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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. 25. Single Copy Annas 4. Delhi: Saturday, June 20, 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.

Albania.

Durazzo, June 10.

In order to suppress the insurgent movement as speedily as possible the Government has decided upon a simultaneous advance from three sides, namely from Alessio, Durazzo and Valona. The advance is expected to begin this week. The rebels are attempting to resume negotiations with the Control Commission. The Prince and Princess to-day reviewed the Albanian forces and received an enthusiastic ovation.

Rome, June 11.

Marquis Di San Giuliano stated in the Indian Chamber yesterday that as a result of the enquiry into the arrest of Colonel Muricchio at Durazzo he telegraphed to the Italian Minister that Muricchio's innocence must be considered proved and that no value must be attached to the subsequent investigation by the Albanian Government and Dutch Officers. The Minister was also ordered to obtain satisfaction. After the Muricchio incident there has been exchange of views between Austria-Hungary and Italy and an agreement has been concluded to the effect that their respective agents in Albania shall be instructed to work harmoniously, and to do the utmost possible to maintain Prince of Wied in power and avoid any appearance of preferential treatment of either Government and further to secure the despatch of warships by all powers to Durazzo.

Durazzo, June 12.

Achmed Bey, one of the most distinguished Mahomedan leaders, has arrived at Tirana to negotiate with the insurgents. If his efforts are fruitless a general advance may be expected not later than Saturday.

Rome, June 15.

The Italian Minister at Durazzo has telegraphed that the insurgents this morning attacked the town in three places. Colonel Thomson, Commander of the Dutch Gendarmerie, was killed. Bluejackets are defending the Legations and the Royal Palace there being no other force available. At the outset it seemed that the town must be captured but the defenders rallied and now hope to be able to resist any further attacks.

Durazzo, June 15.

There has been continuous heavy artillery and rifle fire throughout the day. The Prince is leading the defenders.

Vienna, June 15.

A wireless message received from a Cruiser on the spot says that the defenders at Durazzo have repulsed the insurgents from the precincts of the town after three hours' fighting.

London, June 11.

A *Times* message from St. Petersburg states that M. Sazonoff and the Russian Minister have left for Bukharest. It is believed that an important conference will be held at Bukharest to consider measures to prevent an outbreak of hostilities between Turkey and Greece for which the imminent arrival of new Turkish battleships is expected to give signal.

Greece and Turkey.

Athens, June 12.

The Cabinet met yesterday to consider the critical situation arising out of the persecution of the Greeks in Asia Minor. The public is most excited.

Constantinople, June 12.

Talaat Bey, Minister of the Interior has announced that there have been regrettable incidents at Aivali. Officials, who failed in their duties, have been dismissed. Greek accounts of the situation, however, says the Minister are exaggerated.

Athens, June 12.

Government has addressed a strong note to Constantinople, demanding the cessation of the persecution of Greeks in Turkey and the repair of the damage. Public opinion is most excited. People generally urge immediate and energeting action.

Athens, June 12.

Public excitment is increasing. In speech in the Chamber M. Venezelos described the arrivals of thousands upon thousands of hapless pitiable Greeks ejected destitute from Turkish territory. He declared that the situation was grave but it would become even graver. Unless conditions altered. Greece would not be content with mere lamentations. (Prolonged cheers).

After consulting with financiers Government has ordered the closing of Bourse owing to uncertainty of situation.

Alexandria, June 12.

All Greek sailors of 1908 class have been ordered to join colours.

Athens, June 13.

Six steamers, chartered by Government, are continuously transporting refugees to the Aegean Islands.

M. Venezelos, the Premier in the Chamber announced that the Turkish persecutions were unparalleled in history. They aimed at the elimination of the populations which have been inhabiting country for several thousand years.

Besides thousands of Greeks from Thrace, over 20,000 from Asia Minor have arrived in Greece and there are fifty thousand more on the Asiatic coast awaiting a chance to depart.

Constantinople, June 13.

Although the Porte has given categorical assurances that it will remove causes which compel the Ottoman Greeks to leave the country, nevertheless there are reasons to fear that Government are really bent on removing the Greek element from all strategic points such as the vicinity of Constantinople, Dardanelles and Smyrna Litteral. The Porte recently proposed to the Greek Government a scheme of exchange of populations which Greece accepted but before further progress could be made the existing situation arose owing to an action of the Committee engaged in settling refugees from Macedonia, the Committee evidently considering its plan to be more expeditious.

Constantinople, June 14.

The Greek Minister has presented a Note drawing attention to the treatment of Greeks in the Ottoman Empire and declaring that Greece will decline to take any responsibility for the consequences if the situation continues.

Athens, June 14.

The newspaper *Restia* expresses the opinion that war with Turkey is hevitable.

Athens, June 15.

Though Turkey has not replied to the Greek note official circles are convinced that the Ottoman Government will follow its previous tactics making vague promises. T ese, it is declared will not satisfy the Greek public which demands the restoration of Greek refugees in their home and the payment of indemnity. The Greek Naval preparations are proceeding most actively.

Constantinople, June 15.

Talaat Bey who had been sent to enquire into the situation telegraphs that in various places in Asia Minor he has succeeded in reassuring the Greek population and in inducing numbers of families to return to their homes.

London, June 16.

Many regard the supremacy at sea as the crux of the Turco-Greek position. Turkey's dreadnoughts are now being completed at Elswick and Barrow, but an outbreak of war would place an embargo on them. It is noteworthy that lack of funds on both sides is likely to be a pacric factor.

Constantinople, June 16.

The Turkish press takes a calm view. The *Tanin* says that if Greece intends to make a noise, Turkey will remain unmoved.

Belgrade, June 15.

The Cabinet is discussing the Turco-Greek position in view of the Greco-Servian Agreement which compels Servia to mobilise in the event of a war. It is hoped however, that the Powers will mediate to preserve peace.

Constantinople, June 16.

Pessimism is felt in the official circles here regarding the Turco-Greek situation. Fighting has occurred at Menemen and Phocia. Forty inhabitants of Menemen are reported to have been killed while defending the town.

Malta, June 16.

The Greek government has ordered all the Greek seamen here to be in readiness for instant departure.

The Hague, June 16.

The International Conference to consider the putting of the Opium Convention into force has opened. The Foreign Minister announced that Turkey and Servia had refused to agree to the Convention. Greece had made reservations regarding the new territories and Austria-Hungary had agreed to it in principle. Britain and her colonies had signed.

The Bagdad Railway.

London, June 16.

The Anglo-German agreement regarding the Bagdad Railway has deen initialled in London by Sir Edward Grey and Prince Liohlowsky. A complete understanding has been reached on all questions.

Persia.

London, June 12.

The *Times* publishes a gloomy leading article with regard to Persia, expressing fear, that a crises of unusual gravity is approaching. One aspect is that the whole problem of restoration of order will probably have to be tackled afresh. The journal believes that Swedish officers have worked arduously and gallantly but that on the whole they have not succeeded and are not likely now to succeed. The other aspect relates to the neutral zone in which the British interests almost exclusively lie and in which except for a few cities freebooters are almost supreme. The *Times* declares that the Persian question cannot be allowed to drift for ever and that the problem of the maintenance of order may soon bring to a head.

London, June 16.

In the House of Commons to-day, Sir J. Flannery asked whether Government contemplated formal annexation or establishment of a protectorate over the neutral oil-bearing zone in Persia. Mr. Acland said that the answer was in the negative.

Mr. Churchill replying to different questions regarding the Anglo-Persian Oil Company said the examination of the property and plant of the Company had satisfied the Govsrnment that the present capitalisation was reasonable and that the potentialities of the proven territory fully justified the expenditure on behalf of Navy.

Home Rule.

London, June 11.

The Stock Exchange takes a gloomy view of the Irish situation and the markets are depressed. The rapidly growing number of Nationalist Volunteers is the absorbing topic in the Lobbies. Moderate estimates place them at a thousand.

The seriousness of the position is realised by the Liberals numbers of home, speaking in their constituencies said that it was the final proof of the weakness of the Government in allowing drilling and arming in Ulster.

London, June 11.

In the House of Commons to-day Mr. Asquith announced that the amending Bill would be introduced in the House of Lords before the Home Rule Bill if the opposition desired it.

London June 11.

Mr. Birrell replying to Lord Robert Cecil said that the figures supplied to him showed that the Nationalist Volunteers numbered 80,000 (eighty thousand). But these figures varied daily. He had not been informed as to the number of arms but the Government were giving their attention to the action of both, he forces.

London, June 12.

Mr. Bonar Law opened the Unionist campaign in Scotland at Inverness last night. He dealt at some length with the Ulster question and said the outlook was a conflict between the Government and the Nation in which the Nation was bound to win. Whatever calamities were ahead the determination of Ulstermen was fixed. No cleverness or manœuvring would make them submit to Dublin Parliament.

London, June 12.

A serious split occurred in the Nationalist Volunteer movement. The Provisional Committee governing the volunteers refused Mr. Redmond's co-operation and decided to organise a force on its own lines. Mr. Redmond now denounces the Committee as self-constituted and says that the majority on it do not support the Irish party, which is supported by 95 per cent. of the volunteers. He dwells upon the grave responsibility of military organisation and affirms that unless the committee reconsidered its decision, he would appeal to the volunteers to organise themselves independently until the Convention can elect a a permanent governing body.

London, June 16.

In the Lords to-day Lord Crewe informed Lord Lansdowne that Government proposed to take the second reading of the Home Rule Bill on the 30th instant, intending the Bill would be introduced next week. This would give the Opposition ample time to consider its position. It had been hoped, he added, that the Amending Bill would be the result of conversations between the parties that still held good. Lord Lansdowne affirmed that the time for discussing the Amending Bill was altogether inadequate as this was the only measure which mattered.

Lord Lansdowne emphasised that events had been moving with alarming haste in Ireland but Government had done nothing to mitigate the strain, or towards conversations. The Opposition would not proceed with the discussion of the Home Rule Bill if they were only given a chance of seeing the Amending Bill for a few days before the main discussion.

Lord Crewe replied that perhaps an agreement could only be reached by public discussion rather than by conversations. He understood that Lord Lansdowne preferred a public discussion. If an agreement were reached, it mattered little by what road it was reached.

Lord Lansdowne subsequently give notice of a motion to-morrow censuring Government for delay in producing the Amending Bill.

Indians in Canada.

Victoria, June 10.

Mr. Roches, Minister of the Interior has telegraphed to the Mayor that the Government intends to enforce the Immigration law. He expects that unless the law is defeated in Court on some technical ground the Government will be able to handle the question with satisfaction to British Columbians.

Immigrants are now appealing again before the Court of Enquiry. Fourteen more have been allowed to land having been formerly in Canada. It is anticipated that none of the remaining 354 will be admitted. Meanwhile it is so ill not known if the ship will be ordered back East by the owners if the charter money is not paid.

Victoria, June 11.

The exclusion policy will not be enforced until all "Komagata Maru's" passengers have been examined. The owners have ordered the vessel to return to the Orient but the immigration officials understand that arrangementt will be made to keep her at Vancouver until the conclusion of the hearing of the Indians' appeal in the Canadian Courts.

London, June 11.

Replying to a question in the House of Commons regarding the "Komagata Maru" Mr. Harcourt said that he did not doubt that the Canadian authorities were acting in accordance with the law of the Dominion. He was communicating with the Governor-General but at present he was not prepared to make any statement.

Victoria, June 12.

Two Vancouver Hindus have deposited the balance of the "Komagata's" charter money. If the owners accept it the vessel can remain for upwards of three months longer. Full instructions for disposition of the steamer are expected by cable daily. Only twelve more immigrants have been examined. They were all rejected.

Victoria, June 14.

The Court of enquiry into the case of Indians on board the "Komagata" has been suspended. Reason has not been stated. It is believed that authorities are awaiting the result of the communications between the Imperial Government and the Canadian Government. "Komagata's" owners have not replied to the offer of Vancouver Indians to pay the balance of charter money. Lloyd's agent is not attempting to dispose of the cargo of coal.

Colonising India.

London, June 12.

Sir Harry Johnstone in a letter to the *Times* on the subject of Indian Immigration refers to the report of English and German travellers regarding the sparse population of many parts of Indian mountainous regions in which paradise is still waiting inhabitants. Sir Harry asks: "Why promoters of genuine emigration schemes in India do nat endeavour first of all to colonise to the fullest extent 2,00,000 square miles of habitable but unpopulated India?"

South Africa.

Cape Town, June 11.

Government has been twice defeated on the amendment to bring the Premier mine under the Income the Bill. The proposal had been strenously opposed.

Cape Town, June 12.

Government continues in office. It admits the gravity of its defeat but considers that it would be detrimental to the country if much useful labour of the session were abandoned.

The *Cape Times* and *South Africa News* argue strongly against Government resigning. Nevertheless the Cabinet takes a most grave view of its position owing to the recent diminishing majority and difficulties with some of its followers regarding taxation which the Cabinet considers essential.

Our London Letter.

London, May 29.

Home Rule Bill through the Commons.

The Home Rule Bill has passed through the House of Commons and has been already introduced formally in the Lords. Acting on the advice of the *Times* the Opposition decided not to discuss the Bill and consequently the division was taken a day earlier than was expected. The House adjourned for the Whitsuntide recess on Monday last and so hon. members were free to run up to Epsom on Wednesday to see the Derby run. The political situation has not materially changed during the week and every-body is now awaiting the introduction of the Amending Bill after the holidays.

Talking of the Derby, by the way, I noticed the King's four Indian Orderly Officers thoroughly enjoying themselves in a reserved box in the Grand Stand. Can it be that their genial presence on the course had anything to do with the dramatic success of Durbar II? The victory is most cosmopolitan; the winner is an English thoroughbred born in France, his owner is an American sportsman, his groom a negro, his trainer an Irishman and he bears an Indian name. A good omen indeed for the advancement of the Irish and Indian cause!

Diplomat Embraces Islam.

According to the Constantinople correspondent of the *Times*, Alfred Rustem Bey de Bilinski, recently appointed Ambassador in Washington, has embraced Islam. The Turkish Press expresses satisfaction at the conversion of Rustem Bey, who has taken the name of Ahmed, and announces that the Sultan has presented the convert with his own chaplet and other tokens of Imperial favour.

Medals in India.

"D. I. K." writes to the *Times* suggesting that a special medal should be awarded to every British soldier (including, of course, officers) who has served in the Indian N.-W. frontier stations for seven years in peace time, considering the constant risks such soldiers are exposed to during the period of their service in those districts, a "risk" almost as great as that in time of war. This is indeed an extraordinary proposal and is sure to be keenly resented by every soldier, who is really devoted to his profession. The suggestion is both grotesque and absurd and the writer of this letter must not have fully realised the real spirit that prevails in the military circles. The King's soldiers would certainly appreciate and highly value any medals or decorations that may have been awarded to them for distinguished service on the field, but none except a "feather-bed soldier" would attach the least importance to medals given to him for having merely spent a certain period in the frontier districts of India in routine peace duties, simply because occasionally there may possibly be a "rising" or a "disturbance" amongst the tribes residing in those districts or else on account of isolated outrages on the part of irresponsible and depraved Indian soldiers, which may unhappily involve the lives of a brave officer and an equally brave comrade of the murderer himself. Such mad acts of revenge for a real or fanciful wrong are as common in the military barracks in this country as they are in India and are not by any means characteristic of the frontier stations.

"Landi Kotal," in the course of an excellent reply to the letter of "D. I. K.," writes as follows in the *Times* :—"The abnormal craving for medals and decorations revealed by Englishmen in India, both civil and military, is one of the most contemptible things visible in the Empire to-day. The climax is surely reached in the letter you publish from 'D. I. K.' He wants every soldier who serves for seven years in frontier stations to have a special medal. Really, what are we coming to? In my day in India, every keen soldier tried to get to the frontier in the hope of seeing service. They never sought medals. They sought danger gladly because that was their trade and they loved it. Now, apparently, any man who puts in seven years amid the amenities of Peshawar, not even constantly, wants to wear on his chest a medal which will say, 'Look at me! I am a remarkable fellow! I lived for seven years in a place where I might have had a shot fired at me when I walked through the native bazaar! What do you think of that?'

"I know the frontier and know the hard, anxious work often done there, and the risks that are run. But men go there as a rule of their own choice. If they want patting on the back for it they are of the sort that ought to stay at home and sell groceries. To do them justice, I believe the best men don't. They say, 'I am doing my job' and are content."

Colour and the Empire.

The *Daily News and Leader* writes a splendid leading article on the above subject, which is particularly welcome at this moment when the colour question is again prominent in Canada. "The same day," proceeds the article, "brings news from one quarter of the Empire of the probable settlement of a problem and from another quarter of the definite posing of a very similar problem. The Bill introduced by the South African Government, on the basis of the findings of the recent Commission of Inquiry, seems to be accepted by the local Hindus (*i. e.* Indians) as satisfying their demands. On the other hand, practically all the Hindus on the Japanese ship now lying off British Columbia have been denied admittance, and their

case will be fought through the law courts, unless the local officials by the exercise of force prevent the testing of the question of right. We pointed out a few days ago that the Hindu question in South Africa is in a very important respect different from the Hindu question in Canada. The South African Hindus have accepted, with very slight qualifications recognised by the South African Government, the principle of exclusion. They have been fighting for decent treatment of such Indians as live in South Africa. That claim had its complications owing to the dread by white labour and commerce of the competition of Asiatic labour; but once the shutting of further immigration was accepted, the question was reduced to manageable limits. The claim of the Indians now seeking to enter Canada is a claim as British subjects to enter Canada freely and without restrictions. 'I intend to use every legitimate course I can pursue to make sure if it is true that East Indians will not be permitted to land in your country,' says their leader, and if the few hundreds in the Komagata Maru were to make good their claim they would be followed by countless thousands.

"Opinion on the Pacific Coast and doubtless throughout Canada is as emphatic as opinion in South Africa. . . . . Probably, therefore, the Indian question in Canada will after a brief struggle be reduced to the form and the dimensions of the Indian question in South Africa. It will lose its local acuteness, but that does not mean that it will vanish. On the contrary, it will become visible as an Imperial problem free from all obscuring accidental circumstance. Our Imperialists in moments of expansion cry *civis Britannicus* in imitation of the ancient proud *civis Romanus*. But the Roman citizen, when citizenship became the badge of all free men throughout the Empire, was something very different from this British citizen. The Roman citizen, whatever his colour, race, or faith, could pass freely throughout the Empire and everywhere enjoyed equal rights. British citizenship is a thing of grades and territorial limitations. A white man may go where he will and everywhere be a citizen. A coloured man may be free here, excluded or a pariah there. To make his situation more bitter his rights are less than even the non-citizen enjoys who has a white skin.

"Whether an Empire can hold together with so strange a practice and so strange a theory of citizenship is a disturbing question. It is complicated by the fact that the colour line raises international as well as Imperial difficulties of great magnitude. Beyond India are China and Japan, and beyond Christianity is a religion, Islam, which has swept away race and colour as social and political barriers . . . But no man can believe that uncompromising negation is the last word of civilisation on the colour question. No civilisation which can be content to see colour an eternal badge of separation can satisfy, and men of vision and understanding must never cease from fighting to prevent an economic issue becoming an unconquerable prejudice. The gravest feature of the present situation is not that exclusion is being urged on behalf of the standard of life, but that it is being coupled with assertions of moral and intellectual superiority, and of the existence of social and political incapacities, for which there is no warrant. These passionate and false indictments of half mankind eat into the souls of those who draft them."

The *Times* also deals with the same subject in a brief leader, under the heading, "Empire day". "One problem in particular", says this journal in the course of the article, "whose solution not the most optimistic would forecast with any confidence, overshadows its close (*i. e.* the period of twelve months ending on "Empire day"). The claim of our Indian fellow-subjects to be admitted without restriction into the oversea Dominions is being asserted with fanatical resolution in Canada to-day, as it was asserted, though in a somewhat different form, in South Africa earlier in the year. Canadian statesmen may be relied upon to face the problem with discretion and resolution. They will not, of course, forget the interests of their own people. But it is equally certain that they will allow no spirit of narrow partisanship to blind them to the importance of the Imperial considerations which are inevitably involved in this question. The Government of Canada has already proved itself in this respect. We have no doubt that the present crisis will supply it with another occasion."

Considering that the *Times* in its Empire Day Number has devoted three full pages to Australian matters, two pages to those of South Africa, Canada and even Rhodesia, whilst it has contended itself with only one solitary page on the Indian affairs, the two or three sentences above referred to clearly indicate that it is nonetheless fully alive to the gravity of this vital question.

Council of India Bill: An Elective Element Introduced.

The Bill to amend the law as to the Council of the Secretary of State for India, just introduced by Lord Crewe, differs in at least one important respect from the outline of his proposals given in the House of Lords last Session (July 31). He then had no intention of modifying in any respect the Secretary of State's discretion in the selection of members. But his adumbration of reform, as is well-known, led to a demand at the Karachi Session of the Indian National Congress and the Agra Session of the Moslem League that the Indian members should be elected by the elected members of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils in India, and it was suggested that the Indians should form one-third of a Council of nine members.

At a conference following a breakfast given by Sir William Wedderburn to a delegation from the Congress a fortnight ago Lord Courtney suggested the possibility of electing a panel in India of 40 or more persons who, by previous training in various fields, would be fit and proper persons to assist and advise the Secretary of State in the exercise of his duties, the Secretary of State to make his selection from that panel. This scheme finds a place in the Bill. It is provided that at least two members of the India Council "must be domiciled in India," a phrase which is evidently intended to have the same connotation as the familiar legal term "a statutory native of India." These members are to be selected from among the persons whose names appear on a list chosen for the purpose by the non-official members of the Indian Legislatures, in accordance with regulations to be made by the Secretary of State in Council.

The salary of the Councillors, reduced by Lord Morley's Act of 1907, when he introduced an Indian element by the nomination of a Hindu and a Mohammedan member, is to be restored to the previous figure of £1,200 yearly. The members of Indian domicile, however, are to have an additional yearly allowance of £600.

Lord Crewe also foreshadowed the attachment of individual members to the various departments of the India Office in substitution of the system authorised by the Act of 1858 of committees "for the more convenient transaction of business." The Bill expressly widens the statutory authority of the Secretary of State to send to India "secret" orders without communicating them to Council, by including within their range matters relating to any question gravely affecting the internal tranquillity of India or the interests of India in any other country, or the peace or security of any part of His Majesty's Dominion. But it should be noted that this is without prejudice to the Council's statutory control of Indian revenues.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah Interviewed by the "Daily Telegraph."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah has given a *Daily Telegraph* representative the following summary of the more important points which the Indian National "Congress wished to bring to the attention ot the Government:—"To begin with (said Mr. Jinnah) I may say that Lord Crewe's action in inviting Indian opinion on his bill has produced very favourable impression in India. At present the India Council consists of ten members. Two are financial experts and the others—nominated by the Secretary of State—are connected with the administration of India. Lord Morley, in order that his advisers might be kept in touch with Indian opinion, nominated two Indian members to the Council; but these gentlemen, although they had done excellent work, are nevertheless nominated and not elected. We think the time has come for the elective principle to be introduced; for there is now, what there was not a generation or two ago, an Indian electorate.

"Our proposal is that the India Council should consist of nine members, appointed for five years, but eligible, of course, for a further term of service. Three of these members would be officials connected with the Indian administation, nominated by the Secretary of State; three would be Indian representatives; and the remaining three would be men of recognised ability in the public life of the United Kingdom, not connected with the Indian administration. These last three members would bring an entirely independent judgment to bear on the problems submitted to the Council, and would, when necessary, hold the balance between the other two parties.

"A most important matter is this. We propose that the three Indian members, not being officials, shall be elected by a responsible electorate, *viz.*, the representatives of the local legislative Councils, who number altogether about 140. With such a small and weighty electorate as this it is clear that no irresponsible person could be chosen as a representative on the Council. We disapprove of the suggestion that a panel should be formed from which the Secretary of State could select three members; for our experience leads us to believe that such a scheme would not work well in practice. The portfolio system, which has likewise been suggested, would also be unsatisfactory; for the Council should be advisory, not administrative; and the best results would be obtained if the members of it were not tied down to any particular department."

Mr. Jinnah went on to refer to the feeling of bitterness which had been aroused in India by the drastic regulations of the Press Act—a measure, he thought, which a Council on the new lines proposed would advise the Secretary of State to modify. The main grievance is that newspapers have to provide security before they can publish: and if the executive forfeits the security, or seizes the paper, no appeal to the High Court is permitted. This is felt to be a severe restriction on the liberty of the press.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque to Speak on "Indian Nationalism."

At to-morrow's meeting of the London Indian association, Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque will deliver an address on "Indian Nationalism." Among other speakers will be the Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma, Mr. S. Sinha, and the Hon. Mr. K. Sahoy.

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TETE À TETE



Lord Hardinge.

Lord Hardinge's birthday falls on the 20th June, and the event brings vividly to mind the spell that his personality has woven over the hearts of the Indian people. The widespread and genuine respect that he has succeeded in creating for himself since his assumption of office and the measure of public confidence that he enjoys to-day as a statesman responsive to the needs of the times have fallen to the portion of only a few of his predecessors. Much of this success has no doubt been due to a happy concurrence of peculiar circumstances in which Lord Hardinge has had to play a conspicuous part and has thus incidentally revealed himself to the intimate gaze of the public. In the normal state of things a Viceroy is necessarily a mere symbol of British power, and only the privileged few are able to discern the real man beneath the head of Government of India robed in Viceregal dignity. The generality of the people have to content themselves with such glimpses of the man as they can get through his measures. Events of great magnitude and unique import have, however, brought Lord Hardinge into close touch with Indian sentiment, and his acts and movements have been quite unconsciously a process of self-revelation. He stands apart from his measures, self-revealed, intimately known to the people, for whom he feels genuine sympathy, and who hold him in whole-hearted affection aed esteem. Such achievement has been rare in the careers of the many eminent administrators and statesmen who have spent strenuous years in the service of this country. The King-Emperor's visit to his Indian Empire is rightly regarded as marking an epoch in Indian history. India owes it to Lord Hardinge that such an historic occasion was utilised for the enunciation of a bold and sympathetic policy, and, although we disapproved of the way in which things were secretly arranged and were intended to be justified as accomplished facts, we must admit that behind the changes and boons announced at the Durbar lay the inspiration of the Viceroy, whom all recognised as possessing true Imperial instincts, courage and statesmanship of a high order. The transfer of the capital to Delhi not only marked the beginning of a new era, but would remain associated with a wider policy of trust and fruitfulness of which the Government of India Despatch on the subject breathes such abundant promise. Inspite of the calculated hysteria of an irresponsible Calcutta clique, the Delhi change has proved a popular measure and the people have realized to the full its ampler meaning. They are eagerly looking forward not only to the building of a worthy monument of British rule on a site consecrated by immemorial tradition and history, but also to the growth and fruition of the liberal policy which the new capital is designed to initiate. Lord Hardinge's personality is closely connected with both these aspects of the Delhi change. No one, therefore, can think without deep concern that his hand in the ordinary course will soon be withdrawn from the supreme control of affairs in India. His term of office is rapidly coming to a close—in November, 1915, he will complete his five years of Viceroyalty. But the policy to which his rule has given rise has not yet struck firm root in the soil. Things are naturally in a stage of transition still, and his departure towards the close of 1915 may prove little short of a calamity. No man is indispensable even in the governance of India. But the peculiarly fluid condition of things existing in this country needs for some time to come the uninterrupted guidance of a man who was the principal author of the new change and of new hopes and without whose presence the reconstructive effort, lacking even the necessary basis, may eventually sink into the limbo of might-have-beens. If India is to be governed in the spirit promoted by the King-Emperor's visit, Lord Hardinge alone has the will and capacity to make that spirit permeate the administration. He has given ample proof of his courage, sympathy and transparent honesty of purpose. The Delhi Bomb outrage threw his sterling and noble qualities into bold relief. Even that dastardly crime has kept him unflinchingly to his course with unshaken trust in the people. His simple and direct message of peace delivered to a distracted community at Cawnpore showed his remarkable gifts of sympathy and statesmanship, which place him far above the puny breed of officials whose sense of petty administrative conventions is often stronger than their sense of justice, or of the sacrifices of selfish ambitions which the consolidation of a great Empire must demand. His bold challenge to South Africa at Madras could only be uttered by a Viceroy having the interests of the Indian people closely at heart. His reply to the address of the Moslem Deputation showed that the most trying perplexities of office could not rob him of his sense of proportion. His deep and living interest in all questions relating to the material and moral progress of the people is well-known. The increasing attention now being paid to the growth of education and sanitation is in a large measure due to his initiative. It is manifest, in view of all this, that Lord Hardinge's presence at the helm of Indian affairs is absolutely necessary for some time to come. The liberal policy for which he stands has yet to materialise in liberal measures, and there is a deep-seated natural apprehension lest his retirement after a year and a half should make an end of his policy and lead to the extinction of all useful measures in an embryonic stage. This apprehension is still more strengthened by the restiveness occasionally shown by some Local Governments and their alarming susceptiblity to the charms of drastic action. The continuity of the supreme control at this juncture, at least for three years more, seems to be most desirable in the best interests of the country. It is not, therefore, too much to hope that an earnest and unanimous appeal will go to the King-Emperor from the Indian people, praying for the extension of H. E. Lord Hardinge's term of office to seven years. We trust that Lord Hardinge himself, whose love for India and her people has won him universal regard and affection, will not grudge this protraction of his labours for a grateful people and that he will be induced to carry on his great burden for two years more. A superficial observer will be astonished at the spectacle of an arrangement under which the highest officer of the Crown in India is made to depart from the country just when he has got a firm grip of its manifold problems. But those who know by experience the demoralizing influence of semi-irresponsibility, particularly on Englishmen who have throughout their past careers relied on the strong support of Parliamentary control, need no other justification for the apparently paradoxical five-years' rule. The Indian bureaucracy slowly and imperceptibly, but, nonetheless, surely and decisively, fastens its grip on the Viceroy in the course of his career, and it is just as well that the rule exists. The recent precedent of Lord Curzon is somewhat misleading, for that pro-consul brought a great many of his despotic inclinations along with him. But it is there all the same, and it is against our prayer. We must not forget, however, that Lord Hardinge has so far escaped the baneful influences inseparable from his bureaucratic environment, and we may well rely on his outstanding personality to teach something of his own far-seeing statesmanship to myopic bureaucrats rather than to learn in the next three and a half years any of their habit of sighing for "Martial Law and no d——l Nonsense".

The *Zamindar's* Warning and the *Comrade.*

We have been favoured with the following communication from Lieutenant-Colonal E. C. Bayley, C. I. E., I. A., Private Secretary to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, from Simla, dated the 16th June, in connection with the *Zamindar's* recent warning and our comments thereon:—

Sir,—In your issue of May 2nd appears the following paragraph commenting on the orders passed by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in regard to the *Zamindar* Press of Lahore:—

"In circumstances such as those attending Mr. Tollinton's warning to the publisher of the *Zamindar*, a high spirited person may be induced to do exactly that which the warning is designed to prevent. In such cases the person who warns only beomes an *agent provocateur* who, according to Sir Edward Carson, is a person despised even by the criminal classes. We are prepared to believe that Sir Michael O'Dwyer has no intention of provoking the *Zamindar* to incur the penalies of official displeasure under the Press Act. But His Honour has not chosen the best method of disproving the rumours current throughout Northern India that his aversion to the proprietor of the *Zamindar* does not date only from the commencement of his administration of the Punjab, but goes back to the days when, at his instance, as the British Resident at Hyderabad, Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's

The Agent Provacateur.

services were dispensed with by the late Nizam, on the suspicion of having lampooned Mr. Walker, the Finance Minister of Hyderabad, in the columns of the "loyal" and staid *Paisa Akhbar*. At any rate, the *Zamindar* is not likely to thank His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor for his leniency any more than it thanked him for his unjustifiable order of last January which mulcted the *Zamindar* in a loss of some Rs. 20,000. If it was meant as an exhibition of His Honour's leniency it has failed to convince. It is nothing more or less than an indication that the *Zamindar* must be prepared for the worst so long as the Press Act is in force, Sir Michael O'Dwyer is the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and the *Zamindar* continues his (We wrote "its". Ed. *Comrade*.) present policy. The Press Act is by this time notorious for the all-comprehensiveness of its scope and application, and until and unless the *Zamindar* ceases to be an independent critic of official acts and measures, it will provide every day a hundred excuses for the Punjab Government to punish it under that Act. The result would be the kind of impotent rage and despair which drives even those who appreciate to the full the blessings of British Rule inspite of its occasional shortcomings into the attitude of irreconcilable hostility. This is the genesis of three-fourths of the anarchy one hears of in India, and when we read of a bomb being thrown or a pistol being fired at some official of Government, while we denounce the outrage we also curse the crass stupidity of those who drove an otherwise well-intentioned youth into an inhuman anarchist."

The paragraph repeats the insinuation which has appeared on other occasions in your paper and also in the *Zamindar* that the latter paper is not likely to receive impartial treatment from Sir M. O'Dwyer because his aversion to Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, Editor of the *Zamindar* goes back to the days, "when, at his instance, as British Resident at Hyderabad Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's services were dispensed with by the late Nizam on the suspicion of having lampooned Mr. Walker, the Finance Minister." That suggestion Sir M. O'Dwyer desires me to say, is absolutely untrue. When Resident at Hyderabad in 1907-09 he never knew and never even remembers to have heard of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan who was apparently then employed in a subordinate capacity in the Home Office of the Nizam's Government.

Mr. Zafar Ali Khan and three other British subjects in the Nizam's service were removed from that service by His Highness the Nizam's Firman dated 9th, October 1909 and deported from the State within 24 hours.

That order was passed without any prior reference to or consultation with the Resident. So far from Mr. Zafar Ali Khan having been dismissed and deported from Hyderabad at Mr. O'Dwyer's instance, Mr. O'Dwyer first heard of the matter after the deportation had been carried out and then addressed the Nizam's Government pointing out that the Resident should at once have been informed of the orders passed to prevent the risk of misunderstandings which might have arisen had the officials in question claimed as British subjects the Resident's protection or an asylum within Residency limits.

I am to request you to be so good as to publish at an early date the correct facts as above stated, at the same time reproducing the paragraph of 2nd May which gave publication to a rumour which is directly contrary to those facts. Sir Michael O'Dwyer would have preferred to take no notice of the paragraph in question, had not the unfounded insinuation which it contains found a wider circulation and now that the appeal of the *Zamindar* has been heard it is advisable to correct the misrepresentation.

Copies of this letter will therefore be sent to the Press.

I am,
Yours faithfully,
E. C. Bayley, Lt.-Colonel,
Private Secretary, Punjab.

Our Explanation.

In reply to this communication we took the earliest opportunity of forwarding the following explanatory letter to Lieutenant-Colonel E. C. Bayley :—

Sir,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 532 of the 16th instant which has just reached us.

2. You reproduce from the *Comrade* of the 2nd May a paragraph entitled "The Agent Provocateur", and go on to say that "the paragraph repeats the insinuation which has appeared on other "occasions in your paper and also in the *Zamindar* that the latter "paper is not likely to receive impartial treatment from Sir M. "O'Dwyer because his aversion to Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, Editor of "the *Zamindar*, goes back to the days, 'when at his instance, as "'British Resident at Hyderabad, Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's services "'were dispensed with by the late Nizam on the suspicion of having "'lampooned Mr. Walker, the Finance Minister.'"

3. To the best of our recollection the paragraph you have reproduced from the issue of the 2nd May contains the only reference ever made by the *Comrade* in connection with the *Zamindar's* troubles to the Hon. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's having been the British Resident at Hyderabad. We shall, therefore, be grateful if you would kindly specify on what occasions other than the one now alleged the insinuation referred to in your letter has been published in the *Comrade*.

4. As regards the *Comrade's* issue of the 2nd May, we respectfully but emphatically repudiate the suggestion that it contains any insinuation such as you allege. Rumours were undoubtedly current at the time in Northern India to the effect that His Honour's aversion to the Proprietor of the *Zamindar* did not date only from the commencement of his administration of the Punjab, but went back to the days when Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's services were dispensed with by the late Nizam on the suspicion of his having lampooned Mr. Walker, then Finance Minister of Hyderabad, in the columns of the *Paisa Akhbar*. It was also rumoured that His late Highness had ordered the dismissal of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan at the instance of Mr. O'Dwyer, then British Resident. Without suggesting even remotely that these rumours had any foundation in fact, we stated that His Honour had not chosen the best method of disproving them. That is all that we wrote on that occasion, and I need hardly say that we are at all times prepared to abide by what we write. How this simple and plain statement can be construed into an insinuation of the nature you have alleged is beyond our comprehension.

5. With reference to what happened at Hyderabad, it is extremely gratifying to learn from your letter that Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's services were not dispensed with by the late Nizam at the instance of the Hon. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and we shall therefore gladly avail ourselves of the earliest opportunity of publishing your letter in the *Comrade*. However, we trust it will not be an impertinence to mention that had you written to us or to any other newspaper soon after the rumours current in Northern India were first brought to His Honour's notice it would have been still better. As it is, we have every hope that the publication of the facts of the case would prove to be the best, if a somewhat belated, method of disproving the unfortunate rumours.

6. Now that the Hon. Sir Michael O'Dwyer has not only taken notice of the paragraph published in the *Comrade* of the 2nd May, but has also directed that copies of your letter be sent to the Press, we trust you will withdraw the wholly unfounded statement contained in paragraph 3 of your letter with reference to our publishing an insinuation that the *Zamindar* was not likely to receive impartial treatment from Sir Michael O'Dwyer. On reconsidering the matter you will agree that it is highly unjust to us.

7. We are publishing this reply along with your letter.

I am,
Yours faithfully,
Mohamed Ali,
Editor of the *Comrade*.

"Chops and Tomato Sauce."

We have more than once expressed our resentful astonishment in these columns at the vagaries of official translators of extracts from Urdu journals in the Punjab, and when Mr. Tollinton had that interesting discussion with the *Zamindar* on the correct interpretation of the word "expose" in Lord Morley's speech from which our contemporary had quoted, we could have hoped that when the officials were so anxious to discern the mote in a journalist's eye more care would be taken in future in the matter of removing the beam in official optics also than had been taken in the past. But Mr. Tollinton's English version of "*khana-bar-andaz-i-chaman*" in a well-known verse which has become proverbial as "destroyer of the garden, root and branch" destroyed our hope also "root and branch" even before the seed could germinate. In the reports of the proceedings of the *Zamindar's* Appeal in the Chief Court we notice the "destroyer of the garden, root and branch" again, and we see no change or reformation in our old friend. In fact the discussion in the Court about the "martyrdom" of a portion of the Cawnpore Mosque beats even the "root and branch" business quite hollow. Evidently nobody in the Punjab Secretariat has ever heard of the expression "*shahid hona*" in connection with the accidental dropping of a copy of the Quran on the ground even though by a Mussalman. We had been wondering how long Indian journalists could tolerate this "government by translators", and why they did not combine to contribute a considerable portion of the cost of the proposed institution in England for the study of the Oriental languages. But when we receive a communication such as that which we are now publishing what are we to say? Here, at least, there is no tyranny of translators. The *Comrade* is published in English and, as there is no refractory medium intervening between us and the officials,

its meaning should be obvious. Yet the "insinuation" discovered in a very plain and straightforward statement takes our breath away. We have never disguised our ~~strongly~~ adverse opinion about the dealings of the Punjab Government with the Moslem Press, and if the repeated expression of our opinion does not induce that Government to rectify its blunders, we are afraid we shall have to write again and pitch our disapproval of its measures still higher. That is one of the duties of a newspaper and we never shrink from the performance of such duties no matter how unpleasant they may be, and no matter what we may have to suffer ourselves in carrying them out. This is part of the day's work, and at least, there is nothing else we can do except to grin and bear. But it never occurred to us that the *Zamindar* was not likely to receive impartial treatment from Sir Michael O'Dwyer because of some old grudge that Sir Michael was supposed te bear against its editor when neither Sir Michael was the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab nor Mr. Zafar Ali Khan the editor of the *Zamindar*. Even supposing that this explanation sufficed for the repeated punishment of the *Zamindar*, how were we to explain the far less justifiable dealings of the Punjab Government with papers like the *Ahl-i-Hadees* and the *Badr*? As we have explained in our letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Bayley, rumours such as those to which we had alluded in our issue of the 2nd May were undoubtedly current at the time. We ourselves heard any number of people explaining the attitude of the Punjab Government towards the *Zamindar* on those lines. An English official of considerable eminence whose services had been lent to Hyderabad had been brought into contempt in the columns of the *Paisa Akhbar*. Mr. Zafar Ali Khan was well known to be a writer of easy and caustic verse. He was in the service of the Nizam at the time. His services were soon after dispensed with in the usual way by His late Highness the Nizam, with a full pension and an order for quitting his dominions within 24 hours, as had happened even to such great men as the late Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk. Mr. O'Dwyer was then Resident, and people rushed to the conclusion that Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's services were dispensed with at the instance of Mr. (now Sir Michael) O'Dwyer. We now learn from one of the two authoritative sources that people had, as often happens, (*e.g.* the Tory rumour about the Ulster "Plot" of the present English Ministry) rushed to a natural but false conclusion, and Sir Michael O'Dwyer had no more to do with the matter than, say, Sir James Meston or the editor of the *Paisa Akhbar*. But considering the wide prevalence of the rumour it is difficult to believe that it never came to the ears of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. In fact Lt.-Col. Bayley's letter seems to indicate that our paragraph of the 2nd May was not the only occasion when to his knowledge the rumour was published. What could have been more easy, we ask, than to have dropped a line to a newspaper without the least possible delay, and, with or without a request that the source of information should not be divuged, to have authorised it to publish the facts of the case? We do not presume to suggest that we should have been selected for their publication; but there were a hundred other papers as well as ours which would have gladly published them. Are we to believe that

غرور حسن اجازت مگر نداد اي گل * كه پرسشي بكني عندليب شيدارا

(The pride of beauty did not permit, O Rose! that
thou shouldst enquire of the devoted Nightingale.)

If this was, indeed, the secret of the silence, then we must frankly say we consider such pride to be wholly unsuited to administration. Half the difficulties of the world are due to misunderstandings, and the more the Government takes the Press into its confidence the better would it be both for the Government and the Press. We do not see why Sir Michael O'Dwyer should have waited till a rumour so unfortunate as this had received a "wider circulation", nor do we at all see the connection between the publication of the facts of the case and the *Zamindar's* Appeal. But what perplexes us most is that when His Honour is pleased to take notice of the paragraph published in the *Comrade* more than six weeks ago, his Private Secretary is not content with the statement of facts directly contrary to the unfortunate rumour alluded to in that paragraph, but tacks on to it an imputation against us of having not only once but repeatedly insinuated that Sir Michael O'Dwyer was consciously unjust to a Punjab journalist. Sergent Buzfuz or even Mr. Bevan Petman may read into "chops and tomato sauce" a world of meaning. But nobody expects the Punjab Government to have the least affinity to "Vakil Raj". We must warn Goverment that the constant use of the "directly or indirectly, whether by inferrence, suggestion "allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise" of the Press Act "is likely or may have a tendency to" create by imperceptible degrees a mental squint. Unwise measures always react on the administration that sanctions them and carries them out, and we fear the Press Act is already beginning to force Local Governments to discover an esoteric significance in statements as innocuous as Mr. Pickwick's hungry message.

THE preceeding three paragraphs were in type and the *Hamdard* had published a translation of the above correspondence when we received the following telegram from the Private Secretary to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab:—

Your 6033 of 17th received. For the first three lines in para. 3 of my letter of the 16th please substitute the following. "The paragraph repeats the "insinuation which has appeared also in other "papers that the *Zamindar* is not likely to receive "impartial treatment from Sir M. O'Dwyer be-"cause his aversion"——

A Partial Withdrawal

As the reader will easily see, this is the first-fruit of our reply and an answer to the humble request contained in para. 3 of our letter that Lt.-Col. Bayley "would kindly specify on what occasions other "than the one now alleged the insinuation referred to in his letter "has been published in the *Comrade*." On the 16th instant His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, or at least his Private Secretary, was under the belief that we had repeatedly offended by publishing an insinuation of conscious partiality against Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and that the *Zamindar* itself was not innocent either. However, three days afterwards, and perhaps immediately on the receipt of our reply, that belief undergoes considerable change. The *Zamindar* is discharged, if not acquitted, and we become only a "first offender." We are grateful for this change of belief, and are now encouraged to hope that a little re-consideration will convince Sir Michael O'Dwyer, with whose views we have so often found ourselves in whole-hearted accord, that the "insinuation" was wholly imaginary, and that all that we had been guilty of was a passing allusion to an unfortunate rumour which was so current in Northern India at the time that we should have thought at least every other Moslem visitor to the Government House would have reported it. May we not hope that this partial withdrawal will be followed by one which is complete?

The Delhi Meeting.

A MEETING of many of the prominent citizens of Delhi was held in the Town Hall to-day, with R. B. Sheo Parshad Saheb C. I. E. in the chair, to "congratulate His Excellency Lord Hardinge on the auspicious occasion of his birthday and wish him long life and every success." This was moved by R. B. Lala Sultan Singh Saheb. The following resolution was also moved by Mr. Mohamed Ali, supported by R. S. Lala Wazir Singh Saheb, and carried with acclamation:— "That in view of the great importance of an early completion of the work "of building at Delhi a new capital worthy of this great Empire "and in view of the necessity of further developing the policy "of confidence and co-operation between the Government and the "people, which has signalised the dawn of a new era commencing "with His Most Gracious Majesty's Durbar at Delhi in 1911, this "meeting is strongly of opinion that the tenure of office "of His Excellency Lord Hardinge, who has initiated such "measures and policy, should be extended by at least two "years, and prays that His Excellency would be graciously pleased "to continue to undertake the burden of his heavy responsibilities "as Viceroy of India for this additional period in the interest "of the country, and that His Majesty's Secretary of State for "India would be pleased to advise His Majesty to accept this "humble prayer of his people." An executive committee consisting of fifty members, representing the Hindus and the Mussalmans of Delhi, has been appointed with a view to prepare and send a memorial to the Secretary of State for India and through him to His Majesty the King-Emperor to grant an extension of at least two years to His Excellency Lord Hardinge.

The Cawnpore Mosque.

IT is now upwards of eight months that Lord Hardinge visited Cawnpore to personally effect the settlement of the Cawnpore mosque affair which was accepted by the Mussalmans in the spirit in which it was offered. It is, however, a matter of infinite surprise to us that nothing has yet been done to restore the demolished portion of the mosque in accordance with the terms of the settlement. We are curious to know what the mosque authorities have been doing all these months. Sir James Meston, during his recent visit to Cawnpore, was reported to have held some sort of consultation with the mosque authorities, and the Hon. the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad had also gone there for the purpose. We have not yet learnt the upshot of these consultations, but we would request the Hon. the Raja Saheb as well as the mosque authorities to let the public know how the matters stand. It is obviously the duty of the authorities to rebuild the demolished portion as soon as possible. Much unnecessary delay has already occurred, and we would like to know if any other cause is responsible for it than the procrastination of the mosque authorities themselves.

The Comrade.

"Inherent Rights."

In the *Pioneer's* issue of June 11th appears a long letter of Mr. J. Renton Denning, at one time editor of our local contemporary the *Morning Post*, who writes from Delhi against the "inherent rights" of Indians "to migrate anywhere in the Empire as British subjects". The assurance with which he lays down the law on a host of subjects may or may not be the envy of all, but we feel certain that the freedom with which he expresses himself must be the despair of our fellow-countrymen. As an Englishman he says he would fain enter "a firm protest, couched in no ambiguous terms" against the claim of Indians to the full enjoyment of the rights of British citizenship. He tells them that "all this talk about right is an unwarrantable assumption." He pities the members of the Indian Government for "feeling some reluctance and being swayed by some hesitancy in "dealing with this question *au fond*", though it is not clear whether he also envies their possession of power to *act* where many an equally important question of the rights of Indians is concerned. At any rate, he clearly suggests that there are thousands of Englishmen in India and thousands elsewhere "who feel most strongly that the time for "very plain speaking is come, and that nothing else but plain speaking "will serve in the matter." That is not all. "If we are afraid of a "little straight speech," says Mr. Denning, so cruelly misjudging the "thousands of Englishmen in India," who fear nothing, "we see clearly "enough that our colonies will have no such scruples"; and then follows the terrible threat: "and to their plain speech they will add—"as indeed they are now doing—very plain action"! Mr. Denning, therefore, concludes that "the problem is not one to be tackled with "too carefully balanced phrases", and instantly put his resolve into practice, and even amplifies his determination, for we not only come across phrases which are none too carefully balanced, but notice a want of balance in ideas as well.

Now Mr. Denning will agree with us that one of the chief distinguishing characterstics of the English is that they are a sporting race. They instinctively abhor an unequal combat and whole-heartedly detest a bully. Some of the noblest traditions of the race are connected with the defence of the weak against the strong. What, then, are we to say of one like Mr. Renton Denning who becomes the spokesman of thousands of Englishmen in India as well as of thousands elsewhere, and as such indulges at the expense of Indians in what he calls "very plain speaking", threatening them at the same time with some "very plain action" on the part of his Colonial brethren? Can Indians, too, indulge in "very plain speaking" with the present large sweep of the law of sedition and the widespread net of the Press Act? No, it is not for one of our race and complexion to enter the lists with one of Mr. Denning's where "very plain speaking" is to serve for weapons. As for "very plain action," we are painfully aware that we are domiciled in a Dependency and dare not even *dream* of self-government which alone entitles one to indulge in some "very plain action".

Nevertheless, Mr. Renton Denning is, like us, that very abject being, a journalist, and even though an Englishman and the spokesman of thousands of Englishmen, he could not have altogether forgotten "the rules of the game". We are, therefore, encouraged to hope that he is not as bad as he declares himself to be when he says: "I am not concerned here to defend my statement by argument. I make my assertion". At any rate, he will perhaps bear a little with a humble brother who would not only make his assertion to the contrary but also defend his statement by argument.

We begin with agreeing with Mr. Denning. We, too, like logic to be taken as "the basis of our reasoning", and it is all the more gratifying if it is "irresistable." We, too, are for exposing "the root of the matter"! Leaving ancient history aside for a moment, and even modern politics, let us examine Mr. Denning's biology. The poor Asiatic *does* believe that he is the only type of humanity to whom exclusion applies, and the truth is not in the least different from this. If there are natural laws of exclusion besides artificial ones, the European also "without question, reaps the benefit, if benefit there be, of *those natural conditions of climate and environment which exclude except in a few instances* (relatively to the mass) "*the dark man* from *European* territory. When the Right Hon. John Burns became for the first time a Minister of the Crown and began as such to be sought after by Society, Mrs. Burns received an invitation to a dance from a Duchess. The Duchess had never called on Mrs. John Burns before this and apologised for dispensing with this formality, stating as an excuse that Battersea Park was such a great distance from Grovesnor Square. Mrs. Burns in reply apologised for dispensing with the dance itself, stating as an excuse that curiously enough Grovesnor Square happened to be just as distant from Battersea Park as Battersea Park was from Grovesnor Square! Well, why should Nature be credited with less logic than the wife of a plebeian English Minister? If heat kills, so does cold. Gordon's useful advice to put ourselves into the skins of other people had already impressed Lord Morley. We see that it has now impressed Lord Curzon also, who used it with great effect recently in appealing for funds for Oriental Studies. It has, therefore, evidently travelled quite a good distance in the last seven or eight years. We wonder how long it will take to traverse the ditance between Mr. Renton Denning and Lord Curzon of Keddlestone. With the temperature nearer 120° then 110° in the shade in Delhi, we can, we think, easily get into Mr. Renton Denning's fair skin, if he will only allow such an impertinence on the part of black men even in imagination. But has Mr. Denning ever tried to get into our sunburnt pigmented skin when the thermometer at Oxford registered several degrees below zero and we had to break the ice before getting our matutinal dip into the tub, or when a pea-souper garotted us in the neighbourhood of Liverpool Street in London at midday? Well, if Mr. Denning comes to think of it again he will find the Poles just as exclusive as the Equator.

But it is not much of a compliment to the Whites to place them no higher in the scale of adaptability than the polar bear. In that respect our *Bhaloo* is no better and no worse than his brother of the snow-white fur. But we have survived the ice-covered matutinal tub and the midday pea-souper which the *Bhaloo* of our country could not perhaps have done. Similarly, we believe, the white man who shares his domicile with the polar bear can survive even the 125° in the shade of Jacobabad. But it will not be remiss if we request Mr. Denning to study something of modern philosophy such as Nietzsche's who tells us, what ought to be only too plain, that man is born to conquer Nature, and instead of adapting himself to his environment, compells his environment to adapt itself to him. This is the true interpretation of the old proud boast that "Man is man and master of his fate" in terms of biology.

Mr. Denning remarks that "whatever may be said by certain "enthusiasts profoundly ignorant apparently of physiological and "biological laws, no sane Englishman imagines, that he can enter "into India, settle down and establish a posterity that shall be-"come rooted in the soil of the land of his temporary adoption and "still remain English." Mr. Denning is right. He was wise to qualify his "Englishman" as he has done it, and he would have been wiser still if he had qualified his "certain enthusiasts" not only with the apparent ignorance of "physiological and biological laws" but also with the certain presence of insanity. Of course, no Englishman can do all that Mr. Denning suggests and remain an Englishman and Mr. Rudyard Kipling was apparently one of these "enthusiasts" when he wrote all that stuff about East being East and West being West. But is it not the same thing as saying "no sane *Indian* imagines that he can enter *Canada*, "settle down and establish a posterity that shall become "rooted in the soil of the land of his temporary adoption and still "remain *Indian*"? But who expects, or even wants either of them to remain wholly unchanged? It is with no sudden access of humility that we confess we Indians can learn a great many useful things from a domicile, or even sojourn, in other lands, and can unlearn an equally large number of useless or harmful things. Nor can Mr. Denning's "sane Englishman" say he is the last word in everything good and has nothing to learn or unlearn from a domicile or a sojourn in the East. While fully admitting that the laws "of climate, of environment, of nature"—not so "inscrutable" now with the progress of science as Mr. Denning seems to believe—have considerable effect on the physical and mental condition of man, we have already suggested clearly enough that the higher the individual or the race in the scale of fitness for the struggle of life, the more he or it would be able to assert himself or itself against climate, environment and nature and adapt them in a greater or lesser degree to his or its own desire. If the Asiatic is made of an inferior clay, as so many pseudo-scientific western politicians assert, or even if, generally speaking, he is *at present* in a lower grade of efficiency for life's struggle, as we all admit, he would be able to grapple with the climate, environment and nature of Europe and America all the less efficiently than the European in Asia or Africa. This bar of exclusion provided by the Asiatic himself is surely much more effective than any outside bar, whether natural or artificial. But in any case, if an Englishman loses some of his "Englishmanity" by a domicile in India, must he not put up with it as part of the bargain? Has he not enough consolation in the fact that whatever he loses merely by a sojourn has generally to be put up with by others as well as by him? Is not that the price of Empire throughout history? Did not Rome, while Romanizing the rest of her great Empire, herself become something less than Roman? Why should England alone have a world-wide Empire and escape the forces of Imperial reaction? And we would be the last to suggest that such reaction is altogether a loss. Imperial Rome became not only something less, but also something more than Roman.

But if it is suggested that it is impossible for an Englishman to be domiciled in India without complete degeneration and demoralization, we must join issue with Mr. Renton Denning. The Aryans who came to India were believed to have come to this country from a Central Asian home as cold as most European and American countries. But Mr. Tilak's great researches have led us to believe that the Indo-Aryan race migrated from an Arctic home which, Mr. Denning will allow, is considerably colder than the coldest part of the British Empire. Yet for centuries the Aryan in the Indian tropics compared with the Briton who was dressed in woad was the more efficient of the two.

So much for biology. Let us now glance at Mr. Denning's economics. We fear here, too, our verdict is not likely to be very pleasing. "The "immigration of the white man into India.....in no way lowers the "economic status or standard of the native population. The white man "cannot"—probably Mr. Denning means "*does* not"—"take away the "inherent right of living by his labour from the Indian labourer "or the Indian shopkeeper or the Indian of small means in his own "native land." So says Mr. Denning. And yet he asks: "Will any one "dare to assert that Asiatic immigration on any extensive scale into "such a country ("a white man's country") does *not* weaken the white "labourer's inherent right to labour and receive in his own country the "fair wages of his labour?" We fear the would-be hostess of Mrs. John Burns will have to go on repeating for some time her discovery that Grovesnor Square is just as far from Battersea Park as Battersea Park from Grovesnor Square before Mr. Denning will grasp the fact that natural and economic laws do not differentiate against the whites as human and political laws often do against the blacks, the yellows and the browns. In each case there is competition. The few, able and enterprising European and American captains of industry in Asia compete with the Asiatic and amass great wealth by beating him down by dint of greater business capacity, organazation and enterprise. The few or the many sober and thrifty Asiatics desire to compete with the European, American or Colonial in countries each of which through a sheer assumption, which we hotly challenge, Mr. Denning calls a "white man's country," and wish to amass a moderate amount of wealth by beating him down by dint of greater sobriety and thrift. If the one weakens the right, inherent or otherwise, of some people to labour and receive the fair wages of their labour in their own country, so does the other. But the true application of economics to politics would suggest that in neither case are the rights disturbed. To the Asiatic the white entrepreneur is an exemplar whose competition is not a curse but a blessing in disguise. The Bishop of Calcutta has already declared publicly that the commercial Englishman supplies just those qualities of just, honourable and straight dealings of which India stands so much in need. Is there no one who would bear a like testimony to the sobriety and thrift of the Indians in Africa and Canada? To the European, the American and the Colonial, the humble Asiatic may not presume to be an exemplar; but it is certain that his competition would prove anything but a curse if it teaches him sobriety and thrift at a time when what is called a "high standard of living" is unduly exalted, and comfort and even luxury have become the measure of civilization, or if necessity becomes once more the mother of invention and the white man discovers some new device that may make him comparatively independent of the Asiatic's unskilled labour.

But if Mr. Denning still insists on considering the coloured man's competition with the white man "a wrong against him individually and collectively" and thinks "he would "be a fool—and a dastard—if he did not stand up for that "inherent right, spill his blood in defence of it if necessary—despite "all the theoretical jargon of international politicians, dreamers and "comfortably-off hair-brained and crack-brained theorists", all we can say is that here the laws of man have reformed those of nature and at least the Indian is helpless. The Indian is no fool, as Gandhi and Gurdit Singh are proving; but if he is a dastard, is it his own fault or his Maker's, that being still a man he has lost all virility, that excepting for propagating slaves or seditionists he is emasculated and that even compared with the women of England he is unsexed? But perhaps he is not a dastard altogether. If he has not the weapons of [illegible] and has lost the trick of killing others, he has still something of the old world about him. He can still spill his own blood in the defence of his inherent rights, and he has shown that in South Africa. But let us not talk of spilling blood, for even the spilling of ink is [illegible] a crime.

Dr. Ibuka writes an interesting article in *The Japan Magazine* on the subject of the colour bar. He had interviews with President Wilson and Mr. Bryan, and it is an irony of fate that the latter, a trenchant critic of the British Government in India, should have had to talk to Dr. Ibuka, a Japanese, as Mr. Denning and many others talk to us. To Mr. Bryan's argument Dr. Ibuka replies as follows :—

> I cannot quite agree that the whole difficulty in California is economic. I am convinced that racial prejudice has a good deal to do with it . . . . And call it an economic problem if you will, or explain it as the clash between oriental and occidental civilisation, the root of the trouble is racial. . . When Indians, who are British subjects, are not permitted free entrance to British territory, such as South Africa, Australia, and Canada, what is it but race prejudice?

He comes to the conclusion that it is a question "between the entire East and the entire West. It is a sacred question of humanity and can be permanently settled only by humanitarian methods." He states the position in plain words :

> To-day Europe, the smallest of the five great continents of the earth, dominates the greater part of mankind. Europeans rule North and South America, the greater part of Africa, all Australia and New Zealand, as well as India and numerous islands of the sea. For the most part the white and the coloured races chance to be placed on opposite sides of the globe. (We should have said they are white and coloured *because* they chance to be placed on opposite sides of the globe. Ed. *Comrade*.) They (the whites) appear to wish to close their doors against the coloured races; yet, at the same time, wish to mingle with them. They want to have free course in the coloured man's country, but they don't want him to have free course in their country. This does not appeal to us at all as just.

If we now turn to Mr. Renton Denning we learn, nothing perhaps that even he thinks would satisfy any but a fool in India, but much of the science and the art of jumping over yawning gulfs of awkward questions. He says: "You do not find Occidentals "claiming an inherent right to enter and reside in lands occupied by Asiatics." We rub our eyes and pinch ourselves to make sure we are not dreaming. But, no, it is all right. We are quite awake, and you shall see how Mr. Denning convinces you in your waking hours that all is *maya*. He goes on to say that "they (the Occi-"dentals) *do* enter and *do* reside in such countries to some extent. "But"—now mark the ease of the practised jumper—"their pre-"sence," says Mr. Denning, "is based upon considerations apart from "claims to inherent right." Wonderful, wasn't it? "It may be right "conferred by treaty, or it may be right conferred by conquest, "but"—the leap again!—"on whatever grounds the right may be "exercised, the conditions which ratify it and regulate it are "acquiesced in by the country which receives the immigrants, tourists, "travellers, officials, whatever they may be." It is not clear to us whether Mr. Renton Denning was smuggled into India by means of a vaguely worded treaty, possibly of the Amichand type, or stalked in as a conquering hero. Indian history in the eighteenth century was, if we may so call it, bewilderingly ambidextrous, and the distinction between treaties and conquests was no more clear than between *meum* and *tuum* on the Scotch Border when one of the Border Chiefs had as his motto "Thou shalt lack ere I lack." But howsoever Mr. Denning may have come, the question is whether his right to remain here is ratified and regulated by the acquiescence of the country on which he was dumped. Well, the educated classes, whose one fault is that they are vocal, do *not* acquiesce unless he acquiesces in their "inherent right". There remain then only the "dumb millions"—and, as ill luck would have it, they are—why, of course, dumb!

Well, we do not know whether our phrases are "too carefully balanced" or not, but that is what comes inevitably of taking the "irresistable logic of the problem" as "the basis of our reasoning". It may or may not be some consolation to Mr. Renton Denning that, as he desired it, "the root of the matter" is now thoroughly "exposed"!

The Council of India Bill.

The Bill introduced by Lord Crewe on the 25th May in the House of Lords, embodying certain important changes in the constitution and methods of work of the India Council, has naturally aroused a good deal of serious public discussion in this country. It closely follows the lines foreshadowed by his Lordship in his speech of 31st July, 1913, in the House of Lords. On that occasion he dealt in a general way with the need of reform in the methods of conducting business in the India Office and outlined his views in regard to the changes that he considered desirable. He said that the methods of conducting business had been the subject of discussion befor he went to India Office in 1910. His own experience soon convinced him of the soundness of the general opinion "that the procedure of the Office in relation to India was intolerably cumbrous and dilatory." He referred to the peculiar features of the constitution of the India Office with an advisory council to assist the Secretary of State for India in the supervision and control of Indian affairs. This form of Government was definitely set up by an Act of Parliament in 1858. The Council originally consisted of 15 members whose salary was £1,200 a year. Apart from a general control over Indian expenditure, the functions of this body were deliberately made purely advisory with a view to maintain intact the responsibility of the Secretary of State. The authors of the Act of 1858 had mainly desired that the Council should devote its time to matters of policy

and questions of first-rate importance. A practice, however, soon grew up under the Act of relegating to committees of the Council all matters of business great and small. Some unimportant changes in the details of procedure were effected in 1876 and 1889. A Bill was passed in 1907 which laid down that the Council should consist of not less than ten and not more than fourteen members, and the salaries of the members were reduced from £1,200 to £1,000 a year. The system has in other respects continued unaltered down to this day. Lord Crewe now proposes to make it more efficient and expeditious by introducing certain changes in the methods of work and constitution of the Council. His sole idea is "to improve and, so far as possible, perfect the machinery by which the daily and sometimes even hourly intercourse between those who represented the Imperial Government and those who controlled the actual Government was carried out."

The question of the India Council reform inevitably raises the still wider question whether a council of some sort is at all necessary to assist the Secretary of State in his task. The work of the India Office is quite different in scope and character from that of any other office in charge of Imperial affairs. It has to supervise and direct the government of diverse races differing from the English in history, language, religion and social practice, inhabiting a vast continent and dependent for their welfare on the will of an executive enjoying almost unlimited authority and power. An individual Minister in absolute control of such a gigantic and novel political transaction and responsible only to Parliament would not obviously constitute an ideal arrangement. A Secretary of State for India is generally a party leader who has risen to prominence in the British public life. He has no Indian experience and has usually a very hazy idea of the problems of Indian governance. Unless he is a man of exceptional intellectual gifts and strength of character he is liable to be overwhelmed by the bewildering variety and mass of the questions with which he has to deal single-handed. He may be content to leave everything to the unfettered choice of Indian Government, or may land affairs in a sorry mess by ignorantly interposing his authority at peculiarly inopportune moments. Generally speaking, therefore, a Secretary of State for India would derive considerable advantage by having at his side men possessing adequate knowledge of Indian affairs and competent to give useful advice. On *a priori* considerations the retention of an India Council seems to be necessary. It is, however, essential to bear in mind that the utility of the Secretary of State's Council depends ultimately on the character of its constitution and personnel. Unless its members are men of capacity and independence having real sympathy with Indian aspirations, the Council would be not only useless but also an instrument of potential mischief. In such a case it would be far safer to have no Council at all, and leave the Secretary of State to do his work alone without the help of a set of reactionary, obstructive or unsympathetic advisers. The vital thing is, therefore, to see what sort of India Council has hitherto existed at Whitehall and what possibilities of improvement are held out by the changes sought to be embodied in the recent Bill.

In theory the Secretary of State for India is, like other Ministers, responsible to Parliament, but in actual practice he is an autocrat wielding supreme authority in Indian affairs. The Council that was given to assist him by the Act of 1858 was expressly designed to be advisory. Its functions have remained unchanged since the day of its creation. It took its origin from the traditions connected with the management of Indian affairs by the East India Company. The old Court of Directors, whose abuse of power had roused the righteous ire of Burke, was abolished when after the Mutiny the Crown assumed the administration of India under a Secretary of State in Council. The change was, however, of little practical value, for the independent Parliamentary control, "exercised in a spirit of judicial impartiality", for which Burke had pleaded so eloquently, was not revived. As Sir William Wedderburn says in the Congress Green Book No. VI, dealing with the history and proposed reorganisation of the India Council, "the Council of the Secretary of State for India was little more than "the old Court of Directors under a new name. This will be apparent "when we remember that Mr. Burke's chief objection to the Directors "was that they were the representatives of the Indian bureaucracy, which "it was their duty to control. And exactly the same objection may be "taken to the India Council, which is regularly recruited from the "leading members of the Indian official class. In fact, it may be said "that the last state of control is worse than the first. For, whereas "the Court of Directors was filled with the nominees of the dominant "Indian officials, the India Council is filled with these officials themselves".

It would be interesting to recall the views held by prominent party leaders in England when the India Council was created by Act of Parliament. Referring to the debates on the Act of 1858, Lord Crewe said in the House of Lords that it was evident that there was a marked dread of the Government, and particularly of a single Minister, having uncontrolled power to spend the revenues of India, and also deep distrust of the patronage of India being handed over to a single individual. On the other hand, it was generally agreed that the functions of the Council should remain advisory and that the responsibility of the Secretary of State should be maintained. Lord Palmerston, who introduced the Government of India Bill No. 1, said that "the proposed Council must be a Council of advice, not a Council of control". He laid down the principle upon which a sensible man would select his advisers, saying that the Government "would wish to be advised by those most "competent to give advice, and so far from choosing those most likely "to be subservient and flexible, they would no doubt deem it "their duty and their interest to select those who, by their knowledge, "experience, talent and capacity, were most certain to prove useful "assistants in the management of Indian affairs". Lord John Russell favoured "everything that can be done to preserve an independent character to the Council". Practically the same view was taken by Mr. Disraeli, who declared that the two great requisites for the Councillors were independence and knowledge. Sir Charles Wood laid down, as the guiding principle, that "if we are to govern India it must be for the benefit of the natives of that country." It is manifest, therefore that the statesmen primarily concerned with the creation of the India Council desired to make it a body of competent advisers, distinguished by their knowledge, experience, talent, capacity and independence of character, who would be prepared to make the welfare of India their first consideration. According to the originators of the Council the essential qualifications for Councillors are, as Sir William Wedderburn says, devotion to Indian interests, knowledge of Indian affairs, and independence.

The existing constitution of the Council does not apparently favour the selection of men who combine these qualifications in a marked degree. Ever since its creation it has been the close preserve mainly of the retired Indian administrators, who have stoutly maintained the bureaucrat's unbending attitude towards the real needs of India. Lord Morley, with his usual insight, realised the risks of this one-sided arrangement, and contrived to let some fresh air into the stuffy atmosphere of the Council by appointing two Indians as representatives of the non-official standpoint. The Council, as at present constituted, consists of ten members, of whom two are London bankers, two Indians, and the remaining six possess what is called the "Indian qualification." Lord Crewe now proposes to have a Council consisting of "such number of members, not less than seven nor more than ten, as the Secretary of State may from time to time determine." He desires to reduce the maximum number from 14 to 10 and the minimum number from 10 to 7. He thinks that for the practical working of the office a Council of eight would be adequate. The reduction in number is explained by the changes in the methods of work that have been embodied in the Bill. Briefly, the changes amount to the abolition of the system of work by committees of the Council except when such a procedure may be deemed desirable in deciding matters of moment. Under the present Bill, as amplified by the rules which the Secretary of State is empowered to make, various members of the Council will be attached to different departments of the India Office. They would co-operate with the permanent officials upon particular work. Lord Crewe hopes that thereby a great deal of business "which now went to committees and afterwards in a perfunctory way to Council, might be done directly by the departments, sometimes of course requiring the particular sanction of the Secretary of State."

We must say it at once that Lord Crewe's proposed "reforms" are in some respects alarming. With the ostensible object of making the Council efficient he seeks to introduce some very reactionary changes under the guise of this seemingly unpretentious Bill. He reduces the number of Councillors in order to do away with committee procedure, and he abolishes the committee system simply that members may get longer holidays than a "clergyman's fortnight" and thus the business of the office may be done with greater efficiency and despatch! Is he not aware that by abolishing weekly meetings of the Council and attaching each member to a particular department he would strike at the root of the advisory character of the Council? Will not such an arrangement be an expensive futility? To have the entire body of Councillors turned into so many more under-secretaries tied hopelessly to departmentalism is not a very gratifying prospect for the well-wishers of India. If the India Office is under-manned, increase the strength of its permanent staff by all means. But if its clerical and secretarial establishments are up to full working strength, one fails to see the wisdom of reducing Councillors to the status of glorified clerks, who would have rare occasions of meeting one another in Council and would spend most of their time in the usual routine of office. If Lord Crewe's "reforms" are carried in their original shape, the Secretary of State himself would soon fall a victim to departmentalism and the India Council would be strangled by red-tape. Was it for this fate that the originators had designed the Council?

Lord Crewe seeks through this Bill to enlarge almost indefinitely the scope of the powers of the Secretary of State which are reserved to him for "reasons of State." Lord Crewe is apparently of opinion that the area covered by the "Secret Department" requires extensive additions. This is perhaps the most reactionary aspect of the changes embodied in his Bill. One may understand the anxiety of the Government responsible for the Act of 1858,

i.e., of the year after the Mutiny, to arm the Secretary of State with exceptional powers to deal with certain contingencies without consulting his Council. But does any need for the exercise of secret and summary powers exist to-day? Have the contingencies provided for in the Act of 1858 grown in number and scope in recent years? Is the situation in India to-day as desperate as in the dark days of 1857? If so, why is it that no predecessor of Lord Crewe ever asked for his secret powers to be enhanced? Or is it that the need has begun to be felt since the inclusion of two Indian members? The fact is that Indian affairs, as a result of the general progress of the country in education and political thought and aptitude, have grown so complex that no Secretary of State should be entrusted to deal with any portion of them in a secret and summary way. He should be deprived of his power to send any secret orders and should be required to consult his advisers in all matters, big or small. It is just in dealing with questions "gravely affecting the internal tranquillity of India, or the interests of India in any other country," that the Secretary of State is liable to err, for he himself being generally ignorant of real circumstances, he is in all likelihood guided by the advice of "men on the spot". In all cases gravely affecting the internal tranquillity of India it is indispensable to ascertain the views of the Indian members of the Council. They alone are expected to know the full facts and represent the people's standpoint. If in the existing condition of India it should be possible for the Secretary of State to secretly order a deportation under the Regulation of 1818 or the promulgation of repressive measures without the knowledge of his Indian colleagues on the Council, their position at Whitehall as the Secretary of State's advisers is a mockery and a sham. It is far better to have no Council at all and no representatives of the Indian opinion tied to the tale of a Minister of the Crown who can find no use for them in "matters of moment".

Some of the far-sighted Indian publicists have often urged the abolition of the India Council altogether. They regard it as the only effective "reform", because they are of opinion, not unjustly, that the Council is a reactionary body packed with Anglo-Indian officials whose views and opinions had long since been stereotyped in bureaucratic environment and who retain little sympathy with Indian aspirations. If the personnel of the Council is to remain as provided for in the Bill, one may at last be driven to think that the total abolition of the Council would be a decided improvement on the existing system. The Bill provides for the inclusion of six members, including two Indians, having Indian experience, in a Council consisting of not more than ten nor less than seven members. Lord Crewe thinks a Council of eight members would be adequate. Taking eight, therefore, as the most probable figure, it is obvious that the Council would be composed of two Indians, four retired Anglo-Indian officials, one financial expert and one member probably taken from the ranks of British public men. The only satisfactory feature about this composition is that Indian members will be chosen from a number of persons elected by the Legislative Councils. But here, too, the Secretary of State's selection from a panel of elected Indians has been designed to dilute the principle of election and makes the concession almost worthless. In other respects the matters have not been improved by the Bill. And when the Council is practically shorn of its advisory character, one needs little persuasion to accept the alternative of having no Council at all. The Secretary of State as the sole undisputed arbiter of Indian destinies would be an infinitely simpler and better system of governing India than if he is given a so-called advisory Council, which will be asked to advise him when he pleases and in most important matters will be treated as if it never existed at all, which is to be split up into its individual components that would be asked to bury themselves up in the isolation of departments and be seldom free to emerge out of the trivial tasks and the common round of office. Lord Crewe started with an alluring promise to make a better use of his Council. Nothing would render it more effectually useless than the "reforms" embodied in his Bill.

Verse.

Napoleon.

Methought I heard a mighty voice proclaim,
In tones that taught my wavering heart to deem
Man's sacred life a pure and silent stream
That glides through shine and shadow still thesame—
"Wealth, Rank and Power, Grandeur, Glory, Fame,
Whose charms allure, are seldom what they seem;
They're but the phantoms of a feverish dream—
A gorgeous semblance with a pompous name."
I turned and saw a shadowy spectre glide
With folded arms, bent brow, and aspect grim;
It pointed—thus I knew the shade of him
Who played in mortal life a Titan's part—
Far to a bleak rock's billow-beaten side,
Where a chained eagle preyed on its own heart.

NIZAMAT JUNG.

The Council of India Bill.

The following is the text of the Bill to amend the law as to the Council of India, which was introduced in the House of Lords by Lord Crewe on May 25 and read a first time:—

1.—(1) The Council of India constituted under the Government of India Act, 1858 (which Act as amended by any subsequent enactment is hereinafter referred to as the principal Act), shall consist of such number of members, not less than seven nor more than ten, as the Secretary of State may from time to time determine.

(2) Unless at the time when an appointment is made to fill a vacancy in the Council two at least of the then existing members of the Council were at the time of their appointment domiciled in India, the person appointed to fill the vacancy must be domiciled in India, and unless at such time as aforesaid six at least of the then existing members were at the time of their appointment either domiciled in India or were persons who had served or resided in India for at least ten years and had not ceased so to serve or reside more than five years before the date of their appointment, the person appointed to fill the vacancy must be either domiciled in India, or must have served or resided in India for at least ten years and have not ceased so to serve or reside more than five years before the date of his appointment.

The person appointed to fill a vacancy for which a person domiciled in India is alone eligible shall be selected from amongst the persons whose names appear on a list of persons domiciled in India chosen for the purpose by the members (other than official members) of the Legislative Councils of the Governer General, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and Chief Commissioners, in such manner, subject to such conditions and restrictions, and in such number, as may be prescribed by regulations to be made by the Secretary of State in Council, or by directions issued by the Secretary of State thereunder.

(3) The yearly salary to be paid to a member of the Council shall be one thousand two hundred pounds, provided that such members appointed after the commencement of this Act who at the date of their appointment shall be domiciled in India shall be paid an additional yearly allowance of six hundred pounds.

(4) Where the Secretary of State is of opinion that a person possessing special qualification as a financial expert should be appointed to be a member of the Council on special terms, he may, after recording in a minute to be laid before Parliament the special reasons for the appointment and the special terms on which the appointment is to be made, make the appointment and the person so appointed shall, notwithstanding anything in the principal Act, or this Act, hold office for such term and on such conditions, and shall in respect thereof be entitled to such salary and to such pension, and other rights and privileges (if any) as His Majesty may, by order in Council, in each case determine:

Provided that not more than one person appointed under this provision shall be a member of the Council at the same time.

2.—(1) Notwithstanding anything in section nineteen of the principal Act, it shall not be necessary for an order or communication sent to India or an order in the United Kingdom in relation to the government of India to be signed by a Secretary of State in such cases as the Secretary of State in Council may otherwise direct, but every such order and communication shall purport to be made by Secretary of State in Council.

(2) For section twenty of the principal Act (which relates to the powers of the Secretary of State to divide the Council into committees, and to regulate the transaction of business in Council) the following section shall be substituted:—

"It shall be lawful for the Secretary of State in Council to make rules and orders for the transaction of business as regards the powers which under the principal Act are to be exercised by the Secretary of State in Council:

"Provided that any such rules or order, so far as it affects any matter or question in respect of which the concurrence of a majority at a meeting of the Council is required by this Act, shall not be valid unless made with the concurrence of a majority of the members of Council present at the meeting of Council at which the rule or order is passed."

(3) Such rules and orders as aforesaid may, notwithstanding anything in sections twenty-two, twenty-four, twenty-five, and twenty-six of the principal Act, provide, as respects such matters as may be specified in the rules and orders—(*a*) for enabling powers of the Secretary of State in Council to be exercised otherwise than at a meeting of the Council, and, where necessary for that purpose, for dispensing with any requirement of the principal Act as to the concurrence of the majority of votes of members of Council; (*b*) for dispensing with the necessary of submitting to Council or depositing in the Council Room for the perusal of members, orders and communications proposed to be sent to India or to be made in the United Kingdom by the Secretary of State, and of recording and notifying to members of Council the grounds on which any order or communication to India has been treated as urgent.

(4) At a meeting of the Council the quorum shall be three, and meetings of the Council shall be convened and held when and as the Secretary of State may from time to time direct.

(5) Any document required by the principal Act to be signed by two or more members of the Council, either with or without the counter-signature of the Secretary of State, or one of his Under Secretaries or Assistant Under Secretaries, may be signed in such manner as the rules and orders made by the Secretary of State in Council for the transaction of business in his Council may prescribe, and any such document, if signed in accordance with such rules and orders, shall be as valid as it if it had been signed in accordance with the provisions of the principal Act.

(6) Section twenty-seven of the principal Act (which enables the Secretary of State to send certain secret orders without communicating them to the members of his Council) shall extend to any order not being an order in respect of which concurrence of a majority at the meeting of the Council is required by the principal Act, which relates to any question gravely affecting the internal tranquillity of India, or the interests of India in any other country, or the peace or security of any part of His Majesty's Dominions, and which in the opinion of the Secretary of State is of the nature to require secrecy, and it is further declared that the said section shall apply to any order which the Secretary of State may send in reply to a despatch received and dealt with by him under section twenty-eight of the principal Act.

(7) All rules and orders made under this section shall be laid before Parliament as soon as may be after they are made, and if an address is presented to His Majesty by either House of Parliament within the next subsequent thirty days on which that House has sat after any such rule or order is laid before it praying that the rule or order may be annulled His Majesty in Council may annul the rule or order, and it shall henceforth be void but without prejudice to that validity of anything previously done thereunder.

3.—(1) This Act may be cited as the Council of India Act, 1914.

(2) The enactments mentioned in the schedule to this Act are hereby repealed to the extent specified in third column of that schedule: namely, the Government of India Act, 1858 (21 and 22 Vict. c. 106), sections ten, thirteen, twenty and twenty-two, from the beginning to "shall be present" and from "meetings of the Council shall be convened" to the end of the section: and the Council of India Act, 1907 (7 Edw. VII, c. 35), sections one, two, and three.

An Open Letter.

To the Rt. Hon. the Marquis of Crewe, K.C., His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

My Lord,—As editor-proprietor of the *Daily Zamindar*, which is one of the leading exponents of the views of the bulk of the Muslim Indian population, permit me to trespass for a while on your Lordship's indulgence with a brief statement of the latest attitude adopted by the Executive authorities towards the *Daily Zamindar*, affecting as it does the whole problem of the freedom of the vernacular Press. It is my firm conviction that, conscious of the high destiny of Great Britain in Asia, your Lordship and the other statesmen who are responsible for the government of the Indian Empire, are genuinely anxious that the people of India should be happy, prosperous, and contented, and should have their just grievances promptly redressed. It is this belief which encourages me to approach your Lordship on behalf of the freedom of the Press, which is a matter of as great concern to His Britannic Majesty's Indian subjects as to their British fellow-subjects.

As your Lordship knows, English can never be the language of the Indian masses, but only of a small minority of persons who have received, or may in future receive, an English education mainly for purposes of being associated with the administration of the country. The bulk of the population must continue to use the native languages. To Great Britain is due the everlasting credit of having given official support and recognition to a language which is the only possible substitute for a common medium of expression in India. It was due to this wise measure that Urdu became the written and spoken language of Northern India, and the Esperanto of every other part of the country; and if the new life with which India is pulsating has found its intellectual manifestation in a daily expanding vernacular press, of which the Urdu section is by far the most important, it is only in the fitness of things that such should be the case. A new spirit is in the air. In common with the rest of the struggling communities of the world, India is in the process of a mental and moral transformation: new ideas, new aspirations, new susceptibilities influencing the minds of millions imperceptibly yet inevitably. This superabundance of fresh energy must find expression somehow or other if the community is to continue in a state of normal health. And what more fitting outlet for this exuberance of newly acquired vitality can be than the vernacular Press? Choke this outlet and you will have shut the safety-valve. The body politic will become afflicted with internal abscesses, dripping with a thousand venomous humors. The ruling caste, barred from intercourse with the people by reason of their insular aloofness and want of proper knowledge of the language of the country, will have to depend for information as to the real temper of the people upon a host of paid spies or unscrupulous sycophants. Such a state of affairs would be disastrous.

I have constantly tried to subordinate journalism, ever since I adopted this profession five years ago, to the policy laid down by the Supreme Government. The Indian Government is a human institution, and as such is susceptible of defects and errors of judgment. In common with the rest of my fellow-journalists, I have claimed the right to criticise official errors with a view to securing their rectification. This claim is based upon our intimate association with the traditions of England, and, to use the figurative expression of Lord Morley since our incorporation in the system of British citizenship, it is as old as Runnymede. Of late, however, there has been a marked tendency on the part of a section of officials in India to resent the independent spirit shown in perfectly honest, constitutional newspaper criticism. It is this attitude to which I beg respectfully to draw your Lordship's attention in the earnest hope that prompt measures will be taken to safeguard the freedom of the Indian Press in the interests both of the people and the Empire.

In February 1910, when the Indian Press Act was being hurried through the Viceroy's Legislative Council, on the plea that the measure was necessary for the extermination of anarchism, no one could have positively asserted that it was destined in the near future to be employed for the suppression of the freedom of religious and political thought of the most innocuous character. Yet the scores of paper and presses which have been dealt with under this stern law during the past two years show that the worst fears of the early critics of the Press Act have been more than realised. It could not have been anticipated that a criticism of the revenue policy of the Government, a presentment of the case of the poverty-stricken peasantry, a statement of the religious grievances of the people, would come under the provisions of the Press Act, all-embracing as they are. Nevertheless, articles in the *Daily Zamindar* devoted purely to such matters have been treated as objectionable for the purposes of the Press Act, as the following letter* addressed to me by the District Magistrate of Lahore will show.

Mr. Tollinton's letter, which bears on it the impress of inspiration from higher quarters, harsh as it is, is an agreeable departure from the usual procedure in one respect. To journalists who were accustomed to receive, without the slightest warning, notices of forfeiture of existing securities and of imposition of fresh ones as a punishment for writings which had incurred official displeasure, without the opportunity of a protest or a defence, it is, indeed, a relief. The new system inaugurated by Mr. Tollinton's letter, however undesirable in many respects, as the advocates of the freedom of the Press will readily appreciate, has at least the advantage of affording us the chance of removing many deplorable misunderstandings. To misunderstandings of this character is due in a large number of cases the harsh treatment meted out to the vernacular Press; and I am sure a mild reproof, a friendly warning, or call for a proper explanation would have spared the Government the regrettable necessity of suppressing many a journal. Circumstanced as the Indian officials are in view of their conceptions of personal prestige, it is extremely difficult for them to set aside an executive verdict when once it has been issued, even though it may be subsequently established that there has been an error in judgment, perhaps because of the defective data supplied to them by incompetence, inadvertence, or even personal interest. The cases of the *Ahl-i-Hadees* and the *Badr* are instances in point. These two Muslim papers have each been required to pay a security of three thousand rupees on the plea that they had brought the Christian subjects of His Majesty into hatred and contempt.

Now I am sure the Punjab Government at the time of punishing the *Badr* was unaware that the article which formed the ground for the Government order had appeared more than eighteen months ago in *Annajm*, a theological paper of Lucknow; that during these long months it had never occurred to the Christian subjects of His Majesty that the Muslim interpretation of the "Incarnation of Jesus Christ," in which orthodox Muslims reposed the same faith as orthodox Christians, could ever bring them into hatred and contempt; and that the U.P. Government, whose campaign against offending journalists has not erred on the side of leniency, had not thought it worth their while to bring *Annajm* to book. Similarly, I feel convinced that the official in the Punjab Secretariat, whose business it is to lay the Press Act whip on the back of outspoken journalists, did not know at the time of drafting the order in respect of the *Ahl-i-Hadees* that Muslims believe in Jesus Christ as one of the greatest messengers of God, any disrespectful mention of whom renders a Muslim liable to be branded as a blasphemer; but that, as they do not believe in the Atonement, the paper was simply expressing the Muslim doctrine; and that, therefore, to the seventy-five millions of Indian Muslims any action of the Punjab Government against the *Ahl-i-Hadees* on the score that it had refused to accept the doctrine of the Atonement to be the teaching of

* The letter referred to has already appeared in these columns. Ed. *Comrade*

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Christ, would appear as nothing but a flagrant violation of the pledge of religious neutrality. Had the officials known all these facts they would have hesitated to commit themselves to a course of action in respect of the *Ahl-i-Hadees* and the *Badr*, which has secured for them the sympathy of the whole of India as victims of official intolerance. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that so long as the Press Act remains on the Statute Book, the greatest circumspection should be exercised by the officials in taking any action under the Act which is to be placed in the category of their *obiter dicta*.

Mr. Tollinton's letter to my address is a remarkable document in many respects. It shows that the Press Act is now going to be employed for censoring perfectly *bona-fide* and honest criticism on the ever-handy plea that it is intended to stir up agitation among the ignorant masses. It arrogates to itself the task of lecturing the editor of a responsible paper in harsh, dictatorial and intimidatory language on his suppositious journalistic sins, and does not permit the scores of rival newspapers—Anglo-Indian, Hindu and Muslim—to detect his "mischievous inaccuracies," if there were any, and to denounce him accordingly. It is full of erroneous assumptions, which are based upon a distorted English version of the original articles; and the central idea dominating the whole letter—*viz.*, that the articles objected were so much "veiled treason"—is derived from a few isolated and disjointed phrases or words in utter disregard of their context. In one word, the articles in question, instead of appealing to the authorities as respectful representations of a loyal journalist, who is an out-and out believer in Pax Britannica, are treated as the dangerous fulminations of a sedition-monger. The object of these lines is to prove to your Lordship that such an illusion does exist, and that it has its source in the inability of the officials to understand our language, which has to be interpreted to them by a staff of underpaid translators who are mostly incompetent.

Urdu, having Sanskrit grammar and more than 50 per cent. of Perso-Arabic vocabulary, is very difficult to translate into English, and to bring out the spirit of the original when rendering some elegant passage of Urdu *belles lettres* requires a perfect mastery of both languages, which very few people possess. When, therefore, the loyalty of a person has to be determined by one single phrase, one solitary word, and he has to be adjudged a faithful subject of His Majesty or a traitorous seditionist according to the shade of meaning conveyed by that particular phrase or word, it is high time that the officials adopting this Draconian standard should see that the phrase or word in question shall not only be accurately rendered, but that it also will be interpreted in the light of its context. That flagrant injustice is done to journalists by attributing to them views and sentiments which they never expressed is abundantly evident from Mr. Tollinton's letter. The writer in the *Daily Zamindar* respectfully appeals to the Government on behalf of the dumb agricultural masses, and with the customary oriental courtesy uses the following poetic language:—

> "Thou hast showered down upon others flowers and even fruits;
> O giver-away of orchards, grant me also some boon, I pray thee."

For the sake of literary brevity only the second line of the couplet was used as an elegant allusion, but the Provincial Government, as Mr. Tollinton's letter shows, interprets the line as follows: "O destroyer of the garden root and branch, throw something to this side also." Evidently this is a sample of the "veiled treason of the vernacular press," to which the *Standard* refers in its review of the speech of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, recently delivered in the Punjab Legislative Council.

The Government translating staff, which has given this glaring proof of its incapacity to translate Urdu poetry, supplies Mr. Tollinton with further material of a similar kind, which has led him to assert that the *Daily Zamindar* has mischievously misquoted a speech from Lord Morley with the object of fanning the fanaticism of the ignorant masses. Mr. Tollinton's complaint is that the word "exposed" has been used in a deprecatory sense. Now, in order to be able to affirm with any degree of assurance that the rendering of the *Daily Zamindar* was or was not in consonance with the precise significance of the word as used by Lord Morley, it was necessary that Mr. Tollinton should know Urdu, the language in which the *Daily Zamindar* is written. But he has to depend upon the translators, with the result that Lord Morley's words, which had been correctly translated into Urdu by the *Daily Zamindar*, are retranslated into the translator's English, and the responsibility for this inaccurate language is, as usual, foisted on to the *Daily Zamindar*.

Mr. Tollinton has been led to draw many strange inferences from the leading articles of the *Daily Zamindar* which appeared in its issues of February 25, 26, 27 and 28 last. He gratuitously assumes that the British Government has been described as an alien Government which has destroyed the nationality and religion of the people over whom it rules, and has been compared unfavourably with Russia, the Balkan States, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and the Philippine Islands. Here again the incorrigible translators have caused Mr. Tollinton to do the grossest injustice to the *Daily Zamindar*. The fact is, it never described the British Government as such, and never instituted any disadvantageous contrast. Its point was that even the most tyrannical and barbarous Governments had respected and tolerated the law of Islam under which Muslims were governed elsewhere, and it would be monstrous to suppose that a just and constitutional Government as the British Government would fail to concede our just and reasonable demands if we pressed them in a proper manner. This attitude is abundantly clear from the opening lines of the leading article dated February 27, which run thus :—

"It is a constitutional Government. Its laws are just. It never tolerates injustice intentionally. Muslims acknowledge it to be a Muslim Government; Hindus regard it as a Raj of their own faith; while, in the opinion of the bulk of the population, it is superior and very much superior to both Muslim and Hindu Governments."

The article then reproduces the trenchant criticisms of the *Pioneer* and the *Englishman* on the "Official Secrets Bill," comments on the repressive nature of the Press Act, refers to the budget-speech delivered by Lord Morley in 1906, and winds up with the following characteristic remarks :—

"Whatever its shortcomings, the people of India are attached to the British Government, and we hold the view that it is the sacred duty of every child of the soil to be firmly attached and devoted to the Crown. But the question is whether the stability of the British Government does not rest upon the maintenance and integrity of the two basic components of the British constitution—*viz.* the Legislature and the Executive. Is it not expedient that, while preserving its prestige intact, efforts should be made to make the Government universally popular by suggesting proper measures of reform."

It is a discussion of these measures in the most respectful language which has disturbed the equanimity of Mr. Tollinton and his chief, Sir Michael O'Dwyer. A bureaucracy, which can afford to spend £ 13,000,000 sterling or thereabout in creating a new Delhi, but cannot provide a few millions for free primary education demanded by the combined voice of India; which pays 80 lakhs of rupees per annum to 8,000 European officials, but disburses a paltry 71 lakhs to 131,000 Indians; which permits Messrs. Black & Sons to publish in India their notorious geographical work full of vitriolic attacks on the nationality and character of Indians, but places an embargo on a translation of "Come over into Macedonia and help us," dealing with the savage treatment of Muslims by the Balkan States; which, in direct contravention of the laws of the realm, interdicts a time honoured religious observance, the rite of sacrifice, and forbids all adverse criticism on the part of the parties affected by this arbitrary order; must not be surprised if a protest is entered against its actions. The *Daily Zamindar* refers to all these grievances in the belief that constitutionally the British Government, as distinguished from the Anglo-Indian oligarchy administering India, is not responsible for them, and that as soon as their true nature is brought home to the Imperial statesmen everything would be put right. Among other things it has discussed the rates of the land revenue obtaining in modern India as compared with those levied under Muslim Governments in former times. It has shown on the authority of Lord Morley that the maximum rate levied by the British Government in India is 65 per cent., and pointed out by way of contrast that the Muslim land revenue has from the earliest times been based upon the principle that the Government should take one-tenth of the produce of the land, leaving nine-tenths to the cultivators. The contrast is certainly unfavourable to the British Government, but the *Daily Zamindar* takes the sting out of the comparison by reminding its readers that "we must not be unfair to the Government, for its expenditure is very great, and without this increase it cannot possibly make up the deficit in its budget." It further assures the poor peasants, whose lot is really to be pitied, that "we must not lose heart, as our Government shares our joys and our sorrows. It will spontaneously introduce reforms and alleviate the sufferings of those who are in distress. England! thou hast always been a protector of the weak. Help us, for we are weak."

In this spirit of humility the Punjab Government sees lurking the dark shadow of treason. Mr. Tollinton, who is obsessed with the one idea that everything that the Editor of the *Daily Zamindar* says or writes is "intended to mislead people and arouse feeling against the Government," thinks that the sentiments of devotion above expressed will stir up agitation among the ignorant masses. He questions the authenticity of the statement made by the *Daily Zamindar* that the "Muslim Governments claimed one-tenth of the produce of the land, leaving nine-tenths to the cultivators," and so far forgets his duty to himself as an English gentleman of polished manners as to call it an "untruth." He then calls upon the Editor, under commands from the Lieutenant-Governor, to publish an extract from Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*, "which shows that the Mughal system at its best under Akbar, following the system of Nousherwan, took one-third of the produce." Finally, he threatens the *Daily Zamindar* with what looks like another forfeiture of security, or something even worse, if it refused to publish the extract in question. The extract has, of course, been published,

with a comprehensive reply calculated to allay the totolly uncalled-for suspicions of the Punjab Government. But, apart from the problematic issues raised by the British land revenue system as compared with the systems of empires long dead and gone, I venture to ask your Lordship whether the vexatious and quibbling spirit manifested in Mr. Tollinton's letter is worthy of a great and dignifed Government so jealous of its prestige? The objections raised by Mr. Tollinton are, as your Lordship will have been pleased to observe, so petty, so paltry, that they are not worth the paper on which they are written; and on behalf of Indian journalism I crave your Lordship's protection against such vexatious treatment in the future.

Your Lordship knows that we Indians, irrespective of whether we are Muslim or Hindu, are proud of our connection with England, and our only political ambition is that our position as the 'integral elements of the Empire should be duly recognised. If India is going to remain a part of the British Empire indefinitely, her just and reasonable aspirations will have to be treated with greater condescension. A new class of men who have imbibed British notions of justice and freedom has sprung up. The very atmosphere of India is charged with the new ideas which the civilisation of Britain has imported to the East. We demand that we should be treated as British citizens. We demand that so long as we are true to the British flag, and are prepared to defend the supremacy of England in India against the world, we should be regarded as freeborn men. If Mr. William Digby can write "Prosperous British India," and yet remain loyal to the British Government; if Mr. Thorburn can make his famous pro-zamindar speech at Simla and still continue to be a well-wisher of the State; if Sir Edward Carson can even smuggle arms and ammunition into Ulster with the object of using it against the King's troops and still retain his seat in the House of Commons; if Mr. Rudyard Kipling, the quondam Sub-Editor of the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore, can call Mr. Asquith and his illustrious colleagues "murderers," "swindlers," "liars," and "thieves," and, in the words of that paper, yet remain entitled to "the position he occupies as an instructor of the public"—I venture to think that the Editor of the *Daily Zamindar*, who is as much a subject of King George as any of these gentlemen, has at least the right of advocating the cause of his fellow-countrymen in humble and respectful language, without incuring the false charge that he is doing his "best to stir up agitation among the ignorant masses by misrepresentation and misquotation which might have mischievous results."

We Indians, who have borrowed our conceptions of journalistic amenities from the English newspaper world, do not lay claim when criticising the Government to follow the example of the *Daily Telegraph*, which has been speaking of the Ministers of the Crown in the following language:—

"Their whole course of action is an unutterable infamy. . . . This question of the relation of the army to the civil authority would never have arisen but for the Government's own stupendous blunders, the consequences of which they are now striving vainly to escape by a stream of cowardly insinuations against the very man whom they have injured. . . . Ministers who utter such pernicious and poisonous nonsense at such a crisis are not fit for the back benches of a suburban debating society. . . . These pledge-bound Ministers who have sworn on oath to commit the foulest treason against democracy that a Government ever conceived are entangled in the nets of their own making."

Like the *Daily Mail*, another pillar of the Fourth Estate, we do not ask for the unbridled license of calling Mr. Asquith a "bully," and expressing the "probability that a plot will be revealed, the disclosure of which, in a famous phrase of Sir Edward Grey's, will bring the Government to 'death, disaster, and damnation.'"

Owing to our peculiar temperament, we have too much respect for constituted authority to imitate the example of yet another representative of British public opinion, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which sets us the following example of what newspaper criticism of Government can be:—"The situation has become intolerable with a Ministry shamed and convicted, growing in malignancy as it declines in power. . . . Englishmen must look with less pity than contempt on the wild efforts of the Government to keep their balance in 'slippery places' by clutching at dirty handholds. Every day adds a fresh chapter to the story of truculence, failure and evasion. Each morning finds their credit more depreciated and their public honour more deeply soiled. . . . Hence the transformation from bully to juggler, the dental extraction of one damning fact after another, the explanations, and explanations of explanations that leave the country with a suffocating sense of bad faith and a universal impression of false coin. . . . Selfish and guilty fear is the only state of mind that will fully explain the wild rushes and collisions of their subsequent procedure."

We do not want to follow even in the footsteps of Anglo-Indian journalism as represented by the *Statesman*, which, flinging Section 4 of the Press Act in the teeth of its administrators, speaks of the "cruelty and folly" of the "interested" Viceroy, who is "wasting the resources of a comparatively poor people upon a luxurious toy, meaning the new Dehli.

No, we Indians have much too great a respect for our sense of propriety and decorum to abuse and denounce the Government in this frantic, irresponsible way. All we want is that we should not be called upon to pay a crushing fine when we happen to point out conclusively to the Government that their officials have recklessly demolished one of our temples; that our presses should not be confiscated when we casually suspect the moral rectitude of Piccadilly; that we should not be regarded as the enemies of England if we indulge in that hackneyed platitude that as compared with England India is poor; and that we should not be accused of "veiled treason" when we have only appealed to the liberality of the Government by crying out:—

"O giver-away of orchards grant me some boon, I pray thee."

In conclusion, while apologising for the inordinate length of this representation, I beg to draw your Lordship's attention to one outstanding fact. The past three years have synchronised with a period of unprecedented stress and storm in the annals of Islam. Outside India a series of the most awful catastrophes has befallen Muslim countries, shaking to its very foundation the integrity of Islam as a factor in world politics. While these calamities were producing convulsions of sympathy throughout the length and breadth of Muslim India, an incident occurred within India itself which went like a dagger through the heart of the Muslim community. The *Daily Zamindar*, in common with other organs of Muslim opinion, had its share in determining the temper of the community. Like a mirror it faithfully reflected their hopes and their fears, the poignance of their anguish and the strength of their determination to do nothing which might sully their traditional devotion to the Crown. When it looks back to the past it finds itself in the proud position of exclaiming with the rest of the Muslim Press that not one solitary instance can be cited in which anything was done by the Muslim community, severally or collectively, as a result of newspaper activity, to merit the slightest reproach. Even the Viceroy, in receiving the Muslim Deputation, admitted as much. Is it not rather late in the day for the Punjab Government, now that peace has been established in Europe and Asia, and normal conditions have been resumed in India, to accuse the *Daily Zamindar* of doing its best to stir up agitation among the ignorant masses by mischievous misrepresentation? Circumstanced as Indian journalists are, in view of their inability to retort in the vigorous language of the *Daily Telegraph* or the *Statesman*, it is cruel of the Punjab Government to apply such uncalled-for and unjustifiable remarks to me as "mischievous" and "untrue" and as being actuated by a desire to "arouse feelings against Government." Against these gratuitous insults I crave once more your Lordship's protection.

Trusting that the liberal traditions that your Lordship has inherited from all that is good and lovable in England will inspire you to grant His Britannic Majesty's helpless Indian subjects greater scope in expressing their innermost thoughts as required by the British Constitution.

I have the honour to remain, my Lord, your most devoted servant.

ZAFAR ALI KHAN,

Editor of the *Daily Zamindar* (Lahore).

13 Crossfield Road, Swiss Cottage,

May 15, 1914.

India and the Empire.

THE *Times* has published the follwing letter from Mrs. Annie Besant:--

Outside the domestic problems of Ulster and the women's war Great Britain is faced with two problems in the East which will tax to the utmost her political sagacity, and it is not too much to say that her success or failure in building a world-Empire will depend on the fashion of their solution.

The first is that of Indian emigration, and the right of Indians to travel freely throughout the Empire and to settle in it where they will. This chiefly effects the labouring classes of the vast Indian population, seeking an outlet for subsistence abroad, since many of the home industries have ceased to be life-supporting; to some extent their difficulties in gaining a livelihood in India may be diminished by the demand for labour in tea, coffee, and other plantations, where

wages tend to rise in consequence of the scarcity of coolies and by the improvement of village life by the spread of co-operation and the revival of weaving and other handicrafts. These remedial tendencies are, however, inevitably slow in their action, and the area over which they must spread for effective usefulness is so huge that, while they may slightly lessen they cannot obviate the necessity for emigration in search of livelihood. The educated class is touched by the question of the emigration of the labouring population mainly through sentiment—the feelings of kinship with those immediately affected, of indignation against unfair treatment meted out to fellow-countrymen, of race-pride smarting under the imputation of inferiority. The late agitation in India over the South African troubles—that had to danger-point when Lord Hardinge's statesman-like sympathy saved the situation by associating the Government with the popular feeling—joined all classes together for the first time in a national protest, and made India feel her strength as a united people; its practical success in gaining a large measure of relief is hailed as a sign that Indian public opinion is no longer voiceless and impotent, and that Indian public opinion is no longer voiceless and impotent, and that Indian feeling can be affectively aroused in defence of Indian interests. To the educated class this question of emigration is only part of the larger problem—the position of Indians in the Empire as inferiors or as equals; and it is this second question which is greatly the more important, although the emigration may seem to be more immediately pressing.

The Ideal of Liberty.

Since the famous educational minute of Lord Macaulay, England has steadily held up before the eyes of the youths receiving English education in Government schools and colleges the ideals of English liberty, English constitutional government, English systems of local and national self-rule; she has aroused Indian admiration for her ordered freedom, for her warm sympathy with autocratically governed nations when they strove to win their liberty, for her shelter of political refugees, and her refusal to surrender to infuriated Government those who had taken sanctuary on her soil after the commission of political crimes. Several generations of Indians have grown up in the belief that England loved liberty, that when she saw political unrest she advised rulers to seek its causes and to remove them that repression of the voicing of complaints was folly, as it merely increased discontent by driving it under the surface, and further, that the repressive policy only deprived the Government of the advantage of knowing what its subjects were thinking, and thus of remedying grievances which might cause serious danger when concealed.

The events of the last few years have inflicted a rude shock on these, beliefs; Indians who have been taught the value of liberty, that "taxation without representation is robbery," that "Government rests on the will of the peopel," find that what England treasures for herself she refuses to them. And they find, with still greater pain, that England, face to face with political crimes, adopts all the methods she has hitherto blamed in others—repression of free speech, prohibition of public meetings, securities from the Press forfeited by the arbitrary will of the Executive, house-searchings by the police, deportation without trial, detention in prison without trial, proclamation of districts entailing the necessity of obtaining permission for any public meeting, police espionage, &c., Russian methods used by free England and the forfeiture of the freedom of all law-abiding people because a few desperadoes have committed crimes. No one who does not live as a friend among Indians can know the deep resentment felt by them against such methods employed by a country they loved and admired. The suspicion of their loyalty shown by Government has bred suspicion in them, and there is a widening gulf between the officials and the educated class.

The growing sense of self-respect, of patriotism, and of public spirit, fostered by English education and by contact with Englishmen, will no longer accept benevolent patronage with gratitude; Indians demand to be treated as equals, and not as a "subject race"; they refuse to regard colour as a disqualification for any office in a coloured nation, and demand that Queen Victoria's proclamation of 1858—India's Magna Charta, as they fondly call it—shall no longer remain a dead letter. The best men are standing out of Government service because they will not tolerate supersession by Englishmen inferior to themselves, merely on the ground of colour, and because they will not subject themselves to arrogance and discourtesy. They say frankly that the best men no longer come out to India, whether as Judges, civilians, or professors, and that fifth-rate Englishmen should not be preferred to first-rate Indians. They claim at least equality in Government service, and some say that where qualifications are equal the Indian should be preferred in his own country to the foreigner. Government service will be increasingly manned by an inferior class of Indians unless conditions are altered and colour ceases to be regarded as a mark of inferiority.

I leave aside here questions of social difficulties: the exclusion of Indians from clubs, the insults often offered to them if they travel first class on railways, the refusal to admit them to railway bedrooms at night, the readiness to strike men of the lower classes and even sometimes of the higher, the light punishments inflicted where a blow or a kick causes death, the keeping of Indian gentlemen waiting in verandahs sometimes for hours when they visit officials—a whole long list of social affronts which cause unending bitterness. The Indians say that social equality will only come with political equality, and I believe they are right.

Political Demands.

Their political demands are easily formulated. The National Congress and the Muslim League both demand self government—self government within the Empire. They demand that the representation granted by the Minto-Morley reforms shall be made effective, by not outnumbering the representatives on the Supreme and Provincial Legislatures with official members; the representatives are in a perpetual minority, and can only criticise, they cannot legislate. Gradually, all members of such bodies should be elected, and the Government should be responsible to the Legislature.

The Press Act must be abolished, and Press criticism must not be regarded as sedition. The sweeping clauses of the Act can catch legitimate criticism within the net of sedition, and every Indian editor lives under the sword of Damocles. The promise of protection by the revision of the High Court has proved to be a delusion, and amendment at least should be granted if abolition be refused.

Indian candidates for the Services should be placed on an equality with English ones by the establishment of simultaneous examinations; at present the Imperial Services, which give higher social position and higher pay—the Civil Service, the Medical, the Educational, the Bar, the Engineering—can only be intered by residence in England. When the youths come over to England they find difficulties placed in their way; the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge restrict admission, the Medical colleges are doing the same, the Bar has raised the conditions of admission, the Institute of Engineers demands higher qualifications from the Indian then from the English students.

The separation of the executive and judicial functions of the magistrates is needed for the fair administration of justice; counsel, witnesses, litigants have to follow an inconsiderate magistrate who fixes a place 20 miles away for a hearing, to suit his convenience for other work. The unfairness is admitted, but no remedy is found.

Representation on the India Council is asked for, and this will probably be granted, though to a lesser degree than is asked.

Now that there is talk of federating the Empire, this question of India becomes pressing. Great Britain, Ireland the Colonies, are spoken of as federated countries; India is always left out. If she is shut out of the Empire as a self-governing country, will she be to blame if she refuses to remain in it as a dependency? If her sons are shut out of the Colonies, will she be to blame if she shuts out all colonials? If the white man lords it over the Asiatic outside Asia, shall not the Asiatic be at least his own master within Asia? The educated Indian is a highly cultured, courteous, noble-hearted, patriotic gentleman; is he always to be shut out from the best in his own country? Is he never to be free among free men? Is he never to be estimated by his character, his brain, and his heart, but always by the colour of his skin? There is no finer class in the Empire than that composed of the educated Indians. They offer an intelligent loyalty, the loyalty of citizens and of free men. Ill will it be for the Empire if it rejects their love and disregards their loyalty. For India is awakened into national self-consciousness, and her tie with Great Britain can only be preserved by her freedom. Free, she will be the buttress of the Empire; subject, she will be a perpetual menace to its stability.

Lord Kitchener's Report on Egypt.

We reproduce the following extracts from Lord Kitchener's annual report on Egypt:—

The Capitulations.

Very brief reference is made to the Mixed Tribunals and the Capitulations. In the concluding paragraphs of the Introduction we read:—

I have little to add to the remarks which I made last year on the subject of the Mixed Tribunals, though, so far as procedure is concerned, I am glad to be able to note that some little progress has been made of late. In my immediately preceding report I was able to record the introduction of certain reforms in the procedure for the recovery of mortgage debts, and for the seizure and sale of land in execution proceedings. Some further improvements in procedure, of a more general character, were effected in the past year. A new law has abolished certain dilatory proceedings, by means of which unscrupulous debtors were enabled to delay their creditors and retard the payment of their debts. The same law has

also restricted third-party claims in execution proceedings, reduced delays in the service of writs, amended the regulations as to costs, and introduced some other minor reforms in the existing system.

But the main question of organisation remains unsolved. Nor am I able to foresee the possibility of effecting any radical improvement in a situation the faults of which are inherent in the existing system of the "Capitulations." The fundamental modification of this system has been urged in the annual reports emanating from this Agency for many years past, and it may be hoped that a settlement of the question will not now be much longer delayed.

Public Health Department.

The Public Health Department receives much attention in the Introduction. It is noted that the Lunacy Section has been made into a separate Department, and that the Veterinary Section has been handed over to the Ministry of Agriculture, which will give the P.H.D. a "freer hand and more time to deal with problems appertaining to the health of the people."

The Ophthalmic Division has been strengthened by the addition of two inspecting surgeons, so that, in addition to the director, there is now a staff of four inspecting surgeons and thirty hospital surgeons.

So far as the central organisation is concerned, a Board of Health, composed of five members with the Director-General of the Public Health Department as president, is being formed. It is to be a consultative and advisory body without executive duties. The opinion of this Board will be taken on all important subject. . . .

These additions and changes will enable the Public Health Department to take up the investigation of the more prevalent diseases, such as ankylostomiasis and bilharziasis, which are so widely disseminated through the Delta, and cripple so large a precentage of the population, thus seriously affecting the economic condition of an agricultural country like Egypt. The ova of bilharziasis have been recently discovered in the tissues of mummies of the Twentieth Dynasty, and it is therefore high time that serious steps should be taken to prevent the continuity of infection that has been going on so long in this country. Pellagra, infectious eye diseases generally such as acute opththalmia and trachoma, typhus fever, and other kindred diseases, and the causes of the abnormally high rate of infantile mortality, will all be subjected to a most careful examination.

Health in the Villages.

The remarks upon the sanitary—or insanitary—condition of the average Egyptian village are full of interest :—

In the villages throughout the country we find conditions favourable to the life history of the parasites giving rise to such diseases as ankylostomiasis and bilharziasis, which depend for their spread on conditions of soil and water and insanitary surroundings such as are usually found in this country. It is only within comparatively recent years that sanitary reforms have been applied to Egypt, and these mainly in the large towns and health resorts. The results of these returns have been sufficiently encouraging to warrant their extensions in a modified manner to the villages. . . .

The construction of the villages and their surroundings are generally such that a standard of sanitary excellence in accordance with Western notions can only be very slowly achieved. The houses are overcroweded congeries of mud walls, badly built and badly ventilated. There is generally an entire lack of conservancy arrangements, and man and domestic animals live in close relations. The water supply is mainly from canals which are open to all sorts of contamination, and as the subsoil water is near the surface, pools abound almost everywhere and a condition of thing exists which we find suitable to the development of ankylostomiasis and bilharziasis. Further, to build a village mud bricks have to be made, and the consequent removal of soil causes depressions round each village. These are subsequently filled with stagnant subsoil water polluted with organic matter of all sorts, thus creating a fruitful source of disease. These so-called "biraks" are gradually being filled up, with evident advantage to the health of the inhabitants. The land thus reclaimed is useful for relieving the congestion in the village and to provide open spaces for the inhabitants.

Within the last few years much has been done to improve the sanitary conditions of the country; and it is gratifying to note that the people themselves "have to some extent overcome their dislike of sanitary measures":—

The notification of infectious diseases is now general, and concealment is the exception and not the rule, as formerly. The people no longer object to be isolated for infectious diseases. They come willingly for medical help, and increased facilities are being afforded them to obtain first aid, especially in cases of infantile diseases. It is a very striking fact that a few years ago it was a matter of the greatest difficulty to account for and medically examine pilgrims who return to their homes from the Hedjaz. This now proceeds quite smoothly, and instead of being run to earth with difficulty in their villages, they come of their own accord to be examined.

In this connection a remark elsewhere (P. 11) of the Report is of interest :—

Hospital accommodation in Egypt has been slightly increased, and a satisfactory feature is that a larger number of patients now come voluntarily into the hospitals. The prejudice which has existed for so many years in Egypt against hospitals of all kinds is gradually disappearing. This is chiefly due to the fact that the Egyptian medical officer who staff these hospitals are better educated and more efficient in their work than in years gone by. The standard of nursing has also been raised, and more attention is given to the training of the attendants.

As one of the means for improving the sanitary condition of the villages the Report suggests.

The organisation of a system of village sanitary inspection, consisting of about one inspector for ten villages, who would report to the Markaz doctor all that happened in regard to health questions and sanitary matters in the villages under his charge. A soldier who had served his time and become a non-commissioned officer in the Egyptian Army, with a little training in this kind of work, would probably make a very suitable sanitary inspector. The improvement in the villages themselves would then proceed on lines of proper conservancy (which would do much to prevent ankylostoma and bilharzia infections), the filling up of "birkas," the erection of decent, ventilated houses, and the arrangement of a purer water supply.

The measures already taken to combat ankylostomiasis and bilharziasis by means of a travelling ankylostoma hospital have met with marked success. An active campaign is also being carried on against ophthalmia and trachoma; and the establishment of maternity schools and children's dispensaries in the provincial towns are amongst the steps already taken to check the high rate of infantile mortality.

The Five-Feddan Law.

Regarding the Five-Feddan law, the Report remarks that "the prediction that the diminution of credit caused by the law would force sales of land and lead to evasion of the law has not been borne out by events. Sales of the land of the category affected by the law show, on the contrary, a decrease, while the number of cases of contracting out of the law have been so few as to be entirely negligible." A table shows that the number of properties of 5 feddans and less under debt is 619,197; their total area, 619,214 feddans; the total indebtedness of their owners, £E15,990. 60—which gives an average of £25,828 per debtor. And the Report observes :—

It will be seen from the above table that the appalling weight of approximately £E16,000,000 of debt has to be borne by the poorest class of cultivators of the soil in this country, and is distributed amongst only 5 per cent. of the population. The fact that an average of over £E25 per feddan of debt exists on a very large number of properties, constitutes, when the high rate of interest is considered, a dangerous financial situation for a considerable number of their owners.

The Financial Situation.

The bulk of the section of the Report dealing with the financial situation of the country consists of extracts from the Financial Adviser's Note on the Budget (which was fully dealt with in *The Near East* of April 3). Lord Kitchener expresses his concurrence with that Note generally, and his opinion that the changes introduced this year "represent a very important improvement in the administration of the finances of the country," and that "great credit attaches to the officials who are responsible for their inception and elaboration." Regarding the Eyptian debt we read :—

On December 31, 1912, the total outstanding capital of the Debt was £94,349,680, and the charge on account of interest and sinking fund £E3,552,000. Debt to the amount of £147,140 was paid off during the year. The total capital therefore amounted to £94,202,540 on December 31, 1913, and the annual charge for interest and sinking fund to £E3,552,000.

It has, however, to be borne in mind that stock to the extent of £5,459,920 is held either by the Government or by the Commissioners of the Debt. The interest on this amount is £E200,000.

The total amount of Debt in the hands of the public was therefore, at the end of last year, £88,472,620, involving an annual charge of £E3,352,000

Railways.

The railways estimates provide for the completion of the Zifta-Zagazig line and the continuation of the Zayat-Menuf line. The new bridge over the Ibrahîmia Canal at Assiût will be

completed, and that over the Nile at Embaba will be continued. Work will be begun on the new station at Alexandria and on the new Pont-Limoun station in Cairo. Provision is also made for relaying of track, improvements to stations and signalling, construction of staff quarters, additional rolling stock, and improvements of the Upper Egypt auxiliary lines.

1913 has not been such a good year for the railways as 1912. There has been a decrease in traffic and a corresponding reduction in receipts, which are £E3,819,000, as compared with £E3,916,000 in 1912. The decrease is mainly in cotton and cotton seed, but also to a small extent in building material, sugar, and onions. The number of passengers travelling has decreased some-what, mainly owing to the new Cantonal Courts, which have enabled people to get their minor cases settled without travelling to the towns.

The auxiliary railways of Upper Egypt show a slight increase in earnings compared with 1912. Passengers have increased. This is mainly due to the opening of the Beni Suef-Lahun line. The Luxor-Aswân line has done well. There is a slight decrease in receipts, as in the other branches, but the reduction in expenditure more than counterbalances the loss in receipts.

The total length of the light railways of Egypt (*viz.*, the Egyptian Delta Light Railways, the Chemins de Fer de la Basse-Egypte, and the Fayûm Light Railway) now open amounts to 1,280 kilom., an increase of 32 kilom. as compared with 1912. The increase is due to a new line from Salahib to Baltim, which has been constructed by the Delta Light Railway Company.

Agriculture.

A table (page 28) gives the total areas under the chief crops in 1913 as being:—Cotton, 1,723,094 feddans; wheat, 1,305,578 feddans; barely, 369,158 feddans; rice, 242,367 feddans; maize, 1,632,556 feddans; millet, 220,204 feddans; and sugar, 48,468 feddans.

There is a growing demand for Government cotton-seed, 30,096 ardebs having been distributed to cultivators in 1912, as compared with 42,273 ardebs the previous year.

Cotton-seed breeding at Giza and Qorashîa has resulted in the production of four new strains of cotton. These have been submitted to a committee of experts in Alexandria, who recommended one variety for propagation on an increased scale. By subsequent experiments it is hoped to obtain an earlier maturing cotton which can be harvested before the boll-worm has time to hatch.

By means of thirty-eight demonstration farms, during the past year endeavours have been made to show the small farmer how to improve the cultivation of the soil by employing the means and labour at his disposal in a more intelligent and economical manner than formerly.

The unduly large discharge outlets from the canals have been replaced by pipes of varying dimensions, according to the size of the area to be served. It is hoped that this change will tend to check the over-watering of the soil, an irresistible temptation to a peasantry who have for centuries had to contend with summer drought, and thus minimise the risk of over-saturation, which is as bad for the cotton crop as insufficient moisture. Experiments in the application of water on the soil have been continued, but with varying results in different localities, due, perhaps, to low flood.

The measures taken against the cotton-worm, the common boll-worm, and the pink boll-worm are described in detail.

As to cotton markets (halaqas) we reap :—

Experience in 1912 has shown that certain of these halaqas were badly situated. These have been suppressed and others opened to replace them in more suitable localities. There has been a remarkable discrepancy in the results obtained by the halaqas in different districts. In certain places they have met with great success and evidently respond to a long-felt need: in others they have failed to meet with much support. On the whole there has been an increase of approximately 50,000 kantars entering the halaqas in 1913, as compared with the previous season.

An arrangement for the sale in the halaqas (by the Provincial Councils on behalf of the Khedivial Agricultural Society) of manure "has been an unqualified success, and is being extended."

Russia and England.

(By. H. G. Wells.)

[Mr. Wells has a faculty for observation among the best possessed by a mordern writer. He has just been to Russia for the first time. He sees there a striking similarity in outward appearance between the English and the Russian, a similarity that America usually does not think of as existing between these races. But when it comes to essentials of character and thought he believes the Russians are very different from the English, simpler and more direct. And they care more for spiritual things.]

"And about our difference, that naturally is a large part of my armful, for the first interest of the foreign visitor to any country is the making of comparisons. Are the English and Russian remarkably alike or remarkably dissimilar? So far as the look of things goes, it is the likeness surprises me. Russians certainly look more like Englishmen than any other people I have ever been among. They not only look like Englishmen but they move like Englishmen, they hold their hands, and arms and sit in chairs like Englishmen and their disposition in costums is English. And the Russian women are English too, with a kind of natural freshness and an inattention to smartness that contrasts vividly with the French or American women. They are far more English than the Americans in style and carriage and intonation. You can tell whether people talking in the next room are English or American, but not whether they are English or Russian. Coming to Russia as I did by way of Berlin this similarity of Russian and English was the more striking. In Berlin one could distinguish English people thirty yards off. In Russia they are indistinguishable. The audiences at the performances of the 'Three Sisters' and 'Hamlet' that I watched at the Moscow Art Theatre might have been the younger and brighter half of the London Fabian Society the people that poured out into the corridors from the Ballet might have poured out of the Albert Hall. The crowd in the streets, more particularly in the evenings after the shop are lit, is exactly like an English crowd except that most of the men wear fur hats and caps instead of bowlers and that there are no soft felt hats at all. Only once or twice have I been struck by an un-English physiognomy in the population. One of these occasions was when I visited the St. Petersburg People's Place. At that popular assembly there were many Finns and also a number of Great Russian soldiers who had a peculiar broad facial type that is rarely seen in England.

"They reminded me of Gorky and like him they were tall men and they moved slowly and thoughtfully. But the mass of the gathering in its physique and manners was exactly like what one would see at a festival in the People's Place at Whitechapel except that there were far fewer Semitic faces. And the distinctive beards and caps of the cabmen in St. Petersburg and Moscow bring out the fact that many of them have pointed noses with incurved bridges, a sort of nose that is uncommon in Britain. But is it just the universal likeness that throws up peculiar individuals and peculiar little features of this sort. I find I sit easily with Russian even when we cannot exchange a word of comprehensible speech, I feel I know what their motives and what their movements are going to be and why they look at me and what they are going to think. Our English sources of information about Russia come from peculiar people who suffer from peculiar grievances. They had left me quite unprepared for this intimate resemblances.

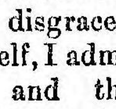
"Subsequent experience have not removed this first impression of an astonishing resemblance and sympathy; they have only added to it something else. And that something else is realization of a profound difference. I perceive now more clearly than I did at first that not only are the Russian and the English as alike as two gloves but that they are as different as left and right. They are as different as east and west, as positive and negative, as midday and midnight, albiet the figures are the same. Or perhaps, to take a better image, they are as different as a wood engraving and a color print of exactly the same thing.

"I do not discover any explanation for this difference, I cannot even say whether it is something in the training and tradition or something in the race. It comes to me in a variety of aspect and all I can do is to tell just one or two of the chief of these. And quiet the chief is that the Russian is profoundly religious. Italy abounds in noble churches because the Italian are artists and architects; a church is an essential part of the old English social system; but Moscow glitters with two thousand crosses because the people are organically Christian. I feel in Russia that for the first time in my life I am in a country where Christianity is *alive*. The people I saw crossing themselves whenever they passed a church, the bearded men who kissed the relics in the church of the Assumption, the unkept grave-eyed pilgram with ragged bundle on his back and his little tin tea-kettle slung in front of him, who was standing quite still beside a pillar in the same church, have no parallel in England. In comparison England is altogether irreligious. The English churches in our city steet strand, as it were, apart and forgotten; Saint Paul's cathedral floats over London like a neglected ornament in a busy house; if you go in you will find the most beautiful music, the most appreciative of audiences—for it is an audience, not a congregation—and no sense of worship. Visibly as invisibly and all it symbolizes is made up of shadowy grays and delicate visibly as invisibly Saint Paul's cathedral in London lines and soft indistinctnesses, in supreme contrast with the

wrought brass, the burnished gold, the chanting and the smell of incense of Russia.

"Now it is remarkable that when I turn from the Russian altars to what I suppose is the pole of Russian life, to the intelligauza and to the life of the skeptical classes as I find it represented in plays and novels and the stories that are told to me, I still find exactly the same contrast with England. It is not therefore a mere difference of creed that we are dealing with. I still find the Russians earnest and simple and warm and religious. He still believes in a real presence. In the crisis of life the emancipated Russian stops to talk philosophy and weigh moral values as his orthodox brother prays or goes upon a pilgramage. These things are more real to them then action. For both of them there is a tribunal where verdicts matter more than the bare facts, the practicalities of life, the superficalities of life. They may give that tribunal different names or no name at all, but it is there, inside them. 'But what is the good of talking now? asks the Englishman in an extremity, confessing himself entirely engaged by practicality. In an extremity the Russian always talks.

"From plays and books I could, if I had the industry, extract a hundred instances to point this comparison. It is manifest even in suicide. The Englishman kills himself on practical grounds, because the game is up, because he is disgraced, because there is nothing else to be done. He kills himself, I admit rarely. Russians will tolerate misfortunes and ignominies and their own misbehaviour to an extent that Englishmen would declare intolerable and on the other hand kill themselves on a high theoretical score, because life is imperfect or will inadequate or love has gone astray. It is not that they are less realist than the English but because their sense of reality goes deeper. That I think, I must generalize, is the key to very many of the contrasts between us. The English seem to have no real beliefs, their church is a phantom, their monarchy a constitutional influence, their lives ruled by appearances and uncontrolled by conscience and heart searchings. No man talks of his religion or discusses his aims in life it may be that Englishmen have no religion and no aims in life. In default there is respectability. In Russia things are taken seriously. The Russian's soul, just as his churches and his pictures and his children's toys, is done in stronger, simpler, more emphatic colors. His religion is real, his monarchy is real, his life is a business of passionate self-exmination, because he has faith. Russia is full of faith, overflowing with faith, the ointment runs down upon the beard; and I who am an Englishman and have thought much of England all my life, do not know whether England has any faith at all or if only it is very subtly and deeply hidden."—*Harper's Weekly.*



Journalism in India.

In one of his earlier volumes Kipling has a vivid description of an Indian newspaper office on a hot weather night—a description calculated to give pause to the most enthusiastic aspirant to journalistic honours, says a writer in *St. Andrew*, the Scottish Church Magazine. Some of Kipling's pictures are doubtless drawn from his powerful imagination, but when he wrote about newspaper work in Lahore he was simply recalling his own personal experiences. For Kipling began life in a newspaper office, and I sometimes think it is a pity he ever sought a wider sphere of labour. It has sometimes seemed to me that Kipling is not a man of letters—he is only a glorified journalist. And, as everybody knows, there is a big difference between the literary man and the journalist. But I am disgressing.

My first editor in India, by the way, was also the bear-leader of Rudyard Kipling, 'Yes,' he used to say, 'I was helping to run the——Gazette when Ruddy Kipling came, an ugly duckling —a very ugly duckling he was, too—to Lahore.' And in proof of this, he showed me a little papercovered book which afterwards, I suppose, became very valuable—a first edition of 'Departmental Ditties,' I think it was, on the flyleaf of which were written two verses, in Kipling's autograph, inscribed 'To A. M.' and beginning as follows :—

Between the paste pot and the shears,
The awful emblems of my trade—
First fruits of two hot Indian years—
These rhymes were made.

The second verse hails Macdonald (formerly editor of the *Englishman*) as 'pastmaster of my craft'—and Kipling never spoke a truer word. Andrew Macdonald was not only one of the most distinguished journalists who have ever laboured in India, but also the most brilliant and cultured conversationalist I have ever listened to.

Under the Punkha.

Well, journalism in India is, like other occupations carried on in his country, a warm business. The electric fan has modified that condition a good deal, especially at night; but there were few tasks more trying than writing paragraphs or reading proofs in the small hours of the morning when the *punkawalla* had gone to sleep, and you couldn't spare the time to go and wake him, because the printers were howling for copy, and the paper was going to bed in an hour or two.

The journalist who comes to India from an English paper must be prepared to find a moral atmosphere less robust than prevails at Home in England, if anybody ventured to go up to a reporter, and offer him money in order to hush up a case, that case would be reported with special headlines as a protest against the insult. But in India the reporters are just the other way. One speedily finds out that a great many cases are reported, or left out because someone has bribed, or has omitted to bribe the reporter. I have even heard of editors being 'got at,' but in such cases I feel sure that they must have been editors who had never served any apprenticeship to English journalism. Whatever charge may be levelled against the English newspaper man—of sensationalism, of partizanship, or of Daily Telegraphese—he is absolutely incorruptible.

The Reporter's Artful Aid.

Then, again, some reporters have a festive way of introducing their own comments into the report of a case before the High Court The very first night I ever took late duty in India I came across a proof of the report of a case in which the reporter had calmly inserted a gloss of his own in reporting a speech from the Bench! If that interpolation had gone in the paper would certainly have been committed for contempt of court, I struck it out.

Strange as it may seem, the English journalist in India may be said to wield a greater influence than his '*confrere*' at Home. I mean he may exercise a more direct influence upon events. After all, the average statesman, or politician at Home is not often influenced by what he sees in the press—when he does see it. He is so accustomed to being blackguarded and found fault with by the journals which cater for the other side that he becomes case-hardened. The statesman, or official in this country, is in quite a different position. He seems to develop a curious sensitiveness on the subject of press criticism, and I have heard of high officials being so upset by things that have been said about them in the papers, that they have been known to drop their monocles out of their optics through sheer nervousness.

Bringing Pressure to Bear.

The most remarkable instance in my experience of what can be done by a newspaper in the way of bringing pressure to bear even upon a high and mighty Government like that of India happened a long time ago when plague was a new experience for India—so new, in fact that it had not reached Calcutta at all. It was understood to be 'raging' in Bombay but it had not attempted to cross India and naturally the Calcutta people were not in the least anxious that it should. One fine day however the proprietor of the paper which then monopolised my energies received private information that the Government of India proposed to rail Haj pilgrims from the Bombay side down to Diamond Harbour, where a camp was to be established for them, and whence the pilgrim ships were to convey them to the Hedjaz. We knew there would be a row over this, if it became known because if any cases were reported in the camp at Diamond Harbour Calcutta would inflict a blow upon her trade. My proprietor accordingly made a determined attempt to interview the Viceroy who was then in Calcutta but was refused an audience as his Excellency was just about to start for Barrackpur. The Burra Sahib offered to go to Barrackpur to see him but this offer was civilly declined.

Then he got angry. 'Look here' he said to me, when his second attempt failed, 'we have now got to show this thing up. Just write me a strong article pointing out the madness of this scheme and see whether that will not have some effect.

I wrote an article about it, accordingly pitching it fairly strongly and the result far exceeded my modest expectations. This article appeared on Monday morning. In an hour telegrams were speeding to the tea districts in Assam, the jute districts in Bengal, the coal districts—everywhere. At noon a special meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce was held to protest against the idea; and this protest, together with similar resolutions passed at a number of centres in Assam and Bengal was forwarded to the Government before nightfall. Simultaneously the Home cables were set in motion. The protests were telegraphed to London and appeared in the evening papers. A question was put in the House of Commons that night; and the very next morning the Home Government cabled out orders to stop the business. A crowded 24 hours was it not? Experiences like this make one feel for the time being that one is not quite the fly upon the wheel that one is apt to imagine oneself generally. It makes up for a lot—for the climate, the low ideals which surround one, the difficulties of bringing out a paper at all, the feeling that one is remote from the full tide of political and social life which flows so strongly through the great arteries of Europe.

Personal Experience derived by the learned proprietor of the daily paper of our Moslem brothers.

The Proprietor of the "Akhbar i-Islam," the leading daily of Bombay, in the issue of the 30th January 1913, writes: "The well-known native physician, Dr. Kalidas Motiram of Rajkot, has obtained numerous certificates for his medicines that have stood a successful test to diseases pertaining both to males and females on account of his long-standing experience in the line and has got them registered in Government amongst which, the Royal Yakuti Ananga Vilas, the best tonic, has been very attractive in as much as it makes fresh and youthful blood run in all parts of the body, gives stability to genuine manhood removing all diseases of the body. We had an occasion of giving a trial to a tin of the said pills from which we have been convinced of the fact that the praises regarding the pills made in the advertisement appearing in this paper under the signature of the said doctor are quite free from exaggeration and it is therefore that we specially recommend the use of the pills for persons having a lean body and suffering from debility."

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Supplement to The Comrade, Delhi, dated the 20th June 1914.

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Though hundreds of valuable books and tracts treating of the above subjects have already been published from time to time e majority of them have the disadvantage of being bulky volumes dealing with abstuse doctrines in Persian or Arabic and e sold at very high prices. The general public can neither afford to buy them nor do they possess ability sufficient to master them have time to search out important facts therefrom. In plain words, there are few books to be found in simple Urdu or simple glish suitable to the tastes of the rising generation and the public at large. The promoters have, therefore, resolved to undertake task of propagating such books as are capable of meeting the aforesaid wants; several of these having been translated into English the benefit to those who possess a special taste for the language; and this plan will in future, always be observed. The books at are in both English and Urdu will, it is hoped, be of considerable help to students and those who desire to improve their English. nother advantage expected from the works in English is that such non-Muslims and others as are desirous of learning the princis of Islam and can read no language Except English. will study them, which while satisfying them will serve the purpose of eading a knowledge of the tenets of Islam.

1. *APOLOGY FOR MOHAMMAD AND THE QURAN. John Davenport, the book is divided into four parts. (1) ography of Mohammad; (2) the Quran and its Morality; (3) e Charges against Mohammad refuted; (4) Beauties of the ran. The author acknowledged the Holy Prophet to be the l Restorer of the Worship of the One True God; a great igious reformer and legislator, and one of the rarest and most nscendent geniuses the world has ever produced. From its con- ts it is apparent that the book is worthy of perusal by all ers of truth 0 12 0

2. *LECTURES ON ISLAM, delivered at different places India, by Mohd. Alexander Russell Webb, late American nsul. The able lecturer is an inhabitant of America, and con- ced of the insufficiency of the Christian faith entirely re- nced it, devoted years to the study of almost all other igious systems of the world, none of which satisfied him. rther search after truth led him to Islam, which he embraced r thorough study. This pamphlet would serve as a guide to all o seek truth 0 4 0

3. ISLAMIC PRAYERS, (Namaz) Islamic Prayers or vine Services in English, with necessary Instructious, Duas vate Prayers, Sermons, a Table of Periods, and Names of ayers, with a tract on prayer, &c.

4. MERITS OF ISLAM OR THE PRIMITIVE FAITH. U. R. H. Snow, M.A.U.S., a Catechism of Religious Belief with compendium of notes based on reason aud divine authority, nded on history, logic, science, philosophy and common sense, l recommended to the notice of conscientious, liberal-minded l sensible people of all classes and creeds ... 0 3 0

5. *MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF VARIOUS RELIONS OF PRE-ISLAMIC ARABS, a useful book, giving an ght into the character of the Arabs 0 3 0

6. SABBAH MO-ALQA. The famous book of poems of erent poets. Best English translation from Arabic... 0 10 0

7. FAITH OF ISLAM. An explanatory sketch of the ncipal Fundamental Tenets of the Muslim Religion, by W. H. illam, President of the Muslim Institute, Liverpool. 0 4 0

8. FANATICS AND FANATICISM. A lecture delivered W. H. Quilliam on his renouncing Christianity and embracing m. He found that he was looked upon as a species of monoiac and when he endeavoured to induce people to discuss the pective merits of the two religions he was either laughed at or lted and was styled, as a fanatic. In this lecture the author has stated that there has been a number of different bands of men to whom from time to time the same opprobrious appellation has been applied, and cites instances of George Stephensou, Mr. Rowland, &c., &c., the pioneers of present day civilisation. The book should be in the hands of all who have a scientific turn of mind and wish religious truth to be practically proved to them, 0 4 0

9. POLYGAMY. A lecture delivered by Dr. Mohammad Abdul Gani, B. A. The lecturer has proved by good reasons that a man might have more wives than one if his object of the gratification of his desire, the purity of his mind, and obtanining good offspring—are not accomplished by marrying one wife provided his condition and bodily strength enable him to observe justice towards them all. He may have two wives or three or four, but he can never be a husband of more wives than four at the same time 0 2 0

10. OUR YOUNG GENERATION. By Dr. Mohammad, Abdul Gani, B. A. This lecture deals with the present time in a most suitable manner and supplies one of the wants of the age dealing as it does with our rising generation, on which depends the future of Islam to a great extent 0 2 0

11. EARLY MUSLIMS AND THEIR GOLDEN DEEDS. A lecture in which the lecturer dwells upon the God-fearing and truth-loving Caliphs, and what other celebrated brave, hardy and pious early Muslims after them did in the cause of faith and brotherhood, cultivating knowledge, sciences and arts. The lecture further compares the present deplorable condition of Mohammadans to what it was. A very instructive booklet, 0 2 0

12. ESSAY on the question whether Islam has been beneficial or injurious to human society in general and, in relation to the Mosaic and Christian dispensations. The subject has been treated in an impartial spirit, free from illiberality, prejudice and acrimony. The subject matter is divided into four lectures:—1 On the Advantages derived by Human Society in general from Islam, 2—Refutation of the accusation that Islam has been Injurions to Human Society. 3—Benefits and Advantages which Judaism and Christianity derived from Islam. 4—Advantages derived from Islam by Christianity in particular, 0 3 6

13. WOMEN IN ISLAM. By Sayad Amir Ali, M.A., C.I.E. Judge of the High Court of Judicature in Bengal, India, with the addition of the three articles from the *Mussalman* of India. From what has been said by the European world on the subject one is apt to draw a one-sided and therefore wrong conclusion, and a

NOTE.—The Books marked* are also available in Urdu.

corrective becomes necessary, which our pamphlet supplies. In view of the importance of the subject we recommend the book to all impartial readers, coming as it does from such a high authority as Sir Syad Amir Ali 0 4 0

14. *PROPAGATION OF ISLAM. By Nawab Mohsan-ul-Mulk, translated into English. The love of the author for his religion is well-known and hence requires no introduction, suffice it to say that his reasonable proposals for the spread of Islam are worthy of study 0 4 0

15. THE DOCTRINES OF TRANSMIGRATION OF SOUL REFUTED. The lecture delivered by a Brahmo 0 1 0

16. THE HERO AS PROPHET. A lecture by Thomas Carlyle. No one is unacquainted with the proficiency with which Carlyle has dealt with the subject in his Hero and Hero Worship. It just became the learned author to take a general view of "heroism" and trace it in all Epoch-making men, and he touches the highest mark in his Hero as Prophet. The book is worth the study of Muslims, coming as it does from a Christian 0 2 0

17. MOHAMMADANISM. By G. W. Leitner, LL.D. It is a lecture delivered by the author at South Place Chapel, London. The author is well known Oriental Scholar but what lends interest to the present work is that his views of Islam differ from those of Sir William Muir whom he accuses for misrepresenting Mohammadanism. Coming from suoh a learned man, the book assumes a particular interest for Muslims 0 4 0

18. PRAYER BOOK FOR MUSLIMS. By U. Hamid Snow, Author of the "Merits of Islam." Suffice it to say that the author being a convert to Islam has poured forth his enthusiasm in metres with such effect that even a Mohammadan reading that pamphlet cannot fail to be struck by the ethical spirit breathed in it 0 2 0

19. *FOSTER S ESSAY ON DECISION OF CHARACTER. People have read Mr. Smile's work on Character, but the present pamphlet possesses a peculiar charm of its own and is recommended to all 0 2 0

20. TEACHINGS OF ISLAM. Many books, no doubt, have been written on Islam and different have been the views expressed by different writers but very few have represented it in its true light, and this is what the present pamphlet aims at doing. It serves as a truthful guide to a religion which counts upon millions as its adherents, and to the believers, dazzled by the western light if so it can be called, the worth of the religion they hold to how to practice it and how successfully to live it out. It is a book that none should really be without it 0 6 0

21. TOUCHSTONE OF PHILOSOPHERS By M. Ghulam Mohammad of Rander. This book was intended to be a present to the delegates of creeds at the Great International Exhibition at Chicago and now it becomes a present to all ... 0 4 0

22. PROOF OF PROPHET MOHAMMAD FROM THE BIBLE. We specially recommend this to Muslims, for although there have been dissertations on the life of the prophet by most important English writers, but it required special effort to prove his prophetship from the Bible and we trust our readers will appreciate the labour 0 4 0

23. A LECTURE ON FRIENDSHIP. A useful pamphlet on the subject 0 1 0

24. *A COLLECTION OF 252 AUTHENTICATED MIRACLES OF MOHAMMAD. By Mowlvi Inayetulla. Although the beauties of Islam lie in its preaching the unity of God, yet it required to be borne out by the unique character of the messenger which must prove equal to all emergencies, and it is this want which this booklet supplies for English readers ... 0 6 0

25. TREATISE ON JEHAD. By Mowlvi Abu Said Mohammad Hosain. In this pamphlet the noted author has taken great pains to prove that Jehad is not what Europe in its ignorance has understood by it but that personal safety and the propagation of "faith" is chiefly meant thereby ... 0 8 0

26. *TRUE MANHOOD. A lecture particularly suitable for students working up for a worthy name, ... 0 1 0

27. INTER-RELIGIONARY AMITY. The lecture takes up the question whether it is possible from the Islamic point of view for Muslims to be friendly and affectionate to aliens in religion? The answer is most philosophically borne home to the readers which renders the book interesting ... 0 1 0

28. FITRATULLA, a Lecture, (English Translation) delivered by Dr. Mowlvi Nazir Ahmad Khan, LL.D, at one of the Anniversaries of the Anjuman-i-Himayet-i-Islam. We need not expatiate on the importance of this book being in the hands of Mussalmans, the author's name being a sufficient guarrantee of the marked ability with which the subject has been dealt with 0 2 0

29. TREASURY OF PROVERBS AND EXHORTATION. The value of the Treasury can hardly be expressed in words, it must be treasured up in mind, and well thought over to be of any use, being the outcome of a life's experience of wise men and prophets 0 3 0

30. THE ALCHEMY OF HAPPINESS OR THE KEY TO ETERNAL BLISS. This booklet affords a complete view of Theosophy as understood in these days. The author K. B. Mirza, Deputy Collector, Nowshera, has left nothing to bring out beauties of the Islamic Theosophy as compared with other theocratic religions. We recommend this book to every Muslim, 0 6 0

31. MATERIALISM AND ATHEISM REFUTED. By James Freeman Clarke. The necessity for such a work in these days cannot be sufficiently expressed and though from a Christian point of view, the subject is very ably dealt with 0 4 0

32. THEOLOGICAL ESSAYS, by Amina. The authress a European convert to Islam, and her antiquarian interests find an expression in these. In fact she tries to find the beginning of religious feeling in intuition, tracing it to ages backwards, 0 8 0

33. BACKBITERS AND SLANDERERS. This is much more an exposition of Sura 41 of the Holy Quran, the moral effect of which is admittedly enormous, and may be read with great benefit 0 2 0

34. WOMEN UNDER ISLAM THEIR SOCIAL STATUS AND LEGAL RIGHTS. By Miss Lacy. The actual experience of such souls as Miss Lacy who never rest satisfied unless they see things for themselves contribute much to clear away the mist of ignorance that hung before Europe's eyes for a long time and led to the condemnation of Islam off-handedly, as a most "inhuman" religion. This Lady's residence in Turkey and personal contact with the harem enables her to speak with opinions truly a contribution to Islamic literature ... 0 4 0

35. THE MUSLIM WARS. A Critical Exposition of the popular Jehad, by Mowlvi Charagh Ali. The author has most ingeniously tried to prove by historical facts that most of the Islamic wars were defensive, and waged on the same principle as now recognised by Europe itself "to save and keep one's own." As the question (of Jehad) disturbed the mind of the whole Europe at one time and even still does, in some places, it would be well for the English educated to what our Prophet's Jehad was. They would do well to buy this handy, at the same time, authoritative, pamphlet 0 6 0

36. A DIALOGUE BETWEEN ABDULLAH and MUHAMMAD SHAH. The method adopted in the discussion explaining the Chief, Islamic Tenets is just what would suit the present generation of young gentlemen. The book is an outcome of a long study of their novelistic turn of mind ... 0 4 0

37 FIFTY PRETTY STORIES WITH FIFTY USEFUL MORALS. How useful, and in cases necessary, such books no one can deny, particularly where youthful minds are concerned. In fact such wholesome literature as would mould the character of the rising generation is a desideratum in the Islamic world

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At the end of this book is given an interesting lecture on Muslims in Spain by Mr. Amir Ali 0 4 0

38 PRACTICAL PHILOSOPHY OF MOHAMMADAN PEOPLE, English translation of Akhlaq-i-Jalali, from the Persian of Faqir Jan Mohammad Ashad, by W. F. Thompson. A single sentence of this book signifies as to its contents—"Strive ye, for every one may attain to that for which he has been constituted." It is the failure to attain this worthy goal that contributes, though indirectly, to so much human misery that we see around us. If all human powers were trained and allowed to develop in the direction naturally intended for them we may see less of this misery, and, to say the least, it is this—the training of the human faculties in the right direction—that this book has in view. We may recommend it to all who wish to lead an honourable and useful life. A very uncommon book ... 1 8 0

39. *MANNERS AND MORALS OF THE PROPHET. By Imam Ghizali. The very name of the Imam, so well and deservedly known and praised by Europeans, leaves nothing to be said on the subject, but we may say this much that we have had the book translated especially for our English educated gentlemen, who read of the Prophet of Arabia from prejudiced sources, and hence draw frivolous conclusions 0 2 0

40. THE BEAUTIES OF ISLAM. By Qazi Mohammad Sarfaraz Hosain. The author treats the subject under different heads, each of which is thoroughly gone into the light of the modern knowledge. He lays special stress on religious studies in the modern style 0 4 0

41. SHAHNAMA. The story of Rustam and Sohrab, by Firdausi, translated into English verse, by Robert Baker. The lively and charming style of the Persian poet loses nothing by the translation which speaks much for the translator. A very entertaining book 0 8 0

42. ACCOUNT OF VEDAS. Polytheistic Teaching of Vedas Explained and Refuted 0 7 0

43. USURY from the Islamic point of view. By Mowlvi Mohammad Ali, M. A. The author's ingenuity is remarkable, and as the matter has been discussed in different ways by different men, it assumes a particular importance in these days of progress when everything is required to be explained scientifically. Usuers and their opponents must study it 0 3 0

44. THE PURITY OF THE TEXT OF THE HOLY QURAN. By Mowlvi Mohammad Ali, M. A. It is next to impossible to do justice to the contents of the book in a few lines. The masterly way in which the author calls into question the authority of such noted writers as Imam Sayuti, &c., and compares traditions is a proof sufficient of his ability. As the subject is one which has exercised the brains of men of genius we recommend this book to every æsthetically minded Muslim seeking the beauty and truth of this Grand Book ... 0 9 0

45. 202 ÆSOP'S FABLES WITH 202 MORALS. No doubt the notoriety Æsop's fables have attained makes it unnecessary for us to dilate upon their usefulness, but each fable taken by itself leaves much in its true application, and it is with this view that this book has been got up. It might be useful to young and old with equal benefit, preparing the former for the life's struggle and testifying to the latter's experience in life, 0 6 0

46. UNITY VERSUS TRINITY. The question taken up in this book is a burning one as all would admit, and as such required a most delicate treatment. To avoid running to extreme, like Struss, and other writers on the life of Christ and Bible, a close study of the subject was necessary, which we have not spared. As a result we invite the religious-minded—and where is the man who is not so—to take up this book and find out for himself which side the balance sways 0 9 0

47. MR. SELL ON ISLAM. MR. Sell is but a recent representative of the school of Sprenger and Prideaux, who tried to "jump" upon Europe with their Islamic "enormities," using this as a cover to hide their crass ignorance while posing as authorities on Islam. Time and the purity of Islamic principles have done enough to expose these antiquated views, but a refutation—not a light task—from our side was a necessity. A very handy book for Muslims 0 6 0

48. AN EXHAUSTIVE DISCUSSION ON POLYGAMY PARDAH SYSTEM, DIVORCE AND SLAVERY IN ISLAM. Those who are acquainted with the views expressed by European writers on the subjects at different times in different languages would at once admit the value of this book and hasten to read how these "biased opinions" have been disposed of in a most reasonable manner. Endeavours of Europeans—as an outcome of their ignorance of Islamic literature—have all along directed towards finding fault with whatever is Islamic and does not coincide with their *own* views. Moreover, as all the subjects treated of in this book have an important bearing on the development of Muslim Society, no Muslim should be without it 1 0 0

49. ISLAM AS A MORAL AND POLITICAL IDEAL By Dr. Mohummad Iqbal, M.A., PH. D., Barrister-at-Law, Lahore. It is a calling necessity that the young generation should take an interest in matters Islamic, and this lecture we deem as the direction which others able to tackle with the subject should take Coming as this lecture does from an able gentleman well-known to all, with reamrks by Hafiz Ghulam Sarvar, M A, we recommend it to the Muslim public at large 0 3 0

50. BROTHERS OF PURITY. English translation of Ikhwan-us-Safa (The contest between men and beasts). This book too commands great respect both among the Arabs and the Europeans, conveying as it does practical lessons of daily life which can hardly be learned through the whole course of a life. The beauty of this book consists most in preaching living truth in a most interesting and taking style to the readers. We have put this book within reach of the general public, and those will benefit great who would go the length of spending ten annas to possess themselves of it; it is a treasure of ages 0 10 0

51. SARACENIC SCIENCE AND LITERATURE. By M. Sala-ud-Din of Bankipore. To trace the development of the scientific and literary spirit from such a dusky period as the dawn on Arabic history is truly a work of patient study and toil and the success achieved by the author renders him in every way worthy of perusal by all interested in the progress of humanity in general and Muslims in particular. It also throws light on many other points of which Europe is still in the dark, 0 3 0

52. THE BABI RELIGION. By M. Mohammad Ali, M.A. After all that has been said on Babism by Count Gobineau and others the subject has never been approached from the Islamic side with such ability as has been done by the author. To have a full view of this modern 'imposition' one must read the pamphlet through 0 5 0

53. SINLESSNESS OF PROPHETS. The *motif* of this brilliant composition is to bring before the eyes of the reader, in a philosophical dress, those towering personalities which mark the turning points of the religious conscience of humanity, and, as divine agents to "gather the strayed sheep unto the Lord's fold," proves the sinlessness of prophets in a most convincing manner. Though treating of a somewhat difficult subject, yet the book is written in a light style and deserves to be accorded the highest rank in the Islamic Literature 1 0 0

54. THE PEARLS OF THE ISLAMIC FAITH. Islam, no doubt, is already known to some by its historical development, but its tenets have exercised the greatest brains—both for and against it—and in the publication of this pamphlet we simply meet the public half way in supplying a long felt want. The spirit of the time has obliged almost every religion to dress up "rotten bones" with new flesh, but the beauty of Islam lies in this that each one of its tenet carries conviction in a most simple manner:—*Question*—How? *Answer*—Read this book and you will find it 1 4

55. THE DIVINE ORIGIN OF THE HOLY QURAN. A Reply to the "Sources of Islam." As logically proved in this book, Revd. Clair Tisdall forgot, while writing his Yanabi-ul Islam in Persian, the trite adage that "those who live in glass houses should not cast stones at others." How easily the *divine origin* of the Quran has been proved while laying Muir and Tisdal thread-bare will be seen by every one who reads this book. To say the least, we specially recommend this book to the attention of all reasonable men fond of truth for its own sake, 0 10 0

56. THE SWORD AS WIELDED BY ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY. A COMPARISON—Comparison are truly odious but when the Christians for want of any other plea won't desist from advancing the long exploded accusation about Islam having been spread by the sword it becomes necessery to compare the two religions (Islam and Christianty) and show once for all as to which of them makes the best stand for the rights of humanity and this is done in a most satisfactory manner in the book. This manual is meant for those who love a comparative study of religions 0 3 0

57. THE PRINCIPLES OF ISLAM. By M. Mohammad Ali, M.A. How p ople generally grope in the dark for want of knowledge of the principles of a particular religion and how this lack again gives rise to notions quite contrary to what the religion is founded upon, is obvious in all literatures and it is to counteract this that this pamphlet is published. For English readers it is an actuality. 0 2 0

58. HAS ANY BOOK BEEN REVEALED IF SO WHICH?—In this age of Agnosticism the quesition—Can there be revelation at all—required to be answered and not slurred over, but that Islam of all religions should choose to answer it, at once makes for it authenticity. The author has endeavoured to solve the problem from a religious point of view, and it is this which makes the book worth reading ... 0 3 0

59. DR. KURL KUMM'S ATTACK ON THE HOLY QURAN. By Mr. Mohammad Timur. It was time that Dr. Kumm's vaunted Orientalism should have been put to test. With a very few exceptions European writers have always been inimically disposed towards each other, and the question why? May be answered by ignorance of the former so far as this religion is concerned. A close study of the tenets of religion original and a mere second hand knowledge of them are two different things, and it is the latter disease that Dr. Kumm seems to be suffering from, but he finds a good exposition in M. Mohammed Timur, and with this object in view we re commend the book to our readers 0 3 0

60. THE DOCTRINE OF ATONEMENT.—By M. Abdul Haq. For exposing the absurdity of this doctrine from the stand-point of Christianity itself the authority deserves particular credit, and those who have studied Christianity as a revealed religion will do well to read this pamphlet. It will lead them to truth ... ... C 3 0

61. ISLAM AND HINDUISM COMPARED. With certain notes on certain Christian tenets. This book has not its equel on the subject and is very instructive and important. The study of this invaluable book is absolutely necessary. To a non-Muslim it will serve as a guide to know a false from a true religion and by curing his prejudice render him "citizen of the world," pages 372 ... ... 1 8 0

62. THE SPREAD OF ISLAM. An elaborate account of the advent and development of the Faith and the wonderful sacrifice and perseverance of the Holy prophet and his companions in propagating it. The book is very interesting and impressive, a cursory glance over it makes one believe that this religion is really from God and that the votaries sacrificed and persevered gladly and wonderfully in its propagation 0 12 0

63. The Ideal of Womanhood in Islam ... 0 3 0

64. THE RELIABILITY OF THE TRADITION OF THE PROPHET. Very argumentative and important, 0 3

65 JEWELS OF ISLAM. Even the enemies of Islam have admitted this much that the founder of this Faith was a great regenerator of humanity and as such must be known. In this pamphlet attempt is made to instil into the minds of our student how to become religious as well as remain men of the world, 0 4 0

66. Arabs and Their Intellectual Progress ... 0 2 0

67. Endowment in favour of Children Relations and others by Maulvi Abu Said Mohd. Hosain 0 2 0

NEWS AND NOTES.

A great event of the mutiny of 1857 is that an Englishman refused to save his life by repeating a phrase from the *Holy Koran.*

Four hundred years or so have gone since Bible stories were possible on the London stage. In recent years the censor or censors have permited the devil and all his ways to be treated freely by the dramatist, but any dealings with Bible themes have beensternly forbidden.

It is a fact, that a railway accident strongly touches the public imagination.

No plea of expense must be allowed to interfere with the installation of the method of signalling best calculated to give safety to the hundreds of millions who use the railways every year.

It is peculiar, that when the sinners are doomed they cry. "For God's sake help us out" but no one can rescue them from the wrath of *God and Luw.*

It would appear desirable, that at least for the future, the term "bank" "bankers", etc., should not be allowed to be used except by registered companies.

LIFE AFTER DEATH.

In his presidential address to the British Association, at Birmingham, Sir Oilver Lodge gave a very useful piece of advice to scientists. He urged the continuity of the life of matter and appealed to scientists not to take a negative view of subjects outside their own special studies, but to endeavour to co-ordinate all sciences and establish some guiding and unifying principle for all to study the unknown as well as the known and to abandon their scepticism.

He concluded by declaring that he did not shrink from a personal note. Summarising the results on his own mind of thirty year's experience of psychical research by himself and his co-workers he was convinced that occurences now regarded as occult could be examined and reduced to order by the methods of science, and the facts so examined convinced him that memory and affection were not limited to that association with matter whereby alone they might manifest themselves here and now, and that personality persisted beyond bodily death.

☞ Other works are under preparation. All communications to be addressed to—

THE MANAGER,

THE MOHAMMADAN TRACT AND BOOK DEPOT, PUNJAB, YAKKI GATE, LAHORE.

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A Week

Vol. 7.

No. 26.

WEEK

OUR LONDON LETTER

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Another "Plot"

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