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The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal. Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

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

—*Morris.*

Vol. 7. No. 19. Single Copy Annas 4. Delhi: Saturday, May 9, 1914. Annual Subscription Indian Rs. 12. Foreign £1

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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, May 1.

There is much speculation as to Government's action regarding Home Rule. It is stated that Government will offer the establishment of a Commission drawn from both sides, to consider the Federal system, empowered to fix a date by common consent on which Federalism shall become operative. Thus the time-limit on which the Nationalists insist will be retained, but in the meantime the Irish Parliament will have an opportunity to prove its capacity and goodwill towards Ulster. Hence the ultimate inclusion of Ulster in the Irish unit will depend on the good-behaviour and efficiency of the Dublin Parliament. Mr. Redmond and his colleagues refuse to speak on the matter at present owing to delicacy of the situation. The difficulties of a compromise are evidenced by the slight hardening tone of the papers.

The "Daily Chronicle" and lobbyist Liberals would have liked Government to take strong action against gunrunners and blame Mr. Churchill for again taking independent action without the knowledge of his colleagues. They fear that pacificatory utterances of Mr. Balfour and Sir Edward Carson were meant to drive a wedge between the Liberals and the Nationalists through the abolition of the time-limit.

Telegrams from Dublin announce that the prosecution of Citizenites has been abandoned owing to Notionalist representations.

London, May 2.

Speaking at Swindon, Mr. F. E. Smith said that Unionists would never assent to a settlement of the Home Rule question, providing for an automatic inclusion of Ulster after a period of years.

In course of a speech at Buncorn, Lord Hugh Cecil declared that Unionists were still bitterly opposed to Home Rule and would adopt every Parliamentary means to prevent it being passed.

At a meeting at Coventry "to protest against the use of British forces to shoot Ulster loyalists for political purposes," Mr. Balfour said that he was glad that at least some members of the Cabinet now recognised that nothing could meet the Ulster difficulty but a clear-cut seperaration of Ulster. He was confident that nothing-else could avert civil war. Unlike the constitutionl problem as to whether Home Rule ought to be given before the country was consulted that was a problem which could not be finally and peacefully settled by a General Election, for even if the country did reverse the verdicts of 1886 and 1895, there would still be the position of Ulster to make the Bill unworkable.

London, May 6.

Several papers state that preliminary communication passed between Government and the Opposition yesterday with a view to a conference regarding Ulster.

The "Daily Mail" says that Mr. Asquith met Mr. Bonar Law and Sir Edward Carson and it is believed that Mr. Churchill was present.

The "Daily News" states that Mr. Redmond was not consulted at yesteday's approach to fresh negotiations and adds that this is one of the several disquieting features of the political situation from the Liberal standpoint. The same paper declares that a hundred Unionist members of the House of Commons met on Monday with the object of reviving the "Die-hard" movement.

London, May 7.

According to newspapers Mr. Asquith had a conference with Mr. Redmond yesterday. The latter, it is stated, is not eager to enter a conference but desires the Home Rule Bill to leave the House of Commons first and to have any compromise embodied in an amending Bill.

London, May 8.

The papers assert that Mr. Asquith saw Mr. Bonar Law yesterday and subsquently Mr. Redmond and also Mr. Devlin and Mr. Dillon. A deputation of "Die hard" Unionists waited on Mr. Bonar Law yesterday to protest against concessions on the Ulster question.

Mr. Redmond has made a statement to the effect that so far as he knows conversations regarding Ulster have not been renewed. He denies that he has consulted Mr. Asquith with reference to new concessions, and says that the position of the Irish party regarding concessions has not changed since the second reading of the Home Rule Bill. Mr. Redmond adds that he is confident that Bill will be sent to the House of Lords in its present shade befor the Whitsuntide recess.

The Haj Pilgrimage.

Bombay, May 5.

The Government of Bombay have submitted to the Government of India revised proposals in connection with the Haj pilgrimage. These will be circulated to other Local Governments before any decision is arrived at.

Albania.

Durazzo, May 2.

Epirote insurgents, with many guns, captured Kolonia. Despatches say that they massacred women and children and gutted the town. It is reported that they are advancing.

The news has caused the utmost indignation in Durazzo. Crowds are parading the streets, and patriotic speeches are being made and anti-Greek cries raised.

A meeting is to be held to-morrow to protest against the massacre.

Durazzo, May 4.

Late in the evening the Government received the news of important attacks made on insurgents in course of the day. Many villages in the enemy's possession had been retaken and Government forces had pushed forward to Bomati near Kolonia in the hope of being able to recapture the latter place shortly.

Athens, May 7.

There was a sanguinary engagement at Kodra yesterday. Five hundred Albanians were killed and wounded and the Epirotes also had heavy losses.

Durazzo, May 7.

A Greek band with artillery and machine-guns is marching on the Berat Road to Valona and Durazzo is occupied by strong forces, consisting largely of Greek regulars.

London, May 7.

Reports from various sources confirm the news of the crucifixions at Kodra. Nails were driven through the chests, hands and feet af the victims. Children were found at Hormova cruelly tortured; many had their fingers cut off. It is also asserted that many Albanians at Vrbecko and other places near Leskovitch have been massacred or burned in their houses by the Epirotes.

The Epirote Government has consented to suspend hostilities on the intervention of the International Commission which will undertake to supervise and guarantee the continuance of concession by the Albanian Government.

Macedonia.

Constantinople, May 2.

It is stated that the emigration of Greeks from Thrace has stopped. It is reported that the Porte has drawn the attention of the Powers to the intolerable position of the Moslems in Greek Macedonia, adding that it cannot remain indifferent to it.

New Delhi.

London, May 2.

A feature of the Royal Academy is seven water-colour drawings of the preliminary designs of the approaches and buildings at central points of New Delhi, showing Government House and the Council Chamber.

A Research Scholarship.

Lahore, May 2.

A research scholarship of the value of Rs 60 per mensem will be awarded by the Government annually to a diplomate of the Punjab Agricultural College for post graduate study provided a sufficiently promising candidate is forthcoming who will have to present a thesis after scholarship period.

Seditious Literature.

Lahore, May 4.

An informal Conference of the Principals of the various Lahore Colleges and educational institutes was held about the week-end with a view to devising ways and means to check dissemination of seditious literature among the alumni. All heads of the institutions promised to support and co-operate in keeping off possible malign influences.

Islamia Mission to the West.

Lahore, May 4.

Maulvi Sudderuddin, Head-master of Islamia High School Qadian, proceeds to England on 16th May to assist Khwaja Kamaludden in his Islamic Mission to the West.

The Kurds.

Constantinople, May, 3.

Eleven Kurds, including Shaikh Shehab-ed-din, have been hanged at Bitlis in connection with the recent revolt.

The Late Duke of Argyll.

London, May 8.

The funeral service of the late Duke of Argyll took place to-day in Westminster Abbey befor a vast congregation. The King and Queen, Queen Alexandra and other members of the royal house were present. Members of the Cabinet, Ambassadors and Ministers members of the House of Lords and of the House of Common and representatives of the Dominions also attended.

The Oriental School in London.

London, May 6.

A large meeting was held at the Mansion House to-day in support of the Oriental School in London. The Lord Mayo presided. Lord Curzon moved a Resolution in support of the view that great Imperial and commercial interests were dependent on an adequate provision for instruction in Oriental languages literature and social customs. Lord Curzon called attention to the work of the School in teaching Oriental ideas, traditions and customs. To know the language of the East, he said, was a great thing. To know its spirit was greater. The commercial importance of a scheme for removing London's inferiority to Continental capitals in this respect could not be overestimated. Unless the representatives of our mercantile houses in the East were equipped with the knowledge of local languages and ideas, the spoils of commercial enterprise would be taken from us, as they were already being largely taken in the Far East, by indefatigable rivals, especially Germans. The provision of the School was a great Imperial obligation.

Lord Crewe said that though there were two schools of thought the largest body of informed opinion held that it was of the greatest possible advantage for young officials, instead of leaving language study till their arrival, to go out with a strong substratum of formal knowledge.

Lord Reay, Lord Inchcape, Mr. Faithful Begg, and Sir Montagu Turner also spoke Sir William Anson, Sir Algernon Firth, Mr. Ameer Ali, Lord George Hamilton and Lord Lamington were present.

Immigration to Columbia.

Simla, May 8.

The following Resolution has been issued in the Commerce Department with reference to the resolution of the Government of India, No. 8446-9461-3, dated the 7th November, 1913. Intimation has been received that the prohibition againts the landing of artizans and skilled or unskilled labourers at ports of entry in British Columbia as issued by the Government of Canada, has been extended to the 30th September, 1914. The Governor-General in Council accordingly requests all Local Government and adminfstrations to make the above intimation as widely known as possible, particularly in places from which immigration to Canada is believed to be most common. Intending immigrants should also be warned at the ports of embarkation of the risk they run in proceeding to that country.

Public Service Commission.

London, May 5.

Mr. Drake did not think it possible to train Indian students of practical forestry in India so efficiently as in German forests, where training had been going on for centuries.

Mr. Seton, of the India Office, said that the rates of pay were not sufficient to attract, first-class men for educational posts.

In accordance with the suggestion, contained in the Currency Commission's Report, Lord Crewe has sanctioned the creation of a second Financial Secretaryship for the India Office and has appointed Mr. William Robinson to be Financial Assistant Secretary thereto.

The Indian Currency System.

London, May 5

Mr. Rupert Gwynne in the House of Commons to-day asked: "What is the ultimate aim of the India Office with regard to the Indian currency system and what effective measures are being taken to reach the same?" Mr. Roberts said: The chief aim is the maintenance of the exchange value of the rupee at sixteen pence and the chief measures are the provision of a gold standard reserve, other sterling reserves for the regulation of the coinage of rupees and sales of drafts between England and India.

Congress Deputation.

London. May 6.

Lord Crewe will receive next Monday the delegates of the Indian National Congress when contemplated reforms of the India Council will be discussed. A meeting with the members of the House of Commons has been fixed for Wednessday. Sir William Wedderburn will give a breakfast in honour of the delegates on Thursday. They will afterwards attend the Conference at which Lord Courtney will preside.

House of Lords.

London, May 7.

In the House of Commons to-day, Mr. Asquith announced Government's intention to lay proposals before the House for the re-construction of the House of Lords, during the present sessions. He would introduce on Tuesday a procedure resolution regarding Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment and the Plural Voting Bills.

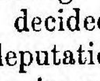
South Africa.

Capetown, May 7.

It is understood that General Smuts has promised a deputation of Johannesburg Mussulmans that the Indian Commission's recommendations generally will be carried out. He also promised to do everything to settle the marriage question satisfactorily. He said that when the Immigration Act came before Parliament for revision, Government did not intend to put any hardships in the way of Indians.

Indians in British Columbia.

Intimation has been received that the Canadian Government have extended to the end of September next, the operation of the order in Council, prohibiting the landing of any class of artizans of labour in British Colombia.



Our London Letter.

London, April 17.

Lord Hardinge and the Indian Moslems.

The Indian mail of last week has brought us the full text of the Viceroy's speech in reply to the address that has been presented to him at Delhi by the Muslim deputation. It is, indeed, noteworthy that inspite of the very weighty and significant tone of His Excellency's declaration on that historic occasion, we had been left absolutely in the dark even as regards the barest summary. Reuter and other news agencies, and even the ever-watchful *Times* had been, curiously enough, conspicuously silent over this affair. It is true, a very brief paragraph in the *Times* had informed us that a Muslim deputation had been received by Lord Hardinge at Delhi and that the Viceroy had promised to convey to His Majesty the expressions of loyalty contained in the Address. But that was all!

Those of us who have been carefully studying the Indian policy of this journal—a policy that has been so emphatically confirmed of late by means of the "Indian Peril" bogey—could, however, easily understand the remarkable attitude of silence that had been mysteriously adopted in that particular quarter. It is plain that had Lord Hardinge dropped even the smallest hint that he was inclined to treat seriously, if not actually to believe, what had been said lately against the Indian Muslims in certain influential quarters in India as well as in England, we would have certainly been treated not only to lengthy telegraphic reproductions of His Excellency's words, but also to elaborate leading articles on the subject in some of the leading Tory newspapers in London. Knowing that it had been decided by the Indian Muslims to wait upon Lord Hardinge in deputation, the Indian "experts" connected with the various Tory journals here were on the tip-toe of expectation. Were they going to receive a sort of official approval of their wicked attitude towards the Indian Muslims? Was the Viceroy about to formally bless them for their pseudo-Imperialism? Were seventy millions of His Majesty's loyal subjects in India going to be cruelly libelled by the head of the Indian Government?

We now know that all such false hopes have been shattered to pieces. Lord Hardinge has given yet another proof of his sound and wise statesmanship. He has for once and for all knocked the very bottom out of the scandalous and mischievous theory of the "disloyalty" and "revolutionary policy" of the Indian Muslims that has been so widely and so freely advertised of late. The Indian Muslims have now been told by His Excellency himself in language that could not have been more emphatic that their loyalty and their attachment to the Crown had never for a moment been in doubt. They can thus in future well afford to contemptuously ignore the noisy but harmless barking of these "Imperial" hounds.

A careful perusal of His Excellency's speech at once shows how thoroughly Lord Hardinge has grasped the position in which Indian Muslims find themselves. He does not ridicule the Muslim sympathy that had been so keenly and so justly roused in India for the fate of their co-religionists in other parts of the world, as has been ignorantly done elsewhere. Nothing could be more to the point than Lord Hardinge's reference to the unreasonable attitude adopted in the Press of this country towards the Indian Muslims, and no more severe condemnation of that attitude could be imagined than what has fallen from His Excellency's own lips. "It is true," says Lord Hardinge, "that writers in the English and foreign press have been misled by such expressions (of sore feelings) and, owing to a merely superficial comprehension of the Mohamedan train of thought, have misrepresented the attitude of your community, and attributed to them actions and thoughts which those who know you well can only regard as a deep misunderstanding." Furthermore, the Viceroy has dealt a fatal blow to those who had so deliberately organised the malicious anti-Muslim campaign. His words—"I can only assure you that I and my Government have never doubted the unswerving loyalty which we know quite well to be one of the noblest and most sacred traditions of your community"—will go down in the history of Indian Muslims as a record of their goodness and a testimony to their wisdom during the very momentous period thorough which they have just passed.

We do not wonder at all at the deep silence that now prevails in the editorial offices of the reactionary Tory papers in London. Lord Hardinge's utterance has fallen on them as a bombshell. It has paralysed them beyond any hopes of recovery and it has proved to the world the wretched untruth of all their writings and statements.

The *personnel* of the deputation could at once dispose of any attempts that may be made at arguing against its its representative character. It consists of Indian Muslims of all shades of opinion and contains representatives of various provinces and presidencies. It has been led by a man that is held in great esteem and regard by the entire community. There is, however, a touch of humour in the distinguished list of the gentlemen who had formed the deputation. We find therein one or two names to whose claim of representativeness the *Times* and other self-constituted authorities in London had offered very serious objection on their visit to this country last autumn. It was apparently left for these "judges"—and not for the Indian Muslims themselves—to decide who should or really could represent the Muslims. Even the general recognition from the overwhelming majority of the community that followed the sudden departure of these two gentlemen from India last year was not sufficient to convince these superior personages in London of the representative nature of their mission. Much to their disappointment, they have now to put up with the hard fact that the deputation representing the whole Muslim community of India has included these two "irresponsible individuals" and we sha'nt be surprised if they were the most prominent members of the deputation. Yet only six months ago the reactionary circles in England were at pains to impress upon the British public the "bogus" character of these two gentlemen's mission to this country, that they were only representing themselves, that they had no voice in the counsels of the Muslim community in India, and all the rest of it.

It is now plain that this Indian Muslim bogey is, to all intents and purposes, dead. We cannot, of course, even now expect to witness the burial of this malicious doctrine. It would be more than human if that were to occur. It would be antagonistic to the "honourable" traditions of its authors if they were now suddenly to give up the reckless crusade in which they have indulged so long. We shall, no doubt, meet with weak reminders of their existence from time to time, but such occasional outbursts in future are bound to fall on deaf years. Even the bulk of the British public—which is not as a rule well-versed in Indian matters and which is very likely to believe the articles on India which appear in the reactionary press of this country—has at last discovered the fraud that has hitherto been practised upon it. It had been cunningly prepared for a regular revolutionary upheaval among the Indian Muslims and, now it is told on the highest authority that the Government of India has never for a moment entertained such sinister ideas as regards the community. All this is due to Lord Hardinge's sagacity and high statesmanship. A man of his calibre and experience could never fall a victim to the treacherous scheme that had been devised in certain quarters. He has been brought up in the excellent school of diplomacy and his training helped him to look through the "affair."

The Muslims of India—and indeed all the communities as a whole—are essentially loyal. Grievances they have had and no doubt still have; and nobody could accuse them of disloyalty if they, from time to time, adopt means—purely constitutional and legal means, let it be at once said, to bring their complaints before the authorities and to seek remedial measures. They are certainly at perfect liberty to offer such criticism and opposition as they can to any policy of the Government which they honestly believe to be injurious to the interests of their community or country. A Government which does not tolerate reasonable criticism, it can safely be said, is not fit to govern. Nobody is more fully alive to the desirability and in fact the necessity of honest criticism than Lord Hardinge himself. His words in the course of his recent speech at Bombay in reply to the Address of the Municipal Corporation bear ample testimony to this. "Criticism and opposition," said His Excellency, "have their value, and so long as they are inspired by no mean or self-interested motive they are to be welcomed, and indeed when you consider the enormous problems to be dealt with in India, and the gigantic interests involved in any large question of policy, it would be very astonishing and a poor compliment to the intelligence and public spirit of India if there were not fair and reasonable opposition." Lord Crewe, addressing the Indian Civil Service probationers last year, has likewise shown the importance he attaches to criticism in India. It will be remembered, that speaking as the Secretary of State for India, he impersed upon his hearers the significant formula of tolerating and facing fair opposition to their action or policy in India.

Lord Hardinge has again spoken as the "man on the spot", and his speech in reply to the Muslim deputation's Address cannot but produce an excellent impression on the minds of those people in this country who had been so wickedly misled by the writers of a certain type in the Press. It has further brought home to the Muslim community of India the significant fact that, in spite of deliberate attempts in various quarters to misrepresent them to the outside world, the able statesman at the head of the Government of India has clearly shown how utterly indifferent he has been himself to all such insinuations and how emphatically convinced he is of the unwavering loyalty of the community to His Majesty's person and throne. Lord Hardinge's speech has made a very favourable impression on the Indian Muslims in London.

Colonel Aziz Ali's Case.

The *Times* has been giving undue prominence to Colonel Aziz Ali El-Mesri's case, which has just been concluded at Constantinople. This journal has already written two leading articles on the subject, protesting against the "partiality" of the court-martial, which has been trying the Egyptian officer, and demanding the interference of Great Britain in the matter to secure the release of the prisoner. We are once more reminded by this paper that British prestige demands such a course and are incidentally told that all that has been meted out to Aziz Ali is due to Enver Pasha's well-known jealousy !

We now know that the sentence of death which had been originally passed on the Egyptian Colonel has been committed to one of 15 years' imprisonment and that there is every possibility of further reductions in the sentence. I am, of course, in no way entitled to comment upon the justice or injustice of the whole case, but inspite of the agitation that has been created in Egypt as well as in the Press of this country by the *Times*, I can safely state that no thinking man in Egypt or Turkey can ever accuse Enver Pasha of jealousy. Neither could anybody who is at all in touch with modern Turkey, charge the Ottoman Government with deliberately securing the arrest of Colonel Aziz Ali with the fixed motive of having him imprisoned or put to death without giving him any opportunity to defend himself.

Throughout the stormy agitation that has been so meanly engineerd in London over this case, the most hopeful sign has been the utter indifference to the *Times'* protests that has characterized the attitude of the Sublime Porte. They were dealing by court-martial with one of their own subjects and it was no business of any one outside to interfere in the matter. Even now if the Turkish authorities are convinced of the innocence of the Colonel, there is every probability of the sentence being squashed; but it is certain that they are not prepared to permit any external influence being brought to bear upon them on the occasion. Whatever His Majesty the Sultan may do of his own accord on the advice of his Ministers is another matter.

If British prestige becomes involved when a Moslem subject of a Moslem Sovereign is being tried according to the military laws of the country, on the ground that England, being a Moslem Power, could not afford to see a foreign Muslim unjustly (?) put to death or imprisoned, one wonders what had happened to this particular sensitiveness of feeling about prestige in England when thousands of innocent Muslims (men, women and children) were being deliberately slaughtered in the Balkans or in the oasis of Tripoli. Then, of course, it was perfectly unreasonable for the 70 million Moslem subjects of Great Britain to impress upon her the fact that they were sorely feeling the butchery that had been going on in Africa and South-Eastern Europe and to remind her that she, as the greatest Moslem Power in the world, ought at least to exercise her undoubted influence over the European Chancelleries to put an immediate stop to the brutal anti-Moslem crusade that had been undertaken. Then evidently no question such as that of the British prestige was involved; but now, when we have no reason at all to doubt the impartiality of the Court-Martial which has been trying the Colonel, an Ottoman subject, in the name of the Sultan himself, we are immediately told that, unless Great Britain interferes in the matter, British prestige will suffer. The sinistr motive is not far to seek. The object is to thoroughly misrepresent the case to the Egyptians with the off-chance of the wretched scheme working successfully and the hitherto cordial and affectionate relations existing between Cairo and Constantinople becoming in consequence strained.

If Colonel Aziz Ali is deserving of mercy, he is bound, sooner or later, to receive the Imperial pardon. The affectionate hold which His Imperial Majesty the Sultan retains on every Muslim heart—nowhere stronger than in Egypt—will never allow thislatest anti-Moslem campaign in England to attain its mischievous end.

TETE À TETE



A Distinction and some Differences.

We are happy to learn that our distinguished countrymen who have recently gone to England as delegates of the Indian National Congress are to be received by Lord Crewe on Monday. One of the Congress delegates, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in the course of his speech, as Chairman of the meeting held at Bombay, on the return of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali, to welcome them, referring to the Secretary of State's refusal to receive the Moslem delegates, had said: "With the greatest respect for Lord "Crewe, it seems a denial of a most elementary right of representa-"tive men to whom the Secretary of State should always be acces-"sible. . . . Let us hope this will not form a precedent." Inspite of the *Times of India's* obvious chagrin at this statement, no fair-minded person would fail to regard this as an almost self-evident truth, and we are happy to record Lord Crewe's reversion to the universal practice of his great predecessor in office, and, let us acknowledge, of Lord Crewe himself. Lord Crewe's refusal to receive Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali has given to his promise to receive the Congress delegates the appearance of a distinction, though the *real* distinction lies in being delegated by one's people and not in being received by the Secretary of State. It appears, however, that the reception of the delegates is not going to be a ceremonial affair, as such "distinctions" are apt to be in the cases of those whom officialdom labels as "the natural leaders of the people". Our distinguished fellow-countrymen who have proceeded to England do not belong to this class of people but are the *real* leaders of the Congress school of politicians. Naturally, therefore, they mean more business than ceremony when wishing to be received by the Secretary of State, and we understand that the main topic which will be discussed on the occasion will be the contemplated reforms of the India Council, though we trust other important topics, such as the repeal of the Press Act, the separation of the Judiciary and the Executive and the extension of Executive Council Government at least to such major Provinces as are still subject to one-man-rule, will not be ignored. Evidently the Marquess of Crewe does see that, unlike the case of the Moslem delegates last November, some public advantage would arise from such a reception and discussion. But we wonder whether his lordship feels certain that his action would not be misunderstood by any of the fellow-countrymen of the Congress delegates with whom they are not in accord and who claim equally with them to represent the political attitude and temper of the people in India. On certain questions the majority of Hindus and Mussalmans interested in politics hold the same, or at least similar views, much to the annoyance of a section of the bureaucracy, and both communities will heartily join us in wishing the utmost persuasiveness to the eloquence and logic of the Congress delegates when urging the Indian view on the Secretary of State's attention. But it cannot be denied that on some questions neither the Hindu delegates of the Congress represent the views of the entire Hindu community, nor do the Moslem delegates of the Congress represent the views of the entire Moslem community or even of the majority. Indeed, it is so obvious that the delegates would not themselves deny it. How has the Secretary of State guarded himself then against a possible misunderstanding of his action in receiving these delegates by those with whose views they are not in accord. Besides there are heaps of toadies in both communities who would have been only too willing to start croaking against the representative character of the Congress delegates if officialdom had once suggested such a thing to them. What would the Secretary of State have done under the circumstances ? Would he have sought refuge, as he did in the case of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali, in the certainty of his action being misunderstood by these unfailing auxiliaries of the bureaucracy? Would he have assured the Congress

delegates that the sentiments and aspirations of Indians of the Congress school of thought deserve and receive the fullest attention and sympathy of His Majesty's Government and that he himself takes no pains to inform himself on the matters through the many authoritative sources of intelligence that are open to him. Well, well, we need not dwell too much on what his lordship did six long months ago. It is enough for our purpose to know that this "most elementary right of representative men to whom the Secretary of State should always be accessible" has not been denied in the case of the Congress delegates and that the case of the Moslem delegates has not formed a precedent. As a matter of fact nothing that is done against the Mussalmans ever forms a precedent against others, and it must afford special satisfaction to the school of separatists who are ready to fight the battles of everybody except their own community and share the sentiments of the poet who said :

شرکت غم بھی نہیں چاہتی غیرت میری

But while on this subject, let us ask the reader to note that so far as we know the Congress delegates were not elected in a formal manner, even the Congress itself but that every prominent Congressman who expressed his readiness to go to England this summer at his own expense was accepted by the All-India Congress Committee as a delegate. We wonder what the precisionists in the Moslem community think of this after having objected to the delegation of Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali, although it was formally accepted by several properly constituted political bodies, including the All-India Moslem League Council, and, what is still more important, hailed by hundreds of thousands of Mussalmans who otherwise care little for politics and political bodies. Let the Mussalmans also note that Delhi missed an abortive meeting of Rai Bahadurs and Rai Sahibs on the 30th of April convened to protest against the claims of the Congress delegates to represent others besides themselves. We have already said that Hindus as well as Mussalmans have their *Jo-Hookams* and *Je-Hozoors*. But note the difference. The Hindu sycophants know that like one of the two sets of the elephant's teeth, according to the Indian proverb, they are only meant for show and not for use. The Mussalmans unfortunately do not merely exhibit their sycophants but also use them, and thus force others to abuse them. What they should really do with them is to put them under glass cases and warn them of the evil consequences of throwing stones at others from that *bijou* Crystal Palace.

Unsolicited Favours.

So far as we have ascertained we receive much less frequently than some other contemporaries of ours unsolicited favours in the shape of literature of varying degrees of temperature from strong nationalism to red-hot revolution. In ordinary times one's first impulse is to consign it to the waste-paper basket. But when terrorism is making itself felt the proper course appears to us to forward such literature to the police. For the first time we received such literature sometime after the Delhi Outrage, and communicated with the Director of the Criminal Investigation Department, to whom it was delivered. Subsequently we used to forward it to the Hon. the Chief Commissioner, or, in his absence, to the District Magistrate of Delhi. What happened to it afterwards we did not know, nor felt any particular inclination to enquire. After that for some months we were not favoured with such literature, but recently some such matter is being sent to us, though we must add it does not directly concern India, nor is equally inflammatory. It deals with the question of the emancipation of Egypt which has a political status very different from that of India, opposition to the British occupation cannot be called high treason there. Nevertheless it is a curious fact that when patriots of this class set out to emancipate their country they are stimulated by so much optimism that they do not rest satisfied with working for their own country but devote a good deal of attention to half-a-dozen other countries also. Possibly this may be due not only to their love of liberty throughout the world and sympathy with all those who strive for it, but also to a desire to win the sympathy of all lovers of liberty in every quarter of the globe. Anyhow, if only these enthusiasts knew that instead of receiving any assistance in the attainment of their chief object they embarrass those whose cause they take up along with their own they would very probably desist from bestowingon them unsolicited favours. We daresay the authorities in India now get forwarded to them more literature of this kind than they can satisfactorily deal with and consequently they decline to receive any more. The best course perhaps under the circumstance would be for every one to destroy all such literature the moment it is received, for we find that although the possession of such matter is not illegal, the police look upon the possessor of it as a sure and certain conspirator and accomplice of some bomb-thrower. But the difficulty is that it is not always possible to say what is seditious and what is not. For instance, it is quite possible that according to the standard of Mr. Tollinton a pamphlet published in Japan on the myrtardom of Shevket Pasha may be considered, treasonable publication and who knows that the possession of the *Economic History of India* by Mr. Dutt and his numerous contributions on Indian Land Revenue, Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji's speeches and writings on the Drain Theory and other efforts to "rouse the British conscience" and Mr. William Digby's "*Prosperous*" *British India* may land the possessor into jail as a guilty conspirator. Every one who receives these unsolicited favours has not sufficient time to go through all he receives in this way and it may happen that something is left undestroyed. Now we venture to ask whether it is right and just to hold such a person guilty of conspiracy and wreak on him the vengeance of the Police for all undetected political outrages. Government should make it clear that the possesssion of a leaflet of this character will not bring on the head of a person all the wrath of the Police and the consequent punishment as a conspirator.

A Saint and some Sinners.

In the course of the preliminary examination in the Delhi Conspiracy Case some "Liberty," "Yoga" and other leaflets were produced which Mahatma Munshi Ram of the Hardwar Gurukula had sent to Sir James Meston along with a letter of his own. In this letter the Mahatma refers to the pain that has been caused to him and says that his heart "is sad and heavy to learn that "there are still misguided men in India who do not understand the "mischief they are doing by publishing rank nonsense to inflame the "unthinking, half-educated masses". The leaflets were addressed to four of his professors, some of which he sent to a friend in Simla with a request to place them in the hands of the Viceroy. The rest he forwarded to Sir James Meston "with the hope that something "could be done to find out the publishers of this mischievous leaflet". The Mahatama proceeds : "The envelopes bear the post-mark of "Lahore, all the addresses appear to have been printed, and thus the "perpetrators of this foul deed appear to have taken good care to "evade detection ; but the quotation from the last Mogul Emperor "and the appeal to the Ghazi spirit shows the leaflet to be the work "of some one well imbued with the spirit of *jehad* in Mohamedanism. "Although an allusion to Arjuna of the Gita appears, yet it is the fall "of Turkey and the usurpation in Persia which are deplored." After delivering this innocent little verdict, the Mahatma lapses into his role of humility and winds up with an expression of his sense of shame "that one of my own countrymen, a child of mother Bharat, "appears to have prepared this most un-Aryan leaflet, and can but "pray to the Divine Mother to lead away such misguided sons of "Bharat from the path of unrighteousness." The Delhi Conspiracy Case is still in its preliminary stage, and we do not, therefore, wish to say a word about the proceedings that have so far taken place—about the accused in the dock, the witnesses that have been examined and the evidence that has been recorded on behalf of the prosecution. It is evident, however, that the "Liberty" and "Yoga" leaflets, to trace the authorship of which the Mahatma of the Gurukula has liberally drawn upon his truly "Aryan" spirit and psychology, are alleged by the prosecution to have been the work of some of the accused in the Conspiracy Case, for which an enormous mass of evidence has been produced. We do not know whether all the accused share the faith with which Mahatma Munshi Ram has lit his torch, but they are all Hindus and are presumably nearer in spirit to the Yoga philosphy than to the teachings of Islam. The evidence against them has yet to be sifted and we sincerely hope that if the are really not guilty they may be able to establish their innocence. But in the light of all that has so far happened it was an impudent and wicked presumption on the part of this busybody of a Mahatma to have gone out of his way to traduce the "Ghazi spirit" and "the spirit of *Jehad* in Mohamedanism." The Mahatma talks of "the Aryan spirit" of "Mother Bharat" with unction. This may be a good and beautiful thing, and it would be a stimulating experince to see in flesh and blood the spirits that he is summoning at Gurukula from the vasty deep of the Vedic Ages. But if they are to be imbued with a spirit as "Aryan" as the Mahatma's, the "Divine Mother" will not have much reason to be proud of her children. Gushing souls with a taste for the archaic have made pilgrimages to the Gurukula and, under the the spell of the Mahatmaji's "tall and commanding figure," his "charming manners and simple life," the severity of the school regime, its cloistered purity and picturesqueness and its naïve idealism, have felt as if they have come into visible touch with the Spirit of Peace which has found a new dwelling and will shortly spread forth on earth to assuage the bruised heart of man. This picture of the Mahatma and his work has been coming into vogue quite recently. We wish it were as real as its patrons would have us believe. This effusion of the Mahatma, at any rate, gives us quite a different picture. It reveals a narrow-minded bigot, whose heart is shackled with sectarian hate. Sir James Meston and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald may have to tone down their effusvie praise.

"A History of the Islamic People."

Mr. S. Khuda Bakhsh, Bar-at-Law, who has given to the public from time to time his studies and researches in Islamic history and civilization has prepared a translation of "*Geschichte der Islamitischen Völker*," the famous work of the well-known German author, Dr. Weil. The book will be published on the 15th of this month by the University of Calcutta, and we will review it at some length when it comes in our hands. We may, however, indicate the scope and nature of the work by quoting the following passage from the Introduction written by Mr. S. Khuda Bakhsh, an advance copy of which has been supplied to us :—"Dr. Gustav Weil is too well-known to require any introduction or recommendation. Among Oriental scholars in Germany he holds an honoured position, and in spite of continuous researches and the unwearied industry of his countrymen his work still retains the confidence of scholars all over the world. The work of which I now offer an English translation is a volume at once handy, compact and scholarly—suited most eminently for students who need a safe and trustworthy guide to lead them through the labyrinth of Mohamedan history. It is, moreover, free from cumbrous foot-notes, which, though necessary and useful to scholars, are yet somewhat distressing to students. I have not, however, altogether succeeded in avoiding the foot-notes, but I have been as sparing as possible. I could not overlook the results of more recent investigations and researches, and I have, therefore, thought it necessary to incorporate them wherever I deemed such a course essential in the interest of learning and scholarship."

The Report of the Indian Inquiry Commission.

We reproduce elsewhere some extracts from the Report of the Indian Enquiry Commission which was appointed by the Union Government of South Africa to go into the question of the Indian grievances. It is on the whole a satisfactory document and the Commissioners have dealt with some of the main issues of the Indian problem in a spirit broader and fairer than was expected from some of them. The scope of the inquiry was limited to the immediate causes of the recent strike of Indians in Natal and elsewhere and the allegations of acts of violence and torture committed upon persons sentenced to imprisonment in connection with the strike. The broader issues of the status of Indians in South Africa and their right to an equality of treatment as citizens of the Empire were, of course, not included in the terms of reference. The matters that the Commission was authorised to investigate and report upon related to (1) the Orange Free State question, specially enactments which disallow Indians to have immovable property registered in their names or to carry on trading or farming operations in that State, with the provision that every Indian entering that State before being permitted to settle there should make a sworn declaration before a Magistrate that he will not engage in any trading or farming operations ; (2) the Cape Colony question ; (3) the Marriage question ; (4) Repeal of the £3 tax and (5) the administration of the Immigration and Liscensing Laws. The Commissioners' recommendations, which are the result of their inquiry, are summed up at the end of the Report. They recommend, among other minor things, the repeal of the £3 tax and the recognition of the validity of a monogamous marriage even if it is solemnised according to tenets that recognise polygamy. These recommendations are a great improvement on the existing order of things, and we trust the Union Government will immediately carry them into effect. The other recommendations are also sound as far as they go and their full acceptance will materially diminish the rigours of the Immigrants Regulation Act, 1913. The marriage question will lose much of its heart-burning and bitterness if the Commission's views take full effect, but we are afraid it will not entirely cease to exist. The only solution that would commend itself to the Indians, whose religion allows them under certain conditions to have more wives than one, is to leave them to a free practice of their usage of which their faith and conscience approve and to recognise it as lawfull. The recommendation of the Commission on the subject amounts to this, that a man may have one wife recognised by the law, while his other wives will not get legal recognition and therefore his connection with them would be irregular and his offspring from them would be illegitimate according to the law. The Commission recommends a considerable advance from the original position, but the hardship and humiliation of the situation would not end. Next week we shall reproduce the views of the Commissioners on the question and discuss them in detail. The Commissioners complain that the Indians refrained from giving evidence in a body and entirely ignored the Commission, and, therefore, they could not enquire into the allegations of ill-treatment. It should, however, be remembered that the Indians had objected to the *personnel* of the Commission, and their demand for the inclusion of a member who would command their confidence was absolutely unheeded. In view of this they took a solemn vow not to give evidence before a body for whose freedom from bias they had no assurance. But their abstention has proved to have been well adviced on other grounds as well. "As is common knowledge among the Indians," writes *Indian Opinion* in a recent issue, "they had over three hundred witnesses excluding many "Europeans who had made affidavits and who were ready to tender evi"dence. Every association throughout South Africa would have led "evidence on the main grievances. This would have meant a delay "at least six months in the issue of the report of the Commission "thus rendering it impossible to introduce remedial legislation during "the current session of Parliament. And it would certainly have "been disastrous if the settlement had been delayed for so long. "What is, however, more important is the fact that the settlement "spirit that pervades the atmosphere would, it is highly likely, have "been marred. Mr. Andrews' great work of conciliation could not "have been done. For the Indian community would have led "voluminous evidence as to ill-treatment. This would have been "hotly combated by the other side, and hot words would have passed "between opposing counsel. The sitting of the Commission would "have roused the keenest excitement between the Indian and the "European sections. Instead of all this, thanks to the Indian "abstention, we have still the atmosphere of conciliation so silently "so effectively and with such wonderful love and humility created "by Mr. Andrews."

Finance and Politics.

One of the favourite arguments with which philosophers of the White Man's-Burden school oppose any measure to give the subject races of the "coloured" variety the least responsible control over their own affairs is the inherent unfitness of the latter for such responsibility. They are held to lack every one of the qualities that have equipped the peoples of Europe for self-government. They have no physical or moral stamina, no vigour and decision of character, no sense of responsibility, no conception of disinterested public service, no political honesty and so forth. This sense of righteous superiority is, however, shattered occasionally by inconvenient and dramatic exposures of the methods with which national and international affairs are conducted in some of the most advanced States of Europe. Madame Caillaux's revolver has not only put an end to the life of a Parisian journalist who had considerable influence in French politics but also laid bare the colossal corruption of French politicians in which even the Ministers of the Republic are involved. This scandal illustrates the whole connection of politics with finance in France. The French are a nation of investors and the French Government is supposed to be the guardian of the National Savings Bank. Investment is an instrument of diplomacy, a wedge of penetration, a source of influence. The financiers have captured the machinery of the State. As the *Nation* says, the banks have become in France what the trusts are in America. They dominate politics. They own the Press. They control the political parties. It is not, therefore, strange that M. Tardien's is a name as well-known in high finance as in journalism and politics, and that an affair like that of the American Marconis and British Cabinet Ministers and the Liberal Whip, which created so much excitement in one of the *Entente Cordiale* countries, should be but a normal circumstance in the public life of another, which is it neighbour.

The Rochette Scandal.

The recent scandal which shook the French Ministry, drove M. Caillaux out of office, and involved the characters and reputations of four ex-Premiers, relates to the exploits of Rochette, a Company promoter, who, by a long series of frauds, succeeded in robbing the French investors of about two millions sterling. He was put on his trial, but the legal proceedings dragged on for three years, and he was subsequently condemned to three years' imprisonment—after he had fled and disappeared. A certain Minister was generally accused of complicity in his flight. For a detailed exposition of the facts we make no apology in quoting the *Nation* at length. It says:—Undoubtedly, a great part of the responsibility falls on M. Caillaux. His own explanation is really more interesting, and in a sense more damning, than all the vague suspicions against him. No one has been able to show that he was personally intimate with Rochette or shared in any of his ventures. His own story is, first, that he owed an obligation of gratitude to Rochette's counsel, who had acted for him in his private affairs; and, secondly, that Rochette through his counsel had threatened a sweeping exposure of the whole system of 'Republican' finance. He was the rank outsider, the disreputable if successful, adventurer. But he had compiled a rather deadly book which a discreet middleman of the politico-financial *demi-monde* was allowed to see in proof. It was a statistical history of the last twenty years of investment in France. Here was the record of all the really respectable popular 'issuess,' foreign loans, foreign railways, and the like, the ventures promoted by the most impeccable banks, the operations recommended by boards which number ex-Ministers among their directors. It was a history of inflated values, high commissions, and the inevitable fall of prices, which showed, we are told, a net loss to the French investor of four hundred millions

sterling. A malicious parallel chapter described how similar institutions in England and Germany had made in the same period a gain of 680 millions. All this would figure in Rochette's defence at the trial, and the book would be behind it. Rochette had already spent a third of a million on 'publicity' for his various ventures; the press might be trusted to do something for a client so munificent. M. Caillaux had already a sufficiently nauseating scandal on his hands—the defalcations of the liquidator Duez, amid which so much of the confiscated wealth of the religious orders had evaporated. He did not want to have to answer as Minister a fresh series of accusations which might readily be so handled as to suggest that the whole Republican political world was nothing but a vast fraudulent concern engaged in robbing the small investor. On our reading of the facts, this unpublished book of the audacious Rochette is really the centre of the affair. He blackmailed the Republic, and M. Caillaux happened to be the Minister in power at the moment: the chances are that any other of these none too scrupulous and none too courageous politicians would have acted as he did. Into the details of the affair it would be tedious to enter. It is a morass of meanness, disloyalty, and lying. Ministers give orders to judges; legal officials bend to pressure and take their revenge by making revelations: one Minister has an eavesdropper concealed behind a curtain; another steels a State paper, hides it for three years, and at last produces it to destroy a rival. Finance, in short, has done more to degrade politics than any other alien interest in social history. Good observers tell us that the French public is stupefied, indignant, and resolved to make a sweeping change. But to what group or party can it turn?" Indeed, the White Man's Burden is a heavy one; but we admire his persistence and his altruism that he would saddle no one of a sable hue with the weight of—how many millions did Rochette say?

The Islamia College Peshawar.

The Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler opened the Islamia College, Peshawar, last year. Standing close to the mouth of the Khyber Pass, he was naturally impressed with the import of the ceremony he had been invited to perform. The event was certainly impressive in more ways than one. The sturdy Mussalman races of the N. W. Frontier Province, which had hitherto shown no inclination to move with the times, had raised large sums of money of their own accord to found a first grade college for the education and training of their youths on modern lines. The independent border tribes were also interested in the scheme and made voluntary contributions to the College fund. The enthusiasm, the energy and the measure of self-help displayed in the cause of Western education by these virile races, whose attitude towards Western influences had been so hostile in the past, marked the beginning of a new era in their history. Fancy may indulge with pardonable freedom in picturing the future when the younger generations of the border communities would be equipped with modern knowledge and begin to guide the destiny of their race in the light of modern ideals. The future is rich with hope, but the fulfilment of its abundant promise depends entirely on the extent to which the opportunities of the present are utilised. It is satisfactory to note that the foundations of the new educational movement have been laid well. During the first year of its existence the Islamia College has made wonderful progress. It opened in April, 1913, with 14 students; it has now 313 boys on its rolls, 70 of whom are from trans-frontier districts. The first Annual Prize Distribution, which came off on the 30th of April last, was attended by hundreds of raises, khans and chiefs, including a large number of European officials. The Hon. the Chief Commissioner presided over the function. Mr. Tipping, the Principal, whom his Aligarh pupils remember with affection, reveiwed the last year's work in a report which is a record of remarkable progress. The College is affiliated to the Punjab University up to F. A. and its affiliation up to B. A. has already been recommended by the Syndicate. The credit of the good results achieved by the College in its first year of existence is due to the energy of the Principal and the staff. The College also owes much of its present success to the services of its indefatigable and resourceful Secretary, Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Khan C. I. E. The provincial Government is in entire sympathy with the aims of the College and is ready to lend it active support. The work of planting the seeds of higher education among the Pathan community of the Frontier Province has started under the best auspices. Its future success would mainly depend on the degree of self-help and self-sacrifice shown by the community itself. Government co-operation is indispensable, especially at this stage, and we trust it will always be readily forthcoming. The main thing to be kept in mind is that the control and direction of the affairs of the College should be entirely in the hands of the chosen representatives of the people, for only thus can the educational movement become thoroughly national and therefore most likely to yield the best results. Those who think that they can educate people and still retain them in leading strings have not yet learnt anything from experience.

The Comrade.

A Complaint from the North-West Frontier.

We recieve from time to time appeals from people who think they have been injured by the actions or the decisions of officials, but almost invariably we have to ignore them, because we do not regard ourselves as a Court of Appeal with pretensions to judicial authority. But occasionally we receive the statement of a case which falls within the purview of a newspaper, because there is apparently no avenue open to the aggrieved party for securing the redress of his grievance except the publicity given to the case in the columns of a newspaper. It is obviously impossible for a journalist to go into these matters like a judge and jury, and one does not expect from a newspaper such care and attention. Nevertheless a newspaper can arm itself with sufficient data to establish a *prima facie* case for the person appealing to it, and is, we think, fully entitled to bring the matter to the notice of Government with a view to have an enquiry instituted into the case.

Such a case is that of Nawab Mohamed Ghulam Qasim Khan Sahib, Nawab of Tank in the district of Dera Ismail Khan in the North-West Frontier Province. We have received from the Nawab Saheb a letter enclosing copies of a memorial in English submitted to the Hon. Sir George Roos-Keppel, then Chief Commissioner of the Province, another memorial in Urdu submitted with a copy of the English memorial to the Hon. Mr. Donald now Chief Commissioner, and translation of a resolution of the Government of the Punjab and a Sanad of the same Government announcing certain honours and dignities conferred upon the Nawab Saheb's grandfather, Nawab Shah Nawaz Khan, in 1875, together with some *jagirs* and exemptions from payment of Revenue and Police charges, for the maintenance of the dignity and position of Nawab Shah Nawaz Khan and his successors. One of the enclosures is a pedigree of the Nawab Saheb which is a document of considerable interest.

From the first memorial we learn that the Nawab Saheb traces his troubles and misfortunes to the displeasure of Mr. T. B. Copeland who was posted as the Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ismail Khan some years ago. It seems that certain allegations of high-handed dealings towards a section of the residents of Tank had been made against him, and that in the course of the enquiry Mr. Copeland made an adverse report to Sir George Roos-Keppel, "in consequence of which", says the memorial, "he had not only the misfortune of incurring Your Honour's displeasure but also his agent, Karamat Husain, was ordered to leave the district under section 36 of the North-West Frontier Regulations." But, the memorial adds that "subsequently coming to know the real facts of the case, Your Honour was graciously pleased to restore the petitioner to your favour, thereby winning his deep gratitude." The sequel, however, proves, that deep gratitude is more easily won in the N. W. F. Province than a petition who has had the misfortune to incur a Deputy Commissioner's displeasure, and consequently the Chief Commissioner's, is graciously restored to his favour.

The memorial cites an application submitted on the 14th April, 1912, by the Chaudharies of Tank as proof of the fact that the complaint from which the Nawab Saheb's troubles arose were baseless. It then goes on to say that Mr. Copeland was transferred from Dera Ismail Khan and nothing further happened till he was re-transferred to the district subsequently. When this happened the Nawab Saheb was carrying on some litigation both in the Revenue and the Criminal Courts against some of his tenants-at-will. He paid shortly afterwards a visit to Mr. Copeland in the course of which the Deputy Commissioner asked the Nawab Saheb to withdraw the prosecutions against the tenants, and if he did not desist from such "rascality" (*badmashi*), threatened him with expulsion from the Province, a power which Government has with little forethought or wisdom conferred upon its officials on the North-West Frontier Province. It appears that the Nawab Saheb gave information of this conversation to Sir George Roos-Keppel in a registered letter on the 31st of July, 1912, but received no reply.

If the report of this remark of Mr. Copeland could be believed, we could offer some comment of our own which, we may take it from previous experience of this province, would be accounted in us as high treason, and possibly we might immediately lose another subscriber of the *Comrade* who had paid the full subscription for the year—from the public exchequer. But for reasons far more valid than the fear of the Press Act and the hope of some unearned subscription we prefer instead to quote from the memorial the comment of the Nawab Saheb himself. In concluding his memorial to the Chief Commissioner he says: "The honour and position of Nawab was granted to him by the benign Government, and he is ever willing to obey all orders which Your Honour or the local authorities may lawfully issue. It is obviously impossible for him to carry out such wishes of Mr. Copeland as are calculated to disgrace

him in the eyes of his people, to injure his legal rights and to cause unjustifiable loss to him. Surely from a political as well as personal point of view, it is hardly justifiable for Mr. Copeland to seek to bring disgrace upon those whom the Government have invested with the honour and status of Nawabs."

Among others we have done not a little to expose the real character of a certain section of those on whom officialdom confers its so-called honours. But our best supporters in this enterprise have been the officials themselves who "honour" this class of people on the New Year's day or the King-Emperor's birthday and dishonour them every day of the year. Even the worm turns and no wonder that a nobleman of the Frontier whose ancestors had rendered great services to the State, and whose own services were rewarded with the title of Nawab, now turns round to rebuke Government for its contradictory attitude. Either the Nawab Saheb, who, according to the Sanad of 1875, was selected by Government as a successor to the Tank Nawabi on account of being the most suitable member of the family, was deserving of this selection and of the title of Nawab, or he was not. But if the Government do not confess that their selection and recognition were gross blunders, they must protect their *protégé* from the shocking manners and awful fury of "hot-headed youths" (that's the phrase, is it not?) who have put no more than ten years' service in India before being posted as Deputy Commissioner over large districts. Even the maker of counterfeit coins would not refuse to accept at its face value a spurious coin of his own manufacture that is tendered to him; but officials have often no hasitation in dishonouring their own creations. Well may the titled gentry say to them:

نوابان خود را بیافزای قدر
که هرگز نه آید ز پرورده عذر

(Increase the dignity of the Nawabs of your own creation; for never does your own creation turn against you.)

The Nawab Saheb of Tank's tale of woe is as follows. In a theft case in which the police were prosecuting the accused on the complaint of the Nawab Saheb, Mr. Copeland interfered and recorded his opinion against the maintenance of the prosecution, but this order was set aside by the Judicial Commissioner. Nevertheless, the lower court acquitted one of the accused on the very ground on which Mr. Copeland had recorded his opinion, and Mr. Copeland himself reduced in appeal the sentence of the second accused. As a result of this action this court dismissed other complaints which the Nawab Saheb had prefered against the number of other tenants, though ultimately these orders, too, like Mr. Copeland recorded opinion, proved to be without justification and were set aside by the Session's Judge. The memorial complains that encouraged by rumours of the Deputy Commissioner's displeasure the Nawab Saheb's tenants presented a number of frivolous applications to the Deputy Commissioner upon which Mr. Copeland passed orders obviously prejudicial to the Nawab Saheb, causing him considerable loss. A noteworthy circumstance in connection with these Revenue proceedings is that the Nawab Saheb, now thoroughly warned as to the weather he could repeat and fearing further trouble through Mr. Copeland's displeasure, presented applications to the Assistant Collector for withdrawal of some notices of ejectment against a number of his tenants who had instituted suits under the Tenancy Act for the in cancellation. The Assistant Collector rejected these applications, and Mr. Copeland, who was curiously enough informed that the applications had been submitted merely to please him, and was requested to bring about a settlement, called for certain information which was supplied, but did nothing to bring the matter to a satisfactory conclusion. As a result of all this the Nawab Saheb's tenants, non-proprietary residents of Tank and *Kamins* refused to carry out their legal and customary obligations towards him. They have been led to believe, says the memorial, that, however illegal their conduct may be, no official would give him any relief because he had incurred the displeasure of the head of the district.

Nor is this all. At the instigation of the Nawab Saheb's enemies a complaint of enticing a married women for illicit intercourse was instituted against him in the court of Mr. Copeland which, says the memorial was so obviously unfounded, that finally Mr. Copeland directed it to be consigned to the records on the ground that "the complaint did not wish to pursue the matter further "at present." This is, indeed, a curious order, for it does not appear whether the complainant still retains the option of coming one day to Mr. Copeland's Court to pursue the matter further. We think the man should have been compelled to substantiate such a charge or withdraw it. When nothing further wasdone the Nawab Sahebprosecuted the complainant for defamation, but we are told that the Sub-Divisional Officer of Tank has ordered that this complaint shold remain pending till the return of the accused from the Veterinary College of Lahore, where he is receiving his education. The Nawab Saheb complains that even the inspection of the record, for which he applied, and to which he is entitled, has not hitherto been permitted to him.

Incidents have since then occured which give rise to apprehensions concerning his personal safety. He cites paragraph 180 of the Political Diary No. 52, dated 21st December, 1912, to show that two residents of the Tank Sub-division, stated to be *Bhattis*, went to *Ilaqa* Mahsud in order to arrange a raid or dacoity for the purpose of killing the Nawab of Tank, that they offered Rs. 6,000 to a group of dacoits for that purpose and that they put up with some people with the object of arranging the raid but were not successful in inducing the men to commit it. Some more evidence of such designs was available soon after and the Nawab Saheb caused it to be officially recorded. But he has since been informed that the papers have been sent to the headquarters of the district. No enquiry seems to have been made into this affair, nor do any steps seem to have been taken against the persons who are alleged to be intriguing to bring about the Nawab Saheb's death. These apprehensions may seem to us at first sight somewhat needless, but we have to remember that we are dealing with the affairs of the North-West Frontier, and, as the Nawab Saheb reminds us in the memorial submitted to Mr. Donald in Urdu, not long ago the son of another prominent frontier man, Khan Bahadur Azeem Khan, was killed in the bazar and the culprit has, it is alleged not yet been punished.

In the memorial submitted to Sir George Roos-Keppel the Nawab Saheb of Tank seeks the protection of the Chief Commissioner "against a state of thing which involves not only material injury and personal indignity but also danger of life. "He respectfully prays that the Chief Commissioner may be pleased to enquire from Mr. Copeland how he had failed to discharge his duties as the Nawab of Tank and to grant him an opportunity of "showing causes" against whatever complaints Mr. Copeland may have against him. He urges pathetically that all the Deputy Commissioners of Dera Ismail Khan ever since he became Nawab of Tank have been satisfied with the manner in which he has discharged his duties towards the Government and his people. He humbly refers to the services he has his rendered on various occasions in connection with dacoities and "confidential political affairs," of which, he says, he possess ample documentary proofs. Finally, he gives expression to a feeling of childlike want of comprehension which indicates far more vividly than any critic of the system of administration followed in the North-West Frontier Province could have done, the absence of that security which we associate only with the "Reign of Law." He asks why Mr. Copeland has adopted this attitude towards him, what it is that he wants him to do and in what he has failed to carry out Mr. Copeland's orders. He also asks whether "the line of policy adopted by Mr. Copeland is in accordance with Your Honour's wishes", for he confesses that, if it is so, he will "bow before the will of the representative of the sovereign to willingly abidelby Your Honour's directions." He says he bore the consequences of Mr. Copeland's unjustifiable displeasure with patience so long as they were confined to injury to his property and legal rights. But now, in the words of the memorial, "the "situation having become very serious, he is not only afraid of some "false case or cases being concocted against him, calculated to bring dis-"grace upon him and his family, but is also in fear of danger to his life. "The subordinate district authorities, very naturally following the exam-"ple set by the head of the district, listen to misrepresentations on the "part of his enemies, and he cannot, for obvious reasons, even obtain "legal advice in the district of Dera Ismail khan." How significant are the words "very naturally" and "for obvious reasons!" But even more significent is the final appeal in which he asks the Chief Commissioner either to enquire into the causes which are at the root of the matter, or" to be instrumental in restoring between Mr. Copeland "and the petitioner those amicable relations which ought to subsist "between the Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ismil Khan and the Nawab "of Tank."

We know that there is an Indian Penal Code containing the penal law of the land to the shaping of which went the genius and the sustained labour of many distinguished English jurists. We also know that there is a Criminal Procedure Code which lays down at great length and in minute detail the procedure for the application of the penal laws. There is also a well established revenue system and regulations dealing with it, clearly laying down the rights and duties of landlords and tenants and the powers of the Revenue Courts. There is also an Executive and a Judicial administration in the Province maintained at no little cost to the tax-payer. But throughout this long memorial, drawn up no doubt by a lawyer, there is no appeal to any code or law or Regulation and no protection is sought from any Court. The central figure of this pathetic document is a young gentleman no older than one of our "young hot-heads," probably an *alumnus* of Oxford or Cambridge who has left behind him at his College the reputation of extreme amiability and brought with him the culture and refinement of his University. It is not probable that he has a quarter of the wealth or any thing like the position in his own country which the humble memorialist enjoys. But we miss in the memorial the true features and the expression of our amiable cultured and refined University man, and only see the lineaments of a stern, inexorable, vindictive god who has to be propitiated by all kinds of offerings, and to obtain whose good-will the trembling

worshipper seeks the intercession of two of the *dii majores*. This young god stands to him in the place of the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code and all the Rules and Regulations of the Province. He represents the Revenue System, all the Courts and every Department of the Administration. In short, as the poet says:

سب کی جی مین هی جگه تیري جو تو راضی هوا
مجهه کویا اك زمانه مهرباں هوجا ئیگا

(Every one has a place in his heart for thee. If only thou wert satisfied it would be as if the whole world was kind to me.)

We ask whether it is right or just to leave hundreds of thousands of people in all stations of life throughout large areas at the mercy of a single official whose word, and not that of King or Parliament or any Indian Legislature is law to the entire population placed in his charge, even though his College may remember him as an extremely amiable man and he may have brought from his University a good deal of its culture and refinement. Even in other provinces the power and prestige enjoyed by the head of the district develope in him self-reliance to an undue extent while they play havoc with college reputations for amiability and University, traditions of culture and refinement. But in a province where the regulations place extraordinary powers in the hands of young men practicably responsible to nobody but their conscience, we are not in the least surprised to hear the most prominent nobleman of the district being called a rascal by a gentleman who most probably used to say "Please" and "Thank you" to his servants, nor are we shocked to receive complaints of absolute defiance of law by one appointed to administer it who would not perhaps bear even a common soldier being deprived of his right to disobey a General acting on the authority of the Cabinet if the order was unreasonable.

It appears that no satisfactory answer, was received by the Nawab of Tank to his English memorial, while the Urdu memorial submitted to the present Chief Commissioner together with the copy of the English memorial to Sir Roos-Keppel has not answered at all. We do not know how far the allegations contained in these two memorials are correct, but a strong *prima facie* case has been made out and the Nawab Saheb of Tank, knowing only too well the risks he runs by thus publishing his grievances, is still determined to run them rather than risk those still more serious consequences to which he has referred in his memorial. We think he should be given an opportunity of substantiating his complaints against Mr. Copeland and Mr Copeland should also have an opportunity of meeting those complaints. We, therefore, trust the Hon. the Chief Commissioner of the Province, or, failing him, the Government of India would institute an inquiry into the matter and publish the true facts of the case along with the Government's decision. The second memorial is the obvious result of despair, and the Nawab Saheb of Tank appears to be so worried that he would prefer to exchange his land and *Jagire* with some land on the Punjab canals and altogther give up his domicil inthe Frontier Province. This is not a small matter for evidently the Nawab Saheb of Tank has considerable stake in the land even according to the highest bureaucratic standard. Let us wait and see how this matter is viewed by Government and what decision is arrived at in a case in which arastocracy is pitted against bureaucracy "in these democratic days".

Khwaja Kamal-ud-din and his Supporters.

Some years ago Khwaja Kamal-ud-din left off a luncrative practice at the Chief Court Bar of Lahore, fell out of the ranks of those who were making a name for themselves as leaders of Moslem thought in India, and, unassisted by public funds, went to England to spread Islam in Europe or at least refute the baseless charges brought against Islam by the Christians and cultured pagans of Europe alike. To all intents and purposes he was given up as lost by Indian Mussalmans, and beyond receiving his little monthly magazine from London and glancing through it with a half critical half approving eye they took no interest in him and his work. There was nothing sensational in his work, nothing like a pitched battle with the Secretary of State on the question of the Moslem University, the resolute defence of their desert homes by the Arabs of Tripoli, or the determined Ottoman defence of Adrianople, its loss and ultimate recapture. How could the Khwaja. then, expect any assistance or even interest in the work that he was so resolutely and so quietly doing? He was only fighting the battle of Islam against unheard of odds, and what was Islam to Indian Mussalmans that they should watch the struggle with interest?

But luck did not altogether desert the Khwaja. The first convert whose last remnant of doubts about Islam he helped to remove turned out to be a Peer, and although we feel sure Lord Farooq Headley is too good a Moslem to base any claim of superiority on anything but the basis of Islam's aristocracy, *taqva* (or God-fearingness, if the term be permitted), Indian Mussulmans had left the theory of Islamic aristocracy sufficiently far behind and acclaimed the conversion of a Peer quite in the spirit of the *noveau riche* of America acclaiming a Peer as a son-in-law. *Ecce signum*! Behold the miracle! The requisite sensation having been provided, Moslem India instant turned towards the Moslem Missionary in England, and for three whole months he was the unfailing them of every conversation in Moslem India. Nothing that Indian Mussalmans could do for him was too much. Subscriptions were being opened on all sides for him and because we ourselves were unable to give the time necessary for this work many of our friends accused us of bring lukewarm in such a sacred cause. Some Ahmadi gentlemen at Lahore had, however, constituted themselves into an All-India Committee for the purpose, and we directed everyone who wished to offer any assistance to the Khwaja Saheb to the doors of the Lahore Committee. But despite much talk of Moslem solidarity we found to our great regret that sectarian doubts began to assail some Mussalmans in this country. The charlaton also found this to be an excellent opportunity, and availing himself of sectarian suspicious, began to work for his own selfish ends. We shall be failing in our duty if we did not mention that the action of some Ahmadi gentlemen assisted the designs of the charlatan by providing considerable material for sectarian doubts.

The net result is that hardly any assistance has been rendered to the Khwaja Saheb and even the ambitions of those who wished to profit by the Khwaja Saheb's success have not been satisfied. That's what the men have done, though we must add that some kind friends in Bombay sent their contributions as soon as they were informed that the Khwaja Saheb needed assistance and were satisfied that he was doing good work. But the response of Moslem women has not been equally slow or selfish. None of them has, of course, tried to ride on the crest of the wave that the conversion of Lord Headley created in our languid sea. That is some negative proof, but positive proof also has not been wanting. Mrs. Khedive Jung (Tyeba Begam), the gifted daughter of Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Bahadur, has followed in the footsteps of her father and has equally liberally assisted the Khwaja Saheb with her own contributions. Mrs. Humayun Mirza, the Secretary of the Anjuman-i-Khawateen-i-Islam (Moslem Women's Association) of Hyderabad, has sent Rs. 500, and now Tyeba Begam has sent another Rs. 500 (Hali) through Mr. Shaukat Ali, the Secretary of the Khuddam-i-Ka'ba.

This last is a contribution of Mrs. Hakim-ud-Daulah Bahadur, the Vice-President of the Hyderabad ladies' Association. In *Paigham-i-Sulh* appeared a simple message from Khwaja Saheb in these words :—

میرا اراده هی که نبي کریم کی بعض حدیثیں مختصرسی پاکٹ بك میں جمع کرکے هزار چهاپ دون اور مفت تقسیم کروں - یهه امر اس قابل نهین که اس کی لئی چنده کهولا جائي یهه سوال صرف دوتین سو روپیه کا هی - اگر کوئی محمد کا شیدائی اپني آقا کي کلام کو مغرب مین تقسیم کرانا چاهتا هی تو یهه سهل طریقه هی *

We do not know what effect this simple and direct appeal created on Moslem manhood, but we now know how it affected Moslem womanhood. Khwaja Saheb can bring out two series of Pocket Editions of selections from the great Prophets' Traditions or publish three or four thousand copies of one series instead of a thousand only for which he had asked some lover of Mohamed to contribute. Mrs. Aqeel Bilgrami, (the daughter of the late Khan Bahadur Maulvi Syed Ali Hasan whose sad death occurred at Delhi only the other day) has also sent Rs. 1.000 (Hali) through Tyeba Begam who is her sisrer-in-law. This is what a few women who love God and fear Him have done. In a way it was easier for them to do this, for men have taught them only too well the lessonss self-sacrifice and devotion to duty. But have the teachers themselves nothing to learn in this direction? Let them answer the question —if they dare. Khwaja Saheb is not alone now at Woking. Another enthusiast who has worked in America and Japan before this has joined Khwaja Kamal-ud-din, and let us assure those who suffer from sectarian suspicious that the assistant whom Khwaja Saheb has received with open arms is a Sunni and non-Ahmadi. We shall be glad to give further information to any one who asks for it and assist him in sending the funds to the Khwaja Saheb and to his assistant. But once more our eyes turn towards a women, noble, brave and patriotic, to whom no one has appealed for a good cause in vain. Sultan Jahan Begam's is a name familiar to all who work for such causes, and if, by any chance Her Highness has not already made a liberal grant for this purpose, we are sure that she would do so now and that the support from Bhopal would be in propotion to Her Highness's well-known munificence. It seems to us that the time has came when in all public affairs of the Mussalman the lead should be taken by noble women like Her Highness the Begam Saheba of Bhopal, like Mrs. Hakim-ud-Daulah (a lady who, we are told, possesses talents and learning equalled only by her zeal in all good causes and who contributed most liberally for the Turkish Relief Fund), like Mrs. Aqeel Bilgrami, and, last but not least, like Tyeba Begam Mrs. Khedive Jung. It is the women of Islam that are the foremost in all such enterprises and it is our experience that while retaining all their womenly grace they are far more manly also than men.

The Lonely Homestead.

I SHALL always look back with feelings of pleasurable regret to the cold weather of 99-00, most of which period I was employed on special duty making enquiries regarding cattle theft along the Jumna *Khadir*, that portion of it which lies in Muttra district and stretches away into Gurgaon and towards Delhi.

The work was of a most interesting nature and one escaped the daily scribbling, so common a feature of Police work either at headquarters or out on tour. Beyond making notes, to be utilisied in framing a Report at the completion of my task, a pen was seldom in my hand, its place being more worthily occupied by gun or rifle, since capital sport was usually obtainable at every stage in my wanderings. The *jhau* held quantities of black partridge; *muggur* were went to bask on sandbanks for a few hours of a morning, the lack of *jheels* in Muttra led to geese and duck frequenting backwaters of the Jamna, while on the wide *usar* plains adjoining the river large herds of black buck gave plenty of work for my rifle. A very intelligent Muhammedan Head Constable and a Hindu Constable belonging to the District accompanied me on my wanderings, and between us we managed to collect a mass of rather curious and interesting details concerning the cattle thief and his *modus operandi*. My Report however—on which I relied for earning some little *kudos*—was never heard of after its despatch to headquarters. Probably the lack of columns of statistics damned it in the eyes of officaildom, or some of the views it contained must have run counter to theories favoured by those in high places. Some day I must endeavour to reproduce the substance of my investigations, in the hope of the public according it more consideration than it met with from the authorities. I had held charge of Muttra all the hot weather, being relieved by a pucca D. S. P.—I was a mere Assistant—in November, and had acquired a fairly intimate knowledge of the District, one of the most attractive in the Provinces for anybody keen on ancient Indian history and the traditions and old world customs prevalent among dwellers in the land of Krishna. Dacoities, the work of gangs from across the Bhurtpur border, aided by local *budmashes*, had been rather frequent during the year and afforded the Police plenty of work. When engaged in cases of that sort I naturally gathered a heap of information of a useful description from a professional standpoint, and became acquainted with most of the bad characters, and learnt the names of prominent leaders, so as to be in a position to form a good idea of what gang was responsible when a dacoity occurred. One almost invariably came across some feature in the case that served to connect it with another performance by the same lot of criminals, and the exact manner in which a dacoity was carried out differed according to whether it was the work of Mewatis or Minas from Bhurtpur, a gang from the adjoining part of Agra district or a *tour de force* of local men.

Encamped at the little Thana of Majhoi, situated on the right bank of the Jumna and with a huge stretch of low jungle a mile away which harboured a herd of wild cattle, a sowar arrived one afternoon with a letter from the Superintendent of Police directing me to join him at Sonkh—a Station within three miles of Bhurtpur boundary line,—to assist in tracing out a big dacoity that had taken place between that Thana and the town of Goberdhan, places about thirteen miles apart. A copy of the first Report and the English memorandum submitted in all cases of serious crime had been sent to me, and I amused myself after dinner—orders for marching next day having been issued—in reading those documents and consulting a large scale map I always kept in my offiice box. It was evident from the documents before me that the dacoits must have crossed the road at some point between Sonkh and Goberdhan, if they did not proceed along that highway when *en route* for the village which had been the scene of their operations. I suddenly recollected a well on that road, close to a walled garden, where resided a *fakir* with a far from unblemished reputation. That personage gave me cause to remember him, for when riding past his abode one hot evening in the Rains his particularly rude demeanour and truculent aspect had impressed the holy man on my memory. It seemed likely that the gang would halt at the well for a drink and smoke and the presence of a body of travellers at a lonely spot after sundown must have been remarked by the fakir, let him deny the fact as much as he liked. Majhoi was over thirty miles from Sonkh and I had some important business at Kosi next morning, so I sent back the sowar with a note explaining that I would reach the Superintendent's camp the evening of the second day and suggesting that the Circle Inspector might do worse than interview the fakir in question. I also sent my Head Constable on ahead to try and gather some information "on his own", directing him to wear plain clothes and let the fact of his belonging to the Police be a secret for the time being. As a rule it is most unwise to work "unbeknownst" to the officer directly in charge of an investigation, for he generally detects such procedure and, feeling that he does not possess your confidence, ceases to exert himself more than is absolutely necessary and declines to act on his own initiative. However, the Thanadar at Sonkh was a fine specimen of an Oudh Thakur, had worked with me in several dacoity cases that year, so was not likely to misunderstand my motive in sending the Head Constable to make a few enquiries on the quiet. Arriving at the camp of the Superintendent of Police on the date promised, I found the Junt Sahib also present, and it was a treat to meet some Europeans again after my solitary rambles along the *khadir*. That evening I interviewed the Circle Inspector, an officer of fine detective ability and one of the extremely few Indian subordinates who did not hesitate to tell you things as they actaully were; what is termed the "*kachcha hal*" of a case. Trusting on his confidence not being abused, and sure that proper use would be made in due course of the information he furnished, this Inspector was as good a Police officer as I met during all my service in the Department. Loyal to his immediate superiors and fearless in the execution of his duty, he was brutally murdered in the Kotwali at Bareilly some few years later. Ignorant of the noble art of self-advertisement, he never trumpeted forth the services he rendered, but—for my part—I freely admit that a large portion of the praise I received for work at Muttra was justly due to the sound advice and prompt obedience to orders on the part of poor Shabbir Hussain. To return to the Sonkh dacoity. As the Head Constable had not rejoined me, the Inspecter and I agreed—after consultation with the Station officer—to await the advent of my Head Constable, men having gone out in various directions in search of news, while others were at the scene of the dacoity where the preliminary proceeding of the usual investigation were being completed.

The following morning the Inspector came to my tent soon after daylight and had important tidings to reveal, supplied him by the Head Constable who had reached Sonkh late the previous night. The latter had visited several villages along the border, pretending to be seeking for a camel that had gone astray, but in reality to try and get a clue to the movements of bad characters suspected of belonging to a dacoit gang or who, at any rate, were cognisant of men who did so. His inquiries proved fruitless to a great extent, though he discovered that—as I surmised—ten or twelve persons had been noticed sitting at the well near the *bagh* of the *Fakir*, a party of pilgrims returning from Goberdhan—one of the sacred spots in Muttra—having encountered these strangers and had a brief conversation with them. When within a mile of Sonkh, the Head Constable's attenion was drawn to a couple of houses standing apart from other habitations and partially hidden by an encircling hedge of tall bamboos. The nearest village was over a mile distant and the hamlet intervened, so he thought it would be as well to ascertain the sort of people who lived remote from their neighbours. The men of the house—of whom he saw three—did not give him a hearty welcome and seemed doubtful as to the truth of his story concerning the missing camel. He could not obtain access to the house and had to rest content with a few minutes conversation ere he went on his way to the Thana. When questioned the Station Officer could not at first locate the dwelling referred to, but soon rememberd the place about which we were enquiring. It was a fairly large homestead, jointly owned by four Mahommedans, who stood to one another in the relationship of brothers and cousins. Their names did not figure on any of the Thana records nor was anything known against their character. All the same, the Head Constable appeared so convinced that there was something fishy about these men, and in Police work—as elsewhere—it is the unexpected that often happens, that Shabbir Husain and I resolved to pay an early morning visit to the place and search the premises. If the inhabitants of the house were honest folk, such proceeding would be an additional proof of righteousness for them, and if they were mixed up with dacoits the public would gain by their being brought to justice. In order to reach the homestead before any of its inmates were stirring or left their charpoys for the fields, it was necessary to start from the camp at a terribly unseasonable hour, shortly after 4 a. m. It was a bitterly cold night, a wintry moon shedding its ghostly light across the open plain we had to traverse to reach our destination. Quitting the cart-road, we walked along the little paths that exist in all village lands and by which field labourers proceed to and from their daily toil. A sudden rustling in the tall *arhar* plantation betrayed a herd of deer, disturbed in their nocturnal feast on the crops; but beyond those startled animals we neither saw any living thing nor even heard a village cur bark. It was "false dawn" when we reached the place and sat beneath a fine *peepul* tree in front of the building, awaiting daylight when one could demand admittance and be sure that none of the houshold contrived to get away unobserved. We had not been there long when the main gate, leading into the big courtyard, opened and a man coming out went to a well for some water. He did not notice our little party, so was considerably surprised to be stopped on his way back and told who we were, while he was

ordered to take us inside the enclosure and at once collect the rest of the household. In the centre of the yard—round which long low sheds and dwelling apartments formed a quadrangle, with a byre for cattle at one end—a fire was smouldering which we soon stirred up and enjoyed the welcome heat afforded by the flames. There were four men in the house, no women-folk nor any servants except a *bhishti*. Three of those persons were brothers, dour veterans who said nothing but sat in moody silence eyeing their visitors with a gaze of unconcealed hatred and wrath. Directly it was light enough, I sent a constable to fetch two witnesses from the nearest village, so as to conduct the search in accordance with the rules prescribed by law. Meanwhile I went up a rude flight of steps on to a terrace that ran round three sides of the courtyard and was in fact the roof of the rooms beneath. With me was an Orderly, an Afridi from Swat Bonair who had found his way to Muttra from Bhurtpur some time back and had enlisted in the Armed Police, bringing about half a dozon of his countrymen later on to follow his example. With them the personal factor reckoned before anything else, and I found them capital men for the Armed Branch, if they required more careful handling than the average Indian recruit. His quick eyes spotted an object inserted in some thatching that covered a portion of the terrace and further examination revealed the hidden article to be a *talwar*.

This was first blood to our side, and when the two "respectable persons" arrived to witness the search, we set to work in the hope of unearthing more weapons and possibly some stolen property. Our anticipations were not doomed to disappointment, since during the next two hours we found more *talwars*, half a dozen guns and pistols of sorts, and a queer weapon composed of a small round buckler fastened between two black buck horns, the tips of the latter furnished with steel points so as to stab an opponent in a fight at close quarters. Most of the firearms were buried below the manger where the cattle fed, but their comparative freedom from rust showed that they had been in use at no distant date. Then one commenced finding a different class of goods, silver ornaments artfully placed in the earthen walls of the rooms, carefully plastered over with mud to retain them *in situ*. Digging up the floor in one of the sheds we unearthed a pile of umbrellas, evidently never used, and which one of the search witnesses promptly claimed as his property, stolen from him when returning from a weekly bazar a short time ago. There was hardly one shed that did not yield its tale of stolen goods, chiefly ornaments of Indian pattern, anklets, wristlets, nose-rings, and so forth. The cousin mentioned above was a much younger man than his relatives and showed greater alarm at our proceedings than did the older culprits. When he saw the heap of recovered property gradually increasing in size, he signed to the Inspector his desire to make some communication to him, and then declared his wish to point out where things were concealed on condition of being accepted as Queen's Evidence. No Police officer is empowered to hold out hopes of pardon or make promises to that effect, besides the case struck me as too finely established to need bolstering up by a confession, and I warned the would-be informer accordingly. However, he probably felt that he had committed himself in the opinion of the other members of the family, so took us to a little drain where after a spell of removing brick and draining off some very dirty water Mooshur by Cousin drew out a couple of really handsome silver chains, followed by a few trinkets of lesser value. It was midday by the time the search had reached this stage, and I was glad when a man arrived with my tiffin basket containing sandwiches and a drink. News had also been sent to the Joint Magistrate, who kindly rode over, a step that I calculated on to checkmate the usual assertions of Pleaders for the defence to the effect that the wicked Police themselves plant stolen property in order to secure the conviction of poor honest people. It was almost dusk before our business was finished, the four accused marched off in safe custody to the Sonkh Police Station, and our find conveyed to the same place in a cart I commandeered for the purpose. The Lower Court committed the prisoners to Sessions and one had no fears about the result of the trial. But I failed to take into account the peculiar working of the judicial mind and the Judge in question (long since retired) took a view of the case as extraordinary as it was unexpected. The Defence counsel produced some Ruling bearing on Hindu law, whereby the inmates of a common dwelling are not responsible for the actions of their fellow tenants. The unlucky cousin, least culpable of the quartette, adhered to his resolution to make a clean breast of the affair and related the dacoities in which he and his relation had taken part. Better for him had he preserved silence on that, and other points, for the Judge sentenced him to seven years imprisonment and acquitted the remaining three men on the ground that although inhabiting the same house they were not necessarily aware of the evil practices of their youthful relative. The hypothesis possessed quaint features, as it must have been based on the theory of one individual bringing stolen goods galore to the common courtyard and concealing them in a score of different parts of the homestead without being perceived by the other inmates. Further he must have dug up floors and hidden guns and talwars without any suspicion of such conduct being aroused. Legal expenses perhaps punished the family to a certain extent but a wilder travesty of justice I have seldom come across even in this land of perverse verdicts. The Inspector had a good entry recorded in his Character Roll; some monetary rewards were paid to the subordinate police engaged in the search etc, and a complimentary note from the Inspector-General formed my share of the satisfactory results of our raid on the Lonely Homestead.

A. N. G.

Aligarh Wins the Beighton Hockey Cup.

In brilliant weather and in the presence of the biggest crowd that has ever watched a game of hockey not only in Calcutta, but in India, too, for that matter, fully fifteen thousand people having foregathered on the Calcutta grounds, was the final of the season's Beighton Tournament concluded on Saturday, the Aligarh College triumphing over Jamalpur by three goals to two. Indeed the size of the crowd reminded one more of a football match than even a hockey final, despite the fact that the latter game has taken a great hold over the city of recent years. The most remarkable thing about the attendence was their non-partisan spirit, neither of the finalists being local teams, and it speaks volumes for the sportsmanship of the Calcutta crowd that even having had no interest whatever in the final issue, they had come down in their thousands, determined to cheer every bit of good play, it mattered not whichever side were responsible therefor. And they did applaud every bit of good play they saw, and of brilliant play there was quite enough on either side, so that the cheering was almost continuous from the time the teams took the field right up to the finish.

The seating arrangements on the Calcutta ground were, as usual of the best, Mr. C. R. Clayton having marked off a number of enclosures on the western side for the convenience of C. F. C. members and their friends, the League Clubs, the Jamalpur and Aligarh visitors, and the military, while separate arrangements obtained on the other three sides of the ground. The turf was in the pink of condition.

Before appearing in the final, Aligarh met and defeated the Police in the second round by 4—2, Calcutta, in the third round by 1—0 and the Customs "B" in the semi-final, after extra time had been played, by 2—0. Jamalpur, on the other hand had disposed of the E. I. R. Apprentices (Lillooah) in the second round by 10—0, which stands as a record score for the season's tournament, the Medicals by 2—1 in the third round and the Customs "A" in the semi-final by 1—0 after a draw of 1—1, in which extra time was gone through.

Jamalpur's Grit.

Saturday's final furnished one of the most exciting contests that have ever been witnessed in the Beighton Cup. No fewer than five goals were scored, Aligarh leading at half-time by 2—0, Jamalpur scoring once on crossing over, before the College netted again, while almost on time the Railway added another goal. When the students led by 2—0, many thought that they would have a run away victory, like the Customs achieved a few years ago against Calcutta, but Jamalpur recovered wonderfully and gave their opponents as stiff a fight as they had ever had. The game was a very fast one—indeed a faster game has not been seen during the season—and it is a wonder how the teams stood the great pace right through, while as a scientific exposition of hockey the game would be hard to beat. The finer points of the game were being demonstrated by either side almost every minute, and the enthusiast wished for nothing more.

Aligarh were undoubtedly the better side during the first half, but in the second, either team attacked alternately, and Jamalpur had, if anything, the best of the exchanges. The fact that they had been a couple of goals down at the interval had no effect on Jamalpur except that of infusing fresh life into their movements. Each set of forwards missed open goals, due to over-eagerness to score.

Play and Players.

As forecatsed in these columns on Saturday, Aligarh proved themselves the better-balanced side and won as such. Their forward play was magnificent, superior in point of combination to that of Jamalpur who were more brilliant individually. Curiously enough the outside left of either team did not shine in comparison with the rest of the respective attacking lines. Anwar Ali, Fatch Mohamed, Mustafa and Asad for Aligarh and Alexander, Piggott, Boileau and Rogers on the other side were all at the top of their form. A better centre-forward than Boileau has not figured in the season's tournament. Alexander's centres were real beauties. Asad Ali's command over the stick was admirable. It was at half and at back that Jamalpur were really beaten, though few could notice it. The Jamalpur trio worked very hard indeed, but their display lacked that finish which was Aligarh's own. Calistan, the Apprentice's centre-half, has done better, and it

is a pity the support he received was not of the best. The Aligarh halves, on the other hand, were a happy family, and Azher Ali and Mahbub at centre and left respectively were brilliant. Jamalpur had a great back in Mills on the right, but Jordon was decidedly "off colour." Both the College backs were superb and indeed there was not one weak spot in the team. Gasper and Aga Meerza, the respective goal-keepers, were responsible for some very excellent saves and neither can be blamed for the shots that went past them.

Sixth Indian Win.

This is not the first time that the Cup has been won by an Indian team, but the Aligarh College are the second Indian combination to achieve the feat. During the twenty years that the trophy has been fought for it has been annexed by Indians half-a-dozen times, the famous Ranchi eleven having held it on five occasions namely, in 1897, 1898, 1903, 1906 and 1907, and on Saturday, another Indian victory was registered. This was the first time that either Aligarh or Jamalpur have appeared in the final, both having taken part in the competition several times before.

First Half.

Aligarh were the first to appear, and they were closely followed by Jamalpur, both teams being loudly applauded. Boileau and Mustafa Hossain bullied off at 5—21, Jamalpur defending the garden-end goal. The game was started with one referee and an old ball, and there was nothing in the opening play until Boileau got down and collided with Azher Ali both falling. Pigott received and all but got through, Rahmat effecting a clearance. Asad Ali transferred play on the College left but was sent back by Mills. Another rush by Aligarh was stemmed by Calistan, after which Fateh Mohamed forced an unproductive corner. Calistan intercepted a pass by Imamuddin to the forwards, and Aligarh were having the best of the deal until Boileau got down on his own, being robbed in the circle. Alexander, who obtained possession, failed to centre, and Anwar Ali and Fateh-Mohamed invaded the Railway circle, forcing a short corner. The ball was beautifully placed and Azher Ali put through with a splendid shot eight minutes from the start. Great cheering followed. The pressure on the Jamalpar goal was maintained and Mustafa had hard lines in not scoring, the ball just going behind. A little later Jamalpur threw away an excellent chance of scoring, Alexander centring well, but the rest of the forwards missed the ball. In succession Alexander put in another centre for Azher Ali to hit away. Jamalpur were awarded a "free" in their opponents "twenty-five", but Alexander's shot went behind, and another invasion of the Jamalpur citadel followed—a beautiful piece of combination on the part of the forwards—and Mustafa, having had time enough to steady himself, added the second goal fourteen minutes from the start. Tremendous cheering signalised the incident. The game continued to be very fast, and Alexander had hard lines in being pulled up for "off-side." Fateh Mahamed forced a corner, and after Sadiq Hossain had been penalised for 'sticks", Asad Ali got down in fine style, displaying rare stick-work, but Mills again came to the rescue of his side. Boileau next distinguished himself with an excellent sprint, but was beaten back by Sadiq Hossain, and the Aligarh forwards again assumed the aggressive, forcing another corner which, however, yielded nothing. Alexander made another capital run right through the defence before passing to Pigott, who centred right across, but none could accept it. Jordon broke up a combined run by Asad nad Mustafa, while Mills was responsible for stopping Fatch Mohamed. Anwar Ali was very tricky on the right and caused Jordon no end of trouble. Receiving in mid-field, Asad got away beautifully and had only Gasper to beat when the latter rushed out and kicked away. Just before half-time was called, Aga Meerza saved splendidly from Boileau, and the interval saw the teams placed thus:—

Aligarh—Two goals.
Jamalpur—Nil.

Second Half.

A new ball was provided when the game was resumed, and hard exchange hitting characterised the first two minutes' play. The first man to get prominent was Pigott, who was robbed in the circle, but the ball went out to Rogers, who dribbled through the backs and reduced the margin with a beauty. Boileau all but equalised the next minute—the game had not been resumed five minutes yet—but he lost his stick just as he was going to shoot. Jamalpur were pressing and Pigott experienced hard luck in being ruled "off-side"—a decision which did not go unchallenged. From the ensuing "free" Asad Ali broke away and was only stopped in the circle by Nicholas. Jamalpur attacked again and obtained a corner, Aga Meerza saving a hot one from Rogers. Asad Ali was again conspicuous for a brilliant run, and when he had beaten everybody but Gasper, the latter rushed out in the nick of time and prevented a certain goal. Porthouse similarly livened up matters on the Jamalpur left, but he lost to Imamuddin. Anwar and Fateh Mohamed combined, and the latter passed to Mustafa, who was adjudged "off-side." Alexander twice centred beautifully, forcing a corner the second occasion, but the Aligarh defence could not be easily beaten again. Going down well together, the Aligarh forwards again invaded the Jamalpur "twenty-five." Mustafa appeared to be "off-side," an appeal being preferred, but not heeded, and Anwar and Fateh Mohamed combining, the latter put on the third College goal amidst deafening cheers, fifteen minutes from the resumption. At the other end Porthouse claimed a corner, which was disallowed, and a couple of "off-side" rulings against each side followed. Off a corner against the College, Boileau sent behind. Mills stopped Mustafa. Jamalpur were triers to the bitter end and, although they were a couple of goals down worried the College defence beyond measure. Boileau once rushed down but was penalised, and the Aligarh forwards had again a look in. Alexander transferred play, losing to Sadiq Hossain. Anwar Ali ran down the College right and passed on the line to Fateh Mohamed, who had only Gasper to beat, but he gave "carried," and a splendid chance was lost. Pigott was pulled up for "off-side." A couple of minutes from the close, Pigott, breaking through in fine style, scored Jamalpur's second goal, and although each side tried their best to score again they failed, and Aligarh won, the final score reading:

Aligarh—Three goals.
Jamalpur—Two goals.

The teams were:—

Aligarh College:—Aga Meerza (goal); Rahmat Khan and Sadiq Hossain (backs); Imamuddin Hyder, Azher Ali and Mahbub Alam (halves); Anwar Ali, Fateh Mohamed Khan, Mustafa Hossain, Asad Ali and Altaf Hossain Khan (forwards).

Jamalpur:—Gasper (goal); Mills and Jordon (backs); Nicholas, Calistan and Woolman (halves); Alexander, Pigott, Boileau, Rogers and Porthouse (forwards).

Referees:— Messrs. A. B. Rosser and E. Studd.

The Presentation.

At the conclusion of the game, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, who presided, and had keenly watched the game from start to finish, rose amidst cheers to make a short speech before the prizes were given away. "I have been asked," said the Chief Justice, "to give a short summing-up before the presentations are made. I have always been accustomed to give a lengthy one (laughter). This is hockey, and not football, and I don't think it requires a very lengthy speech, and there are no gold medals to be given away, but silver ones. Still the wishes are the same. There was only a single goal's difference between the teams. The game was a very good one, and although Jamalpur displayed first-rate form, they did not get as many goals as Aligarh" "Let us not congratulate the winners the less," continued Sir Lawrence, "because they do not live in Calcutta, but come from Aligarh, which used to be in the North- West Provinces of Bengal." The Chairman complimented Jamalpur on the fine exhibition of hockey they had given and expressed the hope that both the winners and the losers would come down again next year, though they might not meet as they had met that evening.

Mrs. Richardson, wife of Mr. T. H. Richardson, President of the Bengal Hockey Association, then distributed the various hockey prizes of the season. The Aligarh College received the Beighton Cup and the Bengal Hockey Championship Cup, besides eleven silver medals. Now that the Cup has been taken away for the first time since 1907 it can reasonably be hoped that next year the number of entries will be larger.

The Aftermath.

The scene at the end of the match was unique. The Aligarh team, being all Mahomedans, hundreds of their co-religionists watching the game made a dash for the C. F. C. enclosure, and Mr. Clayton had all his work cut out to preserve order. The invasion was a short-lived one, but there were quite a number of stalwarts, who braver than the rest, presented themselves before the winners and garlanded everyone of them, the whole team being eventually carried shoulder high across the maidan amidst frantic cheering. It was quite dark when the crowd melted away, satisfaction being expressed on all sides at witnessing a most stirring struggle.

—The *Indian Daily News*.

Indians in South Africa.

The Commission's Report.

We give below some of the salient points from the Report—

On the Community's Abstention

Unfortunately the main object which the Commission had in view in recommending the release of Messrs. Gandhi, Polak and Kallenbach was, to a great extent, frustrated by the attitude taken up by these persons.

So far from assisting the Commission by placing before it the case for the Indian Community for the redress of alleged grievences

and by collecting evidence in support of the serious allegations of acts of violence committed upon persons sentenced to imprisonment in connection with the strike, the leaders decided, on various grounds which it is unnecessary to mention, entirely to ignore the Commission. The result was that not only was the Indian community not represented by counsel, but that, acting upon the advice given by Mr. Gandhi, no witnesses appeared to substantiate the charges of violence.

Fortunately, during the latter end of our sitting, a few Indians, chiefly from the Mohamedan section of that community, who represented the Natal Indian Congress, did appear before us and gave evidence of considerable value and importance. At a latter stage of the Enquiry, when the Commission sat in Cape Town from the 23rd to the 27th February, several other Indians presented themselves who claimed to represent various societies, three of them having travelled from the Transvaal for that purpose. These persons were, we think, well advised to refuse to follow the advice given by Mr. Gondhi to his fellow-countrymen to ignore the Commission. By appearing and giving evidence they were able to give us important information on certain subjects, and, by doing so, they, in our opinion, rendered considerable service to the Indian community.

On the Causes of the Strike

The documentary evidence as contained in the various Blue-books, which have been placed at our disposal, makes it clear that the strike was immediately due to dissatisfaction on the part of the leaders of the Indian Community with the provisions of the Immigrants Regulation Act, 1913.

Being unable to obtain from the Minister what he considered to be satisfactory assurances on these points, Mr. Gandhi deliberately decided to take the grave steps which immediately led to the strike and the subsequent disturbances which are the subject of this enquiry. In his letter of the 28th September, which closed the correspondence between the Minister and himself, he informs the former that the step which he purposes to take "consists in actively, persistently and continually asking those who are liable to pay the £3 tax to decline to do so and to suffer the penalties for non-payment, and, what is more important, in asking those who are now serving under indentures and who will, therefore, be liable to pay the £3 tax on completion of the indentures, to strike work until the tax is withdrawn."

This is the first occasion on which, in the course of the correspondence already referred to, mention was made of the £3 tax. It was a matter, however, on which there can be no doubt that many of the Indians felt very strongly, and it had been one of the chief subjects of discussion between the Union Government and Mr. Gokhale when he visited South Africa in 1912. The feeling of the Indians on this subject had been much aggravated by the statements made to them that the Union Government had promised Mr. Gokhale that a Bill would be introduced in the next session of Parliament to repeal the tax.

When, therefore, no such Bill was introduced and when, in addition, the Government repudiated having made any promise to that effect, the result was that there was grave disappointment on the part of the Indian community, especially in Natal. It is impossible for us in this Enquiry to enter into the controversy which has arisen on the subject of the promise alleged to have been made to Mr. Gokhale: it is sufficient for our purpose to state that the Indians had been led to believe that such a promise had been made and that on failure to introduce the expected legislation there was considerable feeling on their part against the Government.

There were other matters affecting Indians which we were invited by certain witnesses to investigate, but which, in our opinion, did not fall within the scope of our reference. Our enquiry into alleged grievances is limited to those which in any way contributed to the strike. We have no authority to investigate and to make recommendations upon the general position of Indians in the Union, and the disabilities under which they suffer.

There was one other subject, however, upon which, though we at first felt some doubt as to whether it was within the terms of our reference, we ultimately decided to hear evidence. Complaints were made that the laws of the Union, more especially the Immigration and Licensing Acts, were being administered against Indians in a harsh and unsympathetic manner. That was one of the subjects specially referred to in a letter from Mr. Cachalia, the Chairman of the British Indian Association, to the Secretary of the Interior, dated 12th August, 1913, and published in Blue Book C. D. 7111, page 26, in which he formally notifies the Government that the Indian Community purpose again to have recourse to passive resistance, and in which he states that the struggle will be continued so long as, amongst other things, "a spirit of generosity and justice does not pervade the administration of the existing laws referred to therein."

The same subject is referred to in other communications that took place between the Indian leaders and the Government, and in his letter of the 21st January, 1914, in which Mr. Gandhi intimates to the Minister his intention not to take part in the proceedings before the Commission, he sums up the points on which relief is sought, as follows:—

(1) The Orange Free State question.
(2) The Cape Colony question.
(3) The Marriage question.
(4) Repeal of the £3 tax.
(5) An assurance that existing laws, especially affecting Indians, will be administered justly and with due regard to vested rights.

In view of these circumstances, we came to the conclusion that we were justified in extending the scope of our Enquiry so as to include an investigation into the subject of the administration of the Immigration and Licensing Laws.

We feel bound, however, in view of the terms of reference to limit our investigation to the five subjects specified above, and to eliminate from our enquiry such questions as the following, which we were invited by various witnesses to consider:

(*a*) That the Transvaal Laws prohibiting Asiatics from becoming the owners of fixed property and from acquiring rights under the Gold Law should be repealed;

(*b*) That it should be illegal for the Government to insert in grants and leases of land in townships in the Transvaal a clause prohibiting the transfer or sub-letting of the land to Asiatics;

(*c*) Such general questions as the alleged want of proper educational facilities for the children of Asiatics; their inability to carry firearms, to ride in trams in the Transval, etc.

None of these matters in our opinion had any effect in bringing about the strike and most of them could only be dealt with by legislation and not by administrative action, so that we do not consider that they fall within the scope of our enquiry.

That being so, we now proceed to discuss the five subjects set forth by Mr. Gandhi in his final letter of the 21st January, 1914.

The Orange Free State Question

This has already been referred to, and, in view of the assurances given by the Minister on the subject it is somewhat difficult to understand why it has been resuscitated. The only point that can be made regarding it is, that inasmuch as under Section 7 of the Act of 1913 educated Indians entering the Free State become subject to Section 8 of Chapter 33 of the Free State Law Book, which amongst other things requires that a declaration shall be made before a Resident Magistrate, and inasmuch as it has been agreed by the Minister that no such declaration shall in future be required, it might be advisable to amend Section 7 of the Act so as to make this perfectly clear.

The Cape Entry Question

It is clear that, if the provisional settlement of 1911 did in fact safeguard the existing rights of Indians, then in strict law there has been a breach of that agreement. Unfortunately the terms of this settlement are not set forth specifically in any formal document, but are to be gathered from two letters which passed between the Private Secretary to the Minister and Mr. Gandhi on the 23rd April, 1911.

It has been pointed out that in the letter of the Private Secretary of the 22nd April, there was no direct assurance that existing rights would be maintained, but there is no doubt that Mr. Gandhi and the Indian Community generally understood that this was one of the terms of the settlement. This appears from many letters subsequently written by Mr. Gandhi to the Minister and specially from certain correspondence which took place between them in January and February, 1912, and subsequently in July and August, 1913. For example, in Mr. Gandhi's letter of the 24th August, 1913, he states specifically that "the correspondence setting forth the provisional settlement of 1911 protected all existing rights of the British Indians." Statements to the same effect are made in other letters, and never on any occasion was this claim repudiated by the Minister. In fact, a perusal of the correspondence leaves the impression that this was common cause between the parties, and was never the subject of controversy.

Then, if that be so, it follows that by restricting the entry of Indians born in South Africa into the Cape Colony to those who can satisfy the educational requirements of Act 30, of 1906, there has been a departure from the provisional settlement of 1911. At the same time it is clear from Mr. Gandhi's own letters to the Minister that there is very little substance in this alleged grievance.

Looking at the whole subject from a practical point of view, we have come to the conclusion that no good purpose could be gained by recommending that this shadowy grievance should be remedied by amending the Act of 1912, so as restore the right of South African born Indians to enter the Cape without undergoing the educational test therein provided.

Before leaving the subject we might refer to a point to which our attention was directed by Sir Benjamin Robertson. Section 4, (2) (*a*) of the Act of 1913, which deals with the educational requirements of the

Cape and Natal Provinces, makes provision for those who were, *at the commencement of the Act*, lawfully entitled to reside in any Province. It was pointed out that the right conferred by that section would not strictly avail any person who became lawfully entitled to reside in any Province *after* the Act came into force, as for example, a child born after the commencement of the Act of Indians domiciled in South Africa.

It is indeed difficult to see what good purpose is served by the inclusion in the Section of the words "at the commencement of the Act," and they might very well be deleted.

Administration of Existing Laws

We have now reached the fifth and last of the alleged grievances which have been formulated by Mr. Gandhi in his letter to the Minister of the 21st January, 1914, in which he requires "an assurance that the existing laws especially affecting Indians will be administered justly and with due regard to vested rights." The representations which have been made to us on this subject deal mainly with the Immigration and Licensing Acts, and, as already stated, we propose to confine ourselves to these subjects.

The Immigration Act

The complaints against the administrative methods of the Immigration Department were fairly numerous, chiefly in the Cape Colony. In respect of some of them we were not satisfied that they have been established and we do not propose to make any reference to such. There are others, however, in regard to which we are of opinion that grievances do exist and we propose to deal with these as shortly as possible.

The Licensing Act

Representations were made to the Commission regarding the administration of the Acts with reference to the grant of licenses to carry on trade or business in the Cape Colony and in Natal.

We do not, however, see our way to making any recommendations on this subject which are likely to be of any use.

No evidence was laid before us as to the administration of the licensing laws in other towns of the Cape Colony or in the country districts, and we have, therefore, no observations to make on that subject.

As regards Natal, the system is somewhat different from that which obtains in the Cape Colony.

The evidence before us is to the effect that the Act is not so strictly administered against Indians in the Natal boroughs as it is in Cape Town, but that it is becoming more and more difficult for Indians to obtain new licenses except in those quarters of the towns which are inhabited almost exclusively by them, and which may be regarded as Asiatic reserves. In some other parts of the towns it is almost impossible now for Indians to obtain new licenses.

As regards the rest of Natal outside of the boroughs and townships, there is one licensing officer, who is a Government official, and from whose decision an appeal lies to the licensing board. His policy towards Indians is far more liberal than that of the licensing officers in the boroughs. In fact, he informs us that he makes no distinctions between Europeans and Indians.

A fact of some interest which was elicited from this witness is that, where applications for new licenses are made by Indians, more than 50 per cent. of the objections come from other Indians.

We had no complaint regarding the grant of new licenses from this licensing officer, the complaints being directed entirely against the administration of the Act in the boroughs and townships. We do not see our way, however, to make any recommendations on this subject. Nothing can be done which would be of any effect except by legislation, and, for the reasons already given when dealing with the grant of licenses in Cape Town, we are unable to suggest any amendment of the laws.

We have now dealt with all the grievances formulated by Mr. Gandhi in his letter to the Minister of the Interior, but before closing, we think that it is desirable to summarise the various recommendations that appear in different parts of the report.

Some of these recommendations will require legislation to give effect to them whilst others can be sufficiently dealt with by administrative action.

They are as follows:—

(1) Section 5 (*g*) of the Immigration Regulation Act of 1913 should be amended so as to bring the law into conformity with the practice of the Immigration Department, which is: "To admit one wife and minor children by her of an Indian now entitled to reside in any Province, or who may in the future be permitted to enter the Union, irrespective of the fact that his marriage to such wife may have been solemnised according to tenets that recognise polygamy, or that she is one of several wives married abroad so long as she is his only wife in South Africa."

(2) Instructions should be given to the Immigration Officer to open registers in each Province for the registration by Indians of, say, three or more years' residence in South Africa, who have at present or have had in the past, more than one wife living with them in South Africa, of the names of such wives, who are to be free to travel to and from India with the minor children so long as the husband continues to reside in this country.

(3) There should be legislation on the lines of Act 15 of 1860 of the Cape Colony making provision for the appointment of marriage officers from among the Indian priests of different denominations for the purpose of solemnising marriages in accordance with the respective religions of the parties.

(4) There should be legislation for the validation by a system of existing *de facto* monogamous marriages, by which are understood the marriage of one man with one woman, under a system which recognises the right of the husband to marry one or more wives.

(5) Section 6 of Act 17 of 1895 of Natal which requires certain Indians to take out year by year a pass or license to remain in the Colony and which provides for the payment of £3 a year for such license should be repealed.

(6) Conditions under which identification certificates under the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913 are issued should be amended so as to provide that such certificates shall remain in force for a period of three years instead of one year.

(7) An Interpreter should be attached to the office of the Immigration Department in Capetown who should be a whole-time officer.

(8) Application forms for permits, certificates, etc., from the Immigration Department should be filled in by the clerk in the office upon information supplied to him by the applicant, if the latter so desires.

(9) The practice at present existing in the Capetown office of this Department of taking in certain cases prints of all the fingers of both hands, instead of the thumbs only, should be discontinued.

(10) The Resident Magistrate of a district in which there is no immigration officer should have authority to issue temporary permits to Indians residing in his district who desire to travel from the Province in which they are living to another Province of the Union.

(11) The present fee of £1 for an identification certificate or temporary permit should be materially reduced and no charge should be made for any extension.

(12) The present practice of the immigration officer of one Province communicating by telegraph with the immigration officer of another Province when an application is made by an Indian for a permit to travel from one Province to the other should be discontinued.

(13) Domicile certificates which have been issued to Indians in Natal by the immigration officer of that Province, and which bear the thumb impression of the holder of the permit, should be recognised as conclusive evidence of the right of the holder to enter the Union as soon as his identity has been established.

(14) An arrangement should, if possible, be made with the Government of India for the holding of official inquiries by the magistrate or other Government official in the case of women and children proceeding from India to join their husbands and fathers in South Africa. If, on inquiry, the official is satisfied that the women and children are the wife and children of the man in South Africa whom they claim as husband or father, a certificate should be given by him to that effect, and such certificate should be treated by the immigration officer as conclusive evidence of the facts stated in it.

Florence Nightingale on India.

In 1874 Miss Nightingale completed the first proofs of a volume dealing with irrigation in India, to which she gave the title of *The Zemindar, the Sun, and the Watering Pot, as affecting life and death in India*, thereby affirming that salvation must be found for the ryot, provided he has a seasonable supply of the water needed to secure the benefits of an unfailing sun and a fertile soil. While pursuing her health crusade throughout the world, she had realised painfully the responsibility of England towards India, and she was stung with pity for the preventable disease and death which overtake the gentle and industrious Indian peasantry. The deaths were to be counted not by thousands or tens of thousands, or hundreds of thousands, but by millions: and Miss Nightingale, from her wide experience of sanitary work, was convinced that the remedy was to be found in improving the economic condition of the masses, rather than in any temporary measures of relief. To her mind the logical sequence was clear: the mortality caused by starvation and unhealthy surroundings; the want of food and the absence of sanitation are the result of the ryot's extreme poverty; in India the "treasure hid in a field" is the wealth that irrigation brings: and the effective means of relieving the ryot's extreme poverty is to be found in the right use of water, which is abundant in India, but needs suitable storage and distribution. Irrigation with drainage; canal and river navigation and pure drinking water —these were her watchwords: the result to the people to be abundant crops, cheap transit for food, water power for industries, cleanliness, health, comfort, and happiness. Stimulated by such thoughts, Miss Nightingale, a past-master in statistics, studied the facts and the figures contained in Blue-books and official reports: she formed her conclusions in personal consultation with such honoured and experienced administrators as Lord

Lawrence, Sir George Campbell, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Arthur Cotton, Lord Napier, and Sir Richard Temple; and brought to her advocacy the acumen and boldness that distinguished all her practical activities.

Unfortunately, the "proofs" never received her final revision; and Sir Edward Cook, in his classic *Life of Florence Nightingale*, tells us that it was "a constant regret in her later years" that she had failed to carry out this work as she had planned it; "some of "her friends—Sir Bartle Frere and Sir George Campbell and "Sir Arthur Cotton—urged her to revise the book and publish "it; and there are in existence a series of proofs in various "stages, and belonging to various years, corrected by the three "friends just mentioned and by many others. . . . Clearly "the book, first written in 1874, required, in 1879, large revision, "and she could not bring herself to do it. . . . but she never "ceased to regret that she had not been able to leave in permanent "literary form her views on the questions discussed in the book."

In her will, executed in 1896, she made special provison for the publication of "such part, if any", that her executors might think fit, of her writings regrding India, and Sir Edward Cook is of opinion that she meant principally this book written in 1874, and he considers that the materials thus collected might profitably be utilised to serve as Tracts for the Times. He further points out that some of the principal irrigation projects advocated by Miss Nightingale have, in subsequent years, been carried out with success; and that the area irrigated by productive canals has increased from 5½ to 9 million acres. Such being the incidents of the case, the question is, How, in accordance with the purpose of its author, can the book be now best utilised to further the cause of irrigation, in the interest of the Indian people?

The executors have been so good as to consult me regarding the course to be pursued, and having carefully studied the proofs, I feel that it would be a grievous pity if India were to lose the benefit of the gifted lady's research, and of the constraining influence which attaches to her name. It is true that some parts of the book deal with controversies practically obsolete, but the main plea for the ryot is as true and vital as ever; indeed, since Miss Nightingale wrote, the urgency seemes not less but greater, for the ryot's power of resistance has been shaken by successive disasters, and the mortality in later years has been on a larger scale from both famine and pestilence. Further, as regards future guidance, it is no small matter that the conclusions recorded in this book received the *imprimatur* of Lord Lawrence and other chief administrators responsible for India during the most critical period of the century just closed. As regards the form in which the case may best be brought before the public, it appears that a beginning may be made by publishing a summary (such as the present contribution) in the form of a magazine article, and inviting those skilled in Indian irrigation work to be so good as to bring the facts up-to-date, explaining to a lay audience, in popular terms, what has been accomplished, and what still remains to be done. Of special importance will be the conclusions arrived at by the Irrigation Commission, appointed in 1901, under the presidency of Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff.

Miss Nightingale was very anxious to awaken the British public to a sense of their responsibility on this question, which is a matter of life and death to 200 millons of our fellow-subjects, and those who realise this responsibility will be encouraged by the narrative in Sir Edward Cook's most admirable memoir, which shows the extraordinary influence for good that may be exercised by one brave-hearted and single-minded lady, though under the disabilities of seclusion and ill-health.

In preparing this summary, it will be convenient to group the materials under a few headings: A. The beneficial uses of water in India, including (1) irrigation, (2) navigatiaon, and (3) drainage; B. geographical features in the different Provinces, and local conditions; and C. finance. Ordinarily, the portions shown in this article, under inverted commas, are Miss Nightingale's own text; where other authorities are quoted, they are extracted from the proofs.

A. The Beneficial Uses of Water in India.

Among the benefits comes, first and foremost, the great fact that the wise use of water in India will preserve the people alive. As Sir John Strachey, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, said in his Financial Minute of 1874: "Works of irrigation afford, in the majority of cases, the only real security against scarcity and famine." Where there is no water the people perish. People in England do not even now sufficiently realise the horror of Indian famines, and their increasing severity. As Miss Nightingale says, writing in 1875: "We must not suppose that famines in India are decreasing "in extent or severity under our rule. On the contrary. The "present famine in Bengal appears to be of more awful length, "breadth, height, and depth than any before known, except, "perhaps, that of Bengal a century ago, 1769-70, when "one-third of the population of Bengal is believed to have been "swept away." She notes the mortality, estimated at a million, in the Orissa famine of 1866; the Rajputana famine of 1868-69, when 1½ millions perished; and the Bengal famine of 1874. But since then her forecast of increasing death and disaster has been sadly verified by the famine of 1878, which cost South India five millions of her population; by the famine of 1897, which was then pronounced the severest on record; and by that of 1900, declared by Lord Curzon to be "greaetr in intensity than any previously recorded visitation." According to Miss Nightingale, if the water supply in India is properly utilised, "periodical famines ought to be made impossible."

(1) *Irrigation.*

In India there can be no cultivation without water; and the problem of the ryot's salvation depends on the certainty—or uncertainty—of the water supply. In 1875 about one-seventh part of the whole cultivtated area of India was protected, and rendered secure, by means of artificial irrigation works, canals, "tanks" (reservoirs), and wells; the remaining six-sevenths, known as "dry crop" land, was dependent for its single annual crop on the natural rainfall, which is in the highest degree precarious, both as to amount and regularity. The great mass of the ryots are, therefore, in perpetual jeopardy; always on the brink of famine, being dependent on the character of each year's season; if the rainfall is either insufficient or unseasonable, the crop is burnt up, and the people, unless relieved at the expense of the State, must perish miserably. This unhappy condition of affairs is little understood in England; and, accordingly, Miss Nightingale emphasises the fatal consequences of the uncertain rainfall, giving the facts and figures regarding various provinces, to show how the harvest in dry crop areas depends not so much on the total rainfall as on the absolute regularity of the showers needed in tropical cultivation. "How" she asks, "compress into few words "the explanation that some of the wettest regions in the world, "which have a fall of 10 to 30 inches more rain in the year than "England, which is a very wet climate, are some of the "dryest regions in the world? For half the year's supply of "rain falls in such regions sometimes in twenty-four hours, "separated by fourteen days. . . . We have in the Carnatic "40 inches of rain; but so distributed that it is one of the dryest "regions in the world. We have several falls of 5 inches in "the night, sometimes of 12; 22 inches have been known to "fall in two nights, with an interval of a fortnight, so that "we have had more than half our year's supply in that time; or "equal to a whole year's rain in Norfolk thus falling in "two showers. But for tanks such a region could not be made "to support man to any extent. . . . The critical period "of the season is from the middle of September to the end "of October. If the rains cease by the middle of September, "the great food harvest of the Lower Provinces (Bengal) is withered "and burnt up. . . . Colonel Rundall R. E. (Head of "the Indian Irrigation Department), tells us that in Orissa the "rainfall reaches 60 inches. In 1865—the year of the famine— "nearly 60 inches were registered at Cuttack; but the rains "ceased on September 14th; the crops consequently perished. ". . . The object of irrigation is to rectify this unequal "distribution of water, to arrest that which would otherwise "run to waste, distribute it to the lands where it is required, and "store up in tanks as much as may be needed for use during the "dry season."

Always eager for statistics, Miss Nightingale obtained from Captain Baring (now Lord Cromer), who was then Private Secretary to the Viceroy, an elaborate table of figures, showing how, in the various districts of Bengal, the famine was caused by the irregularity, not the shortage, of the rainfall. This table "shows that returns which "only give the total rainfall over a period embracing some months "are deceptive, and that it is seasonableness of rainfall, and not mere "quantity of rain, that is required. If we compare the rainfall up "to the end of August, 1873, with that of 1872 (an ordinary year, "in which there was no failure of crops), it will be seen that, general- "ly speaking, rain fell in 1873, taking the year through, in suffi- "cient quantities for a fruitful harvest; but if we examine each "fortnight during the important six weeks from September 1st to "October 15th, during which the rice is maturing, it will be apparent "that the rainfall in 1873 was very short. For instance, in Dinage- "pore only 1·06 inch fell in the first fortnight of September in 1873, "against 6·49 inches in the same period in 1872. In Rungpore the "proportion was still more marked, being 0·30 against 8·19. In "Durbunga it was 2·86 against 7·08. In Motihari (Champarun) it "was 0·65 against 10·23." Figures, again, were supplied by Colonel Greenaway, showing the fatal waste of the rainfall for want of storage and distribution. "The quantity that runs to waste is something "enormous. One foot of rainfall on a square mile gives 1,032,532 "cubic yards, or 174,239,975 gallons, and the rainfall during a "monsoon may be averaged at 30 inches at least. . . . When

"Guntoor lost 200,000 by famine, a river was flowing through it "which never fails, and which, in a single day, carries to the sea "4,000 million cubic yards of water; and as 6,000 cubic yards will "secure a crop of rice on an acre, water enough was running to waste "in one day, in that one river, in that very district, to secure 700,000 "acres of rice, the food of 2½ millions of people for a year."

Dwelling on these facts and figures, which proved the deadly peril of so many millions of the peasantry, no wonder that the writer of this book became urgent, and even fierce, in her appeal to the Government to stop this fatal waste, and bring back the water to the thirsty land. Not only safety but wealth is to be found in irrigation, which can transform an uncertain "dry crop" of millet, worth, perhaps, five rupees an acre, into a certain "wet crop" of sugar-cane, worth at least 200 rupees. Stored and distributed the water now running to waste would bring to the cultivator a due reward for his "enduring toil," to the Government an increasing revenue, and to the masses security from a lingering and painful death. The chapter on Irrigation in the book has as its opening motto: "The fate of India, in regard to food, is wholly in the hands of its rulers."

(2) Navigation,

Even in the worst famines there has never been an insufficiency of food in India as a whole. Owing to the wide difference in the conditions of the various great provinces, dearth in one area is usually accompanied by rich harvests in another; so that next in importance to the production of abundant harvests, comes the need for cheap and easy transit, to convey the surplus food to the hungry mouths. Irrigation must, therefore, go hand-in-hand with navigable canals. On this question of economic distribution of food, Miss Nightingale proceeds again by the Socratic method, and asks: "Do not in a poor country bulky goods of a low value form the great "mass of traffic? Is not water-carriage generally the cheapest, the "working expenses being so exceedingly small? The cost of transit "generally on canals is ½d. per ton per mile. If an irrigation canal, "connected with a Bengal river, be made navigable, does it not become "accessible to the whole of the water system, upwards of 3,300 miles "already? That the Bengalee is not slow to take advantage of this "opportunity may be illustrated by the fact that, before the Midna-"pore Canal had been opened six months, native boats were plying on "it from such distant places as Benares, Dacca, and Patna. Is not the "main feature of Bengal traffic that the boat-owners are petty "merchants trading on their own account, thus diffusing a wider "trade more quickly than where boatmen are carriers only? The "moment an article is in demand, is not the whole river plant set "in motion to convey it from where it is to be had to where it is "wanted? Boats, too, can stop at the exact place where there is a "demand for their article, and can serve as warehouses till "their cargoes are discharged. Look at the amount of traffic "on the Ganges, even by the side of the railway; 10,000 boats trad-"ing to one place, Khagaria, on the Gunduck. An eminent Indian "officer told me that he had stood on the Ganges bank, and estimated "that their were 10,000 tons of boats in sight within a few miles at "one time, equal to fifty goods trains. Such is the wonderfull "Ganges trade. Transit by canal is cheaper even than by river: "Current is a minimum; no storms; no insurance necssary; shorter "distances; can be worked by night; smaller crews are requisite. "Besides cheapness, canal-carriage has these advantages: any class of "goods can go at its own speed in its own manner, without "interference with any other class; stations, unlike those of "railways, are *any* where on the journey; boat serves as a "warehouse: lockage easily managed: no State rolling stock or "establishment: all done by private capital and agency. . . . . "Seeing the vital importance of intercommunication and that of keeping "the cost of transit low, it is economy to make all irrigation "canals navigable. The additional expense for making irrigation "canals navigable is from one-third of the whole cost with a steep "fall, to one-tenth of the cost with a flat slope; or, from £3,200 "per mile, as on the Midnapore Canal, to between £700 and "£1,200 on the Panjab and North-West Provinces Canals."

The competing means of communication are by railways and country carts. But carts are slow and expensive, and unmetalled roads are almost impassable in the rainy season: "Mr. T. Login shows us that where grain costs only "one rupee a maund, the cost of this grain when transported 300 "miles in India would be enhanced in price as follows: By ordinary "canals 14 to 20 per cent.; by railway 39 per cent.; by carts on "matalled roads 76¾ per cent.: by carts on country roads 100 per "cent." The advantages of a cheap mode of conveyance in an agricultural country, where the people are poor, can hardly be over-estimated. Speaking at Manchester, when Secretary of State for India, Lord Derby declared that "what was wanted in India was "not costly (railway) lines for rapid travelling, laid down in a few "parts, but a comparatively inexpensive, though slow means of com-"munication extending over the whole face of the country." And, similarly, Sir Bartle Frere said: "Hitherto what has been thought "of most has been how to get your goods first to market; now "I believe, it is becoming more and more a question who shall get "them cheapest, and no doubt cheapness is best attained by trust-"ing to water."

(3) *Drainage.*

To make the system complete, irrigation and navigation must be accompanied by drainage. In the upper provinces want of drainage makes the land waterlogged and sterile; in the lower provinces it causes malarious fever of a virulent type. "For several "years past a great extent of country round Calcutta has been "desolated by fever of such a nature that numbers of villages "have been almost emptied by it, tens of thousands having died "of it. It seems to have been entirely owing to the want of "drainage in the monsoon, and the want of good water to drink "in the dry season. It is impossible to conceive the state of those "villages in those dead alluvial plains—in the monsoon without a "foot of dry ground, and surrounded by pools of water—and in "the dry season not a drop of wholesome water to drink—nothing but "the remains of these pools a few inches deep, in which filth has "been accumulating for months. Compare this with the state of "an irrigated tract completely pervaded by drainage channels to "carry off the waters in the monsoon, and canals of running water, "fresh from the river, flowing through every village."

B. Geographical Features, and C. Finance.

Having thus set forth the needs of India as regards irrigation, canal navigation, and drainage, Miss Nightingale, in her book, proceeds to deal with the engineering problem in the great geographical areas; the Punjab, with Sind—the land of the Indus, with its five tributaries fed from the Himalayan snows; the Upper Gangetic Valley, including the Jumna and Ganges canals; Bengal, and its vast system of river navigation; and Madras, with the Godaveri, Kistna, and Cauvery, rising in the Western Ghauts, and watering the fertile deltas along the Eastern coast. As regards each of these areas she notes in detail the most immediate needs; the proposed expenditure, in a series of years, amounting to a total of £14,088,000. And as regards finance, she pleads strenuously for the claims of water, as against a lavish expenditure on railways, especially military railways; quoting the authority of the Duke of Argyll in 1873, who declared that "our first choice ought to fall "upon irrigation rather than upon railways"; and referring to the testimony of Sir Richard Temple, who said that the great Madras works had been "eminently successful, and abundantly remunera-"tive in the highest sense both to the State and to the people."

Conclusion.

The early rulers of India recognised a binding responsibility in this matter. In the Mahabharata a sage asks Arjuna how many of the cultivators are provided with wells and water courses, and how many have to depend on the season's rain? In other words, had the King performed his religious duty, and made the people safe from famine, or had he not? The question asked by the holy man in ancient times must equally be asked—and answered—at the present day; for it is the religious duty of the British ruler to be a good shepherd of the flock, to feed the people in a green pasture, and lead them forth beside the waters of comfort.—(Sir) W. Wedderburn in the *Contemporary Review*.

The Genius of Henry James.*

While one is under the spell of "Notes of a Son and a Brother" one is in no mood for blaming Mr. Hueffer's challenging announcement of his opinion that Mr. James "is the greatest of living writers and, in consequence,.....the greatest of living men." Certainly, if one were invited to name the literary masterpiece of the twentieth century, one would do well to hesitate before passing further than Mr. James's autobiography. It is not merely that it gives us a unique analysis of everything that went to the making of a characteristic literary artist of our times. It does more than this. It introduces us to the most charming and wonderful family group a novelist ever found to his hand. There are few portraits in fiction to equal that of Henry James, senior, the Swedenborgian, "wise, gentle, polished," as Emerson described him, "with heroic manners and a serenity like the sun." And how the very air and spirit of the novelist's mother are suggested to us in those sentences describing how she used to listen to her husband as he read his "papers" to her!

"I see our mother listen, at her work, to the full music of the 'papers.' She could do that by the mere force of her complete availability—could do it with a smoothness of surrender that was like an array of all the perceptions."

What, perhaps, will attract ten readers to "Notes of a Son and Brother" for every one who braced himself up to the psychological adventures of "A Small Boy and Others" is the fact that in the new book Mr. James is more plainly reminiscential—more tenderly eager to give us the large aspect of the urbane persons and days of his

"Notes of a Son and Brother." By Henry James. (Macmillan. 12s. net.)

"Henry James: A Critical Study." By Ford Madox Hueffer. (Secker. 7s. 6d. net.)

early, unworried world. He is still intent, to be sure, upon puzzling out the mystery of the making of a novelist, so that we find him pausing to tell how he never regretted having been put to learn—a thing he could not do—physics and algebra at school in Geneva, since he had a fatalistic philosophy "of which the general sense was that almost anything, however disagreeable, had been worthwhile; unable was I to claim that it hadn't involved impressions." Similarly, in his account of what the later school at Concord meant to him, he breaks off to explain:—

"I have to reckon, I here allow, with the trick of what I used irrepressibly to read into things in front of which I found myself, for gaping purposes, planted by some unquestioned outer force; it seemed prescribed to me, so imposed on me, to read more, as through some over-felt claim for roundness of aspect and intensity of effect in presented matters, whatever they might be, than the conscience of the particular affair itself, was perhaps developed enough to ask of it."

But those whom such sentences, significant though they are, will scare into thoughts of flight, will be called back and conciliated by the portrait of Emerson—an image hung in light—as an occasional visitor to the James' household in New York:—

"I 'visualise'.....the winter firelight of our back parlor at dusk and the great Emerson—I knew he was great, greater than any of our friends—sitting in it between my parents, before the lamps had been lighted, as a visitor consentingly housed only could have done and affecting me the more as an apparition sinuously and, I held elegantly slim, benevolently aquiline, and commanding a tone alien, beautifully alien, to any we heard round about, that he bent this benignity upon me by an invitation to draw nearer to him off the hearthrug, and know myself as never yet, as I was not, indeed, to know myself again for years, in touch with the wonder of Boston. The wonder of Boston was above all just then and there for me in the sweetness of the voice and the finish of the speech—this latter through an attenuated emphasis which, at the same time, made sounds more important, more interesting in themselves, than by any revelation yet vouchsafed us. Was not this my first glimmer of a sense that the human tone *could*, in that independent and original way, be interesting?"

It is always, of course, Emerson seen strangely in relation to Henry James. Just as M. Anatole France speaks of Homer *àpropos* of himself, so Mr. James speaks of the great men he has seen *apropos* of himself. One is always conscious, not only of the great man himself, but of the "small, vague outsider" who is described for us on another page as being "not a little mildly—though, oh *so* mildly—morose or anxiously mute." Mr. James was considerably older—he was "a young person of twenty-four"—when he was invited to go in, after a dinner given to Dickens, and be presented to the novelist. "I saw "he tells us, "the master—nothing could be more evident—in the light of an intense emotion, and I trembled, I remember, in every limb, while at the same time, by a blest fortune, emotion produced no luminous blur, but left him shining indeed, only shining with august particulars". As for what Mr. James can make of the "august particulars" at this date, it is all in a single sentence:—

"The offered inscrutable mask was the great thing, the extremely handsome face, the face of symmetry, yet of formidable character, as I at once recognized, and which met my dumb homage with a straight inscrutability, a merciless *military* eye, I might have pronounced it an automatic hardness in fine, which at once indicated to me and in the most interesting way in the world, a kind of economy of apprehension."

One of the most fascinating things about the present book, however, is not so much that it reminds us of Mr. James's genius as a portrait-painter as that it shows, by numerous quotations from letters, how essentially he is, in this respect, simply his father's son. Might not Mr. James himself have written a good many sentences in this humorous and understanding letter of his father's describing a dinner at which Hawthorne was present?

"Hawthorne isn't, to me, a prepossessing figure, nor, apparently at all an *enjoying* person in any way; he has all the while the look—or would have to the unknowing—of a rogue who suddenly finds himself in a company of detectives. But in spite of his rusticity I felt a sympathy for him fairly amounting to anguish, and couldn't take my eyes off him all dinner, nor my rapt attention, as that indecisive little Dr. Hedge found, I am afraid, to his cost, for I hardly heard a word of what he kept saying to me, and resented his maliciously putting his artificial person between me and the profitable object of study. (It isn't, however, that I now feel any ill-will to him—I could recommend anyone, but myself, to go and hear him preach. The thing was that Hawthorne seemed to me to possess human substance, and not to have dissipated it all away like that culturally debauched——, or even like good, inoffensive, comforting Longfellow.)"

After relating that "my region was a desert with H. for its only oasis," the letter goes on:—

"It was so pathetic to see him—contented, sprawling, Concord and that he was and always has been—brought blindfold in to that brilliant daylight and expected to wink and be lively, like some dapper Tommy Titmouse. I felt him bury his eyes in his plate and eat with such voracity that no one should dare to speak to him. My heart broke for him as his attenuated left-hand neighbour kept putting forth *his* long antennæ to stroke his face and try whether his eyes were open. It was heavenly to see him persist in ignoring the spectral smiles—in eating his dinner and doing nothing *but* that—and then go home to his Concord deer, to fall upon his knees and ask his Heavenly Father why it was that an owl couldn't remain an owl, and not be forced into the diversions of a canary. I have no doubt that all the tenderest angels saw to his case that night, and poured oil into his wounds more soothing than gentleman ever knew."

Imagine what it must have been like to live in a house where the father could write like that, and the sons like William and Henry James, and where all the members of the family apparently lived with the same exquisite all-roundness and witty tolerance that marked everything they wrote! It was a family party of genius and geniality—the lofty geniality of the father, the bubbling geniality of William, and the passive geniality, if we may use the phrase, of Henry. It was a house where a fine spiritual atmosphere took the place of the usual didacticism, with the result, apparently, that gaps were left in the imaginative life of at least one of the children. Mr. James tells us how he "found the sphere of our more nobly supposititious habitation too imperceptibly peopled; whereas the religious life of every other family that could boast of any such (and what family didn't boast?) affected my fancy as with a social and material crowdedness." It was a house where they neither kept the Sabbath nor, in a land of ministers, knew anything about ministers. Clergymen, says Mr. James, were "such creatures of pure hearsay that when late in my teens, and in particular after my twentieth year, I began to see them portrayed by George Eliot and Anthony Trollope, the effect was a disclosure of a new and romantic species." On the other hand:—

"My father liked in our quite younger period to read us chapters from the New Testament and the Old, and I hope we liked to listen to them—though I recall their seeming dreary from their association with school practice but that was the sole approach to a challenge of our complete freedom of inward, not less than our natural ingenuity of outward experience."

Humor, philosophy, tolerance, culture as a thing to be pursued like riches, stoicism without its severity, open-mindedness, even open-souledness, if we may use so barbarous a term—all these combined to make an atmosphere exactly such as was needed to produce a novelist who was going to be an inquirer, a student of tones and shades, an interpreter of reticences, rather than a propagandist humanitarian or a dealer in dramatic passions. Fortunately for us, he has shaken off more of his artistic reticence in "Notes of a Son and Brother" than in any of his previous books, and, though some of his sentences are stumbling-blocks to the eye and ear, it is on the whole considerably simpler in statement than "A Small Boy and Others." It is a book of a warm, as well as of a subtle beauty, and is one of Mr. James's masterpieces in characterization.

Mr. Hueffer's book is not a book for those who require an introduction to Mr. James. It is neither comprehensive nor informing enough for that. For those who already know Mr. James's work, however, it will, inspite of many provoking irrelevances, be full of suggestive criticism. Mr. Hueffer does not criticize Mr. James's novels in detail. He simply converses about Mr. James generally and ramblingly. But the conversation is that of a man whose subject is a part of him, and not merely made up at the request of a publisher. In other words, it is personal criticism. One regrets that Mr. Hueffer has not taken the trouble to pursue his fancies to their charming end, or to give them any kind of logical arrangement. But, such as they are, they call for praise: they have the great merit of awakening new trains of thought—The *Nation*.

The Last of the Pharaohs.

It would be impertinence in a mere tourist such as I have been for some pleasant weeks to say in public whether he thinks the Government of Egypt bad or good. But he may, perhaps, be permitted the more limited observation that the political genius of Britain has never invented or adopted anything quite so unlike itself. Here is a country with a popular, interesting, and very humane Englishman as its actual head, which possesses neither a Constitution, nor a true Code of Law, nor a real Parliament, nor a free press. Here, again, is a highly characteristic Eastern soil, which every day yields up some fresh token of its wonderful past, and yet lacks an Oriental Monarchy. Here is a British Governor without even a Council. Here is a sort of a Sultan with little power and with nominal responsibility. Here is a soldier with all power and no responsibility either to British or to Egyptian citizenship. Lord Kitchener's rule may be given many kinds of nick-name. Its Liberal critics style it government by Sergeant-Major. Its native friends think of its head, and are encouraged by him so to think of him, as a Grand Cadi under the Palm Tree. All the pomp of Egyptian rule centres round the Khedivial Palace. All its effective instruments flow to and from the Kasr-el-Doubara. The Khedive has probably shot his last bolt, for Lord Kitchner has crushed his appeal to the Sultan over

the reform which transferred the administration of the Wakfs, or ecclesiastical trusts, to Ministerial hands. It is unfortunate that an able, and in early life a promising, man should be so small a factor in the management of his country's affairs. But the fault does not wholly, or perhaps chiefly, lie with the British Agent. In an Eastern country, of all others, unity of control is essential. And unity at least there is. Lord Kitchner exercises it, in the main, by the method of "authoritative advice." He "advised" the Khedive to yield on the administration of the Wakfs, just as he "advises" an authority to hurry up with its road-making and its street improvement, and to cover its stinking "birket" out of sight. And the "authority" obeys.

Such a procedure has its constitutional inconveniences, and it is easy to divine the objections that mere Parliaments, Financial Advisers, to say nothing of minor vessels of wrath like Mudirs or Omdehs, might urge against it. But if you abolish native statesmanship, you must provide an effective substitute. Egyptian Nationalism is dead, and its ungoverned press has gone with it or survives merely in a bitter passing gibe in a Khedivial organ, or a growl in a native journal that no Egyptian now counts in the management of Egypt's business or the spending of Egypt's money. The Egyptian Parliamentary system, such as it was, is hardly re-born as yet. There remains—Lord Kitchener, as a kind of Dynasty by himself. His position is as real as it is indescribable. He is not the President of a Ministry, and his *entourage* is a staff of able young assistants, inspired by devotion to a great chief, but unconnected, save in one instance, with the nominal Executive. His bond in the country is all personal—it consists in his knowledge of Arabic, his simple, instinctive judgment, his accessibility, his long experience and genuine interest in the peasant-folk who *are* Egypt, his feeling for its history, even his collector's passion for its antiquities. The Englishman laughs at the zeal which would transplant the giant limbs of Rameses II from the sand and palm trees of old Memphis to the Station Square or the Ezbekiyeh Gardens at Cairo. But there is a flash of sympathy in such thinking and planning which Lord Cromer never could give out or evoke. Lord Kitchener's link with the life of Egypt is a human link, and nowhere does this vein of humanity find easier channels than in the much-governed, much-abused land of the Pharaohs.

For the one strength of the Kitchener *régime* is that it has a policy. Lord Cromer settled the finance of the country and relaxed the grasp of the bondholder and of all but one European Government. Kitchener's soldiering re-united it to the Soudan, and restored to it the control of the Nile, barring only the all-important Abyssinian source. Now Egyptian policy centres in the Nile. All Egypt talks of the Nile, as all England talks of the weather, for on the full flow and the fair distribution of Nile water depends the life of the tiny thread of green which cuts the interminable brown of her two vast flanking deserts. There the fellah and his woman ply their slave-like toil at the mill-wheel, and pursue their ant-like journeyings between the field and the mud-hut. More, much more, cultivable land—and especially more State land—is wanted, more crops, and more continuous tillage of them. To that end Kitchener has devoted his triple plan of draining the lakes of the Delta, storing the flood water in the years of low Nile (like the present), while letting it through in the flood times, and opening out a new area for cotton-growing in the wide fork of valley country between the Blue and the White Niles. Who can gainsay the wisdom of these ideas? Or of the incidental devices by which the fellah has been assured fair measures for his cotton crop, and swift, easy justice for his country quarrels? Lord Kitchener's peasant policy has now taken a wider scope, and its most sensational incident is the famous Law of the Five Feddans, the most hotly debated subject in Egyptian politics.

Briefly, this new Homestead Law secures the possessor of five or fewer feddans (acres) in the actual ownership of the soil. It enables the creditor to seize his crops, but treats as "insaisissable" his land, his hut, his farming implements, and the two beasts which turn the creaking water-wheel or plough the black soil. I doubt whether any force in Egyptian Nationalism, with its centre in Alexandria or Cario, would have initiated such a policy, or has even much sympathy with it. Its critics, indeed, are many, and they are not all disinterested. Lord Kitchener's avowed object was to save the peasant from himself, to check his heedless resort to usury for social and ceremonial purposes, the commonest of which were the costly and prolonged wedding feasts. He thus hoped to scatter the nests of local money-lenders, mostly Greek, who, for centuries have fastened on the fellaheen and converted their nominal ownership into something akin to forced labour. "The law is good for the poor and bad for the rich," said a rather naive young Egyptian landowner, obviously an ardent Nationalist and Khedivialist, who paid us a visit of ceremony in a desert camp. But that is not the only ground of objection. The Nationalist inquires why Egypt's land law should be revolutionized without Egypt's leave being so much as asked. The banking community are hostile on the ground that it defeats its author's purpose. The Bill, they say, will not strengthen the peasants' credit, but will destory it. Who will lend on the mere security of the crops? Not the banks (including the Agricultural Banks), for their rules will not allow them. You cannot cure the peasant of thriftlessness by a single ukase, and in this year of a low Nile he will want money for legitimate purposes—such as seed and labour. Where is he to get it from? Only the Greek with his 25 or 35 per cent. will look at him; the banks, who charge 8 per cent., are all scared away. If Lord Kitchener had been less impatient, more open to criticism and advice, he would have conceived his agricultural policy as a whole and given Egypt a system of co-operative credit before rudely tearing her farmers away from the habits of centuries. As it stands, the Bill merely puts the cart before the horse—even if it does not make the peasant's lot worse than it was before.

There is probably some substance in these complaints, as is evident from the Government's introduction of a Bill for establishing agricultural credit societies. But it is something in Egypt to go to the heart of a people's life, where so much, from Rameses the Great downwards, has ended in a kind of cruel and selpendid nullity. One cannot but think that now the peasant has security, the banks will discover that his credit is good enough. Something of the British occupation will stand for ever—*aere perennius*—if the fellah can be fixed to his holding half as firmly as the carved masonry of the great dam at Assouan clings to the bed of the Nile. But the root difficulty of this paternal governing, this soldier-statesmanship, is not merely as to whether all its devices are well-considered—some of them must necessarily be ill-considered—but that it cannot last. All the institutions left by Lord Cromer were experimental, and his successor has not changed them. Will he remain for ever? None excel him in knowledge of the land he rules or in the power to serve it. But the pen which tells his praises in the Egyptian press usually proceeds to deplore his coming removal to India. If Lord Kitchener goes, the peculiar sources of his influence—influence over the Khedive, influence over the administration, influence over the native mind—go too. He is not a school of British statesmanship. He is a bluff soldier-man, with a genius to be himself and to lead others in the way of his will. His very bigness and burliness are a sort of talisman of power. What in our whole circle of public service is to replace this personality?

Even as things stand, change is inevitable, and is at the door. Lord Kitchener has found it necessary, like an earlier Cromwell, to summon something like a parliament and has discovered, within a short space, that the forces of Opposition—even of a reserved, moderate, and friendly Opposition—excel and out-number those of the Government. And beyond all Kitchener's improvisations lies the problem of building up a harmonious and enduring structure. Sooner or later, Egypt must have a Constitution. Liberal England owes this debt to her, and paid it must be. Take the Capitulations. They are an insult to a country so peaceful, so secure from external and internal trouble, as Egypt now is. The Government is believed to favour their abolition, though a few months ago an editor was peremptorily told to let the question rest. But when it rises again there rises with it the question of framing a Code which all the members of this many-coloured, many-languaged nation will be called on to obey. Has it even been considered? British India toiled long and brilliantly at the work of fashioning her present system of law. In Egypt, I was told that we had just lent the most suitable lawyer in the country for the work of Code-making in French Morocco. Yet abuses cry for remedy. Take the legislative functions exercised by the Judges of the Mixed Courts, who have recently drawn up a new Weights and Measures Act. A society with so many elements of civilization as Egypt ought long ago to have been lifted above and beyond the rule of a little Parliament of Judges, sitting to frame the laws they administer. Is Egypt not to be thought worthy to possess the common tools of civilized action, and a clever, adaptable race forbidden to touch them? Ibrahim had a Council; why not Kitchener? cry the malcontents.

It is not much to ask; especially when one knows that with the death of nationalism serious hostility to the British occupation died too. Some may want us to go; many more want us to begin to teach Egypt what to do if, perchance, we are not able to stay there for ever. This task we shall never take in hand if our sole care is for the efficiency of our own Civil Service, regardless of the capital fact that the abler and more devoted it is, the more it stands in the way of self-government. The "note" of much Egyptian criticism seemed to me singularly reticent and qualified, highly sensitive to the "shepherding" virtues of Lord Kitchener's rule. Yet there is discontent, which, lacking its natural vent, is now and then pitched in a sharp, even a malicious and violent key. Is that surprising? There are some things—such as the reform of El Azhar—which only a Mohamedan statesmanship can effect for Egypt. There are other things which we ought long ago to have done for her, if we ever mean to help her to govern herself. It is shameful that we do not give her a real University; and that we let the country limp along with a system which yields about fifty "literates" for every thousand of the population. But above all our duties is the duty of extending to all her people the shelter of a system of equal law, and encouraging them to work it. — H. W. M. in *The Nation*.

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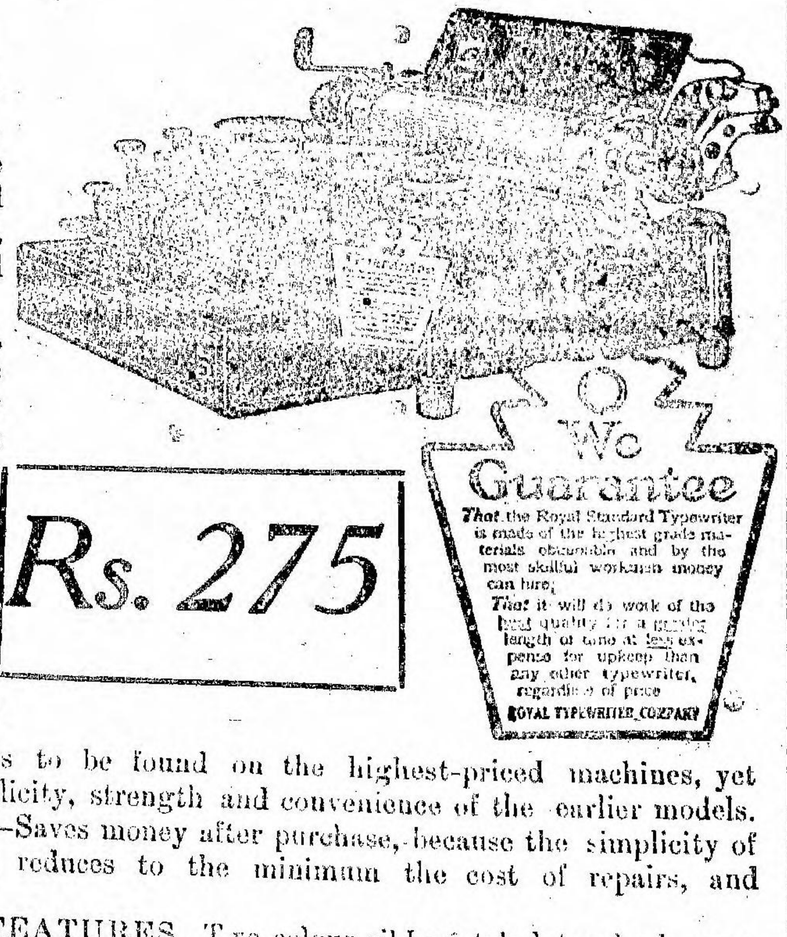
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