majority of the Old Boys then present at Agra appeared to repose in him.

Shortly after this a special meeting of the Trustees of the College was held at Aligarh in which an unfortunate resolution relating to the Old Boys' Association was passed in the teeth of the opposition of a large number of Old Boys who took part in the deliberation as Trustees. We dealt with this matter at the time and need not refer to it in great detail. The old rules of the Association made it possible for a student expelled by the authorities of the College to be admitted as a member of the Association if a majority of the members voted in his favour. This rule appeared to be too harsh in one respect and too lenient in another. To treat every expulsion as a disability seemed unnecessary, and it was, therefore, decided that only such expulsions should make an Old Boy ineligible for membership as involved, in the opinion of the authorities of the College, a degree of moral turpitude. But naturally no disability could constitute a perpetual bar. Nevertheless, it was decided that if a majority of two-thirds, instead of an ordinary majority as under the old rules, voted in his favour, an Old Boy who had been expelled from the College could be admitted as member of the Association. Of course if the bar was removed by College authorities themselves, there was nothing more to be said about the matter. As a further restriction it was decided that the question of such an Old Boy's admission could not be raised in the Annual Meeting merely on his application as under the old rules, but required the recommendation of the Central StandingCommittee as a condition precedent. These rules were drafted by a Sub-Committee of which the College Proctor was an approving member. The draft had been circulated in February, 1913, fully a month before the Annual Meeting of the Old Boys. It was discussed very fully in the Meeting and passed in a slightly modified form without a dissentient voice. One would have thought that this had given an ample opportunity to all concerned to raise such objections as occurred to them. But in Aligarh it is not unoften the unexpected that happens. After the rule in question had been unanimously passed, the Honorary Secretary of the Trustees raised an objection, based, as we believe, on an objection taken by the Principal of the College to the presence of Mr. Ghulam Husain, Sub-Editor of the *Comrade*, at the Old Boy's Annual Meeting and Dinner for which he was at Aligarh for a few hours last year. The Honorary Secretary of the Trustees moved them to pass a resolution to the effect that no student of the College expelled by the authorites should ever be admitted as a member of the Old Boys' Association except with the previous sanction of the Honorary Secretary and the Principal of the College. It is an irony of fate that neither he nor his predecessors in office should have taken an objection to the old rule which was obviously more lenient, but that he should have objected to a more stringent measure. But it was still more surprising that a few Old Boys themselves as Trustees voted on this occasion with the Honorary Secretary after having voted before as Old Boys in favour of the rule to which objection was now taken. But it is absolutely inexplicable how the Proctor of the College could sign a Circular Letter condemning in a violent manner those who stood by the new rule after having himself assisted in drafting it.

As we have already stated, the resolution of the Trustees was passed in the teeth of the opposition of a large majority of the Old Boys present on the occasion on which it was discussed. One of them who represented the Old Boys' Association, gave notice of a motion for the Annual Meeting of the Association, that in view of the foregoing considerations, the Trustees should be informed most respectfully that, as at present advised, the Association did not see its way to amend the rule in question in the manner suggested in their resolution. The letter accompanying this resolution explained at length all the circumstances of the case, and not even the most captious critic could detect in the letter or the resolution itself any indication of a want of respect for the Trustees or their resolutions. Nevertheless, two of the resident Trustees and half a dozen employees of the College who were Old Boys, including the Proctor, circulated a violently partisan letter in condemnation of the motion, its mover and its supporters, and, in fact, of the Association as a whole. What object was meant to be served by this deunciation is more than we can say, for even if the motion had been rejected, the rule to which the Trustees had objected could not have been amended this year, for the simple reason that the authors of the Circular Letter had not taken the trouble to give notice of any amendment.

These two matters then were expected to be the storm-centres in this year's re-union of the Old Boys, the position of the Honorary Secretary of the Association and the question of admitting such Old Boys as members who had been "sent down" in their College careers. But those who were not content with watching the surface and could also discern things lying deeper were not troubled by any grave apprehensions, and their optimism was fully justified by the sequel. Two stray resolutions, sent in by a non-resident Old Boy who had heard of the Honorary Secretary's intention of resigning this year, but had not heard of his subsequent resolve, proposing a vote of confidence in him and requesting him to continue in office for the full term, although superfluous from the Honorary Secretary's point of view, provided an ample opportunity for all those mandatories who had threatened a strike three months previously at Agra if the Honorary Secretary did not renounce his connection with the Servants of the Ka'ba Society. A prominent spokesman of the tribe was present on the occasion, but, after the trial of strength at Agra, appeared to be no more than an exploded volcano, and when it came to voting even he refrained from opposing these resolutions. Of the written votes only eight had been received against the two motions, and one may heave a sigh of relief that very probably one would hear nothing of a strike of mandatories for sometime to come if the Honorary Secretary did not renounce the habit of offering prayers five times a day, or did not shave off his beard.

As regards the question of membership, the mover had had occasion to learn that the Honorary Secretary of the College was evidently labouring under a misunderstanding with regard to its motive and purpose. The Old Boys only meant to make it clear that their Association was an independent body which could not surrender into other hands, no matter how capable, its discretion as regards admitting Old Boys to its membership, and that it disapproved of the doctrine of Eternal Damnation. So long as these two points were placed beyond pale of controversy and doubt, not only in theory but also in practice, no one desired to disagree with the Trustees. Out of deference, therefore, to the Honorary Secretary of the Trustees, the mover of the resolution suggested an amendment that a deputation consisting of Mr. Justice Rafiq, the Hon. Syed Riza Ali and Mr. Mohamed Ali should wait on the Trustees and explain the reasons why they could not make the admission of any Old Boy to their membership dependent on the previous sanction of the Honorary Secretary of the College and the Principal, and to express the readiness of the Association to give their earnest consideration to every proposal of the Trustees and to meet them more than half way so long as it could be done without prejudice to the independence of the Association. This proposal was unanimously accepted, and the only dissentient was one who suggested a different *personnel* for the deputation. But he was very fully answered when his own name was suggested for membership of the deputation by another pseudo-dissentient amidst loud laughter and his own louder protests.

This was the end of all the apprehensions of a "split" of which false prophets have not yet ceased to talk inspite of repeated experince during the last six months. We have every hope that the Trustees would realize the insurmountable difficulties in the way of the Association's acceptance of their resolution of last January, and they would reconsider the matter and leave things undisturbed so long as necessity does not force an amendment of the existing rule on the Association itself. One thing, however, was made fully clear during the discussion on this question. Not a single dissentient voice was raised when members of the Association were pointedly asked whether they desired the Association to continue as an absolutely independent body or were prepared to accept, at least in practice, any modification of this absolute independence. We, therefore, trust no occasion will arise in future when this universal verdict would become a subject of dispute. The Old Boys of Oxford and Cambridge constitute the ultimate authority of the University, and the time is not far distant when the Aligarh Old Boys would occupy the same position at Aligarh. The indpendence of their Association must, therefore, be respected, and we have every reason to believe that the Trustees will always respect this if only the remnant of a once powerful clique among the Old Boys themselves would not carry its jealousies into the deliberations of the Board of Trustees.

Unfortunately a very destructive tendency was shown by a member or two of this clique during the two days' sittings of the Associa-

tion. Incredible as it may appear, it was actually moved that, although the full interval provided for by the rules between the issue of the agenda and the receipt of written votes was allowed by the Honorary Secretary, by curtailing the time allotted to him under the rules for recording these votes, the Annual Meeting should not take place on the dates fixed, simply because the agenda was issued to a few members a day or two later than the due date through default of the press, inspite of the fact that nobody had complained of it and many Old Boys had come to Aligarh for the Meeting from every corner of India. A no less absurd objection was raised, and with less justification even of a technical character, that as the Honorary Secretary, in the capacity of an ordinary member of the Association, had not proposed more than one Old Boy's name for every seat on the Muslim University Association allotted to the representatives of the Old Boys' Association, the Association should not be represented on that body till another meeting had taken place. This was proposed simply because the objector would have preferred to see more members of his own type elected and had not taken the trouble to nominate them for election inspite of a sufficiently long notice. When the objector was asked to state what section of the rules had been contravened he gave up the quest after wasting a good deal of the Meeting's time. Nevertheless, he was more persistent than this suggests, for what he could not do in person he asked a legal representative of his to do for him. This gentleman wasted some more time, but finally the President ruled the objection out of order. These are matters far too trivial to discuss in these columns, but we are compelled to refer to them because the objections were taken by no less a person than Dr. Zia Uddin who has recently officiated for a long time as the Principal of the Aligarh College, and no doubt regards himself as an exemplar of discipline.

But it would be extremely unjust to the Association if all this should lead any one to believe that the Annual Meeting of this important body concerned itself only with squabbles about the Servants of the Ka'ba Society and admission of expelled students as Old Boys, or frivolous objections of the character we have mentioned. As a matter of fact only a couple of members were responsible for most of these things, and the Association was in no mood to agree with them or even take them seriously. On the first day a very interesting ceremony wss performed by the President, Mr. Syed Zain-ud-Din, when he opened the first storey of the Old Boys' Lodge. The building contains two spacious reception rooms, four suites of bed-,dressing- and bathrooms and four bijou hexagonal rooms in the turrets on the four sides, besides a large hall or corrider in the centre of the building which would later on have a staircase leading to the top storey with similar reception rooms and suites of living rooms. The place is neatly furnished and is sure to attract a constant stream of Old Boys who were often prevented from visiting their *Alma Mater* on account of lack of accommodation near the College for such guests. The Honorary Secretary gave a short history of the scheme of the Old Boys' Lodge and tried to remove some peculiar notions which were entertained in certain quarters as regards the objects for which the Lodge was proposed to be built. He assured every well-wisher of the College and particularly his colleagues, the Trustees, that no one considered the traditions of Aligarh more sacred than the Old Boys, who were at once a conservative and a progressive element in the body-politic at Aligarh. The President replied in a most feeling speech in the course of which he said that they who had lived in their College careers in the boarding houses near by, and had had the time of their life in those glorious days, now felt as if after the viccissitudes and wanderings of their worldy careers they had once more been admitted into such a boarding house to revive old memories and associations. But he reminded the Old Boys that discipline used to be rather lax in their old boarding houses in those glorious days, but the discipline of their new boarding house would be far more stringent. They were expected to provide examples for their younger brothers, in fact, in many cases for their own sons, now studying in the College, and he felt he could give to the Trustees, of whom he is one, and to the world at large, the assurance that the Old Boys would never belie the best expectations that could be formed of them.

A notable resolution passed after a protracted discussion of the details has authorized the expenditure of Rs 4,000 a year on two scholarships to be offered by the Association to members of the Indian staff, one in the College and one in the School, for proceeding to Europe for at least six months to study the system of education. The amount of the scholarship is obviously too small to provide for all the expenditure that a member of the School or College staff would have to incur even in a six months' trip to Europe. Similarly, the minimum period is obviously insufficient for a very close study of different systems. But it is hoped that the scholarship would be a handsome contribution towards the expenses of such a trip, and even 20 or 22 weeks judiciously employed according to a carefully prepared scheme would give to an Indian graduate already employed in teaching considerable insight and a much wider out-look than he possessed before. We trust the experiment will prove successful, and, in any case, the Association would be able to judge within a few years whether it would be more profitable to increase quality at the expense of quantity, unless of course it could afford to do both.

In this manner the Association has more than doubled its contribution to the College, for hitherto it had been paying only Rs. 3,600 a year for the Science Chair, and would now contribute Rs. 8,320 a year, paying, in addition to the old contribution, Rs.4,000 a year for the new scholarships and Rs. 720 for two engineering scholarships for Roorkee which existed merely on paper before. We hope and believe that, for their part, the Trustees of the College would also increase the representation of the Old Boys on the Board of Trustees from 5 to 15. It would be a graceful acknowledgment of the assistance rendered by the Association if the Honorary Secretary to the Trustees himself proposed the suggested increase in the next Annual Meeting. It must be remembered that the Association would have made a much larger contribution to the funds of the College if it had not had to provide so large a sum as Rs. 35,000 for the Old Boys' Lodge and a fairly large sum for the preparation of an exhaustive Directory of the Old Boys. But this expenditure in non-recurring, and the Directory would enable the Association to double its membership and income before many years. The Budget Estimate of the Association is now nearly Rs. 28,000, though this amount includes a large aggregate of contributions for the Old Boys' Lodge. But it may safely be hoped that in the following year the net contribution of the Association to the College would not fall much short of Rs. 12,000 a year. The progress hitherto achieved is, we hope, only an earnest of better things in the future.

But it is not in money alone that the Old Boys can, and do contribute their mite to the College. Mr. Said Mohamed Khan has this year been elected a Trustee for five years on behalf of the Association in the place of Mr. Mohamed Faiq who was elected last year at a bye-election. We hope the presence of the new Trustee on the Board would be no less valuable than the monetary contribution that synchronises with his election, and we trust Mr. Mohamed Faiq will once more become a Trustee very soon, and be enabled to continue the good work that he has hitherto been doing. It was a very difficult choice between the two, and our only regret is that both candidates could not become Trustees this year.

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## Honours.

II.

We hope we have made it sufficiently clear in our first article on the subject that both the great Parties in British politics are conscious of the questionable uses to which the power of recommending persons for honours to the Crown is sometimes made to lend itself. The debate in the Lords was no doubt initiated by the motion of a Conservative leader, and the speeches of some of the Tory peers struck a very solemn note and were steeped in deep unction in parts. There was, however, on the whole no desire in the House to make the discussion a part of the usual party game. Lord Crewe, who spoke on behalf of the Government, did not deny that the evil existed. He adopted the defensive tone only when he came to deal with the remark of Lord Milner "about no fewer than 63 barons which the "present Government, in their eight years of office, have created— "about one-sixth of the total number of barons in this House, "although it has existed for more than two hundred years." Lord Crewe could not help seeing in this statement an implication that "some of those peerages were connected with party funds." He thought, however, that there had been a tendency to exaggerate the position as it now existed and that there had been some attempt to indicate that public life was becoming less pure and honourable than it was and that, as the poet said, "we are worse than our "grand-fathers, and our children are likely to be worse than our- "selves." He launched into a long argument to show that their past political history was not a quite clean and honourable record in this respect. He recalled the time when boroughs and votes were bought by the dozen and referred to the famous case of Lord North who bought boroughs for a particular election at the price of £2,500 per seat. He reminded Lord Milner that between 1784 and 1801 Mr. Pitt made 140 creations or promotions in the peerage, mainly English. He did not think Lord Milner would say that a great many of those titles now honourably borne by their descendants were given on account of anything which in strict sense could be called service to the State. "There is no object in raking up stories," said Lord Crewe, "which tell hardly upon our forbears, but it is "necessary to mention these facts in order to show that when an "almost portentous tone is adopted in relation to what is considered "to be the corruption of to-day, we ought to remember that as a

matter of fact we are living in an infinitely clearer atmosphere in this respect than ever existed before the Reform Bill."

The root of the evil, as was generally recognised by the speakers on either side, is the Party system, and the Party Whip is "the villain of the piece." But, as the *Saturday Review* aptly says, he is only "villain on necessity; all that he is evil is by a divine or rather diabolic thrusting on." He is certainly not more depraved than other people. Money furnishes the chief sinews of war in party politics. For the smooth working of the elaborate party organisations of to-day immense funds are necessary. A vast and mobile electorate has to be wooed and won over to party causes, and a huge and expensive propaganda has to be kept going on from year's end to year's end. Large contributions to party funds are, therefore, welcome to party Whips, and in most cases the rich contributors have got to be "rewarded" for their services. The election expenditure has also enormously grown and vast sums are paid in salaries and expenses to the agents of the electioneering organisations. As Lord Charnwood said, a large and flourishing political industry has come into existence. "Was the education of the electorate," he asked, "really effectively promoted by gentlemen who preached political views for hire?" While he expressed a high regard for some of these gentlemen, yet, according to him, their ranks included some who would as readily preach on the other side as on the one. Lord Selborne characterised this greed of all political parties for money as "the clay foot of Democracy." The question of money was mixed up with all they called popular movements, which could not be worked by either Party without any large sums placed by wealthy partisans at their disposal. He instanced the Land Campaign recently organised by Mr. Lloyd George. "Am I to be told," he asked "if his (Mr. George's) organisation is financed by the mites of Liberal widows, or by a kind of Peter's pence of the Liberal Party?" Democracy has got to be educated and, above all, a huge machinery must be set in motion to bring the last man to the poll, and for these purposes both the Parties are forced to cry out more and more for money.

When an honour is "sold", the Whip takes good care to see that the transaction does not appear as an open bargain. The thing is not done in that way. Nor is the party chief freely let into the secrets of the Whip. As the *Saturday Review* says, there is an elaborate etiquette studiously framed to keep the chief of an administration in virgin ignorance of such matters. "The right-hand of the Prime "Minister may have some shrewd suspicion of what the left hand of "the chief Whip is doing. But officially all this business is a mystery "to him. He takes it for granted that there is some good reason "why the fountain of honour should flow on the overgrown grocer, "the bloated tobacconist, the lord of many tea-shops, or the aspiring "provincial mayor." It is as well understood, says the *Spectator*, that the Prime Minister must never hear anything about the unpleasant side of the Whip's business as it is that a fine lady must never hear specially unsavoury domestic details about the sewers, the disposal of "soil" and so forth from the house-keeper, the estate mason, or the gardener.

Under the British Party system it is inevitable that Party services should be rewarded. When this is so, how is it possible to maintain that large contributions to Party funds are not Party services? The wealthy contributor not only gets a coveted distinction, but is beginning to have an important say in the conduct of public affairs. According to the *Spectator*, not only are honours now, in effect, sometimes sold for large contributions, but there is a tendency for policies also to be purchased by subscriptions. It illustrates this tendency by recalling an episode in the career of Cecil Rhodes who "not only induced the Irish Party by a large subscription to declare "their policy in the way which he desired—there was no secret about "that matter—but bargained privately with Mr. Schnadhorst, the "Liberal wirepuller, for an undertaking that the Liberal Government "would not make the evacaution of Egypt part of their policy. Mr. "Rhodes was then specially intent on his Cape-to-Cairo Railway."

Lord Milner's speech was almost sombre in its gravity, and he deplored in a bitter ironic vein that he was not able like some of the noble lords to add to the gaiety of nations on that occasion. The rebuke was specially meant for Lord Ribblesdale who seemed to think that the thing complained of must be, that it did not very much matter, that it had always gone on, and was very likely to go on, and that if it did not go on in one form it would go on in another. Lord Ribblesdale derided Lord Selborne's motion which, even if it were carried in both Houses, would in his opinion signify nothing beyond an expression of a pious and a slightly Pharisaical opinion. He ridiculed Lord Charnwood's suggestion for the appointment of a Royal Commission. His objection to a Royal Commission was that they either reported so much that it was impossible for a Government to do anything, or so little that it was not worth doing anything. He doubted if the giving of honours was such a terrible evil. He put his standpoint in the following sentences out of which, he believed, a syllogism could be constructed:—"That for good or evil, we in this country have for a long time "lived under Party government ; that Party government, of which-"ever side, requires large sums of money; that more money there is "the better the Party government would be—that is, the machinery "of Party government would be perfect. To that extent, therefore, "he thought it was a good thing, as they must have Party government, "that it should be well endowed with funds." He went on regaling the House with a mixture of chaff and cynicism and concluded with something like the airy assurance of the man who thought everything was the best in the best of all possible worlds.

Lord Riddlesdale's reckless optimism was matched by the frank and cheery banter of Lord Willoughby de Broke, who declared, to the infinite amusement of many of the noble lords and the dismay of not a few, that he had dabbled in the sale of honours himself. He described the circumstances of an attempt of his in this manner:"He wanted a large sum "of money for an enterprise that could not entirely be dissociated from "politics, but which he assured noble lords was entirely patriotic in its "design. He called on a gentleman and suggested that if he would "give him the money he would use his influence with his Party to secure "for him not a peerage, but a baronetcy only. He was not quite sure "what the price of a baronetcy was—perhaps the noble lords opposite "could inform him—but the price he asked was not excessive. The "very natural question was: 'That is all very well, Lord Willoughby, "but when are you going to deliver the goods?' He certainly could "not tell when the Unionist Party would get back to office, and said "that he did not know, and he was not surprised when he was politely "shown to the door."

The speeches of some of the noble lords were really those that added to the gaiety of nations. They ridiculed the attempts of over-virtuous people to reform the methods with which honours were sought by wealthy supporters of the party or showered by party leaders. The transactions were not after all of such a scandalous character as to furnish texts for solemn sermons to the moralist. The net result of the debate was a general approval of a pious resolution that things should be better than they are, though none seemed to be sure how this desirable end could be achieved. Many hoped that the force of public opinion would prove the best corrective.

Although India has, as we have said, no Party System and therefore no Party funds, popular opinion is daily growing in force against the manner in which most of the honours are bestowed in this country. The force of public opinion in England cannot be ignored by the government in office, for it depends for its tenure of power directly on the vote of the electorate. In India there exists no salutary check of this character to control the will of the Executive. The Government of India may exalt whomsoever it lists and may disregard public opinion without the least apprehension that the day of reckoning would ever come. We do not, of course, suggest that Indian Government sets itself to deliberately flout public opinion. Its standards have, however, grown to be such that they rarely furnish it with a reliable guide to pick the right persons, outside the official heirarchy, for reward and distinction. Being a Government that enjoys, so to speak, a perpetuity of tenure, its first consideration naturally is to reward its own servants for the faithful performance of their duties. It is also natural that the vast, non-official body of educated Indian opinion, which is concerned with watching independently and criticising the acts and measures of the administration, should not be treated by the official classes with frank and cordial approval. A tacit rivalry of aim, standpoint and interest has sprung up between the two. Here we have an ample scope for the existence of an even bitter and unrelenting partisanship without the open device of the Party System. No government in the world has ever openly declared that it did not exist for the people, and as far as government acts and measure require public justification, popular opinion must occasionally act as a moral force. But public opinion can to a certain degree be influenced by a State patronage of particular types of views and opinions. And here-in lies the temptation of a government circumstanced as the Government of India. That Indian Government honestly regards its own point of view and its own estimate of things in general as the best and the truest is quite beside the point. The main fact is that it usually rewards men who habitually think and feel like its own officials, or such delightfully free and simple persons who have resigned their consciences into the keeping of the officials within their reach, and have never done any thinking on their own account. Men of real merit, of intellectual eminence and moral distinction, who have done and are doing real service to their fellow men, usually stand apart from this group, and are consequently neglected. There is no wonder if the honours bestowed by the sovereign are losing their real value in the eyes of the public. The Indian Honours' List is studied as a curious human document. The values that it sets on individual merit in many cases excite the wonder and strain the credulity of the uninitiated. We are prepared to play the part of Lord Selborne and Lord Milner in India, but would some honest, cold-blooded cynic among the officials play the part of Lord Ribblesdale and Lord Willoughby de Broke?




## The Council.

BY THE HON. MR. GUP.

"As long a charter as the wind to blow on whom I please."

—*As You Like It.*

WHEN, on the 6th of January last, the HON. MR. GUP, still under the stimulus of the New Year's resolutions, resumed his seat among the gods that leisurely contemplate the dull debate and hesitating, half-hearted conflicts of mere men below, and refreshed a worn-out and tired world with his banter three weeks later, little did he think that he would once more provoke mirth by recounting the affairs of the 9th of January on the 18th of—April! But the claims of loyalty as proclaimed in the Viceregal Lodge at Delhi, and of disloyalty as proclaimed equally loudly in another Lodge last week, had to be satisfied, and the appreciation of greatness in debate, whether it be of SUREN or of FREE-LANCE, had to take a back seat. The balance-sheet of servility and sedition having been prepared and duly audited, the HON. MR. GUP returns gladly to the suavity of these columns which is equidistant from sedition and servility.

BOOTLAIR SAHEB was in the Chair and commenced the proceedings of the day with a message of mourning. Reuter had brought the sad news of the sudden demise of Sir John Molesworth Macpherson who was busy in England in consolidating the statutes of India. Council knew him well in the familiar title of "MAC," and had bid him good-bye at Simla on the last day of the autumn session on September 22nd, 1911. H. E. had expressed his regret at the retirement of MAC and pronounced a eulogy couched in the warmest of terms. Thereafter non-officials had entertained him at a farewell luncheon at which had reigned all the sweet-sadness of farewell. How sad to recall now the HON. MR. GUP'S remarks about the last piece of work done by MAC. "When the Lunacy Bill," wrote he on the occasion, "was chaperoned into the Council by SANDOW II, "he looked knowingly at SIR GUY, who in his turn passed on that knowing look with a still more omniscient gesture with the thumb to the "non-officials. This was the last of the Bills to be drafted by MAC "in his career of 34 years, an appropriate *coup de grace* "deservedly commended by SANDOW II. Could picture MAC "tenderly nursing the last of his legislative babies, the pet child "of his old age, a piece of perfect creation to the production of which "subm:issive service under eight Viceroys of various temperatures and "nine Law Members of sundry complexions must have contributed "largely. And after years of secret toil and loving patience, what "a pleasure was his to hear those words of eulogy from a connoisseur "of lunacy, and to feel that so long as a lunatic breathed the air of "this glorious Empire, the name of MAC would be remembered "with gratitude and his memory kept green in all lunatic asylums!"

Alas, poor MAC is no more; he is now beyond the jurisdiction of jokes and Lunacy Bills, debates in Council and divisions, having died in harness a sudden death which all who knew him must deeply mourn. BOOTLAIR SAHEB'S tribute to his memory was eloquent of the esteem and affection in which MAC was held by all the Councillors. CHERRY CHITNIS, *doyen* of non-official Councillors, also associated himself on their behalf with the sentiments to which BOOTLAIR SAHEB had given expression.

KHUSH-HAL asked ten out of a total of a dozen of questions chiefly arising out of his recent study of the views of ancient Commissions the reports of which had long since been buried under the dust that accumulates in official pigeon-holes. As usual, while the other official members vouchsafed half a dozen words, more or less, in reply, the RAILWAY SLEEPER brought wagon-loads of information in reply to KHUSH-HAL'S questions. The successor of dear MADGE, equally valiant, reminded NO-MORE-KAY of MADGE'S Own Regiment of Black and White, but could secure no definite information. The LION OF BAGANAPALLE offered a suggestion about the non-official representation of Cantonment stations in Legislative Councils and was met with a *non possumus* in reply. Where the Army rules there can be no Parliament!

The NEW SAGE moved for the reference of the Destructive Insects and Pests Bill to a Select Committee. Wonder why Government did not nominate as an expert the well-known MR. KEATING, whose advice would have been invaluable in the Select Committee. Hope the select Committee at least would sprinkle a good deal of MR. KEATING'S powder on their persons and their report before they returned to the Council with the latter. As it is, there are too many parasites in the Council. SANDOW III moved for the reference of the Motor Cars Bill to a Select Committee in which the place of honour was given to the HON. SHIKARI, also known amongst his friends as *Ticca-garri*. At last the *Leader* has found a use for this sporting member. After WORTHY MEYER had asked for and obtained leave to introduce the Local Authorities Loans Bill, legislative business was over and the real business of the day commenced.

SUREN, mighty with the pen and mightier with the tongue, moved that the pledges given about the Press Act in 1910 by his worthy fellow-countryman, the predecessor of the MOSLEM DOWAGER, should be redeemed, and that *bête noir* of the Calcutta Police, the High Court of Fort William in Bengal, be given an effective jurisdiction in cases of forfeiture under the various sections of the Act. SUREN disavowed all desire to revive ancient memories of four years ago, but felt it necessary to remind the Council that the Press Bill was passed amid some opposition in this Council and a terrible lot more in the country. Reference to the proceedings of the debate showed how the non-officials had fought against odds on the question of giving to the Press Bill a place among the permanent statutes of the land; but the opinion of the people had not commended itself to the official majority. The Act had now been in operation for four years and SUREN was in a position to judge of its character. SUREN evidently inclined to spell "operation" as "oppression." How it had worked, what were its defects and how they can be remedied, seemed to SUREN pertinent questions, although they may appear to SANDOW III impertinent questioning of Home Department authority. SUREN therefore moved the resolution which he described as the "irreducible minimum." This description even more than literally true, for you can't reduce the length and breadth of a point, and SUREN'S resolution had even lesser dimensions than a point in Geometry—for it was wholly pointless. The pledges of 1910 led nowhere, and even the extension of the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court could have blown nobody

any good so long as the section defining the offences under the Act remained an unreduced maximum.

Listening to SUREN addressing an English audience, who could think that butter could melt in his mouth? He commenced his attack with compliments so sweet that it was a wonder how the Government could avoid a complete surrender. He regarded the acceptance of his irreducible minimum as the first definite step towards the final annulment of the Act. That the Act was bound to be repealed sooner or later—sooner, hoped SUREN, than later—was as clear as the noon-day sun. But SUREN did not say whether he referred to the noon-day sun of Bengal, which dries up a bureaucrat, if it does'nt give him brain-fever, or to the dim and pale fugitive that seldom shows its face through the veil of clouds and the solid London pea-souper in SANDOW III's native land. The Act, argued SUREN, was inconsistent with the great traditions of British Rule and those (*ahem!*) noble principles of government which are incarnated in British administration. Having said this, SUREN looked round towards the *avatars* of noble principles sitting around him. There was the god of Learning, the male version of Sarasvati, enthroned in H. E's chair. There was **No-MORE-KAY** that could equally pass for Vishnu, the Protector, and Shiva, the Destroyer. There was the MOSLEM DOWAGER, British by adoption if not by birth, representing the deity that devises laws. There was the NEW SAGE, officiating as the god of fecundity of the soil in ancient mythology and the reaper of bumper harvests even in times of famine which is peculiar to modern conditions. Again, there were the ADMINISTRATIVE ORPHAN, god of Commerce, WORTHY MEYER, god of the Golden Treasury, and SANDOW III, god almighty of everything. SUREN scanned their faces but found no consolation. Still hopeful of the fruits of flattery he went on to say that no concession to popular freedom had been made by the British Government in India which had ever been withdrawn. He cited the example of the Jury Notification which was cancelled, and the Vernacular Press Act which was repealed, and hoped so it would be with this Act in the fullness of time. The Government of India, standing at the head of the nation (*Not, we hope, with a five-chambered revolver*) becoming every day more and more Nationalistic (*Beware of bombs!*) in its views by the breadth and liberality of its policy, ought, in the opinion of SUREN, to show us the way.

Tired of all this climbing, SUREN came down to the customary level and pitched into the police. The Act had given very large powers to the police. The Magistrate is the police, and the police is of the variety known not as the *Sipahi* but as *Siyahi*, or more correctly as the C.I.D. SUREN then flourished a document that he held in his hand as the proof of the Government's guilt. It was a statement giving the names of newspapers which were called upon to find security and consequently ceased publication. He informed the Council that of these 17, only 3 were Hindu papers, and the remaining 14 were all Muslim, another instance of the gross partiality of Government towards the "favourite wife," and a recognition not only of the numerical strength of the Mussalmans but also of their political importance and the services they had rendered to the Empire as the "gate-keepers" of India. Indirectly, of course, it may also have been a recognition of the "dynamic force" of the community as exhibited by means of an explosive Press!

SUREN particularly referred to the case of the *Ahli-Hadis* of Amritsar which had replied to certain strictures which had appeared in a missionary organ reflecting upon the Mohamedan faith. The newspaper was asked to furnish a security, but no notice had till then been taken of the book in which the strictures upon Mohamedan faith had been published. Little did SUREN know that the book which tempted the *Ahli-Hadis* to tempt the Magistrate to call for security had similarly tempted the *Badr* of Qadian, to tempt another District Magistrate to believe that Christians in India would be brought into hatred and contempt because the *Badr* had reproduced an article, twice published before in other journals since the Act came into being, stating that the Virgin Mary was a hermaphrodite, and that the Immaculate Conception was the result of natural causes. Verily the Press Act is a capital instrument in the hands of the bureaucracy, for when the laws in England against blasphemy were being severely attacked by Christians themselves, it was necessary in a heathen land, where every prospect pleases and only man is vile, to demand securities and confiscate them together with the presses if newspapers did not express full faith—in miracles. One may be sure after this that the famous verdict of a philosopher that miracles do not happen nowadays would be proved to be false, and more miracles would happen in India in the 20th century through the instrumentality of the Press Act than all those which are reputed to have happened before. Indeed the Press Act itself is the most marvellous miracle, and its administration the perfection of "holding the balance even."

SUREN cited the instance of another newspaper, the *Zamindar* of Lahore, which was guilty of high treason for protesting against the removal of a Mosque and speaking of a Lieutenant-Governor in terms only applicable to men. For this offence the security of Rs. 2,000 had been forfeited and another of Rs. 10,000 demanded. And while SUREN was referring to this case, another Lieutenant-Governor was contemplating the forfeiture of the second security also together with the entire press for high treason against—Piccadilly! Curious thing this Press Act, and curious results flow therefrom. As it happens, discourteous and disrespectful remarks about a Lieutenant-Governor cost an Indian editor Rs. 2,000, but discourteous and disrespectful remarks about the fair and fragile things that flit about Piccadilly after dark cost him just ten times as much.

The next reference of SUREN related to the Cawnpore *Herald*, which had published some two years ago "A Dramatic Scene." The D. S. P. called upon the proprietress of the paper and wanted to know the writer's name. On declining to do so she was taken to task for the impropriety of permiting her newspaper to be the means of criticism directed against the police and the municipality, two corporations which in Cawnpore at least are not only above criticism but may well be regarded as also above law. The *dénouement* of "A Dramatic Scene" was the demand of security from the good lady who was guilty of high treason against *Chowkidars* and *Chungi*.

After quoting figures furnished by his hon. *friend*, the Home Secretary (*Who said* SUREN *was hsotile to British Rule?*), SUREN came to an authoritative expression of opinion. He refrained from referring to the popular verdict, for that might not have commended itself to "gentlemen on the other side of the House"; but the leader of His Majesty's Opposition cited the authority of the Chief Justice of the High Court of Bengal when delivering judgment in the *Comrade* case. This, SUREN felt sure, was "an authority of unquestioned weight whose pronouncement would command the implicit acquiescence of all members, be they official or non-officials." And while SUREN rolled out this sentence in his sonorous voice, the testimony of the ears of the audience was considerably affected by the testimony of their eyes which detected an unusual protuberance on the left side of his face, not altogether unlike the frequent phenomenon which one notices in a schoolboy speaking with his tongue in his cheek. And here he read out a passage from the famous judgment showing the all-comprhensive character of section 4 of the Act within whose wide-spread net, as the Chief Justice had prophesied with unerring prescience, would come an attack on that degraded section of the public which lives on the misery and shame of others. India may now easily explain her intellectual poverty, for, said the Chief Justice, much that is regarded as standard literature could undoubtedly be caught. So no more standard literature for India, and the publishers of the thousand and one "Hundred Best Books" may console themselves by joining the "Indian Press Defence League" of the Editor who paid twenty thousand in damages for casting doubts on the chastity of Piccadilly.

After this came more quotations from the judgment, more arguments in its support and more insistence on the unredeemed pledges of the former Law Member, followed by a worthy peroration. SUREN argued that a sensible improvement in the situation had already taken place and a change for the better had been generally admitted in the tone and temper of the press. In making the appeal for a substantial modification of the Act, if not its repeal, SUREN said, he did not speak only as a member of the Council, but as "one with whom journalism had been the cherished vocation of his life." Over the heads of his audience he flashed the "Sword of Damocles," then talked of "the great organ for the ventilation of popular grievances", and, of course, of the "safety-valve of the State." Nor was a reference to the time-honoured distinction (*Who said "without a difference"?*) between liberty and licence omitted. And last of all, SUREN promised the Government that if it was good it would proclaim to the world "the unalterable determination of the Government to redeem its pledged word and to make justice to the aggrieved party the key-note of its policy."

Hardly had he resumed his seat after this little *bonne bouche* of complimentary oratory, when up rose the gallant FREE-LANCE, foremost in the files of Punjab loyalty. FREE-LANCE does not beat about the bush. He does not conceal his hostility to anything under the cloak of meaningless compliments. He throws no chaff to the bird, but puts out his hand straight to catch it without the aid of net or snare. The gallant FREE-LANCE has no faith in flanking movements but charges direct, going straight for the enemy and directing his weapon towards the breast of his foe with unerring aim. So, just as he let not a moment slip between the speech of SUREN and his own, he did not let a word pass his lips that did not declare his aim and purpose. "Sir, I am "the greatest enemy of the seditious Press!" was a declaration as direct and sudden as the question of MR. BROADBENT to NORA, in *John Bull's Other Island*, within two minutes of meeting her: "Will you be my wife?" But FREE-LANCE did not content himself merely with this declaration of war. He added: "Had I had the power I "would have never allowed this resolution to be moved and discussed "here to-day." After this the Council wondered why FREE-LANCE stopped at that, and did not say: "Had I had the power I would

"have brought SUREN's head on a charger. Had I had the power "I would have shot down every non-official member of the Council "except the representatives of the (*ahem!*) people from the Punjab, a "few landlords and my unfailing co-voter from Burma, and given all "their votes to official members. Had I had the power I would "have poisoned every member of the Royal Commission on the "Public Services except such as had taken an oath to vote an "increase of salaries to members of the Civil Service and to close its "doors to my fellow-countrymen. Had I had the power I would have "abolished the High Court of Calcutta, in fact all Law Courts "except the Chief Court of Lahore, which is, strictly speaking, as you all "know, not a Law Court at all. Had I had the power I "would have abolished education and doubled the expenditure "on the Army. Had I had the power I would have destroyed "Cawnpore and given to "Mr. Tyler all the powers of the King "in Parliament and even of Sir Edward Carson, Had I had the "power I would have annexed Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and "every other Muslim country and compelled their rulers to pass votes "of thanks to Sir Edward Grey as their greatest benefactor. Had I had the power I would have suppressed every newspaper except the "*Pioneer*, and that I would have published as the Government "*Gazette*. Finally, had I had the power, I would have killed the HON. "MR. GUP and drunk a full hogshead of his seditious blood." The Council lost the opportunity of hearing this characteristic speech and had to content itself merely with the pious hope that had the FREE-LANCE had the power—he would have asked to move a counter-resolution for making the Press Act still more stringent.

Three days ago, on SUREN's motion relating to education, FREE-LANCE, disdaining such restraints as relevency imposes, had already attacked those who wanted to persuade the Government to modify the Press Act. So proud was he of this feat that he reminded the Council of it and even boasted that last year too, "when there were no signs of this resolution being discussed here," he had emphasised in the course of his Budget speech the necessity of making the Press laws more effective. FREE-LANCE had been born on horse-back and hoped to die also on horse-back, though no one need discuss the question "When?" The horse's bare back was to him even more secure a seat than the one which he occupied in the Council through the kindness of the Government. He did not even need a bridle wherewith to control the most mettlesome charger of the Shahpore breed. But even the horsemanship of the valiant Captain of the Tiwana Lancers was unequal to the demands made by an "unbridled Press" which the FREE-LANCE declared on oath, with the utmost modesty and self-effacement, to be "the *greatest* curse of India." Never, said the gallant Captain, was a more appropriate and more useful Act passed in the Council; and before the Council could recall similar praise of other Acts, FREE-LANCE himself came out with the exceptions that proved the rule, the Seditious Meetings Act and the Conspiracy Act.

But it is the Seditious Press which, according to FREE-LANCE, "lies at the root of the other two". "It is papers or other seditious pamphlets which poison unsteady persons." Now if that be true, what consummation is more devoutly to be wished than the poisoning of unsteady persons? No one with any decency would like to poison so steady a person as FREE-LANCE, specially when he is coming from the Tiwana Regimental Mess in the small hours of the morning.

FREE-LANCE reminded the Council that there was not a single discussion on the subject in which he did not take part, because he felt that "if such propaganda are not crushed "with a strong hand serious danger would result in the future." And what hand could be stronger than his. There are only two hands that really matter; the hand that holds the Tiwana lance kills the Press, and then the hand that rocks the cradle can peacefully rule the world. He warned the Council that "if any-"thing happens then on a very big scale the peace-loving subjects "of his Majesty the King-Emperor would be the real sufferers and "the irresponsible small set of sedition-mongers would gain money "by setting the house of the poor on fire and witnessing the "blaze from afar". A new way of gaining money this, by setting the house of the poor on fire and witnessing the blaze from afar. One would have thought the incendiary would set the house of the wealthy Tiwana, the "Protector of the Poor", on fire, and instead of witnessing the blaze from afar would help himself at close quarters with the salvage. (*Please don't arrest me for arson in the offices of a newspaper on the strength of this!*")

FREE-LANCE cited the confession of a political prisoner in Montgomery Jail that "his mind was upset by reading articles in news-"papers and pamphlets", and believed the story, because the confession was made "when he was in prison and as the whole thing was "over he had no motive for saying anything but truth." What a wonderful reformatory our jails must be, and how all those who suspect Khan Bahadurs and Honorary Captains of frequent departures from the truth must long for the power to send them to Montgomery Jail so that they may have "no motive for saying anything but truth." With absolute mathematical precision, FREE-LANCE said we could safely hold the Press responsible for 97 per cent. of crimes of this nature. But if this is true, who can safely be held responsible for the remaining 3 per cent.? Again, if Montgomery Jail had among its denizens the editor of a seditious paper, and he were asked to confess, when "he had no motive for saying anything but truth," would he not say that "his mind was upset" by the vagaries of the Punjab bureaucrats, Khan Bahadurs and Honorary Captains? Could we not then safely hold this holy alliance responsible for 97 per cent. of writings of this nature?

FREE-LANCE and his *confrères* of the martial classes of the Punjab "cannot tolerate any weakness in the Press", as if the Press that required the strong hand of a Tiwana to crush it could be called weak. But let us not bother with the sound, when we get sense enough and to spare in the speech of FREE-LANCE. Well, intolerant of weakness or strength, he would not allow "fire to be in "near a tank of petroleum which may be in the house we reside in." But what a house to live in for the head of the Tiwanas! One may have suspected a fair-sized distillery in a Tiwana bedroom, but—a petroleum tank?

FREE-LANCE recalled the fact that the Punjab L. G. had "specially remarked about the mischief caused by presses of a "certain class." Now nobody can call this a sweeping condemnation, for only "presses of a certain class" were attacked. The tailors and outfitters have something to be thankful for, because it is possible that trouser presses were not contemplated at the time when this condemnation was pronounced. Although the Punjab Government had determined to put a stop to such presses, very little was done "in view of the leniency of the Press Act as it is "in the present form." Really it was tremendous hard lines on the L.G.'s for the Press Act only permitted the confiscation of the Press and the security deposited and did not permit "our worthy Lieutenant-Governor" to bury the editor alive, throw the publisher into boiling pitch and crush the printer in a sugar-cane mill. Besides, "it hardly "stands to reason that the Local Government should have to decide "upon specific offending words or articles etc., as laid down in the "resolution, which are seditious." What stands to reason is that Local Governments should at least be granted the powers of God Almighty who can read the unuttered thoughts of mankind. What a pity the gallant Tiwana was not born in the spacious days of the Inquisition. The Scarlet Woman had evidently absconded with the clothes of FREE-LANCE while he was bathing, and anticipated him by some four or five centuries.

Nevertheless the gallant Tiwana had not done so badly without his clothes. People could rob him of his vesture, but not rob him of his voice, and, as he said, he had been advocating the cause "ever since I had voice." We have it on the authority of an affidavit of the nurse of FREE-LANCE that the infant Tiwana's first howl after his birth was a protest against the leniency of Press laws, and the second sounded something like "Rule Brittania!" He has since spoken in various Councils "as strongly as words could permit me." Oh for the tyranny of words! Did not Hamlet exclaim "Words! words! words!"? Did not FREE-LANCE himself just now declaim against the restriction of "specific offending words" imposed upon Lieutenant-Governors? What is a word except an articulate sound or combination of sounds by custom expressing an idea or ideas? Why should sounds be articulate and why should they be bound to express an idea or ideas? How easy would it have been for FREE-LANCE to have uttered sounds without bothering about the custom of expressing an idea or ideas, or, failing that, to have spoken strongly without the use of words. After all, as the Latin proverb says, "a word to the *wise*". Now, I ask you, what had Tiwana done to be saddled with words? Nevertheless, would feel certain that, words permiting, he would speak with the utmost strength on this question, for he is a real friend of India and cannot expose "the poor peace-loving population, the lambs of India to the attacks of the wolves of the Press" (*Who said, "White Wolf"?*)

Before resuming his seat FREE-LANCE recalled the fierce fight that had raged a year ago round the Conspiracy Bill when "the whole Council, official and non-official, were on one "side, while the Hon. mover of to-day, with one faithful follower, "(and here MADRAS-CHUTNEY-PICKLE-ACHAR blushed modestly) "adhered like heroes to fight to the last when the position was "really untenable." How unlike was that scene to the one in which the gallant Tiwana so valiantly figures, like god, always on the side of the bigger battalions! But the last act of FREE-LANCE was really the *coup de grace*, for he abolished the judiciary altogether with the most logical conclusion, that shamed even Aristotle, that "the High Court is no doubt a big court, but "at the same time the Lieutenant-Governor of a province is "not an ordinary authority, and as he knows about the executive "as well as the other side, I think he ought to be the highest "authority in the province." The "other side" was delicious. Long live the Tiwana FREE-LANCE!

# Confirmation at Woking

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER AND THE MOHAMEDANS.

THE Bishop of Winchester administered the rite of Confirmation to about seventy-five candidates at Christ Church, Woking, on Wednesday evening, in the presence of a good congregation. The robed clergy in attendance were the Revs. E. R. Price Devereux (Vicar of Christ Church), Norman Pares, R.D. (Vicar of Horsell), G. W. Grundy (Chobham), C. A. Hamilton (Pyrford), H. R. Bates and T. S. Porterfield (Christ Church parish), while the Rev. Cyril Wilson, of Woking was in attendance upon the Bishop and carried the crozier. The Churchwardens (Messrs. Bingemann and Collins) were also in the procession, bearing their wands of office.

The candidates came from Woking, about 50; Chobham 14, Pyrford 8, and Horsell 3. The hymns sung during the service were "Soldiers of Christ arise," "Come, Holy Ghost" "Thine for ever," and "O Jesus I have promised," Mr. W. D. Boseley, Mus. Bac., presiding at the organ.

In his address to the candidates after the laying-on of hands, the Bishop, in speaking of the difficulties they would have to contend with in life, said he wanted them to be not merely good men and women, but also Christian men and women. Since he was last in Woking he understood there had been started amongst them a movement of the Mohamedan religion. That was rather a difficult thing for Christian people to know how to consider, but he wanted them to look upon the good side. They must evidently behave with charity and courtesy, but they could not help entirely refusing it as a religion, although it helped them to understand what the truth of their own religion was. Heaven forbid that he should say the Mohamedans had no goodness in them, and he often thought they set Christian people an example in the matter of prayer; but their religion was not one which they could accept, because they could not believe that anyone but Christ could have been sent from God to be the Redeemer of mankind. The good he wanted Woking people to get out of it was that they should realise more willingly, faithfully and thankfully, what the reality of their religion was. The Mohamedans certainly could not say in the words of the Bible that God was a treasury of grace for his people. Their lives were Christian lives, and they must fashion them that way—a life of unselfishness, patience and sacrifice, and follow the Life which was a perfect example to the whole world. So they might see a little more clearly than before what confirmation was; they must think of those things and exercise themselves in those matters. They must be very steady in their prayers and look upwards to Him, taking care they were not found by Mohamedan ignorant of the Lord to whom they belonged.

## The Uplifted Banner.

WITH twelve ladies and gentlemen arrayed in the curious silks of the East and native grass cloths of Central Africa, the platform at the Goldsworth Road Lecture Room on Monday evening presented an unwonted appearance. The Rev. W. H. Tebbit presided over a large audience, and stated that the object of the demonstration was to show the value of the work of the Baptist Missionary Society in India, China and the Congo.

Mr. Tom W. Smith introduced the separate spheres of work, referring to specially drawn maps hung at the back of the platform. India was represented by Mr. H. Haycroft, as a convert from Hinduism, Mr. H. Cleave as a Mohamedan convert, Miss E. Carver as a Hindu woman, Mr. A. Willoughby as a native Colporteur; China was represented by Mr. A. C. Smith as a Chinese student, and Miss E. L. Ellis as a Chinese school girl, while Mr. J. Haines spoke on the value of medical missions. The history of the Congo Mission was told by Messrs. A. Harvey, H. W. Smith and G. M. Timms, while Mr. H. Budge, as a Congo Chief, spoke of the difference that Christianity had brought to the natives of Congoland. Five "Congo Boys" (Messrs. A Lush, J. Bond, A. Hay, A. Hooper and H. Hopkins) sang a native boat song in the Bobangi dialect, using Congo boat paddles in the same way as their brothers on that mighty river. Mrs. Haines sang special verses appealing for sympathy in these spheres of labour, and Mr. A. T. King summed up the results of the work. A stirring appeal for personal consecration was recited by Mr. C.B. Smith, and after a collection on behalf of the funds of the Baptist Missionary Society had been taken, the meeting closed with the singing of the Doxology.—*The Surrey Herald.*

# The "Islamic Review."

BY CLEMENT E. PIKE.

A PORTENT of our times, significant of much, is the *Islamic Review*. It is one of the many refutations of that prophecy of Kipling that "East is east and West is west, and never the twain shall meet." The order may not be quite accurate, and I have not Kipling by me to refer to, but in substance that is the prophecy, and it is refuted by the *Islamic Review*. The frontispiece to the first number of the second volume refutes it. There East, in the person of Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, meets West, in the person of the Right Hon. Lord Headley, and the significance of this meeting is emphasised in a little poem by Lord Headley printed on the first page, of which this is the last verse—

"Great Allah, Lord, our God our King.
Who knowest what for us is best,
We praise Thy Name and loudly sing
The fusion of the East and West."

All this meeting of East and West is no new thing to those of us who have attended one of our International World Congresses. At these great gatherings East and West are brought into pleasant contact at the festive board, over the teacups, in solemn temples, in railway carriages. It was in one of these, on that most delightful expedition to Chantilly at the World Congress in Paris, that I had the pleasure of meeting the editor of the *Islamic Review*.

In that compartment Europe, Asia and America were represented. The Universalist minister and his wife must have felt quite at home in it. There was a correspondent of a great London daily, and the editor of the *Islamic Review*. Since then *Muslim India and Islamic Review* (now the titles are reversed) has been sent to me, and I have found much in it of instruction and interest. It ought to remove prejudice against a religion professed by millions of our fellow-subjects.

It has been a grievous calamity that, in the past, Christianity and Islam have met each other in degraded forms, thus causing hostility, contempt and misunderstanding.

"I received a letter," writes Lord Headley, "It was *apropos* of my leaning towards Islam, in which the writer told me that if I did not believe in the divinity of Christ *I could not be saved*. The question of the divinity of Christ never seemed to me nearly so important as that other question: Did he give God's message to mankind? Now, if I had any doubt about this latter point, it would worry me a great deal; but, thank God, I have no doubt, and I hope that my faith in Christ and his inspired teachings is as firm as that of any other Muslim or Christian. As I have said before, Islam and Christianity *as taught by Christ himself* are sister religions only held apart by dogmas and technicalities which might very well be dispensed with." There are, I suppose, few Unitarians who would not respond to this with a hearty "Amen."—*Christian Life.*

# Full Text of the White Paper.

THE following is the complete text of the White Paper issued by the War Office on March 25. It would be apparent from its perusal that the Reuter's messages had made a confusion of dates which obscured the course of events and which we pointed out in our leading article on the subject:—

## Memorandum of an interview between Secretary of State for War and the General Officer Commanding in Chief.

*16th December, 1913.*

I saw the General Officers Commanding-in-Chief on the 16th December, 1913, and made them the following statement with reference to the duty of soldiers when the possibility of resignations of their commissions was brought to my notice.

I first dealt with the legal question. The law clearly lays down that a soldier is entitled to obey an order to shoot only if that order is reasonable under the circumstances. No one, from general officer to private, is entitled to use more force than is required to maintain order and the safety of life and property. No soldier can shelter himself from the civil law behind an order given by a superior if that order is, in fact, unreasonable and outrageous.

If, therefore, officers and men in the army were led to believe that there was a possibility that they might be called upon to take some outrageous action—for instance, to massacre a demonstration of Orangemen who were causing no danger to the lives of their neighbours,—bad as were the effects on discipline in the army, nevertheless it was true that they were, in fact and in law, justified in contemplating refusal to obey.

But there never had been, and was not now, any intention of giving outrageous and illegal orders to the troops. The law would be respected, and must be obeyed. What had now to be faced was the possibility of action being required by His Majesty's troops in supporting the civil power, in protecting life and property when the police were unable to hold their own.

Attempts had been made to dissuade troops from obeying lawful orders given to them when acting in support of the civil power. This amounted to a claim that officers and men could

pick and choose between lawful and reasonable orders, saying that they would obey in one case and not in another.

The army had been quite steady. During the past year there had not been brought to the notice of the authorities one single case of lack of discipline in this respect. At the same time, in view of the statements in the press and elsewhere, it was well to make the position clear.

I informed them that I should hold each of them individually responsible to see that there was no conduct in their commands subversive of discipline.

They could let it be clearly understood that any such conduct would be dealt with forthwith under the King's Regulations. If any officer should tender his resignation, they would ask for his reasons, and if he indicated in his reply that he desired to choose which order he would obey, I would at once submit to the King that the officer should be removed.

J. S.

## Instructions to Sir A. Paget.

*War Office, Whitehall, S. W. 14th March, 1914.*

Sir,—I am commanded by the Army Council to inform you that in consequence of reports which have been received by His Majesty's Government that attempts may be made in various parts of Ireland by evil disposed persons to obtain possession of arms, ammunition, and other Government stores, it is considered advisable that you should at once take special precautions for safeguarding depots and other places where arms or stores are kept, as you may think advisable.

It appears from the information received that Armagh, Omagh, Carrickfergus, and Enniskillen are insufficiently guarded, being specially liable to attack. You will, therefore, please to take the necessary steps and report to this office.

Officers in command of all barracks where guns, small-arms, ammunition, and other Government stores are located should be warned that they will be held responsible that all measures to ensure the safety of the stores, etc., under their custody are taken, and that at no time should barracks or buildings be left without adequate armed guards.

I am to add that although certain places have been specifically referred to above, the intention is that no steps should be omitted to ensure the safety of Government arms and stores in the South as well as in the North of Ireland.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) B. B. Cubitt.

General Sir A. Paget, G. C. B.,
K. C. V. O., A. D. C.

## Sir A. Paget to the War Office.

*March 20, 1914 [Received 7 P. M.]*

Officer commanding 5th Lancers states that all officers except two and one doubtful are resigning their commissions to-day. I much fear same condition 16th Lancers. Fear men will refuse to move.

## Sir A. Paget to the War Office.

*March 20, 1914 [Received 11 35 p. m.]*

Regret to report Brigadier and 57 officers 3rd Cavalry Brigade prefer to accept dismissal if ordered North.

## Secretary for War to Sir A. Paget.

*Despatched Midnight, March 20, 1914.*
*War office, Whitehall, S. W.*

Your telegram with reference to 5th and 16th Lancers received. You have authority of Army Council to suspend from duty any senior officers who have tendered their resignations or in any other manner disputed your authority.

Take whatever action you think proper and report to the War Office.

Direct Gough and officers commanding 5th and 16th Lancers to report themselves to the Adjutant-General at the War Office without delay. They should leave by first possible boat. They should be relieved of their commands, and Officers are being sent to relieve them at once.

Resignations of all officers should be refused.

## General Gough's Report.

*Headquarters, Irish Command.*

With reference to the communication from the War Office conveyed to me verbally by the Commander in-Chief this morning, I have the honour to report the result of my interviews with the officers of my brigade.

The officers are of unanimous opinion that further information essential before they are called upon at such short notice to take decisions so vitally affecting their whole future, and especially that a clear definition should be given of the terms "Duty as ordered" and "active operations" in Ulster.

If such duty consists of the maintenance of order and the preservation of property, all the officers in this brigade, including myself, would be prepared to carry out that duty.

But if the duty involves the *initiation* of active military operations against Ulster, the following numbers of officers by regiments would respectfully and under protest prefer to be dismissed :—

Brigade Staff, two officers.
4th Hussars, 17 out of 19 doing duty.
5th Lancers, 17 out of 20 doing duty.
16th Lancers, 16 out of 16 doing duty.
3rd Brigade R. H. A., six out of 13 doing duty, "including R. M."
4th Field Troop R.E.,—one out of one doing duty.
3rd Signal Troop R. E., one out of one doing duty.

In addition the following are domiciled in Ulster, and claim protection as such :—

4th Hussars, two officers.
5th Lancers, one officer.
3th Brigade R. H. A., two officers.

(Signed) H. P. Gough, Brig. Gen.,
G. O. C. 3rd. Cav. Bde.

*Curragh, 20th March, 1914.*

## Copy of Letter from Brigadier General Gough to the Adjntant. General,

*23rd March, 1914.*

Dear General,—On thinking over the points raised by the Secretary of State this morning, the question has arisen in my mind, and it will undoubtedly be one of the first questions asked me by my officers when I see them, viz.:

In the event of the present Home Rule Rill becoming law, can we be called upon to enforce it on Ulster under the expression of maintaining law and order?

This point should be made quite clear in your draft letter, otherwise there will be renewed misconceptions.—Yours, sincerely,

(Signed) H. R. Gough.

## Instructions to General Gough.

Brigadier-General H. De la P. Gough, C. B.

You are authorised by the Army Council to inform the officers of the 3rd Cavalry Brigade that the Army Council are satisfied that the incident which has arisen in regard to their resignations has been due to a misunderstanding.

It is the duty of all soldiers to obey lawful commands given to them through the proper channel by the Army Council, either for the protection of public property and the support or the civil power in the event of disturbances or for the protection of the lives and property of the inhabitants.

This is the only point it was intended to be put to the officers in the questions of the General officer Commanding, and the Army Council have been glad to learn from you that there never has been, and never will be, in the brigade any question of disobeying such lawful orders.

His Majesty's Government must retain their right to use all the forces of the Crown in Ireland or elsewhere to maintain law and order and to support the civil power in the ordinary execution of its duty.

But they have no intention whatever of taking advantage of this right to crush political opposition to the policy or principles of the Home Rule Bill.

*23rd March 1914.*

J. S.
T. F.
T. S. E.

# The Army Crisis.

## The House of Commons.

### Colonel Seely's Resignation.

*March 25.*

Mr. Bonar Law (Bootle, Opp.), who was greeted with cheers, said:—With reference to to-day's debate, there is a suggestion I should like to make to the Prime Minister. It must be evident to every one that there are many gaps in the White Paper which require to be filled up before there can be an adequate discussion of the subject. I shall only name one or two of the questions which I think must be answered, and as I understand that the Secretary for War is going to speak immediately afterwards, I shall be quite satisfied if he takes note of them and answers them in the course of his speech. Is there any addition, as is reported in the Press, to the letter that was given to General Gough, and, if so, what are the terms of that addition? Another question is in reference to the promise given by the Prime Minister that the memorandum of the verbal instructions given General Paget would be included in the White Paper. They are not here, and I ask the Secretary for War to fulfil that pledge by reading them in the course of his speech. I wish to know also whether the War Office will now communicate the authentic version

of Sir Arthur Paget's of the address which he himself gave to his commanding officers, and which was the cause of the resignations. The only other question I wish to ask now is whether or not the letter sent by General Gough on behalf of the officers was communicated to the War Office before they dismissed General Gough, and to the two colonels of the regiments. (Cheers.)

## The War Secretary's Speech.

On the order for the second reading of the Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill.

Colonel Seely (Ilkeston, Min.), who was received with cheers, said:—In view of the statement which I shall feel it my duty to make at the conclusion of my speech, I beg to ask the indulgence of the House in explaining to them, not only my knowledge of the facts connected with this correspondence, but also my personal share in this matter. I shall hope to make the story as complete as I can, and I can assure the House and hon. members in all quarters of the House that I hope to conceal nothing and to tell the whole story. (Hear, hear.) I will deal first with the meeting I had with the general officers commanding in chief in December. The Chief of the Imperial General Staff and the Adjutant-General represented to me that owing to attempts which had been made in many quarters to subvert the discipline of the Army—I make no complaint on one side or the other for the moment—it was desirable that special steps should be taken in order to ensure that that discipline should be maintained. At their suggestion I accordingly summoned the general officers commanding in chief of the six commands in the United Kingdom and I laid before them the document which is here printed.

The general officers commanding in chief accepted the statement that I had made to them and promised me, naturally enough, that they would do their best to ensure that their was no indiscipline in the Army (cheers), and that if and when any officers should attempt to resign their commissions, rather than obey a lawful order to support the civil power, they would take the action which I had then informed them that I had decided it was my duty to take. From that day until the recent occurrences in what we may call the Curragh incident there had been no resignation of any Regular officer. Fourteen cases occurred of retired officers who wrote to the War Office, saying that they must qualify their promise to serve on mobilization. They were informed by the Army Council that the Army Council could not accept any qualified service. (Cheers.)

### Safeguarding Military Depots.

I pass now to the second of the documents here printed. Owing to information received by the Government, I considered it necessary to take special steps as Secretary of State for War to safeguard certain depots—namely, Omagh, Armagh, Enniskillen, and Carrickfergus—from the possibility of attack by evilly-disposed persons. I was then, and am now, aware that any such attempt would be discountenanced by the responsible leaders of the Ulster movement. (Hear, hear.) Such was my information: but I also knew, from information placed before me, that there was a very real possibility in the present disturbed state of these very important places being attacked, and here may I say that the right hon. gentleman, the member for the City of London (Mr. Balfour) has not perhaps quite realized how important a place a depôt of army stores on mobilization is. I therefore caused to be issued in the name of the Army Council, who, of course, were fully cognisant of these movements, the necessary instructions which are contained in the second document. I need hardly say, also, as has been stated by the Prime Minister, I did so with the full authority of the Cabinet, who had considered this matter. Sir Arthur Paget came over to London to discuss with us the best manner of carrying out these movements. (An Opposition member, "What date?") I cannot carry in my head the exact date, but it was a few days afterwards. It was after the 14th, and it would be about the following Wednesday or Thursday.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain (Worcestershire, E., Opp.)—Was he summoned to come over?

Colonel Seely.—He was summoned to come over, and so far as my recollection serves me, he was anxious to come over in order to discuss it. That is not a material point. Obviously, he would be desirous to discuss this important movement of a precautionary nature, and we were anxious to discuss it with him. It appeared to us and to him that although these movements were of a purely precautionary character, there was a possibility that a state of excitement might be caused which would result in civil commotion in all parts of Ireland. We therefore took the necessary steps to support these movements in the event of their being opposed by armed force. We did not think it likely, but we thought it possible, and the General Officer Commanding would have failed in his duty if he had not represented to me, as he did, that he must be quite certain that he would be able to safeguard these vital points from possible attack. I would ask the leader of the Opposition if he would interrupt at any time if I fail to answer the questions which he put to me, as they were given to me at such short notice that I may miss them in the course of the statement I have to make. Sir Arthur Paget then returned to Dublin. The moves were carried out, and there was no opposition or difficulty.

Mr. Bonar Law.—May I interrupt, at the right hon. gentleman's suggestion? One of the questions I put, and prominence was also given to it by the Prime Minister, was that the memorandum on the verbal instruction given to Sir Arthur Paget would be communicated to the House.

Colonel Seely.—My right hon. friend the Prime Minister has no recollection of making that statement, but I have nothing to conceal.

Mr. Bonar Law (reading from the official report).—"May I ask the Prime Minister whether the statement will include the memorandum of the Secretary of State for War to the Chief of General Staff as to the oral instructions given to Sir Arthur Paget? The Prime Minister.—Yes, Sir."

The Prime Minister.—Yes, but that is the first paper. (Hon. Members.—"Oh.")

### The Authorship of a Memorandum.

Colonel Seely.—May I clear this up. I can assure the House that I wish to tell them the whole story. (Cheers.) With regard to the officer question, the only instructions were those contained, as the Prime Minister says, in this paper. All other instructions were, as they ought always to be, verbal instructions. With regard to the movements there were no written instructions, but there were constant conferences between myself and the Chief of the General Staff, the Adjutant-General, and Sir Arthur Paget, in regard to the movements which must be taken in the event of these attempts to safeguard, as we hoped successfully, the stores at Omagh, Carrickfergus, Enniskillen, and Dundalk, where the guns were. My answer to the right hon. gentleman is, then, that there are no other written instructions to Sir Arthur Paget. I made no memorandum, and, indeed, it would be ridiculous that I should, of the consultations I had with Sir Arthur Paget, together with the Chief of the Imperial General Staff and the Adjutant-General in regard to these movements. If there should be such a memorandum, it was not prepared by me, and if there be such a memorandum prepared by the Chief of the General Staff, I am sure there is nothing to conceal. The position is perfectly clear. We desired to make sure that these places were safeguarded. We were most anxious to avoid any chance of a collision. (Cheers.) Sir Arthur Paget himself was most anxious to take any and every step to avoid a provocative action, and so informed me and so informed his officers.

Sir Arthur Paget returned to Dublin. The movements were carried out, and every order was punctually obeyed. The next matter which appears in these papers is the telegram from Sir Arthur Paget, which is printed as the third of these documents, saying:—"Officer commanding 5th Lancers states that all officers, except two and one doubtful, are resigning their commissions to-day. I much fear same conditions in the 16th Lancers. Fear men will refuse to move."

Mr. Bonar Law.—You have missed one of the questions. One of the questions I asked was that you would repeat to us the version given to him by Sir Arthur Paget as to the instructions given to his officers.

### An Appearance of Deliberate Defiance.

Colonel Seely.—We have not got to that point yet. I received on the evening of March 20 this telegram about Sir Arthur Paget. I summoned the Chief of the Imperial General Staff and the Adjutant-General to my house, when I received it, and we dispatched a telegram. In that telegram, as hon. gentlemen will see, we stated that the senior officers should come at once to London, that they should be relieved of their commands, and that officers would be sent to relieve them. (Cheers.) It appeared to us from the telegrams received—and I think the House will agree that it was likely we should make that assumption—that these officers had deliberately defied the lawful order of Sir Arthur Paget and had defied his authority. The officers arrived in London. With them came this document which is printed—a letter from General Gough, which shows conclusively that there had been a complete and honest misapprehension of the statement made by Sir Arthur Paget to the meeting of officers which he held.

### Sir Arthur Paget's Version of his Speech.

I had better now state what Sir Arthur Paget himself says in the concluding portion of this statement to the officers, who consisted of the divisional generals and the brigadier-generals under his command, except those who could not arrive because of the distance, for instance, the general from Cork. This is what he telegraphed last night to say what is his recollection of the substance of what he says:—"Sir Arthur Paget felt that the outcome of the precautionary moves might be misinterpreted and lead to a situation demanding further action and he felt that the time had come when he must ascertain upon what general officers and others he could rely." (Cheers.) That is all I have obtained by telegram from Sir Arthur Paget. (Opposition cries of "Oh" and Ministerial cheers.) That is all I received last night by telegram from Sir Arthur Paget with reference to the

statement, by his military Secretary and my private Secretary, I hope the House will appreciate how difficult it is to keep pace with these rapid movements of telegrams and men, and will excuse us for not having printed this, seeing it only arrived late last night. I have seen Sir Arthur Paget since this epistle. I saw him the other night after the debate on Monday, after the right hon. gentleman spoke. I asked him if he could explain this discrepancy.

### Wild Rumours.

Might I put it this way in order to make the House understand what the discrepancy was? These officers believed that there was a plan to treat Ulster as an enemy country, and to overwhelm her with a surprise attack. That was their honest belief (Ministerial laughter and Opposition cheers), and that belief, I can imagine, must have been largely fostered—I make no charge—by the wild rumours that flew about, as we had foreseen they would, as a consequence of these moves—first, that 200 warrants were out to arrest all the leaders, for which there was not a shadow of foundation (cheers); but were published widely throughout the Press; and, secondly, that there was a secret movement to move instantly and disarm the Ulster volunteers. There was not one shadow or shade of foundation for either of these suggestions. (Cheers.) They never occurred to me, they never occurred to the Prime Minister, they never occurred to any member of the Cabinet, but we know that directly we moved to safeguard these depots wild rumours would fly about, and that is the justification, and I submit an absolute justification, of my action as Secretary of State for War in accepting a suggestion of Sir Arthur Paget and of all competent soldiers that we ought to be prepared for a state of disorder following on these necessary movements. These officers believed that this was the intention. Sir Arthur Paget has informed me that he cannot understand how they could obtain that impression from anything he said. He stated to me before he left that he had made it clear to the officers that these were precautionary movements, that they might have to be supported, that there was no intention whatever of taking the initiative, as General Gough thought, of surprising Ulster, and that what was necessary was to secure that the movements should be carried out.

Mr. Bonar Law.—I certainly do not want to interfere with the right hon. gentleman's speech, but we do wish to have it as clear as possible. The right hon. gentleman heard the version of Sir Arthur Paget's speech which I gave. Did he not take the precaution to ask Sir Arthur Paget to give in writing his account, and now will he kindly explain how the difficulty had arisen with the officers, seeing that the whole difficulty was that they thought they were to be engaged in initiative engagements against Ulster, after Sir A. Paget had said there was no such intention?

### An Inaccurate Version.

Colonel Seely.—I will deal with both points. The first question is, Did I ask Sir Arthur Paget whether the letter the right hon. gentleman read out purporting to come from an officer who was present. I think (Mr. Bonar Law nodded assent), formed an accurate version of what he said. Sir Arthur Paget had to return immediately to Ireland. I asked him whether that did represent accurately what he said. He told me "No it certainly did not." Parts of it, he said, were an accurate version of parts of what he said, but parts of it were wholly inaccurate. What General Paget said was this, and I repeat it again. He told the officers, first, that the movements that had to be made were with the object of safeguarding the depots and Government property, and that it was necessary for him to make sure that he could support these movements.

### "In a Blaze."

With regard to the phrase which the right hon. gentleman says was used, "in a blaze," he told me that he said there might be a blaze, certainly a blaze in the Press. (Ministerial cheers.) I do not wish to strike any controversial note, for the moment is a very seriouse one to me, and I only wish to tell the whole story as completely as it can be told. The next point is the officers being here are interviewed by the Adjutant-General. They explained to the Adjutant-General that they had no idea that they were only going to be asked to support the civil authority and to maintain law and order. Indeed General Gough went so far as to say that had he been ordered to Belfast he would have gone without question. (Opposition cheers.) It was only because of a misapprehension, which he had obtained from something said, that made him think that there was to be some attack upon Ulster in order to crush her by force of arms before she was ready. I wish to be absolutely fair to all parties. When he sent this message which is here printed, the Adjutant-General, who is charged with the discipline of the Army under me and under the highest authority, considered that the explanation of these officers was satisfactory. The Chief of the Imperial General Staff also interviewed General Gough. Those two high officers of the Army Council together brought General Gough to my room, where Sir Arthur Paget was present. I told General Gough that it was reported to me by the Adjutant-General and the Chief of the Imperial General Staff that he was prepared to obey all lawful orders. He replied that he was prepared to obey all lawful orders. I said to him "How has this difficulty arisen?" and he said, "Because we thought we were going to be asked to coerce Ulster and that an immediate movement was to be made in which we were to take the initiative." "That it would seem to me," said General Gough—I paraphrase his words, I could not take them down at the time—"that seemed to us to go outside the lawful orders which we are bound to obey." I then put to him the substance of what is printed at the conclusion of this document, and I would ask hon. gentlemen to turn to it. I said to him, "It must be made clear that his Majesty's Government must retain their right to use all the Forces of the Crown in Ireland or elsewhere to maintain law and order, and to support the civil power in the ordinary execution of its duty." But I said to him, with regard to your second question, it is quite clear that it is your duty to go anywhere in Ireland or elsewhere in support of the civil power whenever it is attacked. I can tell you clearly since the situation already has been made irregular, I think it proper to tell you clearly that his Majesty's Government have no intention whatever to take advantage of the right to protect the civil power whenever attacked, or however attacked, in order to crush political opposition—in other words, to shoot down enough people who have shot nobody else in order to make the rest submit to a law of which they disapproved. I would ask my hon. friends on this side, and members in all quarters of the House, whether there is one man in this House who would demur to that statement. (Cheers.) To this General Gough agreed, but he said, "There have been many misunderstandings already; would it not be better that this clear statement should be put in writing to me?" I said to him—

Mr. John Ward.—Did he dictate the letter?

Colonel Seely.—I said to him, "I consider that it is not only desirable, but necessary that you should have this in writing, and I propose to put it in writing."

### The King.

Now I must ask the indulgence of the House if I give them an account of my personal movements and actions which led up to the decision which I have felt obliged to take. After seeing General Gough I went to the Cabinet. I told them what I have now told the House, and I added that, as I had not had time to draw up any statement of what I had said, I would ask the Adjutant-General to make a rough draft for me to consider. At 1 o'clock I had arranged to see his Majesty at Buckingham Palace to report to him how matters stood. And may I say here, Sir—I think it proper to say—that any suggestion which has been made outside—none has been made in this House—that his Majesty took any initiative of any kind in this matter is absolutely without foundation? (Loud cheers.) A situation of grave peril to the Army had undoubtedly arisen, and I reported at frequent intervals to his Majesty, who is head of the Army, how matters stood, and I wish emphatically to repeat the statement I have made—

Mr. Wedgwood.—What is "initiative"?

Colonel Seely.—I do not wish any misapprehension. I use the word in its broadest sense his Majesty took no initiative of any kind.

Mr. Wedgwood.—What is initiative?

Colonel Seely.—I have nothing more to say. I returned from the audience that his Majesty was pleased to grant me to the Cabinet, which had then broken up. I found that in my absence they had discussed the draft which the Adjutant-General had prepared of what I had said, of what it was proper for me to recall as a record of what had taken place, and as a record of what was proper for us to say. I had only a moment, and the Prime Minister had but a moment to give me, and this draft had been altered in various particulars. I do not regard it as a complete document. Indeed, in form it did not appear to me to be so. I understood that I, as Secretary of State, was charged with the duty of making a statement to these officers in accordance with the decision to which I had come at half-past 11, and accordingly I proceeded to fill up that statement in order that it might conform to the statement I had made, and to the statement which I thought it was right to make. These two paragraphs are found at the concluding portion of this paper. I then sent the document over to the War Office. In the meantime, I would ask the House to observe this. I had received a letter from the Adjutant-General enclosing a letter from General Gough, which is printed as the last document but one. The letter did not seem to me to be material. Indeed, to be quite frank, I paid little attention to it, for this reason, that General Gough had never seen the document which I was considering, and could not have the least idea of what was in it. Therefore any idea that might be gathered from the form of this paper that after General Gough protested we drew up this document in order to meet his wishes would be an inaccurate statement, because General Gough had not seen the document, and could not have seen it when he wrote that letter.

### Meaning of the Document.

Now I come to the next point. After General Gough had received this document which I had drawn up, he asked Sir John French—a fact of which I only became aware this morning—whether this document meant—and as there is no copy of this document in the possession Sir John French or the War office, I can only state the general purport of it, and I hope I state it accurately—that

he would not be called upon to order his brigade to take part in the coercion of Ulster in order to compel them to submit to the Home Rule bill, and across the document Sir John French wrote, "I should read it so," I am quite sure that Sir John French, whose loyalty and help to us in this crisis I desire to acknowledge to the full, this great soldier to whom the honour of the Army is dear, but who, at the same time, is determined to see that discipline is maintained (cheers)—I am quite sure, indeed I know, that what he meant by that was a re-assertion of the last two paragraphs. No possible blame in this matter can attach to Sir John French or to any member of the Army Council, for, be it observed that the Army Council itself, or those members of it who signed the document—namely, Sir John French and Sir Spencer Ewart—did not know that this was not a Cabinet document, so they are absolved from all possible blame in the matter.

### Colonel Seely's Acceptance of Blame.

Moreover, if blame is to be apportioned no possible blame can attach to Sir Arthur Paget. He has acted throughout with loyalty, and a determination to do his duty beyond all praise, and I desire to say that he has the full confidence of the Army Council, and of all those who work with him. (Cheers.) Now comes the question of where the blame, if blame there is, does really rest. Blame does rest, and it rests upon me, and I will tell the House for what. I added to a document which the Cabinet had considered my version of what I thought should be said. I have said, and I repeat, that I did not apprehend that the Cabinet had seriously considered this document, and regarded a document of this kind as a matter of vital concern to them all. I see now that it is (Ministerial cheers)—not at all because I recede by one inch from the principles laid down in the last two paragraphs—but because it does appear that an officer asked for conditions, and that his conditions were accepted, I did not so understand it, but I can see quite clearly that, taking it broadly, that impression can be given, and if I have given that impression, however inadvertently, even though my intentions, as I assure the House they were, were honestly to do my duty in this matter (cheers) I have been gravely to blame. Before I conclude let me add one word—the Army Council are greatly concerned in this matter. They did not sign as a body this actual document, for as is proper, any three members of the Army Council, any two and the Secretary of State, may send an Army Council letter, or make an Army Council decision, always assuming that they are carrying out the general policy of the Council, as is the custom whether in Cabinets or any other society of men. But they ask me to say this, and to say it most emphatically, in order that their position may be clear, that nothing that has been said to any of these officers detracts in any way from their power and their duty to employ all forces of the Crown should they be required, which are under their control, in accordance with the principles laid down in the Army Act and in the Manual of Military Law, and they wish me to emphasize this without any qualification whatever as their considered judgment, and I will read the words, although they are on the papers. This is what they ask me to read, as their considered judgment without any equivocation whatever, from which they will not recede :—

"His Majesty's Government must retain their right to use all the forces of the Crown in Ireland or elsewhere to maintain law and order, and to support the civil power in the ordinary execution of its duty." (Cheers.)

### Resignation Tendered.

Now I hope that I have made the position of the Army Council quite clear, and I have now only to say this. I have misled my colleagues in the Cabinet inadvertently—with honest intentions I misled them. They thought that the document which they had prepared was final. I did not know that. Had I been present at the discussion, none of this misunderstanding would have occurred. (Cheers.) I am not going to make excuses, but the House will realize how great the pressure of work has been in a crisis which has been of very real magnitude, and owing to my absence this misapprehension occurred ; but that does not alter the fact that I am gravely to blame in my judgment, and for that reason, while I ask the House to believe that throughout this difficult business I have acted with the sincere desire to be loyal to my colleagues (cheers), and to see fair play to the Army, I have felt it my duty to ask the Prime Minister to accept my resignation of my office. (Cries of "No," "No.")

## Speech by Mr. Balfour.

### An Obscure Situaton.

Mr Balfour (City of London.)—My right hon. friend, the leader of the Opposition, naturally, and I think rightly, desires to reserve his right of intervening in this debate until the course of this discussion has developed somewhat further, and he asked me, therefore, to say a few words upon the statement just made by the Secretary for War. I will not pretend that after that statement that I understand clearly the exact sequence of events, nor that I understand how it happened that this extraordinary misapprehension occurred in Ireland on the part both of the generals and of the officers concerned. Nor do I even understand exactly what occurred between the right hon. gentleman and his colleagues in the Cabinet. (Cheers.) Others who have listened to the right hon. gentleman's statement may be more fortunate than myself, but I confess that I am left still in some obscurity as to the vital points of this most difficult case. Everybody must listen with sympathy to a statement from any member of this House, and perhaps most of all from a Minister of the Crown, who, gets up to say that innocently, and indeed with the best intentions he has yet made what is in his own judgment a great error, and that sympathy must be redoubled when the speech ends, as the speech of the right hon. gentleman did end, in the statement that he had handed in his resignation to the Prime Minister. I do not know whether that does mean that the right hon. gentleman is no longer, or will shortly cease to be, a member of the Cabinet and a Secretary of State, or whether it only means that he has let the Prime Minister understand that since, owing to what he deems to be an error of his, the Government has been placed in a difficulty, he puts his resignation in the hands of the Prime Minister, to be accepted or not, as the right hon. gentleman and the general feeling of the country, as the right hon. gentleman sees it, may consider proper.

Colonel Seely.—The words I used with respect to the right hon. gentleman were that I asked the Prime Minister to accept my resignation.

Mr. Balfour.—I am left in doubt, and I think that the House is still left in doubt, as to whether the right hon. gentleman is still for all practical purposes a Minister of the Crown at this moment or not.

The Prime Minister.—He is. (Cheers and laughter.)

Mr. Balfour—In that event my sympathy with the right hon. gentleman, so far as his admission of error is concerned, remains quite undiminished. Of course, I need waste no sympathy on his resignation if it has not been accepted.

### An Incredible Statement.

I suppose that I shall be followed by the Prime Minister. May I ask just one or two questions, though they are not all the questions which, I think, can be asked about the matter, which seems to me to be extraordinarily obscure, even after all the explanations, the papers and the redoubled explanations which have been given to us from the Front Bench. We are asked to believe to-day, as we were asked to believe on Monday, that there were no military operations in the proper sense of the word at all, that it was simply a question of increasing the guard at certain places where there are stores, either of guns or ammunition or whatever it may be, and that that was absolutely all that the War Office contemplated when they sent for General Paget to this country, and when they sent General Paget back to Ireland, and that out of that innocent and natural action all this trouble has arisen. We are asked to believe that the movements of the Fleet, countermanded when these important military operations could not be carried out without provoking a great conflagration, were merely a part of the routine that had to be observed. That really is a statement which is almost incredible. (Cheers.) Has there been any case where the soldiers of the Crown have not been welcomed in the ordinary course of their duty in Ulster ? (Loud cheers.) Has there been any case where there has been any friction between the forces of the Crown and the population of Ulster, and unless the operations were going to be so carried out as to be of a provocative character, what possible ground was there for supposing that these friendly relations would be more interrupted in the course of these reinforcements, than they had been when troops had been moved from that barrack to this barrack, or in the daily intercourse between the forces of the Crown and the population of Ulster ? That is not all. The right hon. gentleman has seen General Paget several times ; he saw him before the difficulties arose, and he saw him afterwards, and he had telegraphic communication with him between those two periods. The words used by the officer, as reported by General Paget himself, talk of "duty as ordered and active operations." On the words "active operations" the officers asked for explanation from the man who used those words, or from the man who, they thought, used those words. If General Paget did not use those words all he need have said was, "No active operations are contemplated. The words 'active operations' are wholly uncalled for. Nothing is going to be done except to strengthen a guard here and there. If you took my speech to you as meaning anything more than that, you are under a complete misapprehension, or I expressed myself badly. I did not refer to active operations in Ulster. If I used those words. I used them mistakenly." Sir Arthur Paget never suggests that. (Cheers.) He does not tell the officers concerned that they misunderstood him. He sends their documents without note or comment to the War Office, and if there was a blunder I cannot conceive why it was not put right in a moment. Indeed, it is impossible, even after the right hon. gentleman's statements and after all the facts known to the public and the Press at this moment—nothing would ever make the historian believe that something more was not in contemplation. (Cheers.) In view of the operations of which the right hon. gentleman speaks, why on earth should he send for General Paget in order to consult with that officer as to how he would add to a garrison here and there ? Was that a military operation beyond General Paget's competence without consulting the high military authorities at the War Office and without going to the right hon. gentleman himself for instruction and advice ?

*(To be continued.)*

*Notice under order V Rule XX C. P. Code.*

IN THE COURT OF SHEIKH ABDUL AZIZ, B. A.,
REGISTRAR, SMALL CAUSE COURT AT DELHI.

SUIT No. 1828 OF 1913.

D. Macropole & Co. Tobacconists,
Kashmere Gate, Delhi ... ... *Plaintiffs*

*Versus.*

G. Jones Esqr., *c/o* Messrs Harry Clark Co.,
Lucknow ... ... ... *Defendant*

CLAIM FOR Rs 12–2–0

Notice is hereby given to the above-named defendant to appear before this Court on the 27 day of April 1914 in order to defend the above-cited case. In case of non-appearance on his part the case will be heard and determined exparte.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court this 7th Day of April 1914.

REGISTRAR.
*S. C. Court Delhi.*

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*Notice Under Order V Rule X X C. P. Code*

IN THE COURT OF SHEIKH ABDUL AZIZ B. A.,
REGISTRAR, SMALL CAUSE COURT AT DELHI.

SUIT No. 1829 OF 1913.

D. Macropolo & Co. Tabacconists
Kashmere Gate. Delhi ... ... *Plaintiffs*

*Versus*

Lieutenant E. J. Cripps.
Supply and Transport Corps,
*Rawalpindi* ... ... *Defendant.*

CLAIM FOR Rs 11–9–0

Notice is hereby given to the above-named defendant to appear before this court on the 27 day of April 1914 in order to defend the above-cited case. In case of non-appearance on his part the case will be heard and determined exparte.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court this 7th day of April 1914.

*Registrar,*
*S. C. Court, Delhi.*

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*Notice Under Order V Rule XX C. P. Code*

IN THE COURT OF SHEIKH ABDUL AZIZ, B. A.,
REGISTRAR, SMALL CAUSE COURT AT DELHI.

SUIT No. 1830 of 1913.

D. Macropolo & Co. Tobacconists.
Kashmere Gate, Delhi ... ... *Plaintiffs.*

*Against.*

J. C. Auston Esq. Inspector of Police, *c/c* Inspector-General of Police, Punjab, Lahore. ... *Defendant*

CLAIM FOR Rs 12–11–0

Notice is hereiy given to the above-named defendant to appear before this Court on the 27 day of April 1914 in order to defend the above-cited case. In case of non-appearance on his part the case will be heard and determined exparte.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court this 7 day of April 1914.

REGISTRAR.
*S. C. Court, Delhi*

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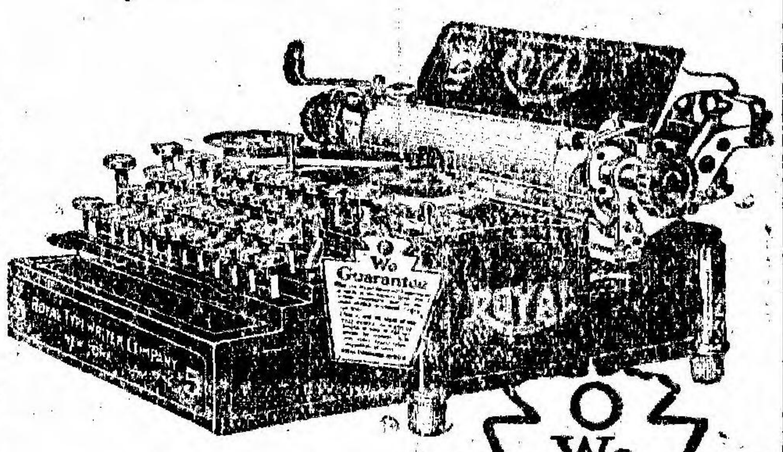
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