The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal. Edited by - Mohamed Ali.

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

—*Morris.*

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MANAGER'S NOTICE.

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

The Week.

Ulster.

London. July 1.

When the Home Rule Amending Bill came up for a second reading in the House of Lords to-day, Lord Morley pointed out that Ulster's anger at Home Rule and disapproval of it if they remained unabated would lead to a revival of ancient religious dissensions and place the new Government of Irelahd at a great disadvantage. Consequently the Amending Bill had been introduced. There would not be a better opportunity of discovering what amount of common ground existed and he did not believe that the House would reject the Bill. Lord Lansdowne said that the Bill was entirely inadequate to accomplish its purpose, but it was clear that something might be done at the present stage to avert a calamity they could not brush aside. Overtures had been made by Lord Morley who had said that amendments would be carefully considered in the House of Commons and they would give the Amending Bill a second reading and introduce amendments to make it adequate with regard to the area to be excluded, the duration of exclusion and the administration of the excluded area, but they would oppose the second reading of the main Home Rule Bill which was hopeless. They entertained the Amending Bill because they were helplessly entangled in the meshes of the Parliament Act. Lord Willoughby De Broke moved the rejection of the Bill.

Albania.

London. June 25.

The Albanian insurgents have captured the towns of El Basan and Fieri and made two Dutch officers prisoneres.

London, June 26.

The sitution in Albania becomes daily more hopeless. The Queen of Romania has invited the Princess of Albania to send her children to Romania. The Turkish flag floats over the towns which the insurgents have captured.

Durazzo, June 27.

The insurgents have asked for fresh peace negotiations and have requested the Prince to appoint a delegate accompanied by a representative of Great Britain, as they distrust the Government's negotiations.

Turkkau, July 1.

The Albanian Premier has arrived in Rome with the object of persuading Italy and Austria-Hungary to occupy Albania with troops.

Durazzo, July 1.

There are again critical telegrams from Prenk Bibdoda, that the defeated and retreating rebels are advancing with the forces they have concentrated against Prenk.

Indians in Canada.

Victoria, June 25.

A motion for habeas corpus in connection with "Komagata Maru" was made in Vancouver to-day but the appeal will be heard in Victoria. Whatever the result the unsuccessful party will appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada and subsequently to the Privy Council.

The charter money for the vessel has been paid until September 20th, the date for her redelivery at Hongkong.

The board of inquiry has suspended its sittings.

The rumour that a Norwegian steamer has left Calcutta with four hundred Hindus on board is creating a fresh stir here.

Lahore, Jnne 25.

In connection with the situation of the Hindus on board "Komagata Maru" the "Khalsa Akhbar" of Lyallpur has received the following telegram which may throw some light on the situation in Vancouver:—

Vancouver, B., C., June 23.

"Komagata Maru" Indian passengers unlawfully imprisonded on board. Provisions, water, legal advisors, friends prevented. Mass meeting protested such brutal unlawful treatment. Hindustanis can never forget nor forgive. Give wide publicity.

Umrao Singh, Secretary.

Victoria, June 26.

The effort to deport the Indians by other steamships has failed. Canadian Pacific Company has refused an offer of the Immigration Authorities to pay the Indians' pasages.

Allahabad, June 28.

The *Pioneer's* London Correspondent cables:—The *Times'* correspondent at Victoria says that an order for the deportation of one of "Komagata Maru's" passengers was signed on Friday by the head of the Immigration Department at Vancouver. This action will afford a test case for the courts.

Monday has been fixed for the hearing of the appeal against the refusal of permission to land and an application has been

made for writ of *Ha beas corpus* on behalf of the Indians. The object of the application was to anticipate the deportation order. The grounds for the deportation order were that the Hindu had contravened orders in Council by coming indirectly by not having £40 in his possession and by being a labourer.

South Africa.

Cape Town, June 27.

The Senate has passed the third reading of Indians' Relief Bill.

Simla, June 27.

The following telegram has been received by His Excellency the Viceroy from the Governor-General of South Africa:

"Indian Relief Bill has now passed both house of the Union Parliament."

His Excellency the Viceroy has sent the following reply:—

"Am very grateful for good news."

Baghdad Railway.

Allahabad, June 28.

The *Times'* Berlin correspondent says:—Another section of the Baghdad Railway from Jerablus, on the Euphrates, to Tel Abiad, about sixty miles to the east, will be opened on the 1st of July.

London, June 30.

Referring to the Baghdad Railway, Sir Edward Grey said: We agree with Germany and Turkey that the line shall not proceed beyond Busra or the Gulf.

England and Persia.

London, June 17.

In the House of Commons to-day Mr. Churchill moved for authority to take up shares in Anglo-Persian Oil Company. He said the Government were determined to secure the best supplies at a reasonable price. Coal would continue to be the main motive of the Fleet. Government would still purchase oil throughout the world, develop the Home shale-oil experiment of oil from coal and support as far as was financially justifiable the search for oil in the Empire. The Admiralty had no fear of oil famine in time of war. Government experience of the oil trusts was a long steady squeeze, doubling the price in a few years. The present action meant that we should be in a better position in the future. He concluded that it was a good business proposition yet it must look rigger (?) from the naval aspect.

Mr. Churchill proposed to rely on the tribesmens's police and Swedish gendarmerie for the protection of the pipe line.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Ponsonby criticised the possible political consequences of the contract and feared that it would reopen the question of the partition of Persia and give Russia an opportunity of making new important moves.

Mr. George Ambrose Lloyd asked:— Had the Government of India been consulted?

Sir Edward Grey replied :—We had never yet tried to protect or control the trade routes because we did not want to commit ourselves to operations which shall at outset might become larger, but in emergency, the protection of 150 miles of pipe line was not a very formidable operation. Such emergency however would be dependent on certain conditions. One of those conditions would be the failure of every effort by the Persian Government to protect the line and the necessity of immediate action to prevent interruption of the Admiralty's oil supply. But it was not intended to put the Admiralty in a position in which it would be dependent on this supply alone. But suppose protection was necessary he should regard the employment of force from India as a most remote contingency. He would prefer the Persian force British-officered. That would be no infringement of the Persian integrity. Even that was not the most desirable or the most probable course as the tribes had already shown that they realise it is in their interest to protect the working of wells. He asked the objectors to name any part of the world where adequate supply could be obtained, where objections raised on political and strategical grounds would apply less than in aonther. Persia. He dealt at length on the need of maintaining the cordial relations with Russia and explained that neither Russia nor Persia had been consulted because no need for the companies' concession existed before the Anglo-Russian agreement, and the contract had in no way changed it.

London, June 23.

The *Daily Telegraph* states that the intimation, published by an Indian newspaper that as a result of the Turko-Persian Frontier Commission's discussions the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's oil fields at Chia Surkab are in Turkish territory, has been known for months. The paper says British interest has been safeguarded in the Anglo-Turkish negotiations. On the recommendation of the British Government concession of oilfields in Baghdad and Mosul Vilayets was granted to a Turkish Company but the Anglo-Persian Oil Company holds fifty per cent of the capital of the Turkish Company and the right to appoint the President of the Board of Directors. Persian circles fear that there may be Russian claims for compensation in Northern Persia for British Naval oil deal.

London, June 30.

In his statement yesterday Sir Edward Grey said that Government proposed to advance another £50,000 to pay the Swedish Gendarmerie of which half would be borne by India to prevent the force from collapsing. All agreements with regard to the Bagdad Railway were ready for signature and they only awaited the completion of Turco-German negotiations. Britain had agreed to 40 p.c. increase in the Turkish customs which would raise to 15 p. c. With reference to his statement that the line would not go beyond Basra or the gulf Sir Edward adds that it would not do so without some future agreement between Germany and Turkey and us.

Morocco.

London, July 1.

The Workers' Congress in Madrid has decided on a general strike to protest against the war in Morocco. There have been rumours the several hundred Spaniards have been killed and wounded in the fighting near Cueta.

All-India Moslem League London.

London, June 27,

Sir Edward Grey in reply to the All-India Moslem League, says he is fully alive to the evils that would result from a renewal of hostilities in the Balkans and the League may rely on Government doing their utmost in conjunction with the Powers to avoid such calamity.

Austria.

London, June 29.

The assassination of Archduke Ferdinand to his concert at Sarajevo has caused the most profound sensation throughout Europe.

The King has ordered a week's court mourning and the State ball at Buckingham Palace has been postponed.

Indian Students in England.

Lahore, June 30.

The Punjab Advisory Committee for Indian students has issued a circular calling the attention of the students preparing to go to England for professional or other studies that it is practically impossible to gain admission to the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge in october next unless previous arrangements have been made and that all students desirous of entering one of the Inns of Court must obtain certificates from the local Advisory Committee.

Indian Council Reform.

London, June 29.

The *Times* to-day states that though it has no vital quarrel with the Government's general Indian Policy it trusts that the new Council Bill will be rejected. The real meaning of the Bill is that the Secretary of State aspires to rule India on his own responsibility from Whitehall. The *Times* also objects to the election of Indian members which it considers to be at varianc with the whole original conception of the Council

London, June 30.

There was a considerable number of Indians in the strangers' gallery of the House of Lord to-day, when Lord Crewe moved the second reading of the India Council Bill. He said that it was generally agreed that the abolition of the Council although it had been advocated by some, was not practical politics. The present position of the Council was lbriefly that its functions were mainly consultative and advisory. It exercised a restricted veto on certain actions of the Secretary of State and was bound by a series of rigid rules of business founded on Act of 1858. Lord Crewe referred to the importance of having the advice founded on administrative experience but pointed out the danger of worshipping administrative experience as the sole idol. It was a valuable thing to obtain the views of the important section of Indian Opinion and for the reason the Bill proposed to make the appointment of two Indian members to the Council a statutory obligation. For some time, there had been a demand in India that these members should be directly elected to the Council but Lord Crewe did not think that demand reasonable. He doubted whether any instance could be found of such a method of appointing members to a mainly advisory body like the Council. The suggestion that they were proposing to make the Council an administrative body was completely unfounded. They proposed to save time and delay by making some kind of more regular attachment of a particular member to a particular department but they certainly did not propose in any way to make the member of Council the head of a department or even the member of the department.

There was no intention whatever of abolishing the procedure by Council. On the contrary, it appeared that it would frequently be necessary to nominate 'ad hoc' committe es of Council. Lord

Crewe, ridiculed the suggestion that the Secretary of State was grasping at power by eliminating the Council altogether by the proposals of sub-section six, clause two. He pointed out that many so-called secret matters were purely technical and the sole object of the clause was to put into a formal and reasonable shape what had been found by experience to be the only method by which the business of the office could be efficiently and expeditiously carried out. With reference to the objection that too much had been left to be arranged by the rules made by the Secretary of State and not enough included in the Bill Lord Crewe thought that the provision for laying the rules on the table would have been sufficient to meet any charge of arbitrary conduct.

Concluding Lord Crewe said: "I have endeavoured to show that no addition has been made to my powers and that none will be made to those of anyone who may hold my office after me and I have endeavoured to show that the present arrangements are highly cumbrsome and inconvenient. The Bill makes absolutely no difference in the relations of the India Office, Indian Government or the Secretary of State in Council. I defy anybody to point out any respects in which it does make any difference."

Lord Curzon moved the rejection of the Bill. He said that it appeared to him and to overyone of intimate experience with whom he had consulted, to be a bad Bill, radically unsound in principle. The Bill undoubtedly affected, if it did not destroy, some of the principal constitutional safeguards hitherto surrounding the Secretary of State and to introduce the new inappropriate and perilous methods of the appointment of Indian members. He would be greatly surprised if the assent of the Viceroy had been given to some of the principal features of the Bill. It was common knowledge that in its main features, it was the product of Mr. Montague who finding that the existing machinery did not suit his idea set about destroying it to the best of his ability. Regarding the alleged delays in the procedure, it was true that there was for sometimes intolerable delay but his opinion was that the general procedure showed creditable celerity. Lord Curzon asked how reduction in the number of members would work in practice. After deducting two Indian members, one soldier one financial expert and one lawyer from the Council, of seven there would be only two left to represent the interests of the Indian Civil Service. This in the intereste of India would be intolerable. Moreover with the Council of seven or eight, committee system would not be worked at all. Lord Curzon did not think that the fears expressed in India that the Council would be returned into an administrative body were altogether unreasonble. The Bill absolutely repealed the fundamental principles of the Act of 1858 and destroyed the financial safeguards under which the administration of India was carried on.

The protection afforded seemed to him to be valueless. The culminating act was the proposal to extend the categeric secret orders and communications.

Lord Curzon concluded the method of election of the Indian members is indefensible. The Secretary of State will not find in the electoral college or panel, members with experience of administrative work which is essential not in the direction of reducing it in the council wanted reform it was power. What is the good of having enlarged councils in India and at the same time establishing an arbitrary and almost uncontrolled authority in the person of the Secretary of State.

Lord Courtney of Penwith urged that rather than being rejected the Bill should be sent to a Select Committee where the points under discussion could be thoroughly examined. If the expectations which had been held out were reduced to nothing, the India deputation would return to India as messengers of evil omen for the future contentment, welfare and good government of India. There was a grave unrest at present and the only serious and effective way of dealing with it was to consider as exhaustively as possible all the possible ways of introducing the co-operation of Indians. The Committee could mould the Bill into the shape approved by both the sides.

The Debate was adjourned until July 6th.

London July 1st.

During Lord Curzon's speech, and replying to an incidental remark, Lord Crewe interpolated that the provisions regarding election of Indian members were already drafted before he even knew that a deputation was coming to see him.

The *Morning Post* says that if the Bill is to be of any service and not to do mischief it must be carefully and largely amended. The India Council by general admission needs some reform but the present Bill means for all practical purposes the destruction of the Council and leaves the Secretary of Stat almost undisputed. The journal says that the Government seems to be under the delusion that native members of Legislative Councils represent the people of India whereas they represent certain interests and classes.

The *Daily Telegraph* agrees that the Bill is dangerous in so far that it represents a tendency to regard experience and advice as useless.

The *Daily News* says that as the Lords refuse to pass the second reading Anglo-India will rejoice but the greater Indian public will conclude that the Indian demand for a statutory representation on the Council is rejected.

Our London Letter.

London, June 12.

HOME RULE PROSPECTS.

The Prime Minister stated yesterday, in reply to a question, that if the Opposition leaders desired it, the Amending Bill would be introduced in the House of Lords before the second reading of the Home Rule Bill itself was moved there. There can be no objection to this course, provided the Lords are not allowed to use it to delay the Home Rule Bill. The Prime Minister, when he originally announced the amending measure, expressed the hope that the two Bills might become law at the same time. As the *Daily Chronicle* observes, those who thought rather that the best way to help an amending Bill was to make Home Rule law first, and the likeliest way to embarrass it was to let Home Rule appear dependent on its passage, could not entirely share Mr. Asquith's hope; and the temper subsequently shown by the Opposition leaders during the recess has certainly not been encouraging. Both Sir Edward Carson and Mr. Bonar Law (the latter as recently as last night) have made it plain that so long as the main Bill is off the Statute-book, its adversaries will think more of defeating than of amending it. But nothing is lost by bringing in the new measure as soon as possible, the more so as its provisions are already known, the Opposition having refused to come to any terms prior to its introduction.

Undoubtedly the most important development beside the revival of Die-Hardism is the phenomenal growth of the Irish National Volunteers, and their official endorsement by Mr. John Redmond. Already their real numbers exceed, it seems probable, those of the Carsonites, and as they include far more old Army men, their efficiency is likely to be higher also. Moreover, they pay for their drilling, instead of being paid for it. Mr. Redmond seems to have acted very wisely, both in the time which he has chosen for endorsing the movement and the grounds on which he has done so. The Nationalists are seeking, and will obtain, Home Rule by constitutional means. Neither they nor the Government have given the Carsonites any justification for their threat of lawless rebellion. But the threat is there ; it is endorsed by the Unionist party; and practically every Unionist leader and newspaper has been saying that it must succeed, not because Parliament is persuaded by it, but because British Army Officers will refuse to enforce the law against it. They have said freely, that if Nationalist Ireland cared for Home Rule, it would arm as Ulster has armed. In these circumstances Nationalist Ireland has a justification for drilling and arming, which Ulster never had nor has. The development is not meant to lead to—it will rather avert—any sort of collision. It is meant to show that Nationalist Ireland is in earnest, and it shows that unmistakably.

The fact is that Irishmen, North and South, Protestant and Catholic, are very much one people. The "two nations" theory of Ireland propounded by the Englishmen who chatter about "Ulster" at Tory clubs has very little support among the Carsonites themselves. Sir Edward Carson has put forward in Parliament the policy of excluding Ulster, and the Unionists have made it their official demand; consequently the Government have made them an offer on those lines, which will be embodied in the amending Bill. But very few Unionists in Belfast want exclusion. They are against Home Rule, but if Home Rule becomes law they want to be in it and not out of it. The Government's proposals for exclusion are of course purely optional, and will never be anything else. Let us hope that they may finally prove unnecessary, and reconciliation be sought on a truce basis.

QARI SARFARAZ HOOSEIN ON THE "GOSPEL OF ISLAM."

Qari Sarfaraz Hoosein of Delhi, who has come over to this country to help Khwaja Kamaluddin in his missionary work, made his first public appearance before the British public at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday last. He delivered an able address on the "Gospel of Islam." The Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali occupied the chair at the meeting, which was largely attended.

In introducing the Qari Saheb to the audience, Mr. Ameer Ali referred to him as an eminent scholar of Aligarh, who, after having travelled far and wide in the service of Islam, has now come over to England to continue the excellent work that he has taken upon himself as a Moslem missionary.

The lecturer in the course of an excellent address dealt at first with the various schools of philosophy. He proceeded to examine the different ancient systems of religion, not from a "destructive" standpoint—as he was particularly careful to observe—but from a purely

"constructive" point of view; he further went on to show the necessity of a religion like Islam, which could only succeed in perfecting the previously existing systems of the various great religions that had prevailed before the birth of Islam. The Gospel of Islam, the lecturer went on, was most simple. It consisted of "our belief in the unity of God, our acceptance of Mohamed as His prophet and our recognition of peace, good-will, and brotherhood towards humanity at large." Islam recognised no colour or social distinctions. A prince and a peasant were on equal footing and every true Moslem looked upon his co-religionist as a dear brother. There was no other religion that showed greater toleration towards those who professed other faiths than Islam; and, notwithstanding the popular belief that is erroverously held in certain quarters, the holy Koran has laid it down as an axiom that "there shall be no compulsion in religion." It is thus absolutely against the tenets of Islam to exercise the least degree of compulsion in converting people into the faith of the Moslems. This could take place only voluntarily and of their own free will. Prayers and charity were likewise two of the most important elements that occupied a large share in the Islamic teachings.

The Chairman congratulated the Qari Sahib on his instructive lecture, which, he said, was appreciated by everybody present. He was glad he had been afforded an opportunity of being present on that occasion. He failed to see as to why Christianity and Islam could not both work hand in hand. He had humbly worked for forty years in the service of Islam and he thought he had succeeded in some degree to remove the misunderstandings and misconceptions that unhappily prevail in this country concerning the great religion of the Moslems. It was sometimes very disappointing to find high dignitaries of the Church deliberately attacking Islam, without even having the slightest notion as to its real doctrines and teachings. The Kikuyu controversy had revealed certain very interesting "scenes" in the Christian world, but he would urge the Christian missionaries to devote their attention and zeal primarily to their own people at home. The heathen in the wilds of Africa is naturally drawn towards Islam and that is why in spite of the gigantic missionary efforts, Christianity has hopelessly failed to overcome Islam as its rival in that and other parts of the world. He said one heard a great deal about Islam degrading the position of women. As a matter of fact Islam had done more to raise the status of women in the world than any other creed, religion, or system. As a daughter a woman was not dependent on her father's will. The law provided that she should take a proportionate share of his property—half as much as a son. She received the care and attention of her mother until marriage, and as a wife she possessed definite rights which she could maintain against her husband. She could hold property and there was no law of coverture.

During the meeting, a young English lady, Miss Faire, publicly declared her acceptance of the Islamic faith. Standing on the platform, she declared that she embraced "Islam, completely and finally." She then recited in Arabic the Moslem Formula of Faith, whereupon the Moslem members of the audience offered prayers for the new convert. Mr. Ameer Ali offered his warm congratulations to the lady on her adoption of the faith.

The Islamic Society: Protest Meeting.

At an emergency general meeting of the Islamic Society, under the chairmanship of Mr. Mushir Hoosein Qidwai, held in Holland Park on Wednesday night, the following resolutions were unanimously passed. The meeting was thoroughly representative of the Moslem colony in London.

(1) Proposed by Syed Muhamed Taufiq Diab of Egypt and seconded by Mr. M. M. Shaffi, Assistant Secretary to the Society, "that this meeting of the Musalmans representing the different parts of the world, at present resident in London, expresses its deep sense of indignation and resentment at the policy of systematic extermination of the Moslem population of the Balkan, pursued by the various Balkan States, especially Greece, and draws the attention of the whole civilised world to the perilous consequences likely to ensue from this exasperating policy.

(2) Proposed by Syed Abul Hasan Razavi of India and seconded by Mr. Jelal Shah, Hon. Treasurer to the Society.

"That in view of the humanitarian traditions of great Britain; the oft repeated assurances of the British statesmen to help in safeguarding the life and property of the various populations of the Balkans; in accordance with various treaties and conventions; and in deference to the demands of the Mussulmans of the world, this meeting approaches H. B. M's Secretary of State for Foreign affairs with the hope that the powerful influence of Great Britain would be exerted in putting a stop to the deplorable state of affairs prevailing in Macedonia."

(3) Proposed by Dr. M. Saadi Bey of Turkey and seconded by Dr. Muhamed Sharef of Egypt.

"That this meeting protests against the attitude taken up by the powers of Europe in forcing upon the people of Albania a Christian sovereign in utter disregard of their wishes, and trusts that Albania will receieve the same consideration, as accorded to the other Balkan States, in developing their national ideals."

(4) Proposed by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan of India and seconded by Mr. Nasif of Egypt.

"That this meeting assures the Government of H. I. M. the Khalifatul Musulemen of the world in every step that they may take in safeguarding the integrity of Islam."

Copies of the above resolutions have been submitted to His Highness the Grand Vizier of Turkey, the Foreign Office and the Press.

Mrs. Annie Besant on "India's plea for Justice."

Mrs. Annie Besant addressed a crowded metting last night at Queen's Hall on "India's plea for justice," Lord Brassey presiding. Messrs. M. A. Jinnah, Sahay and Rajpat Roy occupied prominent seats on the platform. One of the most noticeable features of the gathering was the large number of Indian gentlemen, who acted as stewards. Great enthusiasm prevailed throughout Mrs. Besant's eloquent address and she was repeatedly cheered to the echo. I have had the privilege of hearing her on several occasions, both here as well as in India, but I had never been before so intensely impressed by Mrs. Besant's oratory as I was on this occasion. She spoke with visible emotion and her splendid advocacy of the Indian cause moved every member of the huge audience. Her lecture of last night will yet add another laurel to her magnificent career in the service of India. Mrs. Annie Besant has last night rendered a truly noble service to the Empire as a whole and her words will for ever ring in the ears of all those, who had the good fortune of listening to her last night. She has championed the sacred cause of Hindustan with characteristic force and her powerful address on "India's plea for justice" last night as well as the heroic manner in which she is fighting India's battle in the Press is bound to influence public opinion in this country in regard to Indian matters.

Mrs. Besant, in the course of her lecture, said one heard little of the difficulties and troubles of the people of India, unless, like herself, one had lived years in the country, and were in close touch with Indian friends. Indian admire England and might love her too, if she would only let them. For the first time in history the vast Indian population has been aroused by a question of the outer world, by Indian emigration to other lands. The treatment of Indians in South Africa had for the first time caused the whole population to be stirred, and its voice had been listened to. Similar questions arose with respect to the admission of Indians to other self-governing colonies. If white men continued their policy of shutting coloured men out of white countries, coloured would begin to sheet white man out of coloured countries, and self-government could not be denid to India, if her children were excluded from every other land. One would understand the point of view of Australian workers, but if they welcomed Indians they would strengthen the Empire, for they could never keep an empty white Northern Australia, with Japan waiting to colonise it. If it made the Pacific an Asiatic lake, why not? India had no wish to throw aside the Crown, and the possibility of empire for Great Britain rested on the co-operation of India.

On the educated classes in India, she said, the stability of British rule depended, and they could only be held by love and understandig. Urlest there was, but most of it was the righteous discontent of a people unfairly repressed by unjust and cruel measures, which could only be removed when India possessed self-government within the Empirs. India can only hold India if her rule be just and intelligent.

The party of anger and anarchy is small, but the party suffering from the recent repressive measures is large; it is willing to go slowly, but demands that progress be made.

Dealing with the Press Act of 1910, Mrs. Besant showed how severe it is. Under that Act 800 prosecutions had taken place since it was passed, 200 being prosecutions of newspapers. The demand for its repeal or at least a sweeping amendment of the Act is now universal and it was one of the first things that, in her opinion, ought to be abolished.

Men, the lecturer said, have been deported and imprisoned, honourable gentlemen have been arrested and thrown into prison without trial.

Mrs. Besant touched on the great frequency of flogging as a punishment by certain judges and collectors, and declared that the whole Indian Criminal Law needs revision. The British administration of justice was not so much admired in India as people in this country are apt to suppose. India must govern herself; she begins to realise her strength. England must live up to her old traditions and share her birth right with 300 million Indians, for the price of Indian loyalty is the gift of freedom.

Moslem Conquest of Constantinople: Celebration of Anniversary in Lodon.

A mass meeting of the Muslims resident in London is to be held to-night at Caxton Hall, Westminster, to celebrate the anniversary of the fall of Constantinople in 1453, in union with a similar celebration, which will be simultaneously taking place in the Turkish Capital.

TETE À TETE

A Shavian Theme.

In reply to our last letter in which we had submitted a humble protest against another unfounded imputation, and particularly against the tyrany of translators which appeared to us to have been at the bottom of the Punjab Government's baseless allegation against the *Hamdard*, we have received the following letter from Lieut.-Colonel E. C. Bayley, Private Secretary to H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab:—

"I am in receipt of your letter of the 25th instant. I see no "reason to add anything to the remarks made in my previous "letters and telegrams."

The reply is brief, and do we not know that brevity is the soul of wit and the embodiment of dignity? But may we be permitted to add that Lieut.-Colonel Bayley has placed us in the same situation as the humble submissive weaver, who, when thoroughly tired out on his long journey, prayed for a horse. A party of stalwart Pathans whose mare had been delivered of a filly on the way met the weaver a little way down the road and asked him to carry the tender filly on his shoulders. The weaver, as weavers always do, remonstrated, and the Pathans, as Pathans always do, hammered him into submission. Fatigued as he already was, the load that he had to carry nearly killed him. He sat down for a while to take rest and addressed the following protest to heaven. "O, Hearer of the Contrary! I had asked for the horse *below*, not *above* me." Well, our humble protest that must mount up to the heights of Chhota Simla has to be a similar one. We had begged His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor's Private Secretary not to "*add* anything" to his previous remarks but to *subtract* a good deal there from. This latest demonstration of dignity takes us back to Colonel Bayley's first letter in which he told us that "Sir Michael "O'Dwyer would have preferred to take no notice of the paragraph in question." Had His Honour persisted in that preference two journals at least would have been spared the expresion of unfounded imputations against them and His Honour would have been spared the indignity of being argued with by a common journalist. But His Honour chose to argue, and as it happened, had the worst of the argument; and now orders have been issued somewhat late in the day to shut off steam. Only Mr. Bernard Shaw can do justice to the situation. His *Androcles and the Lion* is a play particularly worthy of bureaucratic perusal, in which Nero demonstrates to gaping courtiers how Cæser has tamed the lion, and remarks how magnanimous they are in Rome when he announces that he will spare Androcles. But just now we are reminder of another scene in the play. The Roman officer in command of the guards who are in charge of the down-trodden Christians destined for the gladiators and the lions finds a patrician lady of considerable charms among the low-born and despised crowd of Christian prisoners. The patrician wrath as well as sympathy of that officer is excited by her conversion to the faith of the Nazarenes and he makes the fatal mistake of arguing with her about her beliefs. She scores off the pagan patrician at the very outset, with the result that the argument is hastily dropped and the guards who are caught listening to it with ill-concealed amusement are lectured to on the subject of their duties, the sermon ending with the newly discovered sapience that, above all, the soldiers should on account enter into an argument with the disrespectful Christian prisoners, as it is against the dignity of Roman soldiers besides being entirely at variance with military discipline.

Shootin Menagerie Lions.

To the Punjab Government we have still something to say. His Honour is mistakenly led to believe that we published an unfounded insinuation against him and he invited us to publish a contradiction. We do so in full and at once. But in stating the facts of the case His Honour's Private Secretary gives expression to even more unfounded imputations against the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard* and when he beg him to withdraw them, we are told with more dignity than relevance that he sees no reason to add anything to his previous remarks. And yet it is the wretched Indian Press that is a reckless critic of the officials and must be taught to respect truth and accuracy of statement by means of the Press Act. What would have happened if we too had declined to see any reason to publish Lt.-Col. Bayley's letter or add anything to our previous remarks? Very probably Mr. Tollinton's threat to the *Zamindar* would have applied to us also. "A refusal by you to publish the correct facts, after having published "what was intended to mislead people and arouse feeling against "Government will be taken as evidence of your attitude towards Government, and Government will then proceed on that understanding." Does it not mean that the Press Act gives indignant officials the power to bring home to independant journalists the consequences of their independence of character, while there is no law to give to ill-used journalists the power to bring home to unjust officials the consequences of their unjust dealings? Let us now appeal to the sense of fair-play ingrained in the British character and ask if this is fair. Would an Englishman ever think of shooting a menagerie lion and then bragging of it? But are not official dealings with Indian journalists often on a par with it? We have no right of appeal to law courts, and even if we had, it is the Executive and not the Press that often appoints the Judges, promotes them and honours them with titles. We thought we had a right of appeal to the British Parliament and the British public, but the British Parliament and the British public seem to think far more of pheasants and mangel-wurzels than of the fate of the Indian Press, or even of the fate of India. The essence of Indian governance is the absolute reliance of Great Britain on the official conscience and on little besides. This is the weakness of British Imperialism, for obviously the proud boast—and, we acknowledge, a just one—"*Ex Occidente lex*" absolutely fails here. But we must, take things as they are and even though the Indian climate has a deadening effect on everything, our only resource is the official conscience. It is to this that we appeal, and it was time that Lord Hardinge received a deputation of Indian journalists and frankly discussed with them their worries and trials as well as their sins and shortcomings.

A Welcome Withdrawal.

We are happy to publish the following extract from a letter addressed by the Hon. Mr. Qamrul Huda to us anent the famous project of a Behar Moslem Association which would ask for only that which the officials want it to ask for and that too when and where and as it pleases the benign officials. He writes: "As jurred to you I never signed either the "Urdu or the English manifesto of this Association. Once in a "moment of hurry the draft of the English (manifesto) was read over "to the by a friend of mine and then certain explanations were sub-"mitted to my objections. Believing in the word of my friend and "the organisers of this Association, I permitted my name to go "and to appear in the manifest. I had taken no other interest "in the matter. *As the permission was given under some misconcep-"tions, I have withdrawn my name and am no longer a member of "that idiotic Association.*" All's well that ends well. We certainly recognise the features of our simple, unpretentious but genuine and often courageons repr esentative of Moslem Behar in this picture far better than we could in that of the manifesto published by—what sort did you say it was?—Association. But what a frasco, and what wretched methods "the friends" of our love and friendless bureaucrecy adopt. Never mind, better luck next time.

The Karachi Sacrilege.

It is a source of some gratification to us that it was the *Hamdard* no Anglo-Indian paper which first discovered and immediately announced in its colums that the lovers in the Karachi dramatic film bore the same names as the lovers in the first poem in Moor's *Lalla Rookh*, and that its title, *The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan*, could with some degree of plausibility be said to give a clue to the unnamed "prophet" in the description of the scenes given in the body of the film. The telegrams had given the hero's name as "Azim" and the heroine's as "Salika." From a casual reference to the *Sind Gazette* of the 8th. June we found that in the description of the film as witnessed by the Magistrate, the jury and the representative of that newspaper the heroine's name was spelt as "Selica." That immediately led to the conclusion that probably Salica" was "Zilica," which is the way that the Arab name "Zuleikha" (also the name of Potiphar's enterprising wife so famous in Eastern literature) is spelt in Tom Moore's well-known poem. Those who know that poem need not be reminded that the villain of the piece is Ibn-i-Maqna', literally, "the Son of the Veil") spelt in the poem as "Mokanna." He takes his name from the silver veil with which he covers his extremely ghastly and repulsive countenance. In the poem he exhibits his features only to Zelica and in the final scene to the victims of his extraordinary blood-lust assembled and poisoned by him in a feast. At all other times

"O'er his features hung
"The veil, the silver veil, which he had flung
"In mercy there, to hide from mortal sight
"His dazzling brow, till man could bear its light.
"For, far less luminious, his votaries said,
"Were even the gleams miraculously shed
"O'er Moussa's cheek when down the Mount he trod,
"All glowing from the presence of his God."

In the film the "prophet" wears no veil, and, although Mokanna is by no means free from lust, the two "prophets" have little in common, the chief passion of Mokanna being hate of his Makers and revenge through His creatures

"Upon the hand, whose mischief or whose mirth
"Sent me thus maim'd and monstrous upon earth."

The two stories also are absolutely dissimilar. But what is in common, as we have explained, is sufficient to give a degree of plansibility to the possible contention that the theme was borrowed from Thomas Moore's famous poem. It would, no doubt, in that case be claimed that the word "prophet" in the film has no reference whatever to the prophet of Islam, and the Mussalmans as the *Sind Gazette*, with even less ground for the assumption, has already said, have made "much ado about nothing." But it must be remembered that the characters in the film wear an Arab costume. More people have heard of Mohamed than of Mokanna, though there is no similarity between "the Veiled Prophet of Khorassan" in *Lalla Rookh* and the "prophet" of the film, as we have already explained, to indicate that it is Mokanna that is meant by the authors of the film). Everything that could distinguish the particular "prophet" in the film from any other is wholly absent. This being the case, if it is possible that the film was based on the poem, and the circumstances that gave rise to the Moslem suspicion that the Holy Prophet of Islam was being reveiled were merely accidental, it is, at least, equally possible that the whole thing was the outcome of deliberate malice, and a diabolic cunning had chosen the names of the characters in such a way that the Prophet of Islam could be traduced nightly, but if the Moslems suspected this and protested, they could be laughed at for their pains and told it was "much ado about nothing", for the "prophet" was "the Veiled Prophet of Khorassan.

What should be done?

In its present form the film is grossly foul and its exhibition cannot be tolerated. But even if the "prophet" was qualified in some way it would be no better than the "loyal toast" drunk by the Royalits of England in the 17th Century by lifting the wine over jugs of water meaning thereby that it was "the King over the Waters" that they toasted and not William of Orange. The film must not be exhibited any longer, but it indicates how accomodating the people believe the Press Act to be that they suggest a confiscation of the film "under the Press Act!" This is what Government must do. But the Mussalmans must do something more. They must set to work systematically to collect evidence about the authorship of the film with a view to make sure that it was not designed to be one of the weapons in the war declared by Bishop Lefroy against the creed of Islam. We are really amused at the unoriginal lie that there are some Mohamedans who rouse the passions and prejudices of Mussalmans against Christians and aim at kindling a conflagration of fanaticism. Can the convenient memories of these good people so easily forget all the praise of missionary effort in India in the *Times'* Indian Correspondents' article of 7th October and in the "Indian Peril" of December last? Can they forget Kikuyu? Can they forget the Sunday Schools' Convention with its, black boards and slates for weapons in the threatened struggle? Can they forget the Calcutta Metropolitan's declaration of war? Last but not least, can they forget Lord Sydenham's cheering prospect for Indian Nationalism after his dealings with the Haj Question? If all these mean nothing, how maladroit and stupid all these good people have been in giving a handle to determined Moslem rogues for rousing the fire of their fanatical brethren? We would in this case humbly advise Government to appoint a small Committee with three or four Moslem fanatics—the genuine article and no "nearest approach"—and the same number of officials, and to depute them to make a searching inquiry into the authorship of this film and its purpose. If Moslem suspicions are unfounded, Government will reap an ample harvest of confidence and tranquility. If they are only too well founded, Government would still reap an ample harvest of confidence and gratitude by following the inquiry with a salutory lesson to those whose methods of propagating their faith are as certain to ruin Britain's Empire in India as they are opposed to the spirit of Christ's teaching. It is for the Government to choose whether things should be left in their present unsatisfactory posture or improved out of all shape. We may add we offer this suggestion in the full belief that we add thereby another item to our account—on the wrong side of the book! When shall we learn to suggest only such honest praiseworthy measures as the appointment of Commissions to inquire whether prisoners in jails are not being overfed and whether the Indian Civil Servants are not being starved?

"Indian Emigration-"

Sir Harry Jhonston in a letter to the *Times* makes a rapid survey of tracts suitable for Indian colonisation in Africa and elsewhere, and arrives at the conclusion that it would be on the whole the best plan if the promoters of genuine emigration schemes in India first endeavoured "to colonise to its fullest extent some 200,000 square miles of habitable but unpopulated India." Sir Harry may have succeeded in putting forward a point of view which, according to him, has not been prominently dealt with in the Press. But his "contribution to the discussion on this question of Asiatic emigration" has little relevancy to the problem with which India, at any rate, is concerned. There may be large tracts within India itself which might be made productive and populous, just as there are in European Russia. The issues involved in the present controversy have nothing to do with this point. They relate, on the contrary, to the *right* of Indians as British citizens to free access in any part of the British Empire. This right is denied to Indian emigrants in several British colonies, which have enforced harsh and repressive laws to exclude Indians and drive out those that are domiciled within their limits. Sir Harry Jhonston, instead of offering any solution of this problem, quielty proceeds to distribute places fit for colonisation in Africa and elsewhere on the basis of white, black and yellow colours. The treatment meted out to Indians in the self-governing colonies of the Empire is the core of the Indian emigration problem. This was the crux of the difficulties in South Africa and this lies at the heart of the brave struggle which is going on close to the shores of Canada. What Indians desire is not a knowledge of the places in India still awaiting their inhabitants, but a clear enunciation of their right and status as citizens of the British Empire. The situation in Canada has brought this question to a head in a prominent form, and we shall deal at some length with its general aspects in our next.

Mr. Muzahar-ul-Haque in Constantinople.

Our special correspondent in Constantinople writes te us:—"Few of the Indian Moslem leaders have paid a visit to this country to study the national crisis on the spot and witness the great changes that are coming over the Ottoman Empire, and fewer still have produced a deeper impression of cordial relations by their visits than did Mr. Mazharul Haq. At a time when the heart of Islam is stirred to its depths and when India with her 70 millions of Moslems is passing through an eventful crisis, is it not worth while for their leaders to come over here to study the actual situation for the benefit of their unfortunate country and to strengthen the bond of union and fellowship with their co-religionists? Few in India really understand the larger meaning of Ottomanism and fewer still realise the hindrances that stand in the way of national progress. Turkey at the present day has entered a period of transition and is evolving a new order of things. During such an eventful time it is not unnatural that the Turks should extend their hand of sympathy and love to receive a brother Moslem from Hindustan. Mr. Mazharul Haq was warmly received at the station by the members of *Hilal Ahmar*, the Turkish National Defence Association, *Djamiyet Khairya Islamia*, etc. His tall figure, his clean-shaven face, his courtesy, his deep and penetrating eyes proved an object of attraction to those who waited on him, and he was accompanied to the Pera Palace Hotel where he stopped during his sojurn. He paid a visit to Prince Said Halim Pasha, the Grand Vizier, who cordially received him as the nation's guest, with unusual courtesy and hospitality. He was taken to the Ministers of War, Marine, Finance Public Works and Owqaff. He visited the warships which had been an object of attraction to him, the Military and Naval Schools, the boys' and girls' schools, the Sultan's old and new palaces, the museum and other places of antiquity and interest. He was highly pleased at the education of girls, who welcomed him by singing the National song. He won the respect and admiration of all whom he met by his sauvity" of manners, his jovial disposition, his patriotism and love of Islam."

The "Plot" and the Nemesis.

We had discovered and announced the existence of a "plot" last week which had for its object the condign punishment of the person or the thing responsible for cutting off at most inconvenient moments the electric supply in Delhi. We little thought at the time that our great joy at the discovery of a set determination in several breasts including our own to track down the arch-schemer or the perverse something, of whose practical jokes we seemed to be the most marked vicitim, would be attended with our own discomfiture. We have, with Mr. Griffin's help, gone through a sobering experience and have had to repent with at leisure of our haste to search for the miscreant everywhere in the outside world while the imp of mischief lurked within our doors. We now find that the fuse of our own motor had been spoiled, thanks to the irrepressible pranks of a budding *Mistri* who is learning his craft at our expense. Now we assure the Electric Tramway Company and the world at large that, so far as we are concerned, the "plot" is at an end. We have found the culprit and, though we knew him to be a mischievous sprite that caused everybody around him no end of worries, we little suspected that he would one day overtake us in the shape of our Nemesis. But after so much contrition may we remind the Company that not all the milk that disappears from the Kitchen goes to fill the stomach of the act.!

The "Home" Press and its Guides.

When Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali were in England last year they were forcibly reminded of certain feature of the London Press, which was one of the four *tuhfas* of the ill-fated *Zamindar* article that caused so much ado about nothing. The Tory Press publishes nothing about India but news of isolated outrages in which very few people in India are now interested, but with which Reuter is constantly spoon-fed from Calcutta mostly by the gentleman associated with the "Newmania" of the *Englishman* and the *Times of India* six or seven years ago. The Liberal Press is occasionally moved to refute the charges of weakness in dealing with India levelled at the Liberal Government by the Tory section of the Press and is at times ready to publish the views of Indians themselves, as for instance the publicity given to the views of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan and the generous invitations of the *Nation*, the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily News and Leader* to Mr. Mohamed Ali to put forward the cases of Indian Mussalmans and the Indian Press, which, however, Mr. Mohamed Ali could not respond to while correspondence was going on with the India Office on those subject. But the space devoted to India even in the Liberal papers is meagre when compared with the importance of India's relationship with the British Empire. This necessitates an unceasing current of Indian deputations to England and the establishment of an "India House" more or less on the lines suggested by our esteemed correspondent the O'Donnell of O'Donnell. The little activity already shown in this direction has induced the Anglo-Indian party to use every effort to misguide the British public.

If the Anglo-Indian dream of the British public's "judicious indifference" cannot be realized, the party earnestly hopes that its laboriously developed and newly created hunger for information about India would be gratified by the supply of faked up facts and half-truths masquerading as "Truths about India." When we were informed that two old journals, the *Overland Mail* and the *Homeward Mail*, would be amalgamated and would re-appear as the *Indiaman*, and that the new journal would be "a weekly link with India", we little thought that it would be only a link with "Anglo-India." We were anxious to see how the *Indiaman* redeemed its promises of creating a better understanding between the Englishman at home and his fellow-subjects in England's Dependency, would and have with this object read the first five issues of the paper from cover to cover. Well, it did not take us long to discover the cloven hoof, for, if we may say so, our *Indiaman*, alias *Anglo Indian*, is apparently suffering from elephantiasis. The cloven-foot is certainly the most prominent feature in the *Indiaman's* anatomy. We shall review some of its statements and comments later, but the following extract will suffice for the present. This new guide of the "Home" Press writes as follows on the subject of sacred buildings in India: "The home Press is inclined to take the question of interference "with sacred buildings in India far too seriously. Is there "anything particularly new about it? Without stopping to "inquire how the ancient rulers of India dealt with such difficulties, "we may take it that the extensions of canals and railways during "the British occupation have constantly occasioned interference with "isolated tombs and temples. The procedure has generally been "quite simple; the neighbouring priest has been approached, and in "due course has had a dream indicating the "wish of heaven" in "favour of removing the structure to some more convenient spot, "where it has been duly set up at the expense of the authorities, and "nothing more has been heard about it. The recent agitation about "the Cawnpore Mosque, for instance, was quite dishonest. There "was no real question of disturbing religious susceptibilities; it was "merely a case of any stick being good enough to beat a dog with— "not a difficult thing to do when it happens to suit the purpose of "astute pleaders to trade on the religious prejudices of their more "ignorant countrymen."

Tainted Testimony.

Will it surprise this misinformer of an uninformed and ill-informed Press very much if we tell it that the "quite simple" and "general" procedure described by it *was* tried at Cawnpore? Why, the wretched accomplices in this unholy business of faking up the "wish of heaven" have only recently been paid for their labours. As for the lie about the Cawnpore agitation, it has not improved by repetition, and we may as well tell its authors and their friends that we mean to nail to the counter every coin that comes from their counterfeiting mould. The essence of agitation is repetition, and if they intend to go on repeating their lie we also intend to go on repeating that it is what the Shavian heroine would call a "bloody" lie! We must perforce follow the fashion in agitation as well as polite speech. As for the "astute pleaders," we thought the miscreants belonged to the more ignoble profession of journalism. But we see that the journalist was back in India and the "pleader" was just then in England, so the lie had to be duly amended. All this is good; but after all the solemn declarations of respecting the religious sentiments of the people what a confession to make! To think that Government officials "approach"— isn't that the word, Lord Willoughboy de Broke?—the neighbouring priest" and "in due course" extract from him— whether by promises of the honours list heaven or by threats of police court hell we are not told,—"a dream indicating the 'wish of heaven' in favour of removing the structure to some more convenient spot." May we ask the *Indiaman*, that *ghar ki bhedi*, whether all officially secured testimony is equally tainted?

An Object Lesson in Education.

The problems of India are so colossal that people with modest ambitions and ordinary capacities only too often shrink from doing even that which lies near their hand and is entirely within their powers. While we cannot give up dreaming great dreams and hoping that some titanic genius would rise from the midst of our common breed of pigmies, we must not close our eyes to the useful work quietly done by a number of people who have no ambition to match the work of Titans. We hope our readers will not accuse us of "booming" a retiring personality that we so often drag out into the glare of publicity; but really we can ill afford to keep her work hidden behind the *zenana* screen when there are so many to advertise their shoddy wares and so few to be exemplars to their brethren and sisters. We have been privileged to obtain possession of a letter of Tyeba Begam in which in her own simple manner she has told the story of a modest educational endeavour to an uncle who is deeply interested in education, and who must have hankered for the life of a schoolmaster while he was condemned by some evil fate to be a surgeon. Of course we refer to Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami who suggested to his niece the idea that has borne such excellenr fruit. It seems that like her grandmother and great aunts and other ladies of an elder day, who did not know how to knit red and green woollen socks and purple and orange crochet neckties—who on earth wears them?— in order to be able to call themselves "accomplished" and every one of whom maintained without being known as a "leaderess" a very democratic girls' school in her own house where her own daughters and nieces and the children of her servants and poor neighbours were taught under her own watchful eyes not only reading and writing, but also cooking and sewing and other things which most certainly existed even at the time, but for which such name as Domestic Economy, Deportment and Discipline did not then exist,—well, it seems that like all these good ladies on whom the Honorary Secretaries and Honorary Joint Secretaries of our Ladies' Conferences perhaps look down, Tyeba Begam had a school in her house. It is about this that she writes to her uncle. "I "must tell you that the little school I had for poor children in my "house came to an end by one of the boys having whooping cough, "and my husband turning all of them out of the gate." We wonder whether this is due to the brutality of the sex or is the worst of having a doctor for a husband. But in the days of Tyeba Begam's grandmother and great aunts even Hakim husbands did not insist on segregation and disinfection. Well, we must put up with the blessings of civilization, including cruelly careful doctor husbands. But was Mrs. Khedive Jung dismayed? Not a bit. Let us hear what she says. "I afterwards took a small house on hire and had "the school there; but now it is exactly one year since we have "placed the school on much firmer bases, and we have three instead "of only one. There is one girls' school in *Top ka-Sancha* which "had 35 girls, but now has 25. A reduction has been brought about "by there being a good deal of small-pox about and some girls "having died of it." This is sad and shows the doctor husband in a better light. He would perhaps have insisted on repeated vaccination. But let us proceed. "We have a boys' school in the "same locality with 25 boys. In the heart of the city there is "another school of ours. This is the first school that has ever "been opened in the city. There are 75 girls in this school and "two teachers. We keep two *shikrams* for the girls to be "brought to school, and all of them receive free instruction in "Urdu, Persian, sewing, network, cooking, arithmetic and "writing. One teacher stays in the school house and looks "after the feeding of the bullock and their horse and keeps the house "clean. Will the Hon. Mr. Sharp ever permit such degrading econo- "mies in Government Primary Schools? We wonder. Ed. *Com- "rade* The children are also taught the Quran. They are now "being prepared for the prize distribution for which they will be "taught Iqbal's national songs. In the school house we have a read- "ing room and papers and magazines supplied by the ladies are kept "for the girls to read. The expenses of the school come to Rs. 125 monthly "and of the *Top-ka-Sancha* schools to Rs. 30. These expenses are defray- "ed by the fees the members of the *Anjuman-i-Khawateen-i-Islam* pay "monthly. . . . . We have only *farsh* in the school and the "girls sit on the ground and read." Is n't this a perfect picture of a sturdy young plant growing out of a tiny seed planted by tender hands and watched by anxious eyes, a plant growing bigger and yet bigger without fuss or advertisement, and owing its life and growth all to an honest impulse? No wonder that Mrs. Khedive Jung writes: "We have received letters from other Provinces in India where ladies "want to follow our example and open an *Anjuman-i-Khawateen-i- "Islam* and spend its fees in giving free education to the poor." We promise Tyeba Begam that we shall not lift the veil often from her schools, and shall let them grow in their numbers and usefulness without the killing glare of too much publicity. But we thought so many of us badly wanted this glimpse of the steady normal growth of a tender plant put in the soil by honest clean hands and watered and looked after with genuine care by women who love their kind.

The Comrade.

Baseless Insinuations.

It is not difficult to understand the organised opposition that a section of the Anglo-Indian Press has set up against the widespread public demand in India for an extension of Lord Hardinge's term of office. It would, indeed, have been surprising if the proposal had uneventfully come to birth—without even so much as causing the *Statesman* & Co. an acute fit of hysterics. Thanks to certain well-known acts and measures of his administration, Lord Hardinge has never been a *persona grata* with a notorious Calcutta clique that presumes to speak in the name of Anglo-India. Whether the presumption is something more than a mere swagger of vain, little men who have not yet been wholly cured of their habit to take themselves seriously, no one would be particularly anxious to inquire. The fact is that the presumption exists, that it is boundless, that it has often survived exposure and ridicule and that one of its most modest implications is that the Government of India should meekly take its orders from certain newspaper offices in Calcutta. It was a misfortune of Lord Hardinge that he early failed to take a lesson or two in Indian statecraft at the feet of the old, benignant sages who have their dwelling in Hare Street and Chauringhee. Nothing could save him from the consequences of that initial blunder, and it is no fault of the political *rishis*, who keep a sleepless watch over the fortunes of British Rule in India, if he has not been able to shake off the influence of his evil star. To repudiate the authority of the occult powers behind the Viceregal throne is a rank heresy, yet he attempted this without the least thought of consequences. Nay, he even went further and planned a secret *coup* to confound the old deities. This was an act of supreme defiance and Lord Hardinge's case has since then been hopeless and utterly beyond redemption.

The head and front of Lord Hardinge's offending is that he deserted Calcutta without consulting the wishes of the *Statesman*, the *Englishman* and the interests of which they are the aggressive champions. The Delhi change has hit them at some vital part, and the fury and wrath to which they have been giving vent has been amazing. A demand was loudly made for Lord Hardinge's recall just after the Durbar announcement, and though such a peurility was treated as it deserved it at least gives a measure of the hostility and prejudice that move the opponents of Lord Hardinge's measures and policy. No opportunity has been missed to belittle the value of his personal efforts to govern India in sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of the people. No pains have been spared to discredit the policy underlying the Delhi change, and those responsible for the development of this wise and liberal policy have been pursued with a malignity that is truly astonishing.

It is easily intelligible, therefore, why the *Statesman* & Co. are opposed to any extension of Lord Hardinge's term of office. We may note as well that a few other Anglo-Indian papers outside Calcutta have joined in the hoarse cry against the general popular demand in India. To crown all, we find even the *Times*, that had paid only the other day a glowing tribute to Lord Hardinge's work in India, taking up the tune apparently supplied to it by its Calcutta henchmen. We would like to ask the *Statesman*, if this Press demonstration against popular wishes in India lacks the deft fingers of the wirepullers. The rule limiting the term of the Indian Viceroyalty to five years may be a sound and prudent rule, but may we ask why "the invidious innovation" was demanded with loud insistence in the case of Lord Curzon—a very "energetic" but admittedly a very unpopular Indian Viceroy? Lord Hardinge enjoys a measure of popularity and confidence that never fell to the lot of "the most brilliant and energetic Viceroy who ever came to India." The measures of his regime have on the whole met with public approval. Much of the tranquility and optimism of public feeling is due to the trust that his personality has evoked among the people. His name has become associated with a policy that holds out abundant promise for the ultimate fruition of India's hopes. If, therefore, the Indian public has asked for the extension of the term of a ruler of this stamp it has surely been actuated by the sole desire to have Indian affairs, at least for two years more, under the control and guidance of a well-tried and trusted statesman. Yet a section of the Anglo-Indian Press dislikes this public demand in India, and the *Statesman* declares in round terms that Lord Hardinge's retention for a longer period would be of no tangible benefit to the country and that his administration of affairs has so far been of little practical value. The opposition, then, amounts to this, that no Viceroy should be allowed to remain a moment beyond his alloted time in India who has won the confidence of the Indian people and has thus proved his fitness for his responsible office. It also incidentally means that the real interests of India have come to hold a position of permanent antagonism to the interests which the Anglo-Indian Press claims to represent. Are we to be told, then, that the non-official European class and a number of European officials, who together form the clientale for whose service the Anglo-India Press mainly exists, are to be the sole arbiters of India's destinies? We trust no British statesman worth the name would consent to subordinating the welfare of 310 millions of India to the European commercial interests in Calcutta or elsewhere if, indeed, he wants to hold the British Empire together. As for the body of British officials, their obvious duty is to carry on the administration in the spirit of the policy laid down by Indian Government, and we have no reason to doubt that the disciplined body like the Indian Civil Service, whose great sense of duty forms a theme of perpetual delight and admiration in Anglo-Indian journalism, has faithfully served the great statesman who is res- ponsible for the good government of India.

The *Statesman*, however, has no liking for Lord Hardinge and the flimsy grounds on which it bases its antogonism are unworthy of serious notice. But in its hury to discredit the movement in favour of the extension of Lord Hardinge's term it has distorted the facts and chosen to make certain wild and baseless insinuations. It says that the movement has been engineered through certain prominent Mussalmans and that the Hon. Sir Ali Imam, the Law Member, has been pulling the strings from behind the scenes. It argues somewhat as follows. Lord Hardinge would welcome an extension of his term of office, for he is anxious to push on the Delhi scheme to a stage when "a return to sanity and economy" would be impracticable. He has a devoted adherent in Sir Ali Imam, who is ready to anticipate his wishes. The Law Member has used his influence with a number of prominent Mussalmans to hold public demonstrations in favour of Lord Hardinge. This, according to the *Statesman*, is the genesis of the movement. A very simple and smooth explanation of the whole affair, only the "prominent" Mussalmans have publicly declared it as an ingenious fabrication! The *Statesman* regards it as incredible that "the impulse" to pass resolutions should have sprung up simultaneously in several breasts. We know many facts in recent Indian history, familiar even to Indian schoolboys, which a section of the Anglo-Indian Press has chosen systematically to ignore. The incredulity of the *Stateman* is a part of the habitual pose that every "friend" of India loves to assume whenever the spontaneous activities of the people rouse his particular dislike or alarm. To a person that still retains his mental balance and whose judgement has not been warped by a peculiarly strong obsession, there seems nothing in the "demonstrations" in favour of Lord Hardinge that might put the least strain on his credulity. They are as natural and genuine as anything of the kind that has ever happened in the public life of this country. On an occasion like Lord Hardinge's birthday one does not usually talk of the monsoon but of theman. Lord Hardinge's term of office is rapidly drawing to a close. The people have full confidence in his statesmanship and entetain the utmost regard for him as a man and a ruler. What could be more natural, we ask, than that they should feel an instinctive desire for a prolongation of his connection with India and should express their desire in the shape of a general public demand on the occasion of his birthday celebrations? It is a deliberate perversion of the truth to say that " a few prominent Mussalmans" have engineered the show to please the Law Member. Important meetings have been held in various parts of the country, in which both Hindus and Mussalmans co-operated with equal degree of enthusiasm; and almost every influential organ of Indian public opinion has powerfully supported the demand of the people. If the Law Member can "purvey enthusiasm" on such a scale and electrify the whole country by simply pressing a button, he must have invisible wires under his thumb and command occult sources of power; and it is a matter of genuine pride and thankfulness that an Indian possessing such miraculous gifts is associated so prominently with the government of this country.

The insinuation against the Hon. Sir Ali Imam has, however, a peculiarly unworthy motive behind it. The *Statesman* says that friendly relations between the Viceroy and the Law Member are well-known. We hope the existence of such relations is not regarded a crime, and we trust as well that every colleague of Lord Hardinge, who has tried to help him faithfully and to the best of his power in the government of this country, has not incurred the odium of Chauringhee. According to the *Statesman*, the main fault of Sir Ali Imam would seem to be that he has proved by his character and capacity to be a useful and trustworthy servant of the Crown and enjoys the confidence of the Head of the Indian Government. The fault was perhaps first discovered towards the close of the Cawnpore mosque troubles, when Sir Ali Imam helped the Viceroy in smoothing the path to settlement and peace. Every observer who knew the character of the troubles and the state of Moslem feeling at the time could not fail to appraise the Viceroy's action at its proper value, and even Sir James Meston regarded the achievement as worthy of his congratulations. We have no desire to rake up memories that should be best buried in oblivion. But

the Press firebrands in Calcutta and elsewhere need frequently to be reminded of their attitude towards the Cawnpore settlement, which proved them to be the worst enemies of this Empire. Nothing could satisfy them short of a demand for the head of every Moslem agitator and a drastic suppression of public excitement; and if they could have their way, they would have succeeded in plunging the country in a turmoil the consequences of which one shudders to contemplate. Fortunately for the Mussalmans and the Empire, the Head of the Government of India was not a blood-and-thunder journalist from the depths of Anglo-India, but a statesman of wide outlook who saw the danger and saved the situation. His opponents have neither forgiven him nor the Hon. Sir Ali Imam, whose ripe judgement and unrivalled knowledge of the people were freely placed at his service. The Law Member's personal gifts and the value of his co-operation with his colleagues and the Viceroy and of his services to the country are known both to the Government and the people, and his career has shown how useful an Indian member of the Executive Council can be of real help and service in the successful governance of India. The *Satesman's* insinuations only emphasise that paper's aversion to Lord Hardinge and Sir Ali Imam. This aversion is apparently due to the fact that both the Viceroy and the Law Member have deserved and entirely won the confidence of the people of India and are both inspired with a due sense of responsibility for their common task.

A Dangerous Portent.

We publish elsewhere an article entitled "The Approaching Crisis in Persia", which recently appeared in the *Times*. The article is charged with alarming significance and wears that suspiciously solemn and portentious air which the Printing House Square habitually assumes when it utters prophecies of evil to set design. The method is the *Times'* very own; it has been cultivated to perfection. Its sole virtue lies in quietly preparing ground, so to speak, for *coups de-main* of diplomacy. And if ends can justify means, the *Times'* method offers the most facile way to success in the game of organised deception which Europe has learnt to practice with a view to satisfy its lust for power and dominion.

The method deserves a brief study, if only to illustrate its latest application. It has naturally a long history, and various factors have contributed to its development before it has found its most complete expression through the *Times*. A student of modern Europe notes impressive organic changes in the constitution of modern States, but finds little difference in the tone and spirit of international relations. The old, brute struggle for power is as remorseless to-day as ever, though its outward naked aspects have been draped in a peculiar ethical phraseology. This is in most part due to the great upheaval of the humanitarian sentiment in the 19th century, which unnerved diplomacy to some extent and blurred the intellects of hard, seasoned statesmen by its smooth optimism and pacific moral conceptions. The unique success of Bismarkism, with its methods of blood and iron, shattered, however, the 19th century utopia of peace on earth and goodwill among mankind. Brute force has been recognised, under new conventions, as the essential basis of international relations. Within the last forty years a new cynicism has come to dominate international politics, which derives its strength from the pseudo-science, pseudo-philosophy and the vast group of comlex economic phenomena of the age and has given birth to a new doctrine of Imperialism. While humanitarianism has been struggling to live and perfecting its catchwards, diplomacy has re-dressed its phrases to placate a young, sentimental democracy. Brute force itself has gathered a mass of polite vocabulary and learnt to roar as gently as a sucking dove. The rival States have pitched themselves behind the "Balance of Power" and are armed to the teeth "to maintain the peace of the world." A slight weakness in one group sets in motion among its rival group a whole train of diplomatic acts of the most correct description—conscienciously beginning with a press campaign and ending peacefully at last when the final stage known as "compensation" is reached. The rivalries of Europe have to be paid for by the weaker States of Africa and Asia. They are the helpless pawns in the game. For the peace of Europe they have to bear the burden and become the sacrifice. If the Powers of Europe quarrel among themselves, they are to be made the scapegoats. If France and Germany, for instance, are to live as neighbours, some dusky millions of Africa with their lands are to be thrown into the bargain as the last bid for neighbourly peace. Modern European statecraft would be an elaborate process of bungling with not its "inferior races." It thrives on the weakness and simplicity of the unsophisticated millions whose colour is said to have condemned them to eternal servitude and whose primitive virtues lend themselves to easy exploitation. They have to bear meekly and even with some show of contentment the entire pressure of the two imposing modern doctrines—the doctrine of Imperialism and the doctrine of Compensation. According tothe doctrine of Imperialism, there are tobe no more open, direct, honest conquests, no outright crushing of the weak by the strong, no straight challenge to open fight. That was the method of the savage past. Modern Europe has a "civilising" mission to fulfil and it can best be fulfilled through "peaceful penetration." The savage areas to be civilised are accordingly "developed" by throwing them open to business syndicates, and the inhabitants of those areas are tamed under various influences and gradually qualified to bear the yoke. If they show signs of impatience or revolt at the tightening grip, they are, of course, perverse and lawless savages, who can be expected to feel little gratitude for those that so selflessly bear their thankless "burden" and who should be dealt with firmly in the interests of "progress and order." The doctrine of Compensation provides the most useful safety-valve for the mutual jealousies and greeds of Europe. If one Great Power has been unusually successful in acquiring fresh areas for its civilising mission, its rivals, too, must have something to share in the toil and burden of the great, altruistic task that an inscrutable Providence has imposed on the shoulders of weary Europe.

It is in the atmosphere of these doctrines that the *Times'* method can best be seen at work. Take Persia—a weak country, inhabited, according to the Imperialist philosophy, by an "inferior" race. Clearly it was a fit object for the civilising mission of Europe. The people of Persia might not like it, but they could not be the best judges of their own needs. The two Great Powers of Europe, Russia and Great Britain, flanked Persia respectively on the north and the south, and they possessed vast "interests" within the country. They recognised their obvious duty and individually heard its insistent call. But they had their own mutual jealousies and suspicions which pampered then at every step. The safest method for them was to make a solemn pact between themselves and forthwith set about to work. England had enough Imperial "burdens" already on hand and was not particularly anxious to add another, but Russia's missionary zeal to uplift a fallen race was boundless and fresh outlets were needed for such beneficent energy. The famous Anglo-Russian Convention was framed in due course on the basis of the doctrine of Compensation and was cast in the most approved and up-to-date style of Imperiatist phraseology. Persia's integrity and independence were guaranteed in the most emphatic terms. Both the Great Powers righteously bound themselves in the hearing of the world to keep a fair ring and let the Persians proceed calmly and confidently with the work of their national reconstruction. As the *Times* puts it, the Convention gave Persia "a chance to rehabilitate herself—free from the apprehension of excessive interference from without." At least this was the ostensible aim of the Anglo-Russian understanding. It looked as if a great moral act had come to birth when the great Convention was signed. Every cynic was confounded by the spectacle of two chivalrous and powerful States of Europe constituting themselves as the guardian angels of an ancient people struggling to be free.

Such was the Convention and such the hopes that were supposed to have moved its authors. But the fates—or the agents of the Muscovite diplomacy—have been busy spinning secret threads, and the history of the working of this Convention for the past seven years has been a mine of amusement to the cynics. Incidentally it has wrought the utter undoing of Persia. The Convention is practically dead, and the *Times* has at last pronounced its funeral oration. No one can of course expect the *Times*, which has become to all intents and purposes a Russian mouthpiece, to denounce this discredited diplomatic instrument. It still talks of its more "exalted" purpose and "infinitely greater issues" than the mere preservation of Persia. But it finds it just now expedient to state that "the Convention, we fear, has brought no tangible benefit to Persia." The confession is a calculated move and is not as innocent as it looks. For certain reasons, to which we will presently refer, the *Times* wants to get rid of the Convention in its present form, and it applies its best method for the purpose. It begins by claiming that the Convention was a glorious piece of diplomatic achievement. In its main object—the preservation of Persia's integrity and independence—ithas, however, failed. The failure has been due to the folly and incompetence of the Persians themselves. A studied reference is then made to the existence of certain factors which will soon plunge, the affairs of Persia in an acute crisis. After detailing these factors, the paper sums up its elabovate argument with an urgent declaration that the problem of the better maintenance of order in Persia must be grappled afresh. It urges, in short, for the revision ofthe Convention, though it does not expressly lay down the lines on which it should be revised.

The *Times'* article is a dangerous portent, for there is in all likelihood more behind it than meets the eye. The Persian affairs are no better and no worse to-day than they have been since the Anglo-Russian Convention was signed. Yet the *Times* wants the old Convention to be recast and for this purpose it has got to produce a "crisis." Russia is in need of a "crisis" for its own ends and *Times* desires one for a different purpose, and let us be very sure that we shall have it as soon as the *Times* predicts. Russia holds Azerbaijan in her grip and rules the province through her virtual agent, Shuja-ud-Daula, the nominal Persian Governor at Tabriz. She wants to establish over Northern Persia a direct and open protectorate. For this purpose she is anxious to eliminate the Swedish gendarmerie from the northern provinces and insists on the increase

of the Persian Cossack brigade and its employment for the collection of revenues and on police duties. It is already known that the brigade is to be increased from 3,500 to 6,000 men. The additional force will be recruited from time-expired Russian soldiers in Azerbaijan and will be officered by Russians. The brigade will be a Russian legion in a Russian Protectorate and the Russian exchequer will be its paymaster. In the development of the Russian scheme the existence of the Swedish gendarmerie is an intolerable nuisance. The Persian Treasury officials are not allowed to collect taxes in Northern Persia, and a number of gendarmes on duty in Tabriz were beaten and unceremoniously bundled out of the city by Shuja-ud-Dawla, not long ago, at the instance of the Russian authorities. Can the force under the Swedish officers succeed in the teeth of such opposition? In the rest of Persia the work of the Swedish officials and their men has been on the whole successful, and independent and competent observers have borne testimony to their efficiency and the duties they have been performing under very trying circumstances. Yet the *Times* thinks that the force is unequal to its task. Russia wants to strike at the last semblance of Persian sovereignty by trying to do away with the only body of trained men responsible to Persian Government for the maintenance of law and order. And the *Times* must echo the Muscovite wish by condemning that body as inefficient, for it cannot afford to incur the wrath of its Russian patrons.

For some time past it has been a matter of common knowledge that Russia is planning to colonise Northern Persia with a view to its complete Russification. A correspondent of the *Near East* recently called attention to scores of Russian agents who are touring in districts and villages, making minute inquiries about the inhabitants and the amount of cultivable areas. Another item of news furnished by the same correspondent relates to the interference of the Russian consul of Asphahan in the local elections for the *Mejliss*. The consul insisted on the inclusion of one of his proteges among the seven supervisors that are elected to control the general elections, and he eventually had his way. Shuja-ud-Daula has under Russian direction forbiden Parliamentary elections to be held in Tabriz. All this does not exactly look like giving Persia a chance to rehabilitate herself, "free from the apprehension of excessive interference from without." We need not, however, set about seriously to show how far Persia has been given a "chance." In face of all that has happened since the framing of the Convention—the steadily increasing interference of Russia, her threats, her petty persecutions, her brutal assasinations, the enormous influx of Russian troops who hold Northern Persia in their grip, the bomabardment of the sacred mausoleum at Meshed, the expulsion of Mr. Shuster, the establishment of the virtual Russian dictatorship in Azerbaijan, the systematic suppression of the Persian Government authority, and other thousand and one acts of Russian high-handedness and intrigue—to talk, in face of all this, of Persia's incompetence and her failure to maintain law and order is a hideous mockery. As the *Daily Graphic* said in a recent issue, the new Russian intervention is not military at all. It has taken the form of a wide-reaching assumption of administrative functions. "What possible justification there can be for this outrageous invasion of Persian rights—not to speak of the guarantees of the Anglo-Russian Convention—is impossible to understand . . . . . Some explanation is obviously needed, and when it comes we trust it will be studied by Sir Edward Grey with the seriousness it obviously demands."

The interesting question is: Why does the *Times* want the Convention to be revised? The reasons are not far to seek. The *Times*' excessive concern about the maintenance of law and order in "the neutral zone" is worth noting. One can easily recall the not distant time when this faithful henchman of Russia admired the provision of a vast strip of territory between the Russian and the British spheres as a stroke of far-sighted statesmanship. To-day it would have this zone abolished in the interest of law and order. We recently had occasion to refer to the *Punch* humourist who had noted the conjunction of two remarkable circumstances: the discovery of oil in Somaliland and the sudden recollection by His Majesty's Government of their duty to the friendlies. The *Times*' sudden anxiety about law and order in the neutral zone has some occult relation with Persian oil. What it desires, in plain fact, is that Persia should be divided again in such a way that the neutral zone, which almost entirely contains the oil tract, should fall within the British sphere of influence. All pretence about Persian integrity and independence should be dropped. Russia should be openly allowed to have a free hand in Northern Persia and the Protectorate that she has virtually established there should be formally recognised. In return for t is recognition the neutral zone, at least in greater part, should be taken in the British sphere. This is the pith of the "crisis" that, we are assured, is imminent in Persian affairs. This is the true significance of the bare-faced declaration of the *Times* that the Swedish gendarmerie has failed.

We are familiar with the tactics of the *Times*, and we know as well that its prophecies about Persia are usually based on Russian inspiration and not unoften anticipate the British Foreign Office. It now foretells in so many words the dismemberment of Persia in the very near future. The British policy in regard to Persia has been the most melancholy chapter in the recent history of England. Russia has been steadily establishing her control over the northern provinces and has practically eliminated the authority of the Persian Government. The fiction about the utility of the Convention in regard to Persian interests has long since been exploded. Sir Edward Grey has helplessly looked on while the Russian schemes have developed step by step and the Convention has been made a dead letter. Is the fate of Persia now entirely beyond redemption? Are the British statesmen still oblivious of the many vital British interests that the destruction of Persia would involve? They may not care to inquire what the passing of Persia may mean to the stability of the British power in India, but we must remind them that there are seventy million of Indian Mussalmans to whom the fate of Persia means a good deal. It would not be a wise statesmanship to ignore this volume of deep and abiding sentiment. We do not think it is beyond the strength of British diplomacy to stop Russian aggression and save Persia. Sir Edward Grey's obsession about the balance of power in Europe has been exploited by his Muscovite friends to the full. What British policy has gained in Europe has been more than counter-balanced by its enormous losses in Asia Can the past be retrieved? The *Nation* has little hope about it and proposes the following solution for the future:—

> Friendly observers, of course, are not agreed as to policy. But some of them hold that Northern Persia is gone to Russia, and that it is as well to reckon with that pretty well accomplished fact. What, then, is to happen to the centre and the south? There are two courses. We can go shares with Russia, advance our Indian border, infuriate native India, and spend millions of money on a new scientific frontier, and a great army to guard it. Or we can aim at a new Persia, with a capital shifted from Teheran (now almost a Russian city) to Ispahan, or better still to Shiraz, and at making this country secure in all the realities of national liberty, and yet signifying it as under our protection. In other words, we can constitute something like a second Afghanistan. Is not that the best issue? Would Russia oppose it? There is reason to suppose that she would not.

But why should it be necessary to cut out the northern provinces and hand them over to Russia? Such was not the object to which the authors of the Anglo-Russian Convention had given a wide publicity. Sir Edward Grey may not himself cherish any designs of territorial expansion in Persia, but the patent weakness of his policy has facilitated Russian aggrandisement in a thorough-going fashion. Has it become impossible to deal straight with Russia and compel her to respect her pledges? The British diplomacy has not surely become so bankrupt that British protests would fail to make any inpression on Russian policy. An independent Persia is or should be the aim of the British foreign policy in the Middle East. If Russian support is necessary for England to keep the balance of power in Europe, British support is equally indispensable to Russia in her efforts to keep her weight and prestige unimpaired in European politics. The Convention about Persia was concluded by England with an obvious desire to remove the most fruitful source of friction in Anglo-Russian relations. Russian menace to the security of India could best be averted by guarranteeing the independence and integrity of Persia, and it was, accordingly, on this basis that the Convention was framed. The British entente with Russia aimed at the removal of the Muscovite danger to British interests and power in the East and freeing British diplomacy for concen trated and vigorous action in Europe. Through an irony of fate, the very instrument of peace and concord has struck at the roots of the principles which have guided the British policy in the East for several generations. The integrity of Persia has disappeared and with it has also vanished the security of the Indian frontier. The pressure of Russian advance through northern Persia has been unceasing since 1907, and the British Foreign Office is powerless to stem it. An unfriendly Russia would have never ventured to do what a friendly Russia has been doing, and Sir Edward Grey, however perturbed and anxious he may be, has dared not utter a bold and unequivocal word of protest. Even the *Nation*, that has never been under any illusions about the Russian methods and policy, is forced to take the Russian occupation of Azerbaijan as an accomplished fact, and thinks of constituting the rest of Persia as an independent kingdom under British protection as the only practicable solution of the Persian problem in the existing circumstances. But will the Russian pressure be everted even then? Will not the Colossus move gradually on, swallowing Persian territory bit by bit, till the boundaries of Russia march with the Indian frontier? And will the monster stop ever there? The *Times* sees a crisis coming over Persian affairs, and wants the Convention to be revised as it new crisis would mean much or a revised Convention would be a panacea for Persia's ills. The crisis is already in existence and we area waiting with evident concern all future developments. We trust the British Foreign Office rea- lises its responsibilities, for the passing of Persia would mean much more than the national extinction of an ancient and gifted race.

The Haj Question.

I.

On the 27th November, 1905, the Government of India invited the opinions of Local Governments on the subject of the desirability of introducing the system of compulsory return tickets for the voyage between India and the Hejaz, as had been introduced by the Egyptian, French, Dutch and Straits Settlements Governments. The opinions of the leading Mohamedans and Anjumans obtained by Local Governments showed that the majority of the community were opposed to the proposal. In consequence of this the Government of India decided in their letter to Local Governments No. 733-742, dated May 18th, 1907, to abandon the proposal. The object aimed at was the termination of a state of affairs, which has been described as lamentable, created by the alleged dereliction at Jeddah of hundreds of indigent Indian pilgrims, stranded either through their own folly in proceeding to the Hejaz on the chance of begging their way, or in consequence of a combine of shipping companies at Jeddah resulting in sudden and exasperatingly enhanced rates of passage. The annual reports of the recently honoured British Vice-Consul at Jeddah, Dr. Abdur Rahman, describing these conditions have been insistent on the introduction of a system of compulsory return tickets; but circumstances have not been wanting to create the belief that these reports cannot be wholly relied upon. On the 18th August, 1910, the Government of India called for suggestions from the Bombay Government for remedying these evils, and on the 15th March, 1912, the Bombay Government wrote back that the Haj Committee of Bombay were of opinion that the system of compulsory return tickets could not be effectively introduced without fixing the fares for passage to and from Jeddah. The Haj Committee strongly urged Government to fix a maximum rate and then invite tenders annually from shipping companies, giving the exclusive right of carrying all pilgrims *during that year* to the Company whose tender was accepted. The Governor in Council, however, "*doubted whether there was any one firm in Bombay who could undertake the contract.*" On the 15th May, and again on the 19th July, 1912, His Majesty's Consul at Jeddah addressed lengthy complaints to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople in reply to his cypher telegram of the 5th May, 1912, regarding the repatriation of destitute Indian Pilgrims, and enclosed the report of Dr. Abdur Rahman for 1911-12. He doubted if any shipping company would bid for the monopoly of traffic for *one* season, and suggested a monopoly for five years, at the same time expressing his belief that the Bombay and Persia Steam Navigation Company would undertake the pilgrim traffic for a number, of years at from Rs. 105 to Rs. 120 per head return. He also said he was convinced in regard to all the objections to the return ticket system that "there are certain Muslim pilgrim-mongers in whose interests it is to stir up the fanaticism of their co-religionists against it". It may here be remarked parenthetically that the Bombay and Persia Steam Navigation Company was then owned by a well-known Persian gentleman living in Bombay, and it will be of interest to know that we believe the company's vessels had occasionally been utilised during the war for transporting Ottomon troops from the Yemen. In consequence of the complaints of the Consul at Jedhah His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople also made representations regarding the necessity for taking steps to ensure the repatriation of indigent Indian pilgrims in the Hejaz, and the Secretary of State for India addressed the Government of India on the subject on the 21st June, and again on the 23rd July, 1912. The Government of India was thus moved to write to the Government of Bombay on the 5th August, 1912, requesting that the further consideration of the question be expedited, and that the Government of India may be informed what immediate measures could suitably be taken for the purpose of mitigating the evils complained of other than reminding intending pilgrims widely and urgently of the extreme desirability of either securing return tickets or depositing money sufficient to cover the cost of the return journey at the British Consulate in Jeddah on their way to the Holy Places. On the 28th December, 1912, the Bombay Government reported to the Government of India that "*there was a possibility of a well-known firm of good standing entering for this pilgrim traffic after buying up or otherwise ousting the two companies which at present absorb about the greater part of this traffic.*" It would appear that this "well-known firm of a good standing" bought up the Persian Mussalman's ships early in 1913, for Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company made an offer to the Government of Bombay on the 25th January, 1913, stating the terms on which they signified their willingness to accept a monopoly of the Haj traffic to which they referred in their letter of the 4th February, 1913, to the Government of India. There is no reference in the correspondence published last year (see the *Comrade* of 31st May, and 7th and 14th June, 1913) to any consultation with any body of non-officials, and it would appear that even the Haj Committee was not consulted, though it was stated that the officers concerned in the pilgrim traffic, and particularly the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, whom the Haj Committee was designed to advise, were consulted. In a letter dated 11th April, 1913, the Government of Bombay addressed a momentous communication to the Government of India in which they stated that, with reference to the question of entrusting the monopoly of the pilgrim traffic to a single firm, and the adoption of a system of compulsory return tickets, the Governor in Council "is satisfied that in the interests both of the pilgrims "and Government it is preferable that any arrangement which may be concluded on the lines indicated above should be with Messrs. Turner, Morrison and "Company, who, as the present controlling Agents of the Bombay, Persia Steam Navigation Company and in their capacity of a local firm of high standing, "are in a better position to handle satisfactorily the Indian Pilgrim traffic than any outside firm." It need hardly be added that only a year ago, on the 15th March, 1912, when the Bombay Persia Steam Navigation Company, of course, existed, but when its Persian owner's interest in it had not been bought up by Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co., the Government of India was informed that "the Governor in Council, however, doubts whether there is any one firm in Bombay who could undertake the contract." The Bombay Government discussed the offer of the new controlling Agents of this Company, submitted on the 25th January, 1913, with evident celerity, and with no less celerity recommended to the Government of India the acceptance of the following main conditions, among others, of an agreement at which they had provisionally arrived and which, they declared, were accepted as satisfactory by the Commissioner of Police.

(1) The agreement to be for a period of *five years*, but terminable on the part of Government at one years' notice.

(2) The agreement to extend to Bombay and Karachi at which ports *the only ships which will be licensed under the Pilgrim Ships Act will be those put forward by the Company.*

(3) *Return tickets alone to be issued* to pilgrims from these ports.

(4) *Maximum rates to be fixed at present for the first two years*; the rates for subsequent years *will in no case be lower than these*, and *Government will consider whether the improved conditions of service do not justify an enhancement.*

(5) The maximum rates for the next season to be :—

		Rs.
(a)	From the 26th September to the 10th October	160
(b)	From the 27th August to the 25th September	140
(c)	From the 1st August to the 26th August	120
(d)	Before the 1st August	100

(In each subsequent year the dates to be 10 days earlier.)

(8) Each ticket to carry a guarantee of a *return passage from Jeddah within 3½ months of the last date of the Haj*, provided the holder thereof presents the return voucher at Jeddah *within 2 months of such date.*

(10) Ships to leave Jeddah *within 7 days, and in some cases, within 10 days of advertised date of sailing.*

(11) In the case of each holder of a ticket who is *certified by the British Consul at Jeddah to have died in the Hejaz* the Company will on production of the unused return voucher pay *Rs. 50 to the Commissioner of Police for disbursement to the heirs of the deceased.*

These wholly new and extremely far-reaching conditions, never before disclosed or even distantly suggested to the people to whom they were proposed to be applied, were urged on the acceptance of the Government of India and *sanction was sought by telegram.* In anticipation of such telegraphic sanction the Bombay Governor in Council also took steps to have the terms of the agreement put into legal form ready for signature. Althoug

these important arrangements were not publicly notified at the time the *Comrade* got wind of them and strongly critised them in its issue of the 26th April, 1913. Thanks to the fairness of the Government of India, the Bombay Government received on the 28th April. not the telegraphic sanction for which they had pressed, but telegraphic instructions to circulate the new proposals and invite the opinions of leading Mussalmans and Moslem Associations of the Bombay Presidency, and particularly of the neglected Bombay Haj Committee. Subsequently the Government of India themselves published them and requested the various Local Governments to invite thereon the expression of Moslem public opinion. The *Hamdard* then dealt with them in detail in successive issues and before long it was made manifest that Moslem opinion was truly reflected in its columns. Very reluctantly, but still with a candid recognition of the error of ignoring public opinion, the Bombay Government have now withdrawn their former proposals about introducing the system of compulsory return tickets and the giving of a monopnly for five years to the English firm that had just then bought up the interest of its Mussalman owner in the Bombay, Persia Steam Navigation Company. We reproduce below the letter of the Bombay Government containing their revised proposals and the Government of India's circular letter to Local Governments on the same. In our next issue we shall reproduce the enclosures of the Bombay Government's letter, two of which are of absorbing interest, the proceedings of the Conference at Poona and the views of the much praised Mr. Shamsuddin Kadri, formerly Oriental Translator to the Government of Bombay and now Collector of West Khandesh. We also reserve our comments on the new proposals for the next issue, and only request our readers to examine them thoroughly with a view to ascertain whether they are not the old proposals in a new garb. The return tickets are now proposed to be popularised by penalising the purchaser of single journey tickets, and the latest telegrams show that Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Co. made another but no more successful bid for a monopoly of the pilgrim traffic by attempting to buy up the plucky Arab Steam Navigation Company. As a consequence of the breakdown of negotiations between the two, competition has become very keen, and the rates are 20 to 45 per cent. lower than those at the same time last year. Sailings are also more punctual and the Arab Company was determined to send on the advertised date its recently acquired vessel, the *Sumatra*, a very fine large ship, as Our Special Bombay Corressondent telegraphs to us, with only 500 passengers, in spite of the fact that she can accommodate as many as 1,400. This determination was, however, deservedly rewarded by a rush of pilgrims on the last day and Our Special Correspondent wires to us that she sailed to-day with 900 pilgrims on board. The Bombay Persia Company had advertised the departure of the S. S. *Mansuri*, but probably in view of this competition they have substituted the S. S. *Akbari*, a much larger vessel, capable of accomodating 1,100 passengers. But Our Special Correspondent wires that she is still in the docks undergoing repairs. The Arab Company have also advertised the S. S. *Jeddah* to sail on the 21st. This is one of their best steamers, which was running in the Chinese seas under the name of *Pulaman*, and has recently been purchased by the Arab Company and re-named. It can accomodate 1,300. We are glad to learn of this competition which would have been crushed by the Bombay Government's proposed monopoly. Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. evidently do not like that this competition should continue, and that tickets sold by them laslt year for Rs. 65 at this time and Rs. 120 towards the end of the season should be sold now for Rs. 45 to Rs. 55 only. But there is no indication yet that bottom price has been reached and sailings are taking place at a loss to the Companies, for before all ports except Bombay were closed for the embarkation of pilgrims to the Hejaz the rates ranged between Rs. 20 and Rs. 30 only, and seldom went beyond Rs. 50. The Arab Company has, therefore clearly an excellent claim upon the support of intending pilgrims apart from its being a Moslem firm.

I.

No. 1136-1147.

FROM

The Hon'ble Mr. L. C. Porter, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India.

To

The Local Governments and Administrations.

Department of Education
Sanitary

Simla, the 20th June, 1914.

SIR,

I am directed to refer to the correspondence ending with your letter No. on the subejct of pilgrimage to the Hejaz. The Scheme suggested by the Government of Bombay in their letter of the 11th April 1913, involved the grant of a monopoly of the pilgrim traffic between India and Jeddah to a particular firm and the adoption of a system of compulsory return tickets. Local Governments were consulted in this Department circular letter Nos. 816-826, dated the 16th May 1913, and their replies were forwarded to the Government of Bombay for information.

2. The Government of Bombay have now submitted revised proposals for improvement in the conditions of the Haj pilgrim traffic without resort either to a monopoly or to the system of compulsory return tickets. The proposals put forward have been discussed by the Governor in Council with the prominent leaders of the Mohamedan community in the Bombay Presidency and it is reported that they meet with general acceptance. I am to forward a copy of the Bombay Government's letter No. 3097, dated the 21st April 1914 and enclosures, containing these proposals, and to request that [with the permission of His Excellency the Governor in Council / His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor (in Council)] after consultation with leading Mohamedan gentlemen and associations in the province, the Government of India may be furnished with the views of your Government.

3. The Government of India desires to emphasise the opinion expressed by the Government of Bombay in paragraph 12 of their letter regarding the necessity for early organisation of local Haj committees at the headquarters of each province with sub-committees at other important centres. In this connection I am to invite attention to this Department letter Nos. 619-628, dated the 18th April 1913, in which local Governments were addressed on the question of the formation, as an experimental measure, of suitable local Haj committees. The Government of India will be glad to receive a report as to what progress has been made towards carrying out these proposals.

4. The Government of India believe that it would add to the usefulness of the provincial committees, in those provinces where the number of Hajis is relatively large, if they were provided with paid secretaries; and, subject to the sanction of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, they would be glad to consider any reasonable proposal for assistance from Imperial funds towards the pay of these secretaries.

5. Subject also to the approval of the Secretary of State, the Government of India are disposed to agree to a non-recurring grant of one lakh of rupees being made from Imperial revenues to the Bombay Haj Committee towards the proposed Repatriation Fund on the condition indicated in paragraph 16 of the Bombay letter *viz.*, that the Mussalman community throughout India raises at least an equal sum within a reasonable period.

6. The proposals summarised in paragraph 15 involve an amendment of the rules under the Pilgrim Ships Act, 1895, and of the protection of Pilgrim Act, 1887 (Bombay Act II of 1887). I am to forward for the information of the Government of Madras, etc., / your information copy of the Bombay Government's letter No. 3098, dated the 21st April 1914, dealing with these amendments and to say that action is being taken separately on this letter. The proposed amendments in the rules under the Pilgrim Ships Act will in the ordinary course be published for criticism before they are finally issued. The bill to amend the protection of Pilgrims Act so as to require owners to notify the actual date of sailing and to impose a cumulative penalty in event of default will also be subject to further discussion when introduced into the Local Council.

7. I am to request that the matter may be treated as urgent and that [with the permission of His Excellency the Governor in Council / His Honour the Lieut.-Governor (in Council)] all possible intermediate action may be taken to meet the requirements of the ensuing Haj.

I have the honour to be,
SIR,
Your most obedient servant,
L. C. PORTER,
Secretary to the Government of India.

II.

No. 3097, dated Bombay Castle, the 21st April 1914.

From—J. L. RIEU, ESQ., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department.

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education (Sanitary).

I am directed to refer to the telegram from the Government of India, No. 689 (Sanitary), dated the 28th April 1913, requesting that the Government of Bombay will take steps to ascertain publicly the feeling of the Mohamedan community of the Presidency, and especially of the Haj Committee, with regard to the proposals relating to the conduct of the Haj pilgrim traffic contained in their letter No. 2896, dated the 11th April, 1913.

Sany. A., June 1913, nos. 549.

2. In reply I am to submit, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying synopsis of the opinions elicited through the Collectors and Political Agents and, in the case of Bombay City, through the Commissioner of Police from the various Musalman Anjumans and Associations and the local leaders and influential members of the Mahomedan community in the several districts and political agencies of the Presidency and in Bombay itself. The synopsis contains also a statement of the views of the Haj Committee.

3. I am to state that, after the opinions thus obtained had been considered, this Government thought it advisable to hold an informal conference with a small number of the leading representatives of the Musalman community for the purpose of the frank and full discussion of the whole question. The conference was held on the 31st July last under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. Claude Hill. I am to submit herewith a copy of the notes taken of the discussion.

4. In accordance with the intention expressed at the close of the proceedings of the Committee, the opinions elicited in the course of the discussion, together with those referred to in paragraph 2 above, were communicated to Khan Bahadur Syed Shamsuddin Syed Mian Kadri, Collector of West Khandesh, who may be regarded as adequately representing the more enlightened and advanced section of the Mahomedan community of the Presidency proper, with a request that he would state his personal views with regard to the several objections urged against the proposals of this Government and would make any suggestions or recommendations that he might think proper for dealing with the problem of the Haj pilgrim traffic. I am to submit for the information of the Government of India a copy of the note which has been received from him in response to this reference.

5. One consideration of the recommendations embodied in Mr. Kadri's note is that the Government entered into communication with Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company with a view to ascertaining whether they were prepared to fall in with the principal feature of those recommendations, namely, the substitution of an optional for a compulsory return ticket system, combined with a tariff in which the rates for the return passage were so preponderatingly favourable as to provide a very strong inducement to the pilgrims to purchase return tickets, and, if so, what scale of maximum rates they were prepared to quote. The opportunity was also taken of discussing with them the more important of the objections urged against the original proposals with a view to discovering what, if any, means they could suggest for overcoming the difficulties on which they were based.

6. The representative of Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company, with whom these questions were discussed, was not in a position to give any definite reply regarding the new proposals until he had referred the matter to his home firm. The Governor in Council has now, however, received the firm's reply to these proposals, and having also had an opportunity of watching events connected with the recent outward pilgrim season is in a position to present his views on the objections that have been urged against the original scheme and to formulate certain revised proposals as the result of the discussions that have taken place.

7. In the first place I am to observe that the most striking point which emerges from the large body of opinion collected from all parts of the Presidency is the apparent absence of any general or emphatic opposition to the principle of the compulsory return ticket system. Mahomdan opinion on this side of India would appear to have undergone a very considerable transformation in regard to this question since the discussions of 1908. Another noteworthy point is that the opposition to the grant of a monopoly of the pilgrim traffic to a single shipping company, and that, too, one controlled by a European firm, is apparently by no means so strong as might have been anticipated. On the whole, it may be said that, so far as any conclusions can be formed from these opinions, the original proposal of this Government have met with a more favourable reception than could have been expected. The points of objection, where there is objection, have reference for the most part to matters of detail, such, for instance, as the alleged costliness of the rates proposed, the shortness of the period during which a speedy return passage is gaaranteed, and the absence of provision for the refund of the value of the return half of a ticket in the case of pilgrims returning to India by another route. In fact the objections are, generally speaking, such as could to a considerable extent, if not entirely, be met by a modification of the scheme in certain of its subsidiary features.

Sanj. A., January 1908. nos. 54-55.

8. This view of the attitude of the Mahomedan community towards the scheme must, however, be largely discounted by the results of the conference with its leading representatives, which give proof of so determined and uncompromising an antagonism to the main principle underlying the scheme, namely, that of compulsion in the matter of return tickets, that it would be in vain to expect that the adoption of the scheme, even if the practical difficulties incidental to the latter could be met in an entirely adequate and satisfactory fashion, should proceed without incurring the danger of provoking considerable popular opposition and resentment. This antagonism may, not improbably, be due to influences originating outside this Presidency and permeating Mahomedan opinion as a consequence of recent events elsewhere; but it is nevertheless a factor in the case which it would not be wise to ignore. Further, the Governor in Council fully appreciates the fact that it is not safe to draw any conclusions, applicable to the whole of India, from the attitude of the Mahomedan community in this Presidency alone. Recent experience shows that causes for excitement which are susceptible of control in this Presidency are more liable to disturb the community elsewhere; and the Bombay Government recognize that the present is not a time when it is desirable to introduce measures which can by any possibility be misunderstood.

9. Moreover, it has to be admitted that the presence every year in the ranks of the departing pilgrims of a very appreciable proportion of persons who either never return to India from the Hedjaz, or return by an entirely different route, introduces another factor of real difficulty in the consideration of the problem. In view of the number of these it is impossible to ignore their case. At the same time any means that could be devised for meeting it, by a system of refunds or otherwise, would create conditions which would facilitate the evasion of the restrictions which the scheme seeks to impose, and would result in the frustration of its essential object. The discussion which has taken place with Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company's representative has not led to the suggestions of any expedient which could be regarded as satisfactorily surmounting this serious practical difficulty.

10. In the circumstances described in the foregoing paragraphs it now remains to consider what measure, if any, can be taken, in substitution for, or modification of, those advocated in my letter No. 2896 of 11th April, 1913, to secure the desired improvement in the conditions of the pilgrim traffic. In the first place I am directed to say, in explanation of the withdrawal of certain of the propsoals formulated last April, that those proposals have secured one object, in that they have aroused an interest in a subject which has long suffered from complete public apathy. Further, they have had a most stimulating effect upon the shipping community. Competition for the traffic, though not very effective as yet from rivals of Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company, has been brisker than was anticipated or has been the case for years past. The foreshadowing of the grant of a monopoly has no doubt been the cause of this; but, whatever the cause, the result has served to disclose the fact that, whether there be fixity of rates and compulsory return tickets or not, the shipping companies catering for the traffic will be compelled, in the ordinary course of business, to supply improved vessels before long, and this circumstance, almost as much as the political factor, has operated to modify this Government's view, not only in respect of the question of making return tickets compulsory, but also as regards the grant of a monopoly to any one shipping firm. In the light of the discussions which have resulted from my letter of the 11th April, 1913, and of the experience of the last pilgrim season, I am to say that, provided that certain, changes are effected which will be dealt with at length below, and on the understanding that the formation of Haj Committees in all the provinces of India is pressed forward in a manner calculated to secure concrete results, this Government thanks that it will be possible to effect real improvement in the conditions of the pilgrim traffic without resort either to a monopoly or to compulsory return tickets.

Sanj. A., June 1914. nos. 5.49.

11. The object aimed at in the preceding discussions have been the following:—

(*i*) The creation of efficient committees throughout India to organise the pilgrimage from the several provinces.

(*ii*) Greater efficiency in the actual organization of the pilgrimage at the port of departure.

(*iii*) The improvement of the conditions in which the voyage from Indin to the Hejaz and back is performed.

(*iv*) The establishment of facilities at Jeddah for the Indian pilgrims on return from the holy places pending re-embarkation for the return journey.

(*v*) The fixation of the rates of passage money, by means of the grant of a monopoly for a term of years.

12. In regard to the first of the objects specified in the above paragraph I am to invite the attention of the Governor-General in Council to my letter No. 978, dated the 4th February, 1913, and

to the remarks of the Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhai Currimbhai as reported in the precis of the proceedings at the conference referred to in paragraph 3 above. As pointed out also in paragraph 10 of the memorandum drawn up by Khan Bahadur Syed Shamsuddin Kadri, the organization of businesslike committees at the headquarters of each province, with, if possible, sub-committees at other important centres and an agency at Jeddah, is an essential preliminary to any real improvement in the lot of Indian pilgrims. The Pilgrim Department in Bombay, consisting of the Commissioner of Police and his staff and the Protector of Pilgrims, is at present able to deal with pilgrims only as they arrive without having the benefit of any reliable preliminary notice of the extent to which its services will be required. It has to meet emergencies on the spur of the moment as best it can, and, when the rush of pilgrims is at its height, it is almost impossible for the Department to cope adequately with the work or to deal effectively and promptly with the pilgrims. The formation of efficient committees up-country, in touch with the local Musulman population, would not only render the task of the Bombay authorites easier, by communicating to the latter information as to the numbers of pilgrims and the dates of their departure, but would enable the authorities to organize departures in advance and so prevent the congestion which is, at present, so difficult to copy with at the busiest period of the season. The Governor in Council, I am to say, cannot too strongly emphasize his conviction that the organization of such committees is the first essential of any real improvement in the conditions of the pligrimage to the Hedjaz, and he desires again to urge upon the Government of India the grave importance of pressing upon local Governments the necessity of taking early steps in this matter.

13. The steps necessary to render the actual organization of the pilgrimage more efficient at the port of embarkation may be briefly touched upon here, for the information of the Government of India, though they are matters for detailed arrangement hereafter and can be given effect to without troubling the Governor-General in Council.

At present the pilgrim traffic of Bombay is controlled by four separate departments or agencies :—

(1) The Port Officer, who surveys the pilgrim ship.

(2) The Port Health Officer, who disinfects the ship and baggage and inspects pilgrims and medical store on the ship.

(3) The Police, who look after the interests of the pilgrims while in Bombay, supervise the sale of tickets, and control the traffic at the times of embarkation ; with the assistance of the Municipality they also arrange for the vaccination of pilgrims.

(4) The Customs Department, who measure the ship, inspect the fittings and count the pilgrims.

Now all these duties, except—

(*a*) the survey of the ship by the Port Officer for seaworthiness, and

(*b*) the disinfection of the ship and baggage and the medical inspection by the Port Health Officer,

could equally well, and with a resultant increase in smoothness of working and co-ordination of functions, be carried out by a single authority which should, in the opinion of the Governor in Council, be what has been referred to above as the Pilgrim Department, namely, the Commissioner of Police and his officers and the protector of Pilgrims.

The Governor in Council has now under consideration specific and detailed proposals for the re-organization on this basis of the work connected with the pilgrim traffic. He is not as yet in a position to pass final orders in respect to them, but, as he approves the general principle of concentration of authority which underlies them, I am to communicate for the information of the Government of India, the main features of the scheme which they embody.

The principal duties which are susceptible of being readily transferred to the police are those under (4) above which are now performed by the Customs Department. Of these the measurement of the ship and the inspections of its fittings have hitherto been carried out by one of the Assistant Collectors and an Inspector, while the counting of the pilgrims on embarkation has required the services of an Inspector and two European preventive officers. In substitution for this agency, which deals with duties which do not call for any special technical knowledge, it is proposed to create an additional appointment of Deputy Commissioner of Police who would replace the Commissioner of Police as *ex-officio* President of the Bombay Haj Committee, and would, subject to the general control of the Commissioner, be responsible for all the work in connection with the pilgrim traffic now performed by the Police and the Customs Departments. Apart from his pilgrim duties this officer would also be placed in charge of the Dock, Water, and Government Dockyard Police, thus being responsible for the whole police administration of the Harbour and docks, a responsibility which the new dock extensions will in the immediate future very largely increase. With regard to the agency of a more subordinate character required for the execution of the other duties referred to above, it is contemplated to add to the additional staff already proposed for policing the new docks two sergeants who will, during the pilgrim season, be specially detailed for pilgrim work, and at the same time to raise the pay of the present Protector of Pilgrims, now only Rs. 150 a month, to Rs. 250 a month and place him directly under the orders of the new Deputy Commissioner. There will thus be constituted a single self-contained organization which will be entrusted with the sole responsibility for all those duties connected with the pilgrim traffic which are not of a purely technical character. At the head of this organization will be the new Deputy Commissioner of Police, who, as President of the Haj Committee, will be in close touch with that advisory body and in a position to obtain its advice and guidance in all matters relating to the welfare of the pilgrims and the organization of the pilgrimage generally. The more essentially police duties of the officer will be of such a character as to bring him in constant relation with the interests and forces which most potently influence the conditions of the pligrim traffic. For the present system of divided responsibility necessarily involving lack of definition and continuity of co-ordination of effort, there will thus be substituted management by a single expert and specialized department which, in course of time, as it acquires experience and devlepe incresed efficiency, may be expected to be instrumental in bringing about very material improvements in the arrangments for the transit of the pilgrims through Bombay and their embarkation for Jeddah and in the conditions in which they perform the journey to and from that port.

14. The improvement of the conditions in which the voyage to and from the Hedjaz are performed involves alterations in the rules. It was to render possible—or at all events equitable—the exaction of more stringent requirements from shipping companies that the monopoly system with fixity of rates and return passages was recommended in my letter of April 1913. As has already been indicated, there is now (partly as a consequence of those proposals) reason to hope that the desired objects can, to a considerable extent, be attained without resort to either of those measures. The shipping company with whom this Government has been conducting negotiations (Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Campany) are committed to the Red Sea traffic. The ships which they took over from the Bombay-Persia Steam Navigation Company are old boats which must, within a very short period, be replaced; and their own interests in retaining the cargo traffic will compel them to replace them with better, larger and faster steamers. These circumstances discount, to a large extent, the value of the undertaking, offered by them in return for the monopoly, to provide a better service. Finally, competition (again, no doubt, in part as a consequence of the proposals formulated by this Government) has been brisker this year. In short, it is quite possible for Government now, to exact better ships, more space, and greater speed quite apart from any question of concession to any individual company.

15. The Governor in Council is prepared to recommend immediate action in the following ways :—

(*a*) The question of the provision of more space per pilgrim on pilgrim ships has come up and will be settled automatically in connection with the deliberations of the Life Boats Committee.

(*b*) The requirement of better and faster ships can and should be secured by a change in Rule 4 of the Pilgrim Ships Rules which at present prescribe a minimum of only 500 tons.

(*c*) The provisions of the Protection of Pilgrims Act dealing with the notification by the shipping companies of the dates of sailing of their ships require to be strengthened. A definite obligation should be imposed on the companies to despatch their ships on the dates notified. The rules under the Pilgrim Ships Act dealing with certain matters which affect the interests, health and convenience of the pilgrims should be made more effective ond added to in some respects.

The development of shipping, coupled with the reasons advanced in paragraph 14 *ante* justifies the raising of the minimum of size and speed which was fixed nearly 20 years ago; and the Governor in Council is advised that it is possible and legitimate immediately to raise the mininmum tonnage from 500 to 2,000 with a warning

that after 5 years it will be further raised to 2,500. I am to forward, as an indication of the reasonableness of this requirement, copy of a statement which His Excellency in Council has caused to be prepared, of the ships recently engaged in the traffic which shows that, of 24 ships, only 9 were below this standard.

It has not escaped attention that an alteration of the rules in the direction of requiring a higher standard in respect to speed and tonnage may be made the pretext upon which shipowners will endeavour to charge higher rates of passage money; and some of the leaders of the Mahomedan community in Bombay have suggested that, if there is good ground to apprehend that this will be the result, the minimum, at all events for tonnage, should be placed rather lower. Enquiries made from sources other than the shipping companies lead the Governor in Council to the belief that this fear is not well grounded and that an increase in the minimum tonnage requirement to 2,000, though it may have the effect of a protest on the part of shipowners, will, owing to competition, fail to affect the price of tickets in any way. As already indicated, few of the ships engaged in the traffic have a lower tonnage, and these are being rapidly replaced.

As regards speed, Rule 4 of the Pilgrim Ships Rules prescribes a minimum speed as well as size for ships sailing in the monsoon. The requirements as regards speed are as antiquated and inadequate as those regarding size. There are difficulties and drawbacks in the way of requiring ships to be certified as "capable" of steaming so many knots. In practice they are often found to be capable of doing so only for a few hours. His Excellency in Council is advised that the most satisfactory form in which to place this requirement is to demand that a vessel shall contract to reach Aden in so many hour and to require a deposit to be made or bond to be given for the fulfilment of the contract.

With regard to (*c*) I am to invite attention to my letter No. 3098 of to-day's date, with which certain specific proposals for the amendment of the Act and Rules above referred to in the direction indicated are being sulomitted for the approval of the Government of India. It is believed that the provisions enacted by these amendments will, among other things, introduce companies' advertising with impermity sailings a very material improvement in the conditions under which the pilgrims purchase their passage tickets and effect their actual departure by sea for Jeddah. The present state of the law admits of the shipping which they know they cannot possibly adhere to and rates of passage money which they have no intention of accepting if, by thus inducing a rush of applications, they are enabled subsequently to raise them. These unscrupulous manœuvres on the part of the companies are a source of intense harrassment and annoyance to the pilgrims and of serious anxiety and embarrassment to the authorities charged with their care and supervision during their stay in the port of departure.

16, The Fourth of the objects specified in paragraph II above, namely, the establishment of facilities at Jeddah, is dependent for its efficient realization upon the creation of the Haj Committees dealt with in paragraph 12. Under present conditions the Consul at Jeddh is the only effective agent for watching over the interests and welfare of pilgrims disembarking and reembarking. He does what is possible so secure for them fair treatments when once they are ashore and to facilitate their departure. But in the numerous cases which annually occur of pilgrims reaching Jeddah in a destitute condition on the return journey he is practically unable to do more than represent their case, as last year, to the Government of India or of Bomday. He has no general fund at his disposal for their repatriation.

It was this aspect of the case which drove the Government of Bombay, in the interest of the credit of the Musalmans of the Indian Empire, to propose a system of compulsory return tickets; and it is this problem for which I am now to propose an alternative solution.

It is believed that certain charitable Musulmans occasionally proceed to Jeddah partly, if not mainly, for the purpose of helping indigent pilgrims, not only with funds, but also with advice and direction. Such unorganized charity can of itself do but little but it seems to point out a direction in which proper organization can convert casual relief into a systematic alleviation of a growing scandal. With this end in view the Governor in Council proposes that there should be established, at Jeddah, a British Indian Agency affiliated to (or rather emanating from) the Bombay Haj Committee, and working in conjunction with the British Consul, for the express purpose of effecting the repatriation annually of indigent pilgrims at the close of the pilgrim season. The Musulman community in Bombay recognize the grave discredit, which is reflected on all Indian Musalmans by the recurring scandal. They have shown, however, that there are difficulties in the way of, and strong opposition to a system of return tickets. There is reason to believe that they realize (and willing to help in discharging) the responsibility of the community for co-operating with Government in devising and financing measures of relief. Funds, or rather a fund, will be necessary to render efficient the working of the proposed British Indian Agency; and His Excellency in Council desires to suggest, for the consideration of the Government of India, that such fund shall be formed by a non-recurring grant from Imperial revenues not to exceed, at present, Rs, one lakh, conditional upon the Musalman community throughout India raising at least an equal sum. It may reasonably be hoped that the community will be able to raise a sum very large ly in excess of a lakh; but even assuming for a moment that it failed to respond generously, a Repatriation Fund of two lakhs, yeilding an income of Rs. 8,000 approximately would to a very large extent solve the problem. This fund would be administered primarily by the Haj Committee in Bombay, whose annual grant, varying according to the necessities of the cas e, would be disbursed by the Jeddah British Indian Agency under the control of the British Council. It is possible that the Bombay Haj Committee acting through the proposed Pilgrim Department could successfully ar range each year with steamship compainies for the carriage of destitute pilgrims at special rates; but it is in any event quite certain that an organization of the character described, working in conjunction with a local committee in Jeddah controlled by the British Council, and possessed of a nucleus fund of the character descibed, would be in a strong position to end the present unsatisfaitory condition of affairs; and I am to express the hope that the Government of India will view the matter favourably and see their way to make a grant of one lakh of rupees towards the fund, on the condition that the Musalman community collect at least one lakh rupees within a reasonable period.

I am to add that the Governor in Council has not overlooked the probability that, as soon as it is known that a Repatriation Fund exists, many pilgrims who could really afford the return ticket will represent themselve as being indigent. It is, however, hoped that the Council, by associating with himself certain of the respectable Indians, whether, permanently or only temporarily resident in Jeddah wil be able to require a knowlege of the circumstances of such persons, so as to be in a position to resist such claims when not genuine. At all events the Governor in Council thinks the exper iment to be well worth a trial, and has ascertianed that, pending the discovery of a better method, the Bombay leaders of the Musalman community concur in this view.

17. The abandonment of the proposed system of compulsory return tickets and the substitution of the proposal detailed in the foregoing paragraphs still leave it desirable to encourage as far as practicable the purchase by pilgrim of return tickets; and for this reason the Governor in Council considers that it should be made a rule that pilgrims who desire to purchase a return ticket shall be entitled to receive one at a certain fixed ratio in excess of the cost of the single ticket.

In the course of the negotiations with Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company on the subject of the fixity of maximum rates of passage money single and return, that firm expressed its willingness to have the following rates fixed. (It should be explained that their proposal was made on the assumption that they should have a monopoly of the traffic):—

	Single Ticket.	Return Ticket.
	Rs.	Rs.
(*a*) From 26th September to 15th Oceober ...	120	150
(*b*) „ 27th August to 25th September ...	100	130
(*c*) „ 1st August to 26th August ...	90	120
(*d*) Before 1st August	75	100

It will be seen that the proposed rates contemplated conveying on the return journey (on return tickets) at rates only 25 per cent. in excess of the single ticket; and the Government of Bombay propose that the rule should fix this rate, coupled with a guarantee to refund the excess in the event of the pilgrim dying or failing to utilize it. The latter provision will require safeguards, and the guarantee would be enforced only on a representation certified to by the Haj Committee.

18. The attainment of the fifth object (paragarph 11 *ante*) originally aimed at by this Government must, in the opinion of His Excellency in Council, be foregone. He does not disguise from himself that the fixation of passage rates was, in many ways, the most important object and the one which would have benefitted the pilgrims more materially than any other. The Mohamedan community, as

represented by their leaders, has in the opinion of the Bombay Government, deliberately preferred to sacrifice a great material boon to the pilgrims for the sake of a sentiment. It may be doubled whether any of the benefits aimed at by the present alternative proposal will in the eyes of the pilgrims, be of the value which fixed fares and certainly of return would have possessed for them; and the Governer in Council has therefore out of deference to the views expressed, abandoned, with reluctance, the monopoly proposals coupled with the fixing of passage rates.

19. It will be convenient to summarize here the substance of the proposals contained in this letter,

They are, briefly stated, as follows:—

I. The creation of an agency, embracing every local centre from which pilgrims make their departure, for the proper and controol rganization, in India, of the pilgrimage.

This agency will consist of—

(*a*) the present Bombay Haj Committee working as a board of advice to the executive official referred to in proposal II and controlling the Repatriation Fund referred to in proposal IV.

(*b*) a Provincial Haj Committee (assisted, where necessary, by local sub-committees) constituted for each province in India on the lines of organized Bombay Committee; such Provincial Committees to be in close communication with Bombay Committeee for the purpose of keeping the latter informed as to the numbers and dates of departure of pilgrims leaving from their respective areas.

II. The constitution of a re-organized Pilgrim Department under a Deputy Commissioner of Police which will discharge the functions connected with the arrangements for the embarkation and transport of pilgrim which are now divided between the Police and the Customs authorities, the object in view being to secure greater efficiency in the actual organization of the pilgrimage at the port of departure.

III. The amendment of the Pilgrim Ships Act, the Protection of Pilgrims Act and the rules under the former enactment with a view to the improvement of the condition in which the pilgrims effect their back; these amendments being in the direction—

(*a*) the prescription of a higher minimum of space per pilgrim on board ship.

(*b*) the raising of the minimum of tonnage for pilgrim ship from 500 to 2,000 and eventually 2,500, tons.

(*c*) the fixing for each pilgrim of a contract time limit for the voyage from the port of departure to Aden, excess over which will render the shipping company liable to the forfeiture of a deposit previously exacted.

(*d*) the strengthening of the provision with regard to the notification of the date of sailing of pilgrim ships, and the imposition on the shipping Companies of a definite obligation to despatch their ships on the date notified,

(*e*) the introduction of improvements in certain matters affecting the health and convenience of the pilgrims.

IV. With a view to the establishment of improved facilities for securing the return of Indian pilgrims from Jeddah:—

(*a*) the constitution at that port of a British Indian Agency of the Bombay Haj Committee working in conjunction with the British Consul.

(*b*) the organization of a Repatriation Fund composed of subscriptions collected from the Mahomedan community in all parts of India and of an Imperial non-recurring grant, not exceeding one lakh, equal to the total amount thus collected, the latter grant to be advanced immediately on the understanding that the equivalent amount will be subscribed within a reasonable time.

(*c*) the administration of this fund by the Bombay Haj Committee the allotments made from time to time from its proceeds being disbursed by the Agency at Jeddah under the supervision of the British Consul;

(*d*) the imposition on the shipping companies of an obligation to issue, on demand by pilgrims, return tickets at a cost representing an excess of not more than 25 per cent. over the cost of the single ticket, such return tickets carrying a guarantee of the refund of the excess in the event, which would be certified to by the Haj Committee, of the death of the holder or the non-utilization of the return half.

20. In conclusion I am to observe that the proposals herein put forward have been discussed with prominent leaders of the Mahomedan Community in the Bombay Presidency and, subject to the remarks contained in paragraphs 15 and 16, meet with general acceptance. These gentlemen also expressed confidence that a far larger sum than one lakh of rupees can be collected from the Musulmans throughout India, and suggested that no limit should be placed upon the amount up to which (*vide* paragraph 16) the Government of India would contribute an equivalent. I am to say, however, that while the Repatriation experiment is under trial, it is the opinion of the Governor in Council that the State contribution should have a fixed limit, though it is to be hoped that private contributions by wealthy Musulmans will greatly exceed that limit.

Statement referred to in paragraph 15 of the letter to the Government of India, No. 3097, dated the 21st April, 1914.

Names of ship.	Registered tonnage.
S. S. Shah Jehan	2,635·32
,, *Khosrou*	2,410
,, *Islami*	1,604·58
,, *Homayun*	2,154·70
,, *Mohammadi*	1,251·81
,, *Nadari*	1,168·92
,, *Rahmani*	1,872·78
,, *Fakhri*	2,555·03
,, *Saifi*	501·71
,, *Mansuri*	2,121·50
,, *Majidi*	1,857·39
,, *Sofala*	3,436·44
,, *Nawab*	2,041·38
,, *Norkoowa*	1,074·18
,, *Shah Amir*	2,023·70
,, *Lawoe*	1,817·18
,, *Alavi*	2,324·12
,, *Koweit*	2,336·07
,, *Firozi*	2,005·61
,, *Purnea*	2,126·73
,, *Kanzler*	1,865·42
,, *Nurani*	2,870·43
,, *Itonus*	3,401
,, *Budrie*	1,613·18

Indian Emigration.

(To The Editor of The Times.)

Sir,—May I make a small contribution to the dicussion on this question of Asiatic emigration and immigration ? I have been surprised that many who have written and spoken on the subject have not dealt at any rate prominently—with the point of view I now put forward.

I am well aware that many districts of India proper, India between the foothills of the Himalayas and Cape Comorin, between the Indus and the Brahmaputra are overcrowded in population, and that in these districts there is an eager desire not merely to shift from one part of tropical India to another but to try for a new life outside Indian conditions. But why in such cases should the Indian emigrant only think of the southern parts of Africa or the western part of North America? Personally I think British South Africa as a unit—if "unit" can be applied to a region so vast—could never be wholly a white man's country ; and that it is to be white and black jointly, it might just as well be white, black, and yellow. But even then the regions which are appropriate for Indian immigration would not be those that by their compartively cool and temperate climate are suited to the white race; they would be the sparsely inhabited yet fertile districts of South-East Africa, and still more of Eastern Zambesia: similarly, the Portuguese dependences of Mozambique, Nyasaland is perhaps too thickly populated and too small for the reception of any large Indian contingent, but there might be more space available in parts of Northern Rhodesia. Much of German East Africa is still open to Indian colonization. The inception of the idea of a "British East Africa" was essentially that it should be "an America for the Hindu"—as the phrase went in the eighties. But after it was taken full possession of by the British it was found that there were areas of considerable extent well suited to white colonization, while other areas were in all good faith strictly allotted to the indigenous negroes or negroids. Still there remains the coast belt between the Umba River and the Juba, wherein, surely, there is not only a considerable Indian population already, but another hundred thousand might be located without difficulty. It has, however, of late years been complained of—privately, if not publicly—that such Indians as were already admitted to British East Africa had developed a great copacity for political intrigue and secret societies and had made themselves very objectionable in other ways. With every desire to defend the Indians (since I was one of the pioneers of treaty-making in East Africa, and had myself considered it to be a land which might well be offered to some degree of Indian settlement). I was obliged to admit that these complaints were well founded, on the evidence which was adduced.

On the other hand, I believe, I have in past years described the excellent work which was being done by Sikhs in Cuba. Indian coolies do not seem to have prospered much in Jamaica, but apparently have done well in Trinidad. The population of the West Indies—independent, American and British—is comparatively speaking so small compared to what it might be that there is surely an opening in this direction which might better appeal to the Sikhs, as well as to the people of Southern India, in preference to British Columbia.

But the most curious phase of the whole struggle is the sparse population of many parts of India itself—mountain regions in which, from the accounts of English and Germrn travellers, there are paradises still awaiting their inhabitants; or healthy deserts which might be made as productive and as populous as Egypt, if modern schemes of irrigation were applied. If the British Government were actively furthering a European colonization of the sparsely populated hill States and mountain kingdoms of India (and one or two books have recently appeared with strong pleas for fruitfarming in such regions). I should understand the bitterness of feeling that our Indian fellow-subjects entertain. But we do not favour such a policy: we strive as far as possible to keep the Indian Empire for the increase of its indigenous inhabitants. Therefore (perhaps foolishly) I should like to know why the promoters of genuine emigration schemes in India do not first endeavour to colonize to its fullest extent some 200,000 square miles of habitable but unpopulated India.

Your obedient servant,
H. H. Johnston.

The Approaching Crisis in Persia.

The affairs of Persia appear to be approaching a crisis of unusual gravity. Cynics may observe, with perfect truth, that the internal politics of Persia, and the external issues associated with them, have presented this appearance any time these thirty years past. We may reply that cynics were wont to make a similar observation about the Balkans, and were confounded when at the end of three decades a crisis of terrible gravity swiftly came to a head. We do not look in Persia for a parallel to the Balkan troubles, but it seems obvious that some very marked developments are probably not far off. It has been customary at intervals for eminent statesmen, in their surveys of international politics, to observe that Persian affairs "continue to drift," but "are no worse," and may perhaps become a little better. In a sense it is perhaps true that Persia is in most respects not much worse off than she was five years ago, but the real trouble, the trouble which may soon produce a crisis of some sort, is that she is no better off. We believe the framers of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 to have been broadly sincere in their attitude towards Persia. They divided the country into spheres of influence, with an immense intervenning neutral zone. They made mutual protestations, to each other and to Persia (who would not listen), that their intentions, while not entirely disinterested, were really and honestly aimed towards the maintenance of the integrity of Persia and the revival of her vanished prosperity. Had there been sufficiency of capable statesmen in Persia, had the Persian populace shown a cohesive purpose, had all the fluent oratory poured fourth in the Mejliss been supported by real work, we hold that the intention of the Convention towards Persia would in the main have been fulfilled. Even as it is, the Convention has up till now amply substantiated its higher and more exalted purpose, which did not relate to Persia at all, but to the maintenance of peace between world-Powers. Had there been no Convention the internal condition of Persia would have produced intense rivarly, have accelerated active intervention on an ambitious scale, and have brought about consequences which might have reverbrated through the the world. These things did not happen, because, although the Convention was imperfect instrument, it induced a spirit of mutual forbearance. Its value in that sense remains unchanged ; and those who framed it are still bound to think, not of Persia alone, but of the infinitely greater issues they had in mind when it was drained.

But the Convention, was fear, has brought no trangible bnifite to Persia, save that it gave her a chance, which was not taken, to rehabilitate herself—free from the apprehension of excessive interference from without. It brought the Persians new grievances and on these they concentrated their attention without much regard their own regeneration. They complained, in the first place-that the Convention was concluded over their heads. Their complaint was accurate, but on the whole irrelevant. Had they tried to help themselves Russia and Great Britain, working in amity, would have tried to help them. They did not do so, and the best that Persia was able to produce was an irruption of freebooting cheiftains from her highlands to the cities of her plains. There has been incessant internal strife, sometimes amounting to revolution. In the north the disorder has led Russia to send forces, occasionally extremely numerous, into her sphere of influence. The complaint is made that these temporary Russian garrisons in the north have sometimes exceeded their functions, and perhaps are specially prone to do so just now. It may be so, but it has to be remembered that Great Britain sent a considerable force against gun-runners in Persian Mekran, as well as a regiment of cavalry to Shiraz. The substantial difference i that while in the North Russia has been exercising a fairly free hand, we told our cavalry in the south, in effect, not to reply if attacked.

There are two broad features in the present situation which must be disentangled from a mass of detail. The first relates to the preservation of order in Persia. This has been done in the north chiefly by the Russian garrisons and by a so-called Persian Cossack Brigade, largely under Russian influence. In the south small British forces have intermittently "operated," chiefly on the coast, and a Persian Gendarmerie, trained and led by Swedish officers, has in recent years tried to maintain order. The Swedish Gendarmerie has on the whole had very limited success, and this fact has now incidentally assumed great political importance. The Persian Government want the Swedish Gendarmerie, in an enlarged form, to be introduced throughout the north. Russia is understood to prefer an enlargement of the Persian Cossack Brigade. The Persian Government object, on the ground that whereas the Swedish force is under their control, the Cossacks never have been so, except to a limited extent. It seems to us that the whole of this technical question is governed by the degree of success which the Swedish force has attained. We believe that the Swedish officers have worked arduously and gallantly, but on the whole have not succeeded, and are not now likely to succeed. The whole problem of the methods and principles by which order must be restored and preserved in Persia will probably have to be tackled afresh. That is one aspect of the approaching crisis. The other relates to the neutral zone. When the neutral zone was constituted, those who drew its boundaries thought less of Persia than of the desirability of keeping the Russian and the British spheres of influence far apart. During the intervening period, while the central authority at Teheran has steadily weakened, the neutral zone has become an Alsatia in which, save only in a few cities, freebooters are almost supreme. Moreover, such British interests as exist lie almost exclusively in the neutral zone, and not in the British sphere. If the problem of the better maintenance of order in Persia is to be grappled with afresh, as we think it soon must be, it cannot be separated from the question of the neutral zone. A revision of the Convention on the lines of an enlargement of the spheres would raise complex and important issues regarding which we are not at present prepared to express definite views. Our point is that the Persian question cannot be allowed to drift for ever, that it solely concerns Great Britain and Russia (and the Persians), and that the problem of the maintenance of order may soon bring it to a head. The "Persian "crisis" we no doubt have always with us, but this time it is probably destined to be exceptionally grave and complex.—The *Times*.

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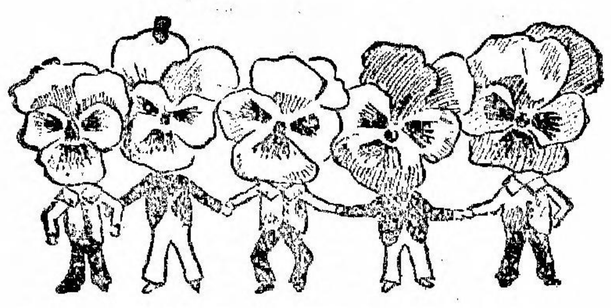

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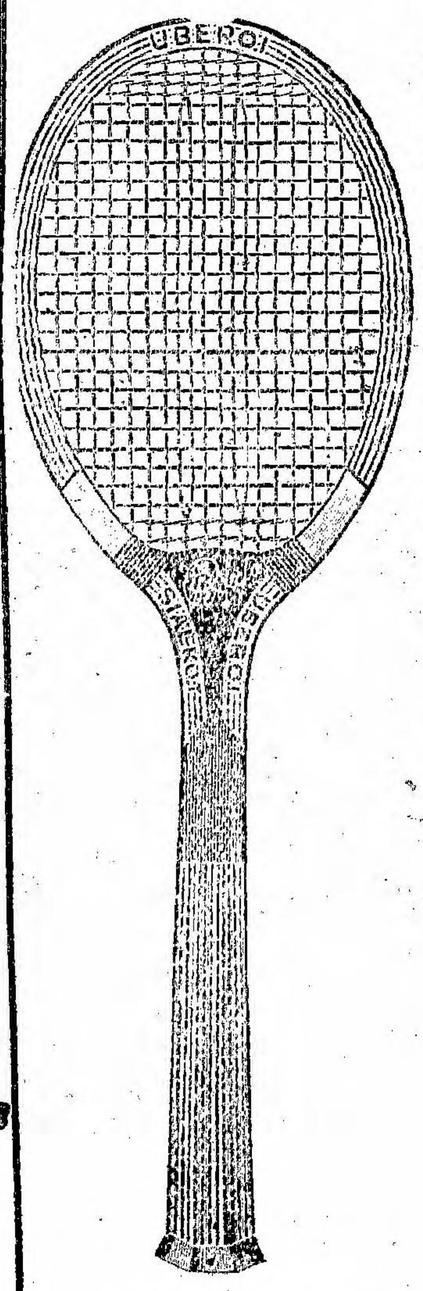

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