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 such communications.

The Week.

Home Rule.

London, July 14.

THE House of Lords to-day discussed the third reading of the Home Rule Amending Bill.

Reviewing the Lords' amendments the Marquis of Crewe recalled the Irish convention's rejection of the Irish Councils Bill when the Irish Members of the House of Commons were ready to accept the discussion on it. The House of Commons must be affected by such considerations, neither the Nationalist nor Ulster members being in a position to ignore their Irish supporters. Consequently greatest patience and forbearance must be shown by all parties. Both sides desired an arrangement though it would be one which nobody believed would represent relations in the future between the two parts of Ireland.

The Marquis of Lansdowne said that nothing but official opposition amendments would suffice to avert the danger which was threatening. Throughout the debate Government had not uttered a word or suggestion to help in the task it had undertaken. It had exhibited an impotence, more hopeless, more helpless and more aimless than ever any Government had done at the time of a crisis.

The Earl of Dunraven proposed an amendment enabling the King by order in Council to postpone the operation of the act until the Commission had reported on the constitutional relations between Ireland and the rest of the kingdom.

Viscount Morley said that the amendment was opposed to the spirit of the constitution. The effect of the Lords' other amendments would be to make collision more inevitable.

Earl Beauchamp, speaking on behalf of the Government, opposed the amendment, but stated that if there was a general desire among all parties for a conference with a view to conciliation, Government would facilitate the summoning of one.

Lord Lansdowne declined to accept the amendment as a substitution for any of the opposition amendments but welcomed Earl Beauchamp's offer. He would like to know at what stage it was contemplated that such conference should take place. He attached importance to the announcement believing that, that was the only direction in which a lasting settlement could be found. The amendment was carried without a division.

London, July 21.

In his speech to the members of the Home Rule Conference, the King after thanking those present for their response to his summons and expressing gratification that the Speaker was to preside, said; "My intervention may be regarded as a new departure, but the exceptional circumstances under which you are brought together justify my action. For months we have watched with deep misgivings the course of events in Ireland. The trend has been surely and steadily towards an appeal to force. To-day the cry of "civil war" is on the lips of the most responsible and most sober-minded of my people. It is unthinkable that we should be brought to the brink of fratricidal strife upon issues apparently so capable of adjustment if handled in a spirit of generous compromise. My apprehension in contemplating such a dire calamity is intensified by my feelings of attachment to Ireland and sympathy with her people who have always welcomed me with warm-hearted affection. You represent in one form or other the vast majority of my subjects at home; you have also deep interest in my dominions oversea who are scarcely less concerned in a prompt friendly settlement. I regard you, then, as trustees for the honour and peace of all. Your responsibilities are indeed great. The time is short. You will, I know, employ it to the fullest advantage and be patient, earnest and conciliatory in view of the magnitude of the interests at stake. I pray God in his infinite wisdom to guide your deliberations so that they may result in joy of peace and honourable settlement.

The Conference discussed, in an amicable spirit, the points at issue but no definite advantage was made towards agreement.

Over a hundred Liberals met and considered the situation. The meeting urged Government not to make concessions unacceptable to Nationalists nor to agree to a settlement involving a dissolution before the Plural Voting Bill is passed.

It is confirmed that a yacht with three thousand rifles for Nationalist Volunteers, was seized on the Irish coast on July 19th.

London, July 21.

Unionist headquarters in Ulster anticipate that this new effort at a conference will fail.

A meeting of unofficial Liberal M. Ps. has been summoned for to-day to consider the position.

The papers display no enthusiasm regarding the Home Rule conference and emphasise the chilling reception accorded to the announcement in the House of Commons yesterday, except when it was stated that the Speaker would preside. Apart from jealousy over the infringement of the Commons' prerogatives, there is a general feeling that the conference is unlikely to be successful as its decisions must be confirmed by the respective supporters of its members. Unionists declare that Ulstermen are less inclined to make sacrifices than they were two years ago, and the only consolation is that the failure of the conference will make an election practically inevitable. On the other hand, it is stated that the meeting of the Nationalists yesterday was a stormy one, and after the report had been made by Mr. Devlin on the feeling in Ireland Mr. Redmoud promised not to submit to any concessions beyond those contained in the original Amending Bill.

The unofficial Liberal meeting to-day promises to be a numerous and influential one. Its avowed object is to support the Nationalists.

The *Daily Chronicle* says there is no evidence that the King has acted otherwise than constitutionally, and his Majesty is entitled to hearty support in his attempt at reconciliation.

The Speaker arrived at Buckingham Palace an hour before the Conference began. The crowds outside were so dense that he had to enter by a side gate. Next came Mr. Dillon, who was followed by Mr. Bonar Law, Captain Craig and Sir Edward Carson together. They were cheered by the crowds. Then Mr. Redmond arrived, and afterwards the Marquis of Lansdowne on foot. Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George, whom the crowds also cheered, were last.

The King received the members of the Conference in the Bow Room and addressing them stated that the proceedings would be as secret as those of the Cabinet. The King remained with the members for over half an hour. The entire proceedings lasted one and a half hours. They will be resumed to-morrow.

The Amending Bill.

London, July 15.

Sir Edward Carson's sudden recall from Belfast and the fact that Mr. Birrell is visiting Dublin are regarded as significant and the Irish outlook is supposed to be more hopeful to-day.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Asquith announced that Government was anxious that the Home Rule Amending Bill should be considered at the earliest practicable moment. He would provisionally fix Monday.

Mr. Bonar Law emphasised that it would be a real misfortune if there was any delay.

London, July 16.

The "Daily Chronicle" says that the hopes of the Irish settlement by consent are fading. Sir Edward Carson, says the journal, has returned more determined than ever on a clean cut. While Government is firmly wedded to the idea of exclusion by county option, there have been rumours that a minority of the Members of the Cabinet is willing to accept a clean cut. Hence a deputation of Liberals has asked the chief whip to convey to Mr. Asquith its strong objection to further concessions.

London, July 17.

It is stated that at yesterday's Cabinet meeting no decision was reached as to the course to be followed when the Amending Bill comes up for second reading in the House of Commons on Monday. The Cabinet will meet again to-day. There is much talk of communications behind the scenes. It is generally agreed that matters are still at deadlock.

London, July 18.

It is expected that the Home Rule conversations will be continued over the week-end. Though an agreement was not reached yesterday evening, the feeling is still optimistic, being based on an idea that the hour for a settlement has not yet arrived.

The *Daily News* says that for the first time the parties were within a measurable distance of peace yesterday. The deadlock related solely to the inclusion of Tyrone among the counties which the Unionists wish to vote "en bloc" on the exclusion.

The *Daily Citizen* states that the spirits of the Nationalists suddenly rose yesterday and a surprising statement may be expected on Monday.

The *Morning Post* asserts that Mr. Churchill, Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Harcourt and the Marquis of Crewe are in favour of a clean cut of Ulster, while Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd-George head the majority in the Cabinet in insisting on the county option.

The *Daily Chronicle* says that the Cabinet is united in the essentials and the fear of resignations is unfounded.

The political atmosphere is electrical. His Majesty's activities have stimulated the hope that the country is at last on the eve of peace. It is announced that Mr. Asquith, instead of going to Buckingham Palace, will accompany the King to Portsmouth as Minister in Attendance. Despatches have been exchanged between the Palace and Downing Street. His Majesty has decided not to remain at Portsmouth for Tuesday as arranged formerly, but will proceed to London on Monday. Reports are current that communications have passed between Mr. Asquith, Mr. Bonar Law and Sir Edward Carson and that the body of Moderate Liberals are working boldly for settlement. It is generally agreed that everything points to Monday being a most memorable day.

The King postponed his departure for Portsmouth for the inspection of the Fleet until afternoon owing to developments of the Ulster situation. It is understood that His Majesty will receive Mr. Asquith in audience. It is announced that His Majesty will not inspect the Fleet to-day. There was much disappointment at Portsmouth when it was announced that the King had been delayed. Vast crowds had gathered to watch the inspection. Mobilisation, however, was carried out in bright sunshine and the whole programme was gone through except for inspection. Airship and seaplane flights which were peformed showed that æronautical branch of the Navy has a great future. Sir Thomas Lipton's steam-yacht "Erin" and new "Shamrock" outward bound for America passed the Fleet off Spithead and were loudly cheered. Falmouth will be the yacht's last port of call on the side of the Atlantic.

Indians in Canada.

London, July 9.

A message from Vancouver states that the Indians on board the "Komagata Maru" have applied to the City of Vancouver besides to the Government at Ottawa for financial assistance and provision for the ship for the return journey.

London, July 10.

According to a telegram from Torento to the London *Times* the Canadian Government refuses to defray the expenses of the exportation of the Indians on board the "Komagata." The Canadian law obliges the steamship owners who bring undesirables to the country to deport them at their own expense. The Government proposes to make an example of the present case in order to prevent similar attempts in the future.

Simla, July 10.

The following telegraphic communications which have passed between the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and His Excellency the Viceroy are published for general information :—

Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale to the Viceroy: London 8th July, 1914.

Indian Community, South Africa, desire me to act as their spokesman and convey to Your Excellency their humble heartfelt thanks for your great help and courageous advocacy which facilitated settlement.

Viceroy to Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale:—Telegram, dated 9th July 1914.

Thank you cordially for your message from the Indian Community of South Africa. I did no more than my duty in giving expression to the deep feeling of India last November. The generous settlement secured through the wise and patriotic action of the Union Government is greatly appreciated in India and will, I am confident, conduce to the happiness and prosperity of our Indian fellow subjects in South Africa.

London, July 17.

A message from Victoria states that the Hindus on board the "Komagata Maru" beat off over hundred armed Vancouver police who to-day attempted to board the vessel and force her to sail for Hongkong. A number of the police including the chief were wounded by missiles hurled from the deck. Another attempt to enforce the ship's departure will be made on Monday.

London, July 19.

Reuter wires from Ottawa that the Government has instructed the commander of the dominion cruiser "Rainbow" to send a detachment of men to the "Komagata Maru" to reduce the Hindus on board to submission with a view to their deportation on the "Empress of Japan" which is sailing on Thursday. Government has also taken legal proceedings against the master and charterers of the "Komagata" for failing to carry out the deportation order.

Victoria: An armed force will be transferred from the Dominion cruiser "Rainbow" to the "Komagata Maru," and the Hindu ringleaders will be arrested, put in irons and deported by the next liner leaving for the East. If the mutinous spirit is not quelled by these measures, all the Hindus will be transhipped and deported in batches.

The Duke of Connaught has appealed to the Hindus to maintain peace.

The Japanese Government has cabled to the Japanese Consul at Vancouver, saying that if the "Komagata" is forcibly seized by the Naval authorities, all the Japanese officers and crew must first leave the ship so as to avoid international complications.

The India Council.

London, July 15.

In the House of Lords to-day, Baron Lamington asked the Marquis of Crewe to secure to the Members of the Council of India £600 per annum, the allowance proposed in the recent bill. Lord Crewe replied that he would like to see the emoluments of Indian members increased, but he was advised that as the sums were fixed by statute they could only be altered by statute. Moreover, it was impossible to deal piecemeal with matters embodied in the rejected bill. Earl Curzon said, he would be glad to see salaries restored to their former level, but as regards the salaries of Indian members Indian public opinion should be considered carefully. It was by no means certain that Indian appointees would welcome any discrimination. The subject was then dropped.

Simla, July 9.

Commenting on the rejection of the India Council Bill the "Punjabee", (Lahore), thinks that the Bill is bad but capable of improvement and regrets that no attempt to improve it has been made.

The "Tribune," (Lahore), says it is not the rejection of a shadowy concession that adds to discontent and dissatisfaction in this country, but the attitude of the Tories who regard that shadow as too much for the country.

The "Daily Telegraph," (Lucknow), says the principle of the Bill though objected to by the Indians was sound and its rejection may be misconstrued in India.

The "Times," (Madras), says:—"We are inclined to accept the rejection of the Bill in philosophic spirit as we consider it a half hearted and ineffective measure."

Commenting on the rejection of the India Council Bill by the House of Lords the "Rangoon Gazette" says:—The rejection is not surprising. Lord Morley's announcement on Tuesday in the House of Lords is a frank statement, but it will tend to strengthen the satisfaction in India, that the House rejected the India Council Bill.

Turkey.

London, July 9.

Athens: A highly conciliatory note from the Porte on the question of the treatment of emigrants appears to have satisfied Greece, paving the way to more friendly relations.

London, July 12.

Constantinople: Greece and Turkey have applied to Switzerland to designate an arbitrator for a mixed commission of the two countries.

London, July 17.

Reuter wires from Constantinople that speaking in the Chamber, the Minister of War said that he hoped that the army though smaller would be able to efface the black days of the past. Government applied to the Chamber for a credit of £5,000,000 for military armaments.

Persia.

London, July 17.

Reuter wires from Baghdad that the Khanikin Kermanshah route is officially declared to be unsafe. Over 6,000 loads of British goods, valued at £180,000, are arriving at Khanikin, and cannot be forwarded, whereas Russian goods are arriving at Kermanshah by the northern route. Three native merchants of Bagadad have failed.

London, July, 10.

During his statement on the Foreign Office Note in the House of Commons to-day, Sir Edward Grey said that when the agreement was published regarding the navigation on the Euphrates and the Tigris it would only be possible to argue that our position had been impaired by enormously exaggerating our position before the agreement was concluded, and underrating our position would be intrinsically better, and we should have assurance for the future which we had never had before. He entirely favoured the Mchemmerah-Khoramabad concession, but was not in favour of sending a force to enable the survey to be completed or of pushing the trade concessions in other parts of the world where we should require greater expenditure to protect them.

Sir E. Grey was not surprised at the Russian comments on the Persian oil agreement because a section of our own press had assumed that we should be led to do all sorts of things which were never contemplated. The Agreement in no way changed the situation. If anything in South Persia necessitated steps inconsistent with the independence and the integrity of Persia and with the Anglo-Russian agreement, we should discuss the matter with the Russian and the Persian Government as we did with Russia when it was feared that it would be necessary to send a force commanded by British officers to protect the Bushire-Shiraz road.

London, July 21.

In the House of Commons, Sir Edward Grey, replying to a question regarding the situation at Kermanshah, said he had called the attention of Russia thereto who had pointed out that in the interest of the open door for trade, the Russian Consul at Kermanshah ought to be instructed to support the Persian Governor-General's measures and keep the road open. Russia had promised to send special instructions.

Referring to the collection of taxes in North Persia, Sir E. Grey said that the collection, by Russian Consuls, occurred in the case of Russian subjects and those under the protection of Russia. These revenues were deposited in the Russian Bank, but accounts were kept. Nothing was taken from the Persian treasury.

Albania.

London, July 9.

Hague: A despatch received here states that the Epirotes have captured Korytza. The Dutch officers are safe and are "en route" for Valona.

Athens: Fighting at Korytza lasted three days. In the final dash the Epirotes defeated the Albanians. The town is orderly and the inhabitants are giving the Epirotes a hearty welcome.

London, July 10.

Paris: The "Temps" publishes a telegram from Belgrade, stating that Austrian troops are concentrating on the frontier.

London, July 11.

By the capture of Koritza and other neighbouring places by the Epirotes, who are undoubtedly led by Greek officers the Epirotes have recovered possession of all territory which they had previously abandoned in conformity with the Treaty of London. Thus the position of the Albanian State is becoming more and more precarious.

Rome: The Prince of Albania has asked the Government of Rumania to send troops to Albania to restore order. Austria-Hungary and Italy support the request.

London, July 13.

The situation in Albania is becoming worse daily and firing between the out-posts at Durazzo occurs every night. A meeting of forty notables from northern, central and southern Albania was held yesterday under the presidency of the Prince when the position was discussed. It appears unlikely that Rumania will assent to the Prince's proposal to send troops to Albania to restore order. Several of the notables advised the Prince to apply to the Power for foreign troops. Others opposed this, preferring simply to ask the Powers to guarantee the frontiers fixed by the Treaty of London. It is stated that the meeting was most remarkable for the complete agreement between the Catholics and Mahommedans in favour of the retention of the Prince on the throne. Nothing, however, has yet been done.

Meanwhile the Dutch General Dewer reports that the position at Berat is most critical, the town being surrounded by insurgents to the north and the Epirotes to south.

Reuter wires from Durazzo that perfect order prevails here. Both the Dutch officers who have arrived from Koritza assert that the Albanian forces are confronted on the south not only by the Epirotes but also by a strong detachment of Greek regulars. There are 50,000 utterly destitute refugees in the neighbourhood of Berat.

The insurgents have captured Berat.

London, July 15.

Reuter wires from Durazzo that efforts are being made to defend Valona, but the fall is regarded as inevitable. The fate of Durazzo is also a dubious one.

A message from Durazzo states that the Greek Government emphatically denies participation of the Greek regular troops in a fighting between the Albanian forces and Epirotes.

London, July 17.

Albanian insurgents have captured Spitali, near Durazzo. The International Control Committee has decided to take care of the refugees from Valona.

Mr. Gandhi.

London, July 15.

A message from Johannesburg states that Mr. Gandhi will shortly leave for England. He has been widely entertained in recognition of his efforts, culminating in the settlement of the Indian question.

Speaking at a farewell banquet, given in his honour, at which 400 guests attended, including representative Europeans, Mr. Gandhi said that the recent settlement was honourable to both sides but was not final inasmuch as it did not give to the Indians everything to which they were entitled. Referring to the various disabilities which still existed, he said that he relied for their removal on the co-operation and assistance of friendly Europeans.

London, July 18.

Reuter wires from Cape Town that Mr. Gandhi has left for England. Replying to eulogistic farewells he referred feelingly to the death of Lady Hardinge and promised to convey to Lord Hardinge condolences of South African Indians. With regard to the settlement of the Indian question in South Africa Mr. Gandhi said that it had been conceived in grand spirit. He appealed to Europeans to view questions from humanitarian and Imperial standpoint.

Russian Mohamedans.

London, July 10.

A Mahomedan Congress of over 40 delegates from European and Asiatic Russia who has been holding meeting here regards the centralisation of Mahomedan religions and interests in the Russian Empire as being urgently needed. With regard to the educational problem the Congress considers that it will be difficult to effect progress among the Mahomedans without the education of the women.

Mahomedan Educational Conference.

Aligarh, July 11.

PETERSBURGH: The Central Standing Committee of the All-India Mohammadan Educational Conference has very gladly accepted the invitation of the Mahomedans of Rawalpindi to hold the twenty-eighth session of Conference there in December next.

The Philippines.

London, July 12

WASHINGTON: The Administration has introduced a Bill into the House of Representatives granting a measure of self-government to the Philippine Islands. The Bill proposes to abolish the Philippines Commission and substitute for it a Senate and House of Representatives the members of which will be elected for Christian portions of the islands. The representatives of non-Christian parts will be appointed by the Governor-General. The Bill is not expected to reach enactment during the present session.

Tibet.

London, July 10.

DURING his statement on the Foreign Office vote in the House of Commons to-day, Sir Edward Grey said that when the agreement was published regarding navigation on the Euphrates and the Tigris it would only be possible to argue that our position had been impaired by enormously exaggerating our position before the agreement was concluded and underrating the agreement's advantages. Our position would be intrinsically better and we should have assurance for the future which we had never had before. He entirely favoured the Mohammerah-Khoramabad concession, but was not in favour of sending a force to enable the survey to be completed, or of pushing trade concessions in other parts of the world where we should require greater expenditure to protect them.

Regarding the railways in the Yangtse valley Sir Edward Grey alluded to the agreements of the Hong-Kong and Shanghai and Deutsch-Asiatische Banks. Various complications had been produced and he had recently been endeavouring to disentangle them and to get our hands freer. We now had pending considerable railway concessions and he believed that these group arrangements would enable different combines, including ourselves, to go ahead more freely in those parts of China where they had particular interests.

Regarding complaints of the absence of diplomatic support of capital he declared that whenever *bona fide* British capital was applying for concessions anywhere in the world, to which there were no valid political objections, it was our duty to give it our utmost support.

The action of China in practically attempting to conquer Tibet forcibly and turning it into a Chinese province just when Great Britain and Russia had mutually agreed not to interfere in Tibet, thereby making China's position there perfectly secure, an action carried so far that the Indian frontier was becoming unsettled, was a most unreasonable action for which we had great cause to complain. He regretted that China had not hitherto signed the Tibetan Convention and that no agreement with regard to boundaries had been proposed. He hoped that China would eventually sign. If she did not, but resorted to an aggressive policy, the consequences must be disastrous to China and there would certainly be serious trouble on the Indian frontier, compelling Great Britain seriously to take up the matter with the Government of China itself.

Our London Letters.

London, June 26.

CAMBRIDGE HONOUR LISTS: INDIAN WRANGLER.

The list of Wranglers and Senior and Junior Optimes were issued at Cambridge last Friday, together with the Tripos lists in Moral Sciences.

Mr. Mohammad Husain Qazi, of Emmanuel College, who had received his preliminary University education in the Punjab, is amongst the new Wranglers; while the names of Mr. M. Ali, Christ's College, Mr. V. Bageja, Sidney Sussex College, and Mr. R. C. Soni, Trinity College, appear in the list of Junior Optimes.

The list of successful candidates in the Moral Sciences Tripos, Part I., contains the name of Mr. N. P. Thadani, Queen's College, in Class II, Division 2; Mr. K. S. Menon, Christ's College, secures a place in Class III.

NEW INDIAN BARRISTERS.

The following Indian and Burmese students of the Inns of Court were called to the Bar on Wednesday night :—

LINCOLN'S INN:—Ahmad Bakhsh Khan; S. H. Gidwani; Fitzwilliam Hall, B. A. (Cantab.) ; Shaikh Masooduzzaman; Raj Mohan Lall; Mast Ram; Abdul Rauf; Abdul Ruzzaq; Maung Ba Tin; Devindra Singh, Downing College, Cambridge; B. R. Chadha, Edinburgh University. B. Sc.; A. N. Ghosh; Magan Lal Varma; Ugra Sen, Oxford University, B. A.; Syed Abul Hasan Razavi, Madras University B. A.; W. Husain Khan, Edinburgh University; Jan Mahomed Joonejo : Babu Lal Sud, Punjab University B. A.; R. S. Bajpai, Lincoln College, Oxford, B. C. L., and Allahabad University, B. A.; Shaikh Mohamed Ameen, Allahabad University, B. A.; Pir Tajuddin, Punjab University, B. A.; Mohamed Yamin Khan, Allahabad University, B. A.; Zafrulla Khan, London University; S. C. Bose, Calcutta University M. A., B. L., a Vakil of the High Court, Calcutta; Ghulam Rasul, Allahabad University, B. A.

INNER TEMPLE:—B. Prasad, B. A. (Cantab.), certificate of honour; Y. S. Ziar, M. A. (Cantab.)

MIDDLE TEMPLE:—Syed Wasiuddin Ahmad; Ram Lall, B. A.; L. Pillay, B. A. (Cantab.); Syed Mohammad Askari Hasan, B. A.; Syed Mohammad Yousuf Khan, B. A. ; Shaikh Ali Hasan Khan; Syed Haidar Riza, B. A.; P. C. Dutt, B. A.; F. K. Khilnani; Syed Qadir Hasan, M. A.; S. N. Rai; P. Muddukrishnaiya; M. N. Menon; K. K. Reddy, B. A., LL. B.: A. P. Sabavala, B. A.; Ahmad Ali Khan, B. A.; Syed Athar Hosain, B. A., LL. B., Vakil, High Court, Allahabad; B. D. Allbless, B. A., LL. B., Vakil, High Court, Bombay.

GRAY'S INN:—K. P. Khaitan, certificate of honour, M. A., B. L., Calcutta University, a Vakil of the High Court, Calcutta; C. B. N. Cama, B. A., LL. B., St. John's College, Cambridge; Arun Sen, B. A., Peterhouse, Cambridge; B. S. Puri, B. A., Downing College, Cambridge; Ghulam Rasul Khan, B. Sc., Durham University; Syed Abbas Ali, B. A., Downing College, Cambridge; F. B. Vachha, B. A., Christ's College, Cambridge; Mohammad Hasan, B. A. Punjab University; B. R. Saberwal, B. A., Punjab University ; D. A. Ghaswalla, B. A., LL. B., Bombay University, a Vakil of the High Court, Bombay; J. M. Mehta, M. A., LL. B., Bombay University, a Vakil of the High Court, Bombay.

AIMS OF PRESIDENT YUAN-SHIH-KAI.

Dr. G. E. Morrison, Political Adviser to the President of the Chinese Republic, who has arrived in London on leave, has expressed his utmost confidence, in course of a conversation with a Press representative, in the recent progress of affairs in China, and in the peaceful outcome of recent changes.

When I left Peking (he said) the outlook seemed to me better than it had been at any time in my experience. Order was well maintained, save in the restricted areas that are the theatre of operations of the remnant of the followers of the bandit White Wolf. There is peace and quiet in every important city throughout all China, north and south, east and west. Many of the leaders of the first revolution are now working quietly in the Government. The revolutionaries are decreasing in numbers, and they have no money. The situation is well in hand—there is no question of that.

To describe the present Government of China as a reactionary autocracy is unjust. The Young China party attempted too much. They tried to go in one step from the most ancient autocracy to the most advanced form of representative Government known in the world. Their impetuosity, well-intentioned, but ill-advised, forced the President to intervene.

Dr. Morrison absolutely denies that Yuan-Shih-Kai had cut himself off from the Young China party, or that he aims at a family dynasty. He had endeavoured to draw his advisers and helpers from every party in the State. Good officials, who served under the Manchu *régime* but resigned when the Manchus retired, have been restored to office. The younger foreign-trained Chinese still bulk largely in the President's immediate staff and in the various Ministries. Dr. Morrison continues:—

On the staff of the President himself there are at least 40 men who have been trained in England or America and 60 or more who have been trained in Japan. He has appointed many of the ablest Cantonese to high positions. In his endeavour to choose all that is best in the service of the nation he has even gone to men who were formerly reputed to be his leading enemies. The 70 members of the Council of State, which stands behind the President and is now considering the permanent Constitution, represent every shade of opinion in China.

There is now no Premier, but a Secretary of State, as in America, with a number of Cabinet Ministers. The Young China party wished to strengthen the Legislature. The great need of China is good administration and the strengthening of the Executive, and this is what has been done. The Secretary of State is admittedly one of the ablest officials who have ever held office in China, Hsü Shih-Chang, the first Viceroy of Manchuria. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Sun Pao-Chi, has been Minister in Paris and Berlin, speaks excellent French, and has certainly conducted the foreign affairs of China in a way that has won general approval. The Minister of Justice has been for years in Japan and is a highly-trained student. The Minister for Finance was for 12 years, I think, in America, has visited England half a dozen times, and speaks English as well as any Englishman. The Minister of Railways is a Graduate of Yale. A son-in-law of Tang Shao-yi, a Graduate of Columbia, is the most prominent permanent official in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Wu Ting-Fang's own son, a Barrister of Lincoln's Inn, is on the personal staff of the President. Is it not absurd to talk of men such as these as a party of reaction?

Turning to the financial affairs of China, Dr. Morrison declares that recent attacks on China's financial position were not warranted by facts. The Salt Gabelle was showing unexpected surpluses. Large amounts of surplus revenue, after the retention in the foreign Banks of sums sufficient to meet all obligations for six months ahead, were being returned to the Chinese Government. For the first year Sir Richard Dane estimated a collection of $ 24,000,000. There had been delay in beginning work, but in the seven months remaining of the year $ 34,000,000 had been paid into the foreign Banks.

Every month larger amounts of taxes were coming into the central Government. In the month of May alone the President received seven million dollars from the provinces, over and above the surplus revenue of the Salt Gabelle. So far from accepting the suggestion of the China Association that there should be a moratorium for five years, during which the Boxer indemnity should not be paid, the President authorised the statement that China had no difficulty in meeting these payments and rather than postponing they intended later to expedite the payments.

Though one is bound to feel sometimes that Dr. Sun Yat Sen would certainly have made a more successful President for China—from the Chinese point of view as distinct from that of Europe—the above statement of Dr. Morrison is all the same most reassuring as to the future of that great Asiatic Republic. Dr. Sun Yat Sen and Enver Pasha, who, by the way, have no few characteristics in common, are absolutely indispensable to their respective countries, whether in or out of office. It is due to men of their type that the national spirit has survived in China and Turkey, inspite of so many obstacles and difficulties, and it is to them that their fellow countrymen are looking up for still further guidance and lead. The President of China, however, is a shrewd diplomat and is not likely to hinder by his actions the hitherto successful progress that has been recently evident throughout the length and breadth of that vast continent. The 400 millions entrusted for the time being to his care will not indeed permit the Executive to discharge their duties in any but the most honourable, patriotic and conscientious manner, and if Yuan-Shih-Kai is determined to work along these lines, China is bound to have a bright and prosperous future before her, if the ever greedy European diplomacy would only leave her to herself to work out her own salvation.

Arab wins the Polytechnic Marathon Race.

The King acted as starter in the Polytechnic Marathon Race, which was run from Windsor Castle to the Bridge Grounds on Saturday last, and the Queen was present at the beginning of the long and trying contest over the 26 miles 385 yards of the now classic course.

The race was won by Djebelia, a young Arab from Algeria, only seventeen years of age, who is attached to an athletic club in France, in 2 hours 46 minutes 50 4-5 seconds. The race carries with it the right to hold the "Sporting Life" £500 trophy.

By a glance at the order and times of the arrival of the first twelve in the Marathon, it will be seen that they do not include A. Ahlgren of Sweden, who won last year. He ran very well for a while on Saturday, but never looked likely to win, and no great surprise was evinced when he retired from the race after running about twenty miles.

Meanwhile, so easy and graceful was the mode of progression adopted by Djebelia, that even when outside the first three he was regarded as the most likley winner. He had a magnificent ovation at the finishing post.

Syed Abul Hasan Razavi.

It has been my pleasant duty to chronicle from time to time the successes achieved in this country by various Indian students, who had taken an active part, during their temporary stay in England, in one or other of the several institutions and associations in London and elsewhere, and had been prominent in the Indian "public life" of this metropolis. That pleasant duty I have never before discharged with greater pleasure and delight than I do to-day in announcing Syed Abul Hasan Razavi's "call" to the Bar. He is the elder son of Mir Tahniat Ali Khan Razavi of Hyderabad, Deccan. After a successful career in the University of Madras, of which he is a Graduate in Arts, Syed Abul Hasan Razavi came over to England in 1910, mainly with a view to study Agriculture. During the three years he spent in Cirencester in the Royal Agricultural College, he simultaneously kept terms in Lincoln's Inn. He took his diploma of membership of the Royal College of Agriculture last year and has now, as stated above, completed his course of legal studies as well.

While in England, the Syed has been very closely associated with the London Islamic Society and the London Indian Association, on the managing committee of which he has been sitting for some time, much to the benefit and advantage of his colleagues. He is the most diplomatic canvasser I have ever known, and it is mainly due to his energy and influence that the Islamic Society has been adding so many names of late to its list of members. Woe to the poor soul who has the misfortune to come across Abul, as he is affectionately called by his many friends here! A membership form and a pencil in hand and with plenty of small change in his pocket, I have on several occasions witnessed him approaching his future victims, with the most remarkable seriousness of expression ever imaginable. A few explanatory words and the business is done. In a moment a new member has been nominated for election, and what adds to the fun of the whole show is the fact that the new man has also been persuaded to pay up his subscription there and then. His personality and charm of manners, coupled with which is an extraordinary degree of sincerity and honesty of purpose, have secured him a host of friends and admirers. His approaching departure from this country will be keenly felt by all those institutions and societies, particularly the Islamic Society, which he has so faithfully served for the past few years. His numerous friends in London wish him a successful career in India.

The Moslem Population of the Balkans.

The Honorary Secretary of the Islamic Society, Mr. Abdul Haq, has received the following letter from Sir Eyre Crowe, dated, Foreign Office, the 23rd June :—

Sir,—

I am directed by Secretary Sir E. Grey to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th instant enclosing resolution passed at a meeting of your Society in regard to the condition of the Moslem population of the Balkan Peninsula.

The Khuddam-i-Ka'aba Society.

The Committee of the Islamic Society has decided to establish a branch of the Khuddam-i-Ka'aba Society in London. Mr. Mushir Husain Kidwai has been appointed acting Honorary Secretary, with Mr. Ismail Mortada, of Cairo, Honorary Treasurer. The following gentlemen have been elected members of the Managing Committee, *viz.*, Messrs. Khwaja Kamaluddin, Zafar Ali Khan, S. El-Bakry, Ali Hikmet Nahid Bey, Abdul Haq, Jelal Shah, Khalid Sheldrake and Omar Flight.

London being a cosmopolitan Moslem centre, the existence of a branch of the Khuddam-i-Ka'aba Society was an absolute necessity. Its members on leaving England can thus help in spreading the great movement in their own countries. In this respect the London branch will no doubt hold a unique position. Judging by the present enthusiasm shown by the management, the Khuddam-i-Ka'aba Society in London has a successful and useful future before it.

Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty.

London, July 3rd.

The widespread movement in India to secure an extension of Lord Hardinge's term of office, which expires next year, is undoubtedly a glowing tribute to the splendid work that has been done in India by the Viceroy during the past four years. It is not known yet whether Lord Hardinge is personally in favour of staying in India longer than the usual period of five years, and his own views on the subject are, of course, of paramount importance. But in case His

Excellency could see his way to approve of the proposal, it is the earnest wish of all Indians here that the Secretary of State would act in accordance with the national demand that has become so forcibly manifest in India and advise His Majesty to sanction the required extension of Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty.

The *Times*, in a leading article, has shown its strong disapproval of the suggestion under the plea that it is not sound in principle. Reading between the lines, one can, however, easily detect a very strong element of "personal" objection that is being entertained towards Lord Hardinge in that mysterious den of ambiguity in Printing-House Square. All this theory of bad principle and bad precedent that the *Times* puts forth so elaborately is obviously done to garb its own well-known disapproval of Lord Hardinge's policy in India. It is perfectly plain that it is His Excellency Lord Hardinge and not His Excellency the Viceroy that this journal is averse to securing an extension for. The reasons for its attitude are equally obvious. Ever since Lord Hardinge has taken up the reins of his high office, he has made it abundantly clear that he is not going to follow the old order of Anglo-Indian traditions, when dealing with important affairs of State in India. He has repeatedly shown that in critical matters the vast Indian population could safely depend upon him to exercise that wise and sound statesmanship, free from prejudice, that the great Eastern Dependency of the Crown rightly expects from the Sovereign's representative. The regrettable mosque episode in Cawnpore and the South African Indian crisis are too recent to be overlooked. It was Lord Hardinge, and Lord Hardinge alone, that saved a most perilous situation on both these occasions. India and England cannot be too grateful to His Excellency for his services to the Empire during those dark and critical periods. The millions of India and the seriously-minded portion of the community in England have thoroughly realised the deep significance of Lord Hardinge's action on those two memorable yet intensely dangerous occasions, but the Anglo-Indian brigade in India as well as their friends in this country have not concealed the fact that they have not been in sympathy with the policy then adopted by His Excellency. So far the "man on the spot" has been the sheet-anchor of their arguments in governing India, but when the "man on the spot" has repeatedly demonstrated his genuine sympathy for the Indian cause and has thereby won the hearts of the millions of India, he has been mercilessly rendered the target of Anglo-Indian criticism.

Lord Hardinge's reply to the Muslim deputation that recently waited upon him in Delhi is another instance of the high statesmanship with which he is gifted. Inspite of the severe condemnation that had been meted out to the Indian Muslims by the Anglo-Indian Press and their friends in this country—condemnation based on "sedition," which, it was alleged, had infected the rank and file of the Muslim population of India, the only evidence in favour of which was their sympathising with their co-religionists in Turkey and their making common cause with their Hindu fellow-subjects in India—His Excellency in his now famous speech took the opportunity of assuring the deputation that, speaking as the head of the Government of India, he had not for a single moment entertained any such ideas as had found currency in the reactionary Press of India or England.

Is it a wonder then that the proposal to humbly pray to His Majesty to grant an extension of office to His Excellency finds very little favour in the columns of the *Times*? One in fact shudders with horror to think as to what would have been the condition of India during the last two or three years, had any one else but Lord Hardinge been at the head of the Government of India. Anarchy and chaos would have certainly spread throughout the length and breadth of the country. Martial law, deportations without trials and imprisonments would have followed as a matter of course. India has been fortunately spared the sight of that most ghastly picture, solely and entirely through the presence of a statesman of Lord Hardinge's calibre at Delhi.

India would rejoice on the day when she is assured of an extension of her present Viceroy's term of office. Let us sincerely hope His Majesty's advisers would consult the unanimous opinion of India and secure for His Excellency the necessary extra period of office.

The Council of India Bill.

Another Indian Reform Bill is before the peers. By the Act of 1858 the Council of India in London consists of 15 persons, nine of whom at least must be officials of ten years' standing. They are paid £1,000 a year, and, like the judges, may only be removed by Address in both Houses. Lord Crewe proposes :

A Council of from 10 to 14 members.

Appointed not for life, but for 7 years, with extension to 12 years.

The salary to be £1,200, with an additional £600 for Indian members, who have to set up a home in this country.

Two Indian members to have a statutory position, and to be selected from nominations by the Legislative Councils of India.

There are also certain administrative provisions dealing with the subjects which the Secretary of State may handle as "secret"—that is, apart from the Council of India. Lord Crewe denies the charge that these "secret" matters are so important as to make him an "autocrat."

How was the Bill received? Lord Curzon bluntly moved the rejection. It was absurd that a "Government in the throes of extinction" should promote such changes. What Lord Curzon detests is "the new, inappropriate, and perilous method of appointment" of Indian members by suggestions from the Legislative Councils. Moreover, he attacked Mr. Montagu, who is now represented as having been a kind of hypnotiser of the Department.

Lord Courtney warned the House of Lords that the rejection of the Bill would be "a grave misfortune," and on the motion of Lord Ampthil the debate was adjourned till Monday next, when possibly the measure may be referred to a Select Committee. Do the peers really want to add India to the category of Ireland?

Press Comments on the Council of India Bill.

Almost all the leading papers have editorially commented on the Council of India Bill, now before the peers for second reading.

"The Lords," says the *Daily News and Leader*, "did not immediately respond to Lord Curzon's elaborate attack upon the Bill. They adjourned the debate, in preparation, no doubt, for a hostile vote on Monday next. Lord Crewe, as a matter of fact, omitted to expound the principles underlying the measure. He contented himself with an explanation in detail of its rather complicated provisions; and this method made Lord Curzon's task easier than it would have been if the Secretary for India had made a clear statement of his conception of Council Government as applied to India and of the manner in which the existing relations between Whitehall and Simla would be modified by the Council Bill. . . . The Government's plan implies the view that, being an advisory body, it should be made more representative of Indian opinion. Lord Curzon, on the contrary, wants to see it continued as a preserve of Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. . . . "Autocracy in India," says Lord Curzon, with profound irony, "is worse than a blunder; it is almost a crime." We accept the dictum with respect, for it comes from the greatest autocrat that India has known for two generations, the Viceroy, who, more than any other, reduced his Council to impotence . . . . If the Lords refuse to give it a second reading, Anglo-India will rejoice; but the greater Indian public will draw one conclusion, namely, that the Indian demand for statutory representation on the Secretary of State's Council is rejected. And that conclusion will be equally unfortunate from the standpoint of the party which in India advocates moderate constitutional reform."

The *Morning Post* proceeds thus :—"We should rather regret, in the ordinary way, that a Government Bill dealing with such a subject as the Council of India should be treated by the Opposition as Lord Crewe's Bill was treated in the House of Lords yesterday. A responsible Government may usually claim with agreement a certain latitude in the reform or adaptation to new needs of its administrative machinery. The Council of India, by general admission, is in need of some reform. . . . . It is possible—and, indeed, probable—that there is a good deal which might be reformed with advantage not only in the constitution but in the procedure of the Council. . . . But the difficulty with the present Bill is that its intention appears to be not so much reform as emasculation. The Council is at present only a consultative body; the Secretary of State may disregard it almost at will; but it does supply a certain check—an inadequate check, it may be—on an otherwise ill-instructed bureaucracy. . . . . The present Bill means the destruction for practical purposes of the Council, and would leave the Secretary of State in almost undisputed command. . . . . But in another respect the Bill provides for an experiment of an altogether different character. It seeks to inoculate the Government of India with yet another homœopathic dose of democracy. In 1907 the Government appointed two natives of India to the Council, and this practically has continued since that time. The proposal now is to make this new custom statutory, and not only so, but to provide that these Indian members shall be chosen on an elective principle. Now the Government of India is not a popular or responsible Government, and never can be as long as England rules India. The day that India rules itself, that day England retires its last official, and its last centurion from the Peninsula. India through weakness, division, anarchy over a long period of time gradually fell under the dominion of a power which had strength, unity and purpose. But let us not flatter ourselves that the subjection was involuntary, or that our Empire would continue if India had the power and the unity to shake herself free. It, therefore, follows that if we deliver any part of our powers into the hands of an Indian race or interest we thereby weaken ourselves and hasten the time of our departure. We should make it our ideal not to part with our power, but so to use it as to give India the best possible government and the greatest material benefit. Such should be the direction of reform—the development of India's resources, the protection of her races from one another, and of her peasantry from the rapacity of her upper classes. The best possible government at the least possible expense—that is an ideal more to our own true interest and the true interest of the people of India than inoculating them—in however small doses—with the views of democracy. . . . . The proposal is that the two Indian members should be chosen from a panel of indefinite size, elected

by an electoral college to consist of the non-official members of the Legislative Councils. The effects of this arrangement would be that the Government of India would be deprived of any voice in the choice of these members, and that the Secretary of State would have a choice restricted to a small band of men—quite possibly politicians and agitators. The experienced Indian civilian would be ruled out. The Government seem to be under the delusion that the native members of the Legislative Councils represent the people of India. They really represent certain interests and classes, the small, upper and middle classes of India. The Indian people—we mean the peasantry—have no representative and no friend save only the Government of India itself. In these circumstances, we cannot see that the election of these two Indian members would be either truly democratic or truly useful. It would probably mean a new centre of friction and disturbance inside the India Office, and a focus to which intrigue and agitation in London would naturally gravitate. We think, therefore, that if this Bill is to be of any service at all and not to do mischief, it will have to be carefully and largely amended. We should be sorry if the Opposition seemed uncivil to Lord Crewe; but his Lordship can hardly expect, at this stage of the Government's existence, to carry a policy which the Opposition regard as unsound in principle and likely to produce trouble in practice."

In the course of a leading article the *Daily Telegraph* says:—"The Council of India Bill is a measure which could have but little direct effect upon the Government of India. It is an advisory body of from ten to fourteen persons, seated at the India Office; it has no administrative powers, and the Secretary of State can override it upon all matters save those involving expenditure. The Bill proposes not to add to its activities, but to restrict them; not to enlarge its numbers, but to diminish them; not to increase its limited rights of intervention, but to empower the Secretary of State to act without it in matters upon which he must at present consult it. Lord Crewe represents it as in the main a measure for expediting the progress of formal business. . . . . With regard to the proposal to make it obligatory, as it is at present customary, to appoint two Indian members to the Council, it is approved by all, we think, who view Indian affairs with 'the modern eye.' Where warm disagreement arises is upon the further proposal that these two members shall be chosen from a list prepared by the non-official members of the Legislative Councils in India. This is assailed on the ground that the Council of India is the last place in which elected representatives of the people of India should find a place. On the other side it is urged that the change is reasonable in itself; that it is eagerly desired by the "constitutional party" among Indian reformers; and that the refusal of it would tend to throw that party into the arms of the physical force seditionists."



Our Constantinople Letter.

Constantinople, June 30.

War-Cloud in the Balkans.

In the near East as well as in the West the political horizon seems to be considerably darkened with clouds portending with an outburst of an approaching storm in the near future. Events of great magnitude do always cast their shadows before. The relations between the Turks and Greeks have reached the point of highest tension. The recent parliamentary speeches by the Greek Premier, M. Venezelos, have created considerable excitement in diplomatic circles in Europe. He brings in a terrible indictment against the Turks of persecuting the Greeks and thus forcing them to emigrate from the Turkish Empire. Up till now not a single case of persecution by the Turks has come into our ken, and the accusation is baseless and utterly false. It goes without saying that falsehood, lies, treachery and intrigues are themes of Greek politics. But what was the motive of an untruthful parliamentary discourse when neither the Premier himself nor the Government at Athens could hardly ignore the sincere desire of the Turks to bring about a *rapprochement*. Would they ignore also the successful results of the mission of Talaat Bey in the storm-centre of Anatolia? The reason of baseless utterances of the Greek Premier was not far to seek, and that was to hide from Europe the injustice, barbarity and pillage which the Greeks have been perpetrating in Macedonia upon the Moslems; and to excite a widespread indignation by forming a public opinion in Europe against the Government at Constantinople. The Greeks, therefore, are in hot haste making all possible preparations in mobilising the army and navy, and bands of marauders have already begun their raids bringing pillage and ruin to the villagers on the coast of Asia Minor. For justice and fairplay the Sublime Porte has sent in a diplomatic note to the Powers asking for an International inquiry into the real state of affairs. Would it be a statesman-like policy on the part of the Turks to meet the Greeks in another war when the country is still in a very critical state and is likely to remain so owing to the wild machinations of the Governments of Russia and France? The Turks, therefore, will have to be very careful and wary how they act so as not to give occasions to their enemies disguised as friends to provoke a quarrel.

Things in Albania are not a whit better. Servia and Greece are conspicuous by taking an active part in the Albanian trouble. In a serious battle near Durazzo, Colonel Thompson, the Dutch Officer Commanding the Albanian force, was killed by the insurgents, and the loss was considerable. The insurgents occupied strategic positions and fought with bravery and heroism. In many pitched battles, fought laterly, there have been considerable losses on both sides. Although many other cities fell into the hands of the insurgents, yet they had to retreat owing to overwhelming forces of the Government. An armistice has been signed with the consent of the International Commission to avoid future conflicts.

Bravo Albania!

The insurgents have made desperate attempts and once again has Albania come under the Ottoman flag. The enthusiasm and simultaneous action on the part of the insurgents has sent a thrill of consternation and dismay into the forces of Government. Elbassan, the centre of nationalist activity, and other cities, too, have fallen into their hands.

The Young Turks and Religion.

Apropos the editorial notes on Young Turks and Religion which appeared in the *Comrade* of April 25 last, there had been a buzz of excitement in the Turkish Press. To cast a slur on "Ottomanisation" and "patriotism" for which the Young Turks are sparing neither energies nor pains to keep the spirit alive, above all, for the safety of the Ottoman empire and integrity of Islam, shows the basic errors of Indian Moslems in the conception of the political creed and religion of the Young Turks. One of the Nationalist dailies, the *Tasfiri Efkiar*, devotes much of its space with a worthy rejoinder. It is admitted without any vestige of doubt that the Turk is a Moslem, and it was for religion and nothing but religion only that he had been fighting against overwhelming odds for five or six centuries; and the belief that *the Turk is not even half as good a Moslem*, which has *cooled down the affection and esteem* of Indian Moslems, is a natural consequence of their political ineptitude, for they have no eyes to see nor ears to hear nor opinions of their own to form; they cannot but be satisfied with what the non-Moslem Turcophobes—veteran enemies of the Ottoman empire—has got to say. It is a *coup d'etat* on the part of the enemies of Turkey to delude the Mussalmans and it is not without effect. That the "Ottomanisation" and "patriotism" of the Young Turk, the attitude of the Egyptian Nationalist seeking inspiration from the Pyramids, the triumphant re-entry of the Ottoman army in Adrianople and the purchase of *Rio de Janeiro* and *Reshadiyya* give no satisfaction to the Indian Moslems, reveals in unmistakable terms that Indian Moslem is not even half as good a patriot as the Turk, the Egyptian Nationalist or even his own countryman, the Hindoo. Patriotism or love of country is not still a predominant element in Muslim character in India; it seems he does not unoften let himself be influenced without rhyme or reason by extraneous sentiments which is neither beneficial to his compatriot nor to his co-religionists in Turkey. The wearer knows where the shoe pinches. None but he whose heart throbs with patriotic impulses for regenerating his nativeland, who stands for a larger progress and independence of his own people and who feels a deep ardour for what his country stands for, and her future evolution and national policy could really understand the force of Ottomanisation and patriotism that has animated the Turks since the fall of the Hamidian *régime*. A nation has a right to be true unto itself—a right to live, and naturally the Turk wants to live a life of his own—a life of national self-respect, honour and dignity beneath which are shielded and defended the Turk's love of liberty and greatness. Is it, therefore, sacrilegious to introduce modern reforms and progress in the country, to organise army and navy to defend the nation's liberty, to impart military education for the growth of vigorous manhood in the race? Subservience and degradation under political bondage will never elevate a nation and win her respect, however high and lofty her religion and philosophy might be. Moslems should bear in mind that it was in the days of political power of the Moslems that our religion was spread far and wide from Spain to China; our education, literature and arts, permeated with the spirit of Islamic democracy, opened new activities for the progress of the human race; our trade and commerce flourished enriching the countries which the

civilisation of Islam had penetrated in, and Moslem artisans covered the face of the world. *Misfortunes never come alone, but in battalions*, and since the day when Moslem independence had been jeopardised, they began to loose everything as a matter of consequence one after another. Persia, Morocco and Tripoli are gone and Arabia must follow next! And still if we do not "Ottomanise" Turkey, the last stronghold of Islam, we would die out in the race of life, and the fate of the Moslems be worse than animals, for animals, as Sheik Abdul Aziz Shaweesh says, have societies for protection whereas the Moslems nobody would care for.

The time has come for Moslems to decide which they would have—liberty or death. Do not be led astray by false hopes and illusions. Do the nearest duty that lies at hand—that is, to serve the cause of your country. Be you proud that you are an Indian—an Indian first and last. Listen to the stirring appeal of the Egyptian nationalist, Mohammed Farid Bey,—"Raise up your hearts, children of Islam; "do not let yourself be cast down or discouraged by the passing "misfortunes, nor blinded by the fallacious promises of the Powers that "pretend to protect your brothers only to enslave you afterwards. "Uplift yourself or you will be condemned to disappear. And you "Mussalman princes! whoever you may be from Morocco to China, "from Bokhara to Zanzibar, are you satisfied to see yourself "reduced to the rank of servants wearing gold-chains round "the necks. Does not remorse fill you for all that you have done "to consolidate foreign domination?"

Patriotism and Military Instructions.

If ever there is a work which from its magnitude and incomparable national importance warrants a nation in making serious financial sacrifices and in providing large and generous contributions, the organisation and equipment of army and navy is that work, and the sacrifices of the Turks in that direction are too numerous to mention; for bitter experience of the past has taught them that no nation can, in modern times, exist and safeguard her liberty and independence without being *armed to the teeth*. Cabinet ministers and officers have been getting half-pay voluntarily, for the soldiers are to be fed, clad and armed; large and liberal contributions are pouring from all classes of people into the Navy Fund. Even the boatsmen of the Golden Horn, Constantinople, contributed to the Navy Fund a whole day's earning. Isn't it an object-lesson to the Indians?

In order to mould the future destiny of the Ottomans, a sturdy military people, the energetic Minister of War, Enver Pacha, is making necessary preparations for physical culture of the boys and to impart military instruction. He has framed new rules and regulations for the purpose to make it compulsory in elementary schools and societies have already been formed under the name of "Osmanli Gudji Dernéghi" where boys are being taught to march in military order, to drill, to shoot, to bear all kinds of hardships and fatigue, and to organise boys-scouts—the essentials of military life which would develop the manhood of the race. The moral and material value can hardly be lost sight of; boys of to-day will develop a healthy mind in a healthy body which is the essential condition of human existence, and to-morrow, they would be good citizens, good patriots and good soldiers to serve the interest of the country. No one would deny the physical force as a political asset to defend the country's honor and liberty. Under the new laws of recruitment everybody is eligible for military service for three years. The difficulties in the way are considerable, but they are by no means insuperable. If military instructions can be accomplished as Enver Pacha wants them to be, this country would in a short time occupy a stronger position and be better able to maintain her integrity and honor than within the last century.

Mr. Mazharul-ul-Haque at Imperial Selamlic.

A grand ceremony of Selamlik took place on June 19 at Hamidie Mosque of Yildiz. H. M. the Sultan was received by Djamal Pacha, Minister of Marine; Muhammad Ali Pasha, Commandant of the first Army Corps; Col. Muhammad Kiamil Bey and other notables of the city. The troops paraded and the music played the "National Anthem." At the special request of H. M. the Sultan our distinguished countryman Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque took his seat in the Imperial carriage and assisted at the ceremony. He was afterwards received by H. M. the Sultan in a private interview. The representatives of the foreign legations and several American and French tourists were present on the occasion.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque left for India *via* Egypt on June 23 last by S. S. *Osmania*. A large number of friends and admirers were present on board the steamer to say good-bye and *Bon Voyage*.



The Coronation of the Shah.

The coronation of the young Shah of Persia, which was celebrated with great pomp on the 21st instant in Teheran, brings vividly to mind the peculiarly trying circumstances in which he assumes charge of his ancient heritage. It is useless to describe the condition of Persian affairs at the present time. They are literally in a muddle. The finances are in a state of indescribable confusion; the administrative machinery is out of gear; unrest and anarchy prevail in several provinces; and the authority of the central Government has been reduced to a vanishing point. All this is due to one single cause—the overwhelming domination of powerful foreign interests which, backed by a ruthless and unscrupulous diplomacy, have made Persia their happy hunting-ground. Will the young ruler, who has taken upon his shoulders the vast burden of his race, be allowed to reconstruct the almost shattered fabric of his empire and save his people from the threatened bondage of their foes? This is the supreme question that must have occurred to every well-wisher of Persia to-day. No one can think of the future without lively misgivings. The fate of Persia hangs on the whims of its powerful neighbours much more than on the resolves or aspirations of her distracted people. Those who ascribe the desperate state of the Persian affairs to the incompetence of her rulers are wilfully blind or cynically perverse. The fact is that Persia has never had a chance to mould her destinies since the Anglo-Russian Convention was signed. This diplomatic mill-stone has hung round her neck and paralysed her efforts in every direction. The wholesome movement embodied in Persian nationalism, which started with great vigour and amid immense popular enthusiasm, was as hopeful a sign of the people's vitality as any recorded in history. It won the Constitution and brought a living and resolute democracy into touch with national affairs. The Persian Mejliss proved a highly earnest, patriotic and independent body at its birth, and it set about to do its work with a devotion and fervour that was almost akin to religion. But before it could accomplish its task, Russia grew alarmed at its reforming zeal and forthwith resolved to strike hard at a body that was competent, patriotic and incorruptible, and was likely to evolve a formidable and united Persian nation, if allowed freedom of action for a number of years. The Mejliss was consequently declared by Russia and her henchman in the English Press to be an assembly of garrulous and revolutionary upstarts, who would soon involve the affair of the country in irremediable ruin. It began to be thwarted at every turn. All the reactionary elements within the country were secretly bribed and incited against it. By threats, interventions and intrigues it was soon reduced to impotence and finally crushed under the heels of the Cossacks. This is, in brief, the history of the national movement in Persia. With a watchful and inconvenient Mejliss out of the way, the Muscovite designs have matured with remarkable ease and promptitude. The province of Azerbaijan is now under Russian control, and the Russian military occupation is rapidly extending to all parts of northern Persia. All talks about Russian withdrawal may be dismissed as so much fustian. Russia has come to stay and will not release her tightening grip over Persian territory as long as she counts on the passive acquiescence of the British Foreign Office. The future wears a dark and dismal outlook. Russia is already impatient of the fiction about Persian integrity and independence, which still retains its place in the dead letter of an effete Convention. Persian oil has recently become a new British Imperial interest, and the Convention may probably be revised at no distant date. Will it lead to open and undisguised political division of Persia? That is, at any rate, the demand of the Russian Press. Will the British policy succumb to Russian threats and tamely submit to the partition of Persia and the sacrifice of its own interests in the Middle East? Curiously enough, the British Foreign Office hesitates to act in a bold and unequivocal

manner just when such a policy could be justified both on the moral plane and on the lower plane of expediency. The interests of the Indian Empire and the united and powerful sentiments of millions of Mussalman fellow-subjects of the British nation demand that Persia should be saved, that a historic nation, united in culture, religion and race and moved by the sacred aspirations of patriotism and freedom, should be allowed to preserve its individuality. The coronation of the youthful Persian monarch has stirred deep feelings in India, and his pathetic and helpless plight has been brought home to the people's mind. Meetings held in several places in India in honour of this occasion have been moved by a common impulse to address earnest prayers to Great Britain to befriend the young sovereign of a race that has so much in common with Indian Mussalmans and to help him in reconstructing a powerful, free and independent Persia. Such help is not beyond the resources of His Majesty's Government to render. Russian aggression has gone far, but it can be rolled back if only England utters a word. The Shah should be freed from Muscovite dominance, and the Mejliss should be restored to its freedom and power. The Shah's oath taken before the Mejliss is a sacred covenant that binds him to his people. The *Pioneer* mocks at the Mejliss and fancies that it must have been galling to a Kajar Prince to bow to such an impotent body. Surely the Shah of Persia was not expected to take a vow of allegiance to the Russian Consul-General or to his British friend, the *Times*. He has to stand and fall by his people, and if he has the least drop of patriotic blood in his veins he would prefer death by the side of his struggling and distracted nation to a brief, inglorious rule and power that might be upheld by Cossack bayonets. Everybody who claims to have some knowledge of Persian affairs is talking just now of a "Persian Crisis." There can be no doubt that Persia stands at the parting of the ways. The present state of things can not go on indefinitely. What is to be the upshot of the readjustments that are being foreshadowed in several quarters? No one can confidently tell. We only hope that England will not fail Persia in the hour of her direst need and ensure for her necessary freedom to work out her own salvation.

The Anglo-Persian Oil Contract.

Professor E. G. Browne, whose knowledge of Persian affairs is so intimate and whose sympathy for the Persian people is deep and abiding, writes the following letter to the *Times*. This authoritative communication sums up the situation in Persia in a nutshell, and Professor Browne's views as to the ultimate fate of Persia have a peculiar interest on this occasion:—

"Within the last fortnight (on June 12, 18, and 20) you have published three important leaders on Persia, which will have been read with the closest attention by a far wider circle of readers than those who, like myself, are primarily concerned with the fate of that unfortunate country. In those leaders you have demonstrated the grave consequences to this country (consequences which, as you truly observe, both Mr. Churchill and Sir Edward Grey have grossly underestimated") likely to result from this new and hazardous adventure of the Persian oil-wells. Will you permit me while expressing my entire agreement with what you say on this head, to say a few words as to how Persia, which is even more closely concerned in this matter, is likely to be affected? That the 'approaching crisis in Persia,' to which you devoted a leading article in your issue of June 12, is close at hand is, I think, certain, and that within a short time a great change must take place either for the worse or the better. Essentially there seem to me to be only three probable alternatives, viz:—(1) The complete partition of Persia between England and Russia, with the abolition of the "neutral zone" and the establishment of a long, indefensible, and dangerous Anglo-Russian land frontier. This is the worst alternative for Persia, and also, as I think, for Great Britain which would certainly have to make an enormous increase in her military strength and expenditure unless she were prepared to become for all time the subservient associate of Russia. (2) The complete absorption of Persia, including the oil-wells, by Russia, which would be the probable ultimate result of any half-hearted and inadequate attempt on the part of Great Britain to occupy Southern Persia. This alternative would be for England more humiliating, but less perilous, and, in the long run, less costly than the first; while for Persia it would be only so far preferable to dismemberment as death pure and simple is preferable to death with mutilation. (3) The third and best alternative for Persia, and, as I am convinced, for Great Britain also, would unquestionably be that the latter should now at length seriously endeavour to strengthen and help the former, and at least secure to her the chance (which she has not yet had) of establishing a stable and patriotic Government; of employing in her service such foreign advisers as she herself chooses and trusts; of raising an adequate loan on terms that are neither usurious nor destructive to such remnants of independence as she still possesses; of recalling to office some of the most capable and upright of her statesmen who are now in exile or retirement; and of dismissing certain persons, universally mistrusted by their countrymen, who, supported by extraneous influence, are either in office or seeking for office. Above all, let us not hastily assume that North Persia is irrevocably lost. I would remind those who, like Mr. Noel Buxton, profess a faith in Russia's good intentions, which I cannot pretend to share, that it is they, and not I, who insult her by assuming that she has not the slightest intention of fulfilling her recently-renewed assurances as to the ultimate evacuation of the northern provinces, or of paying any heed to the explicit declarations of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. Whether Persia is or is not capable of evolving an efficient and honest Government must remain uncertain unless and until she is given a fair chance (which, I maintain, she has not yet had) of doing so. That she should at least have this chance is on all grounds, both material and moral, so desirable that I venture to hope that, since Great Britain can no longer remain indifferent to her fate, she may now use her influence strongly in this direction. Should this be the result of the Anglo-Persian oil contract it may, for all its dangerous potentialities, prove, after all, to be a blessing in disguise."

The Anglo-Arabic High School, Delhi.

We publish elsewhere a letter from a correspondent discussing at some length the existing condition of the Anglo-Arabic High School, Delhi. The correspondent is evidently inspired with a genuine interest in the progress of Moslem education in Delhi and hopes that something will soon be done to improve the local Moslem school, which seems to lack much in efficiency and equipment. The facts and figures that he sets forth in connection with the school results in the University examinations disclose a very undesirable state of things, and our wonder is that no effort have so far been made to improve the school teaching and remove the causes which are responsible for so much waste and inefficiency. The Anglo-Arabic High School is an old institution which was founded and liberally endowed by a wealthy Mussalman. The love of learning of the founder could not take a nobler shape, and it would be scarcely creditable to the sense of duty of the later generations, if his splendid benefaction in the cause of knowledge is not made to serve its purpose to the full. Unlike other Moslem institutions, the Anglo-Arabic School is not hampered by a chronic lack of funds. It has ample resources for its existing needs. If, therefore, it still needs reform it is presumably because its governing body has been slack in the performance of its duties and wants a good deal of stirring up. We trust that the appeal of our correspondent will not be in vain and efforts will soon be made to raise the school to the highest level of usefulness. We may state it here that complaints about the school and its managing committee have reached us frequently, but we have always refrained from publishing them, for it can never be our desire to embarrass the school authorities by constantly subjecting them to public criticism. It appears, however, that the work of the school shows no improvement, and the authorities are keeping an attitude of stolid indifference even in face of recurring bad results. We can no longer ignore this in the public interest. For the present, we would only remind the school committee of its obvious responsibility in the matter. The affairs of the school should be looked into with thoroughness and promptitude, and it should be made both in points of teaching and equipment a worthy memorial of its generous founder and a best place for the education of Moslem boys in Delhi. We trust this reasonable and widespread demand will not go unheeded. We will not at present discuss in detail the methods of the school administration and the measure of interest taken in its working by the individual members of its managing committee. The committee has yet ample opportunities to show its fitness for the trust that it has not so far administered with satisfactory results.

Moslem High Schools in the Punjab.

The tale of inefficiency revealed by our correspondent in the work of the Anglo-Arabic High School, Delhi, is unfortunately a tame echo of the state of affairs that has become the chronic symptom of the majority of Moslem schools throughout the country. In the last Matriculation examination of the Punjab University the results of the Moslem schools in the Province have been, with few exceptions, most lamentably bad. Any cursory reference to the University records will show that the results of these schools have been equally unsatisfactory for many previous years. The matter is clearly one that calls for searching examination. The establishment of Moslem high schools at important Moslem centres has been one of the most generally accepted items of the Moslem educational programme, because it was felt that a great impetus would be imparted to the spread of secondary education among the Mussalmans, if high schools under Moslem supervision and

control were established and organised in accordance with the communal needs. There can be no question as to the soundness of this principle, but in practice the common type of Moslem high school has failed to serve the objects to which it owes its existence. Its financial condition is generally unstable, and it is often on the verge of bankruptcy. Its governing body is mostly composed of indifferent and incompetent individuals, who usually waste their energies in mutual quarrels. It is generally manned by a staff of unqualified and underpaid teachers, who have little interest in their work and never fail to avail themselves of the first opportunity that comes in their way to better their "prospects" elsewhere. The money spent on the upkeep of such institutions is practically wasted, and one may well inquire if it was not time for Mussalmans to consider whether they can afford to pay for the luxury of maintaining badly-equipped and inefficient high schools, which show uniformly bad results year after years and are thus actually hampering the growth of Moslem education on sound lines. The best course would be to appoint a committee of the All-India Moslem Educational Conference composed of a number of educationists, managers and head masters of Moslem high schools to go into the whole problem of school management, organisation and teaching and devise the most suitable methods of imparting sound secondary education under communal guidance and control. In the inglorious records of failure of the Moslem high schools in the Punjab and elsewhere lack of funds is an important factor. But even more important is the dearth of capable and energetic men on the school committees. We can recall the name of several individuals, possessing ordinary ability and strength of purpose, who have achieved marvellous results single-handed in the educational field whenever they have had opportunities to work unhampered by local rivalries. We would like to refer to the Islamia High School at Hoshiarpur as an instance in point. Hoshiarpur is a small town, and the Moslem community of the place is not very wealthy, but through the efforts of a few energetic and devoted workers like Mian Abdul Aziz, Barrister-at-Law, a high school was founded some years ago which has now grown into a flourishing institution. The local *anjuman* is not an ideal body, free from the limitation, that characterise the type. But the sustained endeavours of a few of its members, chiefly of Khan BahadurMunshi Mohamed Ali Saheb, late Chairman of the School Committee, and Mian Abdul Aziz, Manager of the School, have borne abundant fruits. The school has now reached a fair level of efficiency, has a competent staff and has shown comparatively good results in the last University examination. It is doing useful work in the direction of spreading secondary education among the Mussalmans of the district. The cost of the spacious school building, which has been completed, has been met purely by Mussalmans themselves. A large school mosque is in course of construction, and Rs. 70,000 are now needed to extend the school building and erect a boarding house. An application for building grant has been made to the local Government, and we trust every possible financial assistance from public funds will be rendered to a private enterprise in education that has shown such promising results. What has been achieved at Hoshiarpur through the exertions of a few earnest workers can easily be accomplished elsewhere if men of the right stamp are willing to undertake the task.

A Eugenic Marriage.

The *New Witness* calls attention to the latest addition to American law which it describes as a particularly insane one. It says that in one State a new statute lately promulgated denies the right of marriage to any two persons unless they can obtain "a eugenic marriage licence." The answers to the questions necessary for the granting of this document extend over some twenty folios, and the most intimate, even delicate particulars are required relative to the applicants' maternal grandparents and their progenitors. The age when first the unfortunate young man or woman ate meat, the effects of alcohol upon a sensitive as opposed to a stolid temperament are noted down, together with a weight-for-age chart and a sworn declaration concerning the use of tobacco. The document, as completed by the assistance of a lawyer, is laid before a committee, who then proceed to investigate the applicant "personally." The results of their investigation in the case of one "Ralph" Kerurmeio do not inspire much faith in their methods. "Ralph," having passed the board and the examination with flying colours, was granted a licence, duly married—*and discovered to be a woman*!

World's Hindustan Students' Federation.

Prof. Suddhindra Bose, M. A., Ph. D., Lecturer, State University of Iowa, writes to us on the subject of "A World's Federation of Indian Students" as follows:—

"It has been roughly estimated that there are "now about three hundred Hindu students "in American colleges and universities. And one of the most "significant things which this student body has done in recent years "is the organization of the Hindustan Association of America. "The Association is a national society with chapters at nearly all "important institutions of learning where there is a sufficient "number of Indian students. At present, the strongest branches "of the Association are to be found in New York, Chicago, and in "the Universities of Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, Kansas, "Washington, Oregon, and California. The primary object of the "Hindustan Association is to further the educational interest of "India. It furnishes the prospective students with information on "educational conditions in America; it encourages the stay-at-homes "to go abroad for education; the officers of the Association meet "the newly arrived students at the port of entrance, and direct "them to proper college. Last, and not least, the Association is "doing a vast deal to promote closer fellowship between India and "America. Desiring to leave nothing to chance, the Society has "organized a campaign to carry on its patriotic programme. As a "practical step to that end, it is publishing an excellent educational "magazine, called *The Hindusthan Student*. The Association has "already secured the support and co-operation of many of the leaders "of this nation and of India. In its long list of distinguished "honorary members figure the names of many a notable American "university president, college professor, author, journalist, and not "a few Indian Nawabs, Maharajas, and Rajas. The Hindustan "Association is now very anxious to extend its field of operation by "internationalizing its organization. It has perfected a plan to "unite all Indian student societies in every land under one general "federation, to be known as the 'World's Hindustan Students "Federation.' The branch organizations, which will be the members "of the Federation, will have for their basic purpose the promotion "of Indian students' welfare. As far as possible, the chapters federat-"ed throughout the world will render one another neighbourly "services, and look after the interests of Indian students, just as the "Hindustan Association of America is trying to do at present, "through its various local organizations, in the United States. All "the important business of the Federation should be conducted "through a central office, the location of which is to be fixed an-"nually by its chapter members. It may be one year in England, "another in Europe, next in America, and the following year in "Japan or in India. The central office which will be under the "direction of an international president and international general "secretary, will become the international clearing house of informa-"tion. It should be well understood that the coming of a branch "society within the circle of the World's Hindustan Students "Federation will in no way or manner interfere with the constitution "of the local organization. Each individual society will retain its "full freedom and autonomy, and will merely become a co-operating "member of the Federation. Take a recent instance. The Woman's "Auxiliary of the Hindustan Association, started by that true and "loyal friend of India, Sister Kamala Devi, has applied the other "day for a membership in the Hindustan Association of America. "The Auxiliary is organized for the benefit of all Indians in the "city of New York, and its active members are all American "women. This rather new organization will be in no way competing "with the old Hindustan Association of New York: each has its "own constitution and by-laws, each has its own peculiar work, "and each will try to help the other as far as possible. The chief "reason why the Auxiliary is seeking affiliation with the national "organization is that such a connection will give it a better "standing, and, in some respects, a wider field of activities. "As the national president of the Hindustan Association of Ame-"rica, I take this opportunity to extend a cordial invitation, through "the medium of your valuable journal, to all Indian student soci-"eties to co-operate with us, and build what promises to be one of "the greatest and most effective agencies for the welfare of Indian "students. We have been criticized, doubtless sometimes unjustly, "for our inability to organize on a national and international basis. "We can now show how untrue this is. There is a real demand for "young men of constructive vision and of aggressive personality to "step forward and lend us a helping hand. We need the World's "Hindustan Students' Federation."

Spelling Reform.

We are happy to publish the following letter addressed to us by Prof. Gilbert Murray, of the Oxford University, on the subject of "Spelling Reform":—"My "belief in the need of Spelling Reform grows "yearly stronger. We must face the fact that (1) our alphabet is a far "from perfect instrument for recording our language, and that, (2) "instead of using this instrument effectively for what it is worth, "according to some simple and scientific system, we wander in a "chaos of traditional rules, as complicated as they are inconsistent. "I need not dwell on the great difficulty of learning to read and "write in English, as compared with Italian, Spanish or German; "on the waste of time and trouble this causes to children at an age "when every hour is valuable; on the disadvantage it lays on "English in competition with other languages as an international "medium of speech. I am myself particularly struck by two bad "effects of our rules of spelling. First, they spoil a child's ear. He "has been so insistently taught to fix his attention, not on the sound,

"luten the spelling, that he does not know what sounds he is produc-
"ing and cannot tell when two sounds are the same or different.
"Secondly, they spoil his reasoning powers and his faith in clear
"thought, by fixing his mind during several impressionable years on a
"pseudo-system of rules, in learning which memory counts for every-
"thing while consistent reasoning would lead straight to disgrace and
"lost marks. Many languages in the past have gone through a crisis
"similar to that in which English now finds itself. Some have had
"the vigour and foresight to keep their written signs abreast of
"their speech; some have failed and eventually become unintelligible
"even in their own country. I can have little doubt that, sooner
"or later, the speakers of English will prove themselves strong
"enough to grapple successfully with the dangers of decay that
"lie in our unreformed spelling." We heartily commend this eminently sane view to the attention of our readers.

The Preaching of Islam in England.

The Moslem missionary work in England appears to be making headway, though slowly, through the enormous difficulties that the workers have naturally to face. The instructive lecture on Islam, recently delivered by Qari Sarfraz Husain in London, was attended by a considerable number of Christians who evidently felt an earnest desire to know the truth about the faith and creed of Mussalmans. The first stage in a missionary effort is to awaken interest among people for the spiritual message that he bears to them, and it is gratifying to know that through Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din Saheb's devoted work and perseverance at his centre in Woking a seed has been planted that promises to bring forth abundant fruit. The increasing number of people attracted to the Friday sermons at the mosque testify to the interest that his preachings have evoked. Indeed, from the manner in which Christian clergymen have begun to talk of the "Moslem danger" at Woking, it would appear that the Khwaja Saheb's work has been unusually successful. Sermons are delivered and organised efforts are being made to overcome the menace of Islam and save Woking from the effect of the Moslem propaganda. At the annual meeting of the Woking and District Federation of the Church of England Men's Society, which was held last month, the Rev. E. R. P. Devereux, commenting on the work of the various branches of the society, is reported to have said that "all the branches emphasised the spiritual work firstly, which was as it should be. Every branch was also doing something on the social side. They in Woking were being faced with a great difficulty with regard to Mohammedanism. The Mohammedanism headquarters for England had been established in the heart of the parish. An active Mohammedanism propaganda was going on which was being very cleverly and very insidiously organised, and their Bishop recently gave emphasis to the fact of the great difficulty that they had there in facing that situation which was being created. Much time had been spent to disseminate information as to the true character of Islam, and important steps had been taken in making clear what were the principles of the Christian faith in contra-distinction to the principles which the followers of Islam upheld. The branch was very much alive to the difficulty with which it was faced." Allah be praised for his great mercy!

The Hindu University Scheme.

We publish elsewhere an important communication addressed by the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler to the Hon. the Maharaja of Darbhunga on the subject of the Hindu University. It lays down the conditions the fulfilment of which the Government of India regards as necessary before the University scheme in sanctioned. Briefly, the terms offered to the promoters of the Hindu University are that the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces should be *ex-officio* Chancellor of the University, that he should be vested with full powers of supervision and control, that the University shall have no power to affiliate colleges from outside and that as a concession to the sentiment of the subscribers it shall be called the Benares Hindu University. The powers reserved for the Chancellor are comprehensive and include the right of general supervision and power to advise in all matters, particularly in the appointment and removal of staff, with power to see that such advice be given effect to; the right of inspection; and the right to appoint, if necessary, examiners for the University examinations; the annual receipt of accounts; the approval of the appointments of Vice-Chancellor and Provost; the approval of the incorporation of local colleges in the University; the nomination of five members to the Senate and approval of the institution of new facuties and the reservation of power to lay down the limits of expansion at any particular time. These powers would give the Chancellor an absolute control over the conduct of the University affairs in their minutest details. The Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler makes it particularly clear that the conditions he has laid down have a wider sweep and include both the Hindu and Moslem Universities. The terms offered as final to the Moslem University Committee allowed the Court of the University to appoint its own Chancellor while they gave the Governor-General in Council certain powers of intervention and control. Sir Harcourt Butler says that "it has been an understanding throughout that in essentials, "and especially in regard to their relations to Government, the pro-"posed Hindu and Moslem Universities should be on the "same footing." It may, therefore, be inferred that the conditions now laid down for the Hindu University apply equally to the Moslem University. In other words, the "final decisions" communicated to the Chairman of the Moslem University Constitution Committee, which proved generally unacceptable to the Moslem community, have been revoked and much more stringent terms have been offered as a substitute. Sir Harcourt Butler's letter raises fundamental issues which require careful and prompt consideration. We do not know what course the promoters of the Hindu University scheme may adopt, but we know that Mussalmans, in view of Sir Harcourt Butler's communication, will have to face much greater difficulties in their path. Their condition is in several important respects materially different from that of the powerful Hindu community, and their educational interests, which the Moslem University scheme is designed to promote, may be irretrievably damaged if they are unnecessarily handicapped in their efforts and lack reasonable freedom of action. We shall examine in our next the position of the Moslem University scheme with reference to the conditions set forth in Sir Harcourt Butler's letter to the Maharaja of Darbhanga. But without prejudging its decision or presuming to advise it, we may safely say we shall have to revise considerably our opinion of the Hindu community's self-respect if it tamely submits to such educational slavery.

The Home Rule Crisis.

The King's inaugural speech at the conference which His Majesty had summoned at Buckingham Palace, with a view to afford an opportunity to prominent leaders of the Parties concerned to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the Irish question, has given rise to a variety of excited and angry comments in the Liberal Press. While the Tory papers ominously enough hail His Majesty "as the Patriot King," the Liberal organs express uneasiness and annoyance at the intervention of the King which they regard as unconstitutional and overriding the authority of Parliament. Mr. Ramsay Macdonnald describes the speech as most extraordinary, "part of which might have graced a Unionist M. P.'s oration." The *Daily Chronicle* considers the speech to be an "extraordinarily ill-inspired" one and warns the King "not to take George III as a pattern." The *Daily News* is equally emphatic and finds it impossible "to conceal a feeling of mistrust at the formal and "unprecedented intervention of the Crown." It exhorts democrats "to face the grave facts touching their inviolable liberties." Both these journals emphasise that the Government must share the responsibility for "transferring the constitutional struggle from Parlia-"ment to Palace." Mr. Asquith has stated in the House of Commons that "His Majesty has throughout this matter followed the strict-"est constitutional practice," and that "he has not taken any step "from the beginning to now except in consultation with and on the "advice of his Ministers." This ought to satisfy the enraged Liberals that the King's initiative has been strictly constitutional, even if it had some impulse behind it other than a lofty sense of duty. Englishmen as a nation have the greatest respect for their King, but the Liberal outburst against the King's recent action seems only to emphasise the fact that they are equally jealous of their own self-respect and dislike even the least suggestion of the Crown's intervention in matters lying within the scope of the people's representatives in Parliament.

The Prime Minister of Hyderabad.

We have learnt with the greatest pleasure that H. E. Nawab Salar Jang has been confirmed by his sovereign in his office of Prime Minister of Hyderabad. The young Minister was appointed to his post about two years ago and, though all those who personally knew him hailed the appointment as full of happy augury for the future of the Nizam's dominions, there were also some shakings of the heads on account of his youth and inexperience. The prophecies of his admirers have come to be true within the last two years, and he has abundantly fulfilled the promise of his early manhood. Much of his success is, no doubt, due to the assistance that he has received from a veteran like Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Syed Husain Bilgrami, whose ripe judgment, wide knowledge of affairs and unimpeachable integrity must have proved a source of strength and great guidance to the Minister. But it is not every young man that knows how to profit by the advice of those much older and more experienced, and much credit is certainly due to the Prime Minister himself. We wish Nawab Salar Jang a long, happy and successful career and trust he will always remember that he has to live up to the memory of his illustrious grandfather whose example his admirers expect him to emulate.

The Haj Pilgrimage.

We have received the following telegraphic message from Bombay which we publish for general information :—

"With a view to helping the Haj pilgrims in "every possible way, the Khuddam-i-Ka'aba "Society, with the assistance of ten energetic, "honorary workers, knowing practically all the languages generally "spoken in India, are taking every possible care of intending pilgrims "during their stay in Bombay before embarkation. The Honorary "Secretary, Mr. Shaukat Ali, has also secured a pilgrim broker's "licence, proceeds from which source will also be given for the assis-"tance of indigent pilgrims in Bombay."

The Last of the Double Numbers.

We have once more to offer an apology for issuing a double number, though it is after so long an interval that we feel almost like a "first offender" with only a tiny speck of black on his virginal bosom. But perhaps our plea would be more acceptable this time as we express the hope that the offence would be positively our last. We could offer as a reason for this joint issue the recent "uneventful events" at Aligarh where the Editor had to respond to the call of duty—which would not help the reader to condone his offence, for such responses have now become stale, and possibly also flat and unprofitable! We could even plead *ad misericordiam* by referring to the ill-health of the Editor—which is a fact, if to the perennial diabetes the reader would consent to add backache in one with so broad a back! But, no; we shall mention none of these. We shall state something so novel, and, in fact, so sensational as to be almost incredible. But we feel certain that if once we are believed we shall also be forgiven. We do not call ourselves a "Statesman" or a "Pioneer" or even a "Leader." We are only a "Comrade" and as such we can chatter freely even about our domestic concerns, though like some of our vernacular contemporaries we do not usually treat our readers to the private concerns of our brothers-in-law, grand-neices and great-aunts. But even if we were all the most solemn and all the stupidest things in the world, we would have been entirely justified in referring to this one domestic affair of ours. And what is it, you would now naturally ask. Nothing more or less than the marriage to a bright Delhi damsel of our seasoned Sub-Editor, Raja Ghulam Husain. Now if even this marriage which has made the twain one flesh does not justify a Double Number, we don't know what will! But, friends, make no mistake. The sacred month of Ramazan has just commenced, and some one is going to have an extra special Eid when thirty chastening fasts are over. Of course the Sub-Editor was too excited to do anything that week but watch and wait, so the Editor stood *in loco parentis*, and the wags of Delhi consequently spoke of his lieutenant as "an issue of the *Comrade*." We close this explanation or apology with the prayer that the Sub-Editor will expedite the issues hereafter, and if it is at regular intervals even a Double Number will not be such a catastrophe.

♣

Verse.

To Napoleon.

Not all the splendour of a gorgeous throne
But the Soul's inborn greatness marks a King;
Not jewelled sceptre nor the glitt'ring ring
(Which feeble hands or worthless brow may own,)
Nor power supreme, nor wealth, nor birth alone
Confers true kingship; nay, the heart must fling
Such gauds aside, and cleave to thoughts that spring
From purer, holier founts. O, had'st thou known
This secret of true greatness and with soul
Undazzled scorned the Mask of Royalty;
Called Mercy, Truth, and Justice to control
Ambition's meaner strife, true sovereignty
Were thine unquestioned, thine at Glory's goal
The Hero's crown of immortality!

NIZAMAT JUNG.

The Comrade.

The Restoration of the Cawnpore Mosque.

THE one thing that every true well-wisher of the Mussalmans desired after the settlement of the Cawnpore mosque affair, through the statesmanlike intervention of His Excellency the Viceroy, was that the terms of the settlement would soon be carried out, and the sad memories of the incident of the 3rd August, 1913, be, as far as possible, buried in oblivion. The gracious message of peace personally delivered by the Viceroy effectually calmed Moslem excitement, and though the compromise about the demolished portion of the mosque did not accord with the Moslem law on the subject, Mussalmans as a whole felt that it would be churlish to criticise the gift of the peacemaker and loyally accepted the viceregal decision as a political settlement of great value to the empire and significance to the people. The situation cleared instantly, peace was restored to a distracted community, and Lord Hardinge's wise and timely action was hailed with expressions of gratitude throughout Moslem India. We recall all this simply to show that the agitation about the Cawnpore mosque was based on a deep and genuine religious grievance and was not a wanton provocation offered to Government by a set of political bravadoes, as some "friends" of the Mussalmans still persist in reminding the world. The sole desire of Mussalmans has been to forget all that had happened at Cawnpore and to be spared similar painful experiences in future. After the crisis was over, there was no room for further anxiety and they were confident that the demolished portion of the mosque would soon be restored in accordance with the terms laid down by the Viceroy. Time, however, wore on and more than nine months have passed after the settlement was announced, yet the demolished portion remains unbuilt. The Mussalman public has, in the meantime, been waiting to know with undisguised surprise what the mosque authorities are doing at Cawnpore. The delay of nine months seemed to be incomprehensible, and doubts were naturally expressed sometimes whether no further hitch had occurred in the way of the restoration of the mosque. Sir James Meston was known to have visited Cawnpore and held some sort of consultation with the *mutawallis* of the mosque, but the only upshot of this conference was the rumour that an offer of land and financial help had been made to extend the mosque, which was not definitely accepted. The Mussalmans have till recently heard nothing of the exact position of affairs, and there has been a growing anxiety to inquire why the mosque authorities have remained inactive so long and why they were keeping the public in utter ignorance.

After about nine months' silence, however, the mosque authorities have found their tongues and have spoken with a vengeance. After an underground activity of a character which we shall presently unmask, they have just revealed their features through a printed "Notice" and confronted the Mussalmans with another accomplished fact. The "Notice" is printed in Urdu and was issued on the 18th instant over the signature of Muhammad Majid Ahmad, Secretary of the Committee of the *mutawallies* of the Machhli Bazar mosque, and may be translated as follows :—

> This notice is published for general information that the article published in *Al-Hilal* of the 15th July about the Machhli Bazar Mosque is entirely baseless. The fact is only this that, after consultation with the Hon. the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad, Mr. Mohamed Ali, Editor of the *Comrade* and *Hamdard*, Moulvi Fazl-ur-Rahman Saheb, Vakil, Cawnpore, and a number of other Mussalmans, four *mutawallies* of the mosque went to the Collector of Cawnpore on the 7th July, 1914, taking with themselves a building plan of the footpath beneath the arcade to be constructed in accordance with the Viceroy's decision of 14th October, 1913, together with an application, based on the telegram of Maulana Abdul Bari Saheb published in the *Hamdard* of 17th October 1913, to the effect that in rebuilding the mosque the sentiment of the Mussalmans should be respected. The plan was taken to the Collector for his inspection with a view to satisfy him that it was in accordance with the decision of the Viceroy. After inspecting the plan the Collector ordered that it should be submitted to the Municipal Committee. The plans are being accordingly prepared. They are not yet ready for being submitted to the Municipal Committee. The present *mutawallies* and the residents of the *mohalla* have never had any desire that the main building of the mosque should be altered or modified. A detailed report of the proceedings of the Committee of the *mutawallies* from October, 1913, upto this time will shortly be published, which will make it clear that the *mutawallies* have been guilty of no dishonesty. I do not understand, what result is aimed at by having such false news published except the creation of excitement.

This sanctimonious and indignant manifesto is evidently intended to justify the ways of the four honest *mutawallies* to God and man. But after its early experiences the Moslem public is not so easily gullible, nor are "publishers of false news" ignorant of the value of the protestations of innocence which dread of public exposure invariably wrings out of feeble men. The Secretary of the *Mutawallies* Committee has contrived to pack into his whitewashing "Notice"

misleading statements and has suppressed facts and transactions which shed a lucid light on his conduct and that of his associates.

Let us first take the building plan and the strange procedure adopted in regard to its production and surreptitious presentation. The virtuous Secretary accuses *Al-Hilal* of having published false information. We have ascertained all the facts in connection with the preparation of the plan in question and have carefully read the article that appeared in *Al-Hilal*, and we are really amazed at the hardihood of the man who can describe that substantially correct account as inaccurate. The Secretary says that the plan was prepared after consultation, among others, with Mr. Mohamed Ali. If this vague statement is intended to mean that Mr. Mohamed Ali approved both of the plan now submitted and of its being shown to the Collector, then it is a deliberate and unmitigated lie. When the Secretary's notice was received, Mr. Mohamed Ali wired to him as follows :—

"Have seen your printed Notice of 18th July. Your reference to "consultation with me very misleading. My opinion given privately "to Karim Ahmad in presence of two witnesses was against a re- "ference to the Collector who has no business to sanction or reject plans "for buildings in Cawnpore, and although expressing my personal "opinion, that from a religious point of view the construction of a "footpath underneath any portion of the mosque was wrong, I told "Karim Ahmad that Cawnpore Mussalmans could, consistently "with the Viceroy's promise that Muhammadan sentiment would "be respected, and with Maulvi Abdul Bari's telegram and speech, "published immediately after Cawnpore settlement in *Hamdard*, "request the Municipality to permit construction of raised platform "with railings and steps leading to the mosque underneath at least "that portion of the eastern *dalan* to be rebuilt on which prayers "used to be offered and which local Government had persisted in "regarding as more sacred than the part used for ablutions. Please "publish this as widely as your printed Notice of 18th July or "shall be compelled to take other steps against you in the matter."

It will be seen that Mr. Karim Ahmad who had gained considerable notoriety before the settlement of the Cawnpore mosque affair, has been the moving spirit in the latest transaction. When he came to seek Mr. Mohamed Ali's advice he produced a plan with a raised platform underneath the proposed arcade, just as is explained in Mr. Mohamed Ali's telegram to Mr. Majid Ahmad, and he left with the fullest knowledge that Mr. Mohamed Ali regarded that plan as suitable and that he did not think it at all proper that it should be presented to the Collector for his approval. But after he reached Cawnpore he underwent the usual metamorphosis and soon appeared as an advocate of a simple plan of building the footpath without any raised platform to preserve the sanctity of the part of the demolished *dalan* where prayers used to be offered, and began to insist on the plan being first approved by the Collector. A meeting of the *Mutawallis'* Committee was called on the 29th June, but it could not be held for want of a quorum. During an informal discussion on that day Maulana Azad Subhani, who is still a member of the Committee, and has not been frightened into offering a resignation like five other *Mutawallis*, tried to convince the Karim Ahmad clique that a plan of the footpath with a raised platform would alone satisfy Moslem sentiment, that it was not at all inconsistent with the decision of the Viceroy who had only laid down certain broad conditions to be observed on the construction of the footpath and the arcade, and that the plan of building should be submitted without any reference to the Collector. But Messrs. Karim Ahmad and Majid Ahmad opposed these suggestions on the ground that the Collector had disapproved of the plan with a raised platform which had been shown to him. With the *Mutawallis* thus divided equally, no decision was possible and another meeting of the Committee was fixed for 6th July to finally settle the matter and, at Mr. Majid Ahmad's suggestion, the quorum was reduced to three. Maulana Azad Subhani had, in the meantime, to go to Lucknow and he asked the Secretary not to rush to any decision in his absence. But the pliant Secretary, his sly colleague Karim Ahmad and their astute wirepullers thought the departure of Maulana Azad Subhani a perfect God-send. They held a meeting on the 6th July at which the Maulana could not be present, and the remaining four *mutawallis* who attended it approved of the plan of building the footpath without a raised platform and decided to take it to the Collector for his approval. When they had finished their honest labours two guardian angels appeared in the shape of M. Mohamed Ali Khan, retired Deputy Collector and newly created Khan Bahadur, and M. Enayet Husain, Tehsildar and Khan Saheb of the last Honours List, who took them under the wings and safely conducted them to the presence of the Collector. Mr. Tyler's *amour propre* being thus satisfied, they were ordered to submit the plan to the Municipal Committee.

The sorry transaction, of which we have given a brief outline, is only a fresh instance of how men of feeble stuff are driven to mean, ridiculous shifts in pursuit of their low selfish ends. Karim Ahmad and his fellows are evidently more concerned with pleasing the Collector than their God. Majid Ahmad talks of his record of honesty with virtuous indignation. There is not a single aspect of their latest achievement which can be described as straightforward, unequivocal and honest. What business had they to invoke the Collector in a matter which has to be dealt with by the Municipal Committee alone? If they are honest why are they being towed about by the Tehsildar and the retired Deputy Collector, whose shadow seems still to loom athwart the situation even after the settlement? We need not pick out the threads of a clumsy intrigue and sort its miserable instruments. It is enough to remind the Mussalmans of Cawnpore that the plan of building has not yet been submitted to the Municipal Committee and that none should be submitted that does not carry the approval of the general community notwithstanding Karim Ahmad and Majid Ahmad and his patrons. The *mutawallis* should be asked to carry out the wishes of the public and not to play up to the whims of the Collector who has no business to interfere in the preparations of the plan. The High Court of Allahabad reminded him some weeks ago that the Chairman of the Cawnpore Municipality was not a Magistrate any longer and at any rate was no longer subordinate to him as a District Magistrate. Does Mr. Tyler now need the Viceroy to remind him that he is not the "boss" of the Municipality? Surely the lesson of the 14th October last should have been sufficient for any but a lunatic or a determined knave!

Sir James Meston at Aligarh.

SIR JAMES MESTON, during his recent visit to Aligarh, spent three interesting and busy days as the guest of Nawab Sir Faiyaz Ali Khan of Pahasu, President of the Board of Trustees of the M. A.-O. College. His Honour reached Aligarh on the 16th instant and was received at the station by the President, the Hon. Secretary and a number of Trustees present there on the occasion. On the evening of the same day he dined with Nawab Mohamed Ishaq Khan Saheb, Hon. Secretary of the College. Early on the following day he visited the college and inspected the mosque, the lecture rooms, the Strachey Hall, the Library and the laboratories, and spent some time in listening to the lectures in the class-rooms. In the afternoon he attended the tea party, given in his honour by the college staff in the "Beck Manzil", and later on visited the Cricket-ground, the Minto Circle Boarding-Houses and the Hockey and Football grounds. He was entertained at dinner by Nawab Sir Faiyaz Ali Khan the same night, about 35 guests having been invited to meet him. On the morning of the 18th July, His Honour visited the Siddons' Union Club, where hundreds of the college students had assembled to welcome him. At the request of the officiating Principal, to become an honorary member of the College Union, His Honour graciously accepted the offer and signed the Members' Book. Mr. Ameer Ahmad Khan, Vice-President of the Union, thanked His Honour in an eloquent speech for the honour conferred on the Siddons' Union Club, stated that it was the first time on record that the Official Patron of the College had become a member of their club, and in conclusion referred to the contribution of the Union in the making of the type of young Mussalman known as the "Aligarh Boy" whom he described as a true and earnest believer in the faith of Islam, an independent and patriotic citizen of India and a devoted and loyal subject of the British Crown. His Honour's reply in felicitous terms was received with great enthusiasm and applause. He said that in their midst he no longer felt himself to be the Official Patron of the College, but as one of themselves; and he characterised the description of the "Aligarh Boy" as a splendid definition. After this pleasant function was over, His Honour visited the school boarding houses, and concluded a lengthy programme by visits to the "Mumtaz House" and the "MacDonnell House." At about 11 A. M. he met about forty Trustees in an informal conference at the "Pahasu House," about the affairs of the college which terminated with a lunch at which the Trustees entertained His Honour. The day ended with a visit to the College Club and thence to the Old Boys' Lodge where His Honour was garlanded and presented with the two volumes of the "Old Boys' Directory" and where he signed the Visitors' Book, after which he attended a Garden Party in the College grounds and a dinner given by Nawab Abdus Samad Khan Saheb of Chhatari. His Honour left Aligarh early on Sunday by motor for Bulandshahr.

His Honour's visit to the college has left the most pleasant memories behind. He came into contact with almost every aspect of the college life, and charmed all alike by his characteristic courtesy and urbanity of manner. The unfortunate rumours that had been set afloat about the object of his visit have proved to be entirely baseless, and it would immensely gratify the Mussalman public to learn that throughout his stay His Honour impressed every one by his deep and genuine interest in the welfare of the college and his readiness to help the college authorities in their task by all means in his power. His conference with the Trustees, which lasted for a considerable time, was expressly declared to be confidential and we are not, therefore, in a position to divulge its proceedings. It was suggested to His Honour that a *communiqué* might be issued giving a brief summary of what transpired at the conference. His Honour approved of the idea and the publication of a *communiqué* may, therefore, be shortly expected on the subject. We will not, however, be betraying any confidence if we say that certain outstanding matters in connection with the college finances were discussed freely with a view to settlement, and that His Honour's attitude and advice were most helpful throughout the discussions. The Mussalman public is already well aware that the affairs of the college in some respects need to be handled with judicious care, promptitude and foresight. It may, however, rest assured that though there is ample scope for thoughtful and speedy action, the situation in the college has in no way been so serious as to justify the existence of vague anxiety or alarm. The Trustees are fully alive to their responsibilities and we hope they may prove quite competent to deal with the problems which are bound to crop up occasionally

in the administration of a big and growing institution like the Aligarh College. They are no doubt prone to be somewhat tardy in their methods, and it must also be confessed that some of them are susceptible to influences which tend to impair their strength and weaken their moral fibre. And there are, again, persons, not necessarily Trustees, who are perpetually trying to magnify the difficulties of the college and use them as a lever to promote their own schemes of self-aggrandisement. But the most hopeful sign about the situation is that the Moslem public is growing vigilant, and the self-seeker and the indifferent can no longer hope to go on in the good old ways without being called to reckoning. The Aligarh College is the most important communal trust, and it must be administered with the united will and energies of the whole community. Mussalmans have always recognised with gratitude the liberal help that the college has received from Government since its foundation. There have recently been occasions when the Government's attitude has struck the Mussalmans as somewhat needlessly critical and inquisitive. The Government knows it full well that the most important Moslem educational centre in India which has been built up by enormous sacrifices of the Mussalmans and is maintained by funds provided by the Mussalman public can not ignore the wishes of the rising Moslem democracy. It should not and can not, however, be inferred that the determination of the Moslem community to retain the communal control over the Aligarh College unimpaired is incompatible with a sincere desire to maintain intact the old traditional relations of the college with Government.

Sir James Meston's recent visit to Aligarh has served to lift a growing cloud of suspicion, and we are strongly persuaded to think that he has no reason to doubt in his mind that the Aligarh College is a sound and solid fabric which retains its essential character. He might have had suspicions and anxiety due to some misunderstanding based on false reports industriously circulated by ill-disposed and designing persons. And it has to be frankly confessed that owing to certain unfortunate events to which we need not refer here, a deplorable estrangement of feeling had occurred between Sir James Meston and the Mussalmans which prevented the growth of that degree of mutual trust and confidence which is so necessary alike for the rulers and the ruled. Sir James Meston during his stay at Aligarh gave ample indications of his friendly and sympathetic disposition towards Mussalmans. We sincerely welcome these indications and assure His Honour that Mussalmans are ready to meet him more than half-way in forgetting the past and working in trustful co-operation for the future. It would not be out of place to recall the feelings with which the Mussalmans had hailed his appointment to his present position. It was a cruel irony of fate that so soon after his assumption of the charge of the United Provinces even his greatest admirers amongst the Mussalmans should have had to bear the strain of the bitterest experiences and mourn, not only the misfortunes of Islam in India and abroad, but also the apparent loss of confidence from one whom they had always regarded as their true well-wisher and friend. The breach has existed for sometime, and we need not say how desirable it is that it should be repaired. Much depends on His Honour's own action, for we need not remind him how responsive Mussalmans are to all genuine sympathy. His frank cordiality and kindly behaviour at Aligarh give us hopes that the sad memories of the past will be wiped off the slate and Mussalmans will set to work for their welfare with full trust in a ruler of such a gifted personality as Sir James Meston's.

Need we say that our remarks refer exclusively to the community as a whole? As for individuals, the world cannot spare much time or even much sentiment for them as it rushes along on its progressive course, and if they are truly patriotic, they will receive the patriot's meed, suffering and sacrifice with the emotions of a Stoic. This is the badge of their tribe, and why should we doubt their willingness and capacity to wear it bravely and with a smile?

The Haj: New Proposals for Old.

I—Compulsory and Opuonal Return Tickets.

In our last issue, we dealt with the question of the extent to which dereliction of pilgrims at Jeddah existed, and we stated our reasons for doubting the accuracy of the statements made from time to time by the British Vice-Consul at Jeddah. Considering the fact that the only ostensible reason for so much display of energy on the part of Government in connection with the Haj question is the dereliction of Indian pilgrims at Jeddah, it is essential for the Government to publish the figures of the dereliction from year to year together with the complaints made by local Turkish officials about the Indian derelicts at Jeddah, who, according to Khan Bahadur Dr. Abdur Rahman, "are a burden and an offence and "a source of danger to the town." In our last issue we had asked certain questions in connection with the 500 so-called destitute pilgrims brought back at the expense of Rs. 17,000 to the Government of India and Rs. 3,000 to the Bombay Haj Committee at the urgent requests of Dr. Abdur Rahman. We press for an answer to these questions and request Government to let us know what steps it took to satisfy itself that Dr. Abdur Rahman was not lying shamelessly when he said that many Indian derelicts at Jeddah in December, 1912, were dying daily Our information is that inspite of Government's contributing so liberally for their repatriation, the full complement of 500 pilgrims was not sent immediately after the sanction by the Government of the grant, but that it took the Khan Bahadur Vice-Consul about four months to induce the full 500 to accept Government charity and to proceed on their return journey in small batches, and that many of these were quite ready to return at their own expense. If this is true of the only occasion on which Government had to contribute even a shell for the relief of Indian derelicts, then the entire structure of the Bombay Government's proposals for the pilgrim traffic to the Hejaz falls to the ground. Is it, therefore, strange that before discussing the new proposals we should insist on being furnished with ample details about the extent of Indian dereliction at Jeddah, and is Government justified in holding a hurried and—as it is likely to prove—a very limited consultation with the people really concerned, without satisfying them that there is a substantial foundation for the fabric of the new proposals?

Turning to the proposals themselves, we hope, we do not presume too much in saying that few in India could have taken so much pains to study the old proposals and the new as we have done, for we have spent much time and labour in consulting those interested in the question, whether as members of the general Hajj-going public, or merchants with past or present experience of the pilgrim traffic, or officers of Government who supervise the arrangements for the safety, comfort and convenience of the pilgrims at Bombay. And after this careful study, the only conclusion at which we can honestly arrive is that, inspite of the Bombay Government's specious deference to the determined and uncompromising antagonism of public opinion among the Mussalmans to the main principles underlying its old scheme, we are offered nothing but the old proposals in a new disguise.

One of the main proposals last year was that return-tickets alone should be issued to the pilgrims. To this public opinion—as the Bombay Government acknowledges—was absolutely opposed; and we need not waste time over the laboured justification in that Government's letter of its original proposal on the ground that it had seen to it that Mohamedan opinion on that side of India appeared to have undergone "a very considerable transformation in regard to this "question since the discussions of 1908." But it does seem amusing that the Bombay Government should have put forward the proposal for making the purchase of return-tickets compulsory without consulting those whom it concerned; and that when instead of sanctioning its proposal by wire, as it had urged, the Government of India compelled it to publish its proposals and ascertain publicly the feeling of the Mohamedan community, and specially of the Haj Committee, with regard to them, the Government of Bombay, knowing as it does the extent and intensity of Moslem opposition to those proposals, should, in all seriousness, state after a year that "on the whole. . . . "so far as any conclusions can be formed from these opinions, the "original proposals of this Government have met with a more favour-"able reception than could have been expected." Does the Bombay Government really mean what it says, and if it expected a less favourable reception of its proposals by the people most concerned than to the uncompromising, determined and universal antagonism which they in fact provoked, then, what in the name of goodness was it that induced it to put forward such proposals? Again, it is amusing to note the shifts to which the Bombay Government has been put to account for the popular opposition and resentment provoked by its proposals. "This antagonism," wrote the Bombay Government, "may, not improbably, be due to influences originating outside this "Presidency and permeating Mohamedan opinion as a consequence "of recent events elsewhere. . . . 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 Mohamedan 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 commu-"nity elsewhere." We may assure the Bombay Government that it is a futile task to take shelter against the very reasonable objections raised against its old proposals behind what Mr. Tyler and the U. P. Government would call "outside agitators," or behind "recent events," whether in the Balkans or Cawnpore; and that its modest boast about the placid bosoms of Bombay contrasting with the hysteria of the rest of Moslem India is nothing short of a somewhat well-merited sneer at the snobbish subservience of many of the prominent Mussalmans of Bombay.

The real reason why the Bombay Government could not force the system of return-tickets on the pilgrims is that it could not ignore our contention, published in our issue of the 26th April, 1913, that a large number of pilgrims departing from the port of Bombay never returned to India from the Hejaz or returned by an entirely different route. We had quoted in that issue certain figures showing that the figure of such pilgrims reach thousands every year; but we have to thank the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola for publicly ascertaining by an interpellation in the Bombay Legislative Council the exact figures from the year 1888 to 1912. It will interest the public to know these figures, and we offer no apology for reproducing them in full in a footnote.

From the statement given in that footnote it is clear that during the last 25 years 3,25,579 pilgrims left for the Hejaz from the port of Bombay, while only 2,53,160 returned, thus leaving a balance of no less than 72,419 who either died or settled down in the Hejaz or returned by an entirely different route. This gives an average for the entire period of a quarter of a century of some 13,000 pilgrims leaving for the Hejaz and only 10,000 returning, leaving an annual balance of some 3,000 pilgrims or 22½ per cent. of those that embarked from Bombay. In some years the deficiency has been staggering, as for instance, more than 11,000 in 1893, more than 10,000 in 1903-4, and more than 9,000 in 1906. In some cases the percentage of those not returning out of the total that had embarked has been as much

as 61 and 55 per cent, and we may be sure that only three days after having himself ascertained these figures from the Government of Bombay by means of a question in Council, the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola could not have meant the average number of pilgrims never returning to Bombay was 10,000 annually, as the note of the Poona Conference makes it out, instead of being more or less than 10,000 in certain abnormal years. What the Government of Bombay had proposed was that irrespective of the 22½ per cent. of the total number of pilgrims embarking from Bombay every pilgrim must purchase a return-ticket so that a few hundred of indigent pilgrims, perhaps representing no more than 3 or 4 per cent. of the total, may not come between the wind and the new Khan Bahadur's nobility. What monetary loss the compulsory issue of return-tickets would have spelt to the pilgrims can be judged from the following fact. The Government of Bombay issued in October, 1904, a Resolution which sanctioned the issue to pilgrims of coupons for return railway tickets and laid down that, in the event of a return-ticket, in respect of which a coupon had been issued, not being claimed within nine months from the date of issue, the amount deposited would lapse and should be paid into a fund for the relief of indigent pilgrims. It must be noted that the period allowed for return journey by rail was no less than nine months, which was much more than the period recommended last year by the Bombay Government for the return journey by steamer from the Hejaz. Nevertheless the total amount held in deposit on account of the lapsing of the railway coupons during the pilgrim season of 1904-5 was Rs. 12,961-8-3 and of 1905-6, Rs. 13,277-1-3. This means an average of Rs. 13,000 lost to the pilgrims on the comparatively inexpensive railway tickets alone and this too during pilgrim seasons in which the net deficiency in the number of those who returned was less than 2,000. What it would have been in the year 1906, when there was a deficiency of more than 9,000, can well be imagined. Taking the passage money by steamer to be on an average about five times as much as the cost of an average pilgrim's railway ticket, it is no exaggeration to say that the loss to the pilgrims on account of return steamer tickets would have annually amounted to about 2 lacs. The Bombay Government had asked for sanction for the proposals in a great hurry, but seems to have now repented at leisure, and on the same grounds, for in their letter to the Government of India they state that in view of the number of those who either never return to India from the Hejaz or return by an entirely different route "it is impossible to "ignore their case," and they have also accepted the contention of the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah, which he made at the Poona Conference, that "no satisfactory arrangement could be devised which "would admit of refunds being made to pilgrims who did not return "by sea, while not opening the door to grave abuses", for the Government of Bombay confess that "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 frustra-"tion of its essential object." We are even told that the discussion which took place with the Bombay Government's *fidus Achates*, Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company's representative, "has not "lead to the suggestion of any expedient which could be regarded "as satisfactorily surmounting this serious practical difficulty." This proposal is, therefore, stated to have now been withdrawn, but one would have thought that a proposal once stated to have been withdrawn in an official document would not be put forward again and certainly not in the same official document. But like Banquo's ghost at the feast of Macbeth, the proposals of the Bombay Government regarding the Haj "rise again, with twenty "mortal murders on their crown."

In paragraph 17 of their letter the Government of Bombay talk glibly enough of "the abandonment of the proposed system "of compulsory return tickets," but within a few lines of this declaration the Government of Bombay press forward the proposal that Government should make it a rule that return tickets shall be sold at rates only 25 per cent. in excess of the single ticket. For instance, if the return ticket were to be offered for Rs. 100 the single ticket must cost nothing less than Rs. 80, or if the return ticket were to be offered for Rs. 160 the single ticket should be offered for nothing less than Rs. 128. If this is not the introduction of a system of compulsory return tickets, then either words have lost their sense or authors their senses. Even the veriest fool can understand that shipping companies do not carry on their business for the sake of impoverishing themselves and that like the railway companies throughout the world and like shipping companies elsewhere, the shipping companies carrying pilgrims to the Hejaz would fix a tariff for return tickets which would bring them at least a small margin of profit. What this margin would be only the nature of the competition of rival companies could determine. As is the case with railway and shipping companies throughout the world, the single fare would be only slightly in excess of one-half of the return fare so that an inducement could exist for returning by the boats of the same company as had brought the pilgrim on the outward journey. But Government now proposes to intervene and compel the shipping companies to charge the pilgrim, guilty of the offence of buying a single ticket only, not half or 55 or 60 per cent. of the cost of the return ticket, but not a pie less than 80 per cent. No doubt the fine of at least Rs. 30 p. c., over and above 50 p. c., the proportionate price of the single ticket, constitutes what the Bombay Government calls a rate "so preponderatingly favourable as to provide a "very strong inducement to the pilgrims to purchase return "tickets." But the meanest intelligence of merely non-officials would find it hard to understand the subtle distinction between the "compulsion" of last year and the "very strong inducement" of this year. And is it fair to call the rates for the return passage "so preponderatingly favourable," when in reality it is the rates for the single passage that are "so preponderatingly *unfavourable*"? If Government had offered a bonus to purchasers of return tickets from the Public Exchequer, that would have supplied a justification for the use of the phrase "so preponderatingly favourable." When neither Government nor the shipping companies offer a shell to the purchaser of the return ticket but he is charged a fair, and probably more than a fair rate, as we shall show latter, for the return passage, and the purchaser of a single ticket is penalized for such an inexcusable sin, to talk of rates "so preponderatingly favourable" is to utter what is so preponderatingly foolish if not so preponderatingly hypocritical.

The second main proposal of the Bombay Government last year was to grant a monopoly for five years to Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company who had so suddenly and so mysteriously stepped into the shoes of Mr. Shirazi of the Bombay and Persia Steam Navigation Company. A superficial observer would conclude from the recent letter of the Bombay Government that here at least the "abandonment" or "withdrawal" of its original scheme is real and final, specially as that Government takes leave of its pet proposal with considerable emotion and along with Mr. Shamsuddin Kadri (who shares with Dr. Abdur Rahman not only the qualification of being a Mussalman—and a Syed at that—but also the honour of Khan Bahadurship,) indulges in a good deal of abuse of pig-headed Mussalmans, who cannot relish the grant of a monopoly to Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. and the inestimable boon of fares permanently fixed at rates higher than ever heard before even at the worst period during the last quarter of a century. At any rate, there is apparently nothing here of State intervention except what is obviously required for the "improvement of the "conditions in which the pilgrims effect their journey to the Hejaz "and back," such as the raising of the minimum of tonnage for pilgrim ships from 500 to 2,000 and eventually to 2,500 tons, or the increasing of the speed from a minimum of 8 knots an hour to a figure not yet disclosed. But we shall endeavour to show in our next issue the unmistakable drift of all these sleek and smooth new conditions and how they spell nothing short of the monopoly of Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company and the enhancement of the fares, so that they could be only within the means of the rich, who may grace Haj Committees, but who seldom grace the Haj with their presence.

Year.	The number of pilgrims who left for the Hejaz from the port of Bombay.	The number of pilgrims who returned to Bombay from the Hejaz.	Deficiency or excess in the number of those who returned.
1888	14,528	6,405	*minus* 8,123
1889	13,037	10,101	*minus* 2,936
1890	11,665	8,740	*minus* 2,925
1891	14,068	8,677	*minus* 5,391
1892	12,787	9,490	*minus* 3,297
1893	20,068	9,015	*minus* 11,053
1894	13,450	9,540	*minus* 3,910
1895	17,102	10,472	*minus* 6,630
1896	14,167	9,697	*minus* 4,470
1897	1,106	2,519	*plus* 1,413
1898	Pilgrim Traffic closed owing to plague in Bombay.	1,342	*plus* 1,342
1899		862	*plus* 862
1900		987	*plus* 987
1901		1,290	*plus* 1,290
1902-3	3,907	3,570	*minus* 337
1903-4	16,647	6,466	*minus* 10,181
1904-5	12,293	14,794	*plus* 2,501
1905-6	18,390	13,952	*minus* 4,438
1906	27,140	18,072	*minus* 9,068
1907	21,716	24,293	*plus* 2,577
1908	16,111	18,351	*plus* 2,240
1909	21,054	14,330	*minus* 6,724
1910	18,023	16,900	*minus* 1,123
1911	22,856	18,871	*minus* 3,985
1912	15,464	14,424	*minus* 1,040
Total	325,579	253,160	72,419
Average	13,023	10,126	2,897

The Haj Question.

IV.

Notes of an informal Conference held on the 31st July, 1913, at the Council Hall in Poona for the purpose of considering the proposals in connexion with the Haj Pilgrimage formulated in the Bombay Government's letter to the Government of India, No. 2896, dated the 11th April 1913.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. Claude Hill, C.S.I., C.I.E., *Chairman.*
The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, K.C.I.E.
The Hon'ble Sardar Syed Ali El Edroos.
The Hon'ble Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad.
The Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Hussein Hidayatullah.
The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, C.I.E.
The Secretary to Government, General Department.

The Hon'ble Mr. Hill opened the proceedings by reciting the conditions, set forth in paragraph 4 of their letter to the Government of India, on which the Bombay Government had proposed that the arrangements for the conveyance of pilgrims betwen India and Jeddah should be entrusted to Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company. He then referred in some detail to the opinions which had been elicited from the various individuals and associations consulted throughout the Presidency, and drew attention to their generally favourable character and the absence of any widespread or strong opposition to the two essential features of the scheme, namely, the grant for a term of years of a monopoly of the pilgrims traffic to a single shipping firm, and the institution of a system of compulsory return tickets. Where exception had been taken to the scheme the points of objection practically resolved themselves into three, namely—

(1) that the passage rates proposed were excessive;
(2) that the period within which a return passage could be claimed was too short ;
(3) that the scheme made no provision for the large number of pilgrims who had no intention of returning to their homes or who proposed to make a prolonged stay in the Hedjaz or to return home overland.

2. With reference to (1) he observed that, in the total absence of other competitors in the field, the Company in question were in a very strong position to lay down their own terms, and that in any case the objection did not take into account the proposed improvement of the conditions of the service which the terms of the contract contemplated.

3. As regards (2) he pointed out that the clause referred to did not go further than to stipulate that the presentation of a return ticket within two months of the last day of the Haj should be a condition to securing a passage within 3½ months from that date, and did not empower the company to refuse altogether to give a return passage to holder of a ticket presented after the expiry of the prescribed period. He thought that the company might be asked, subject to an absolute limit of two years, to guarantee, in the case of pilgrims presenting return tickets after the expiration of the prescribed two months, a return passage within two months of the date of such presentation, or, in the alternative, to pay an indemnity of Rs. 50 on each ticket.

4. As regards (3) he considered that the number of pilgrims who did not return by sea was largely made up of pilgrims from Central Asia, and that to meet the objection in the case of Indian pilgrims an arrangement might be devised for refunding a sum of Rs. 50, representing the return half of the ticket, on a declaration being made by the holder before the Jeddah consular authorities that he had no intention of returning to India.

5. After some discussion as to the value of the opinions collected and the mode of their collection Mr. Hill pointed out that the really essential question regarding which he now desired to have the opinion of the members of the Conference was whether or not it was desirable to institute a system of compulsory return tickets. If it were once admitted that the institution of such a system was desirable, then the necessity for some such arrangement as that outlined must be conceded, and it would only remain to consider its details. He proposed, therefore, to invite *seriatim* the several members present to state their precise objections to a system of compulsory return tickets.

6. In response to this invitation Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola stated that the principal objection to the proposal arose from the very large proportion of pilgrims who either do not return to India at all or who return by another route. This proportion* he estimated at 10,000 annually, Its extent could be judged from the very large sums which accrued by the lapse of return railway tickets when these were compulsory and which formed the nucleus of the Haj Relief Fund. This feature of the pilgrimage complicated the question immensely. He was of opinion that no satisfactory arrangement could be devised which would admit of refunds being made to pilgrims who did not return by sea, while not opening the door to grave abuses. It would be impossible either to prevent pilgrims from obtaining refunds by means of false declaration, in which case they would spend, or would conceal the possession of, the money paid to them and would be thrown, as before, on the British authorities at Jeddah, or to ensure that the refunds were paid to the rightful claimants and not to persons who had obtained the return halves of tickets by purchase or by fraud. Having regard to the immense numbers to be dealt with, no system of identification of ticket holders at Jeddah, designed to prevent such transfers, was in his opinion practicable. There would thus, in spite of all efforts, be a large residuum every year of pilgrims who for one reason or another were unprovided with the means of returning to India, and the difficulty complained of would not be removed though it might be to some extent reduced in degree. Criticizing the details of the scheme he compared unfavourably the term of two months within which presentation of the return half of a ticket would ensure a passage back to India within the nine month during which the railway return tickets were valid. He also enlarged on the excessive character of the rates proposed having regard to the average of the rates actually paid in the course of past years. The higher rates occasionally obtaining during the last two or three seasons were, he stated, due to exceptional causes and did not afford a fair basis of comparison. He contended that it was not right or just to inflict on the fifteen to twenty thousand pilgrims who annually performed the Haj all the inconvenience and loss which a compulsory return ticket system, under proper safeguards, necessarily involved, merely in order to prevent some two or three hundred of them from being stranded at Jeddah. He considered that if the British Government took steps to prevent the systematic robbing of pilgrims by the authorities at the quarantine station of Camaran, and if other Indian ports besides those of Bombay and Karachi were thrown open, there would be a very great improvement in the general conditions of the pilgrim traffic. Having taken these steps, he thought that Government should definitely announce that in future no assistance of any kind would be given to pilgrims at Jeddah for effecting their return to India. Subject to these conditions he would contemplate with equanimity the annual stranding at Jeddah of some two or three hundred indigent pilgrims. He considered that the convenience of the great mass of the pilgrims and their freedom from all undesirable restrictions were more important considerations than the restoration of the credit of the Mussalmans of India in the estimation of the Mahomedan world.

(* The actual figures for the past 25 years give an annual average of 2,900.)

7. The Hon'ble Sardar Syed Ali objected to the compulsory return ticket system on the ground that it would absolutely prevent many Mahomedans from undertaking the Haj pilgrimage whose bounden religious duty it was to perform it at least once in their lifetime, whether or not they had sufficient means to pay for the expenses of the journey. He was, he explained, referring to the "Shafi" sect who represented approximately 25 per cent. of the whole body of Mussalmans in India.

8. The Hon'ble Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad drew an unfavourable comparison between the treatment at the hands of the Turkish authorities in the Hedjaz of pilgrims from British India and that accorded to pilgrims travelling under the protection of the French, Russian or Dutch Governments, and maintained that the proper course in dealing with the difficulty was for the British Government to address a strong representation to the Turkish Government on the subject and to arrange for the posting of representatives at the various stages on the route of pilgrimage who would p otect the interests of of the Indian pilgrims. He attributed the annual stranding of so many Indian pilgrims at Jeddah in a state of indigency to the exactions and robbery to which they were exposed in the course of the pilgrimage. He admitted that the better condition of the pilgrims from the Dutch Indies might be due to the fact that they came to the Hedjaz well equipped, thanks to the arrangements made by the

British Government, with the means of returning to their homes, but adhered to his objection to the institution of a system of compulsory return tickets. He considered that, provided that effective measures were adopted to protect the pilgrims from illegal exactions, there was no necessity for taking any further action with regard to this difficulty. He also, like Sir Ibrahim, was prepared to view with unconcern the annual stranding at Jeddah of the residuum of pilgrims who went to the Haj with nothing but the means of getting to Mecca and without any provision for the return journey and whom, as he admitted, his proposals for the amelioration of Haj conditions would leave untouched.

9. The Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Hussein endorsed the views already expressed, and laid stress on the certainty that a large proportion of the pilgrims would, in the course of the journey from Jeddah to Mecca and back, mislay or be robbed of their return tickets.

10. The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy also concurred in the above views. He maintained that the arrangements would affect no improvement in the conditions of the pilgrims traffic. He adduced specific instances in support of his contention that the shipping company to whom Government proposed to entrust these arrangements had already shown themselves unable to deal adequately with this traffic. In these circumstances nothing would be gained by giving them, or any other shipping firm, a monopoly of the traffic. In his opinion it was very desirable that the Government of India should arrange to appoint a committee consisting of the leading Mahomedans of every province with instructions to consider and submit definite proposals for improving the conditions of the pilgrims traffic. Personally he was of opinion that the difficulty referred to would always exist, as no scheme that could be devised would prevent pauper Mussalmans from making their way out to the Haj and then begging their way back.

11. The Hon'ble Mr. Hill in bringing the proceedings to a close said that he proposed in the first instance to communicate to Khan Bahadur Syed Shamsuddin Kadri (Collector of West Khandesh) the opinions which had been elicited in the course of the discussion, and to ask him for his observations and suggestions regarding them. He undertook that the above opinions would be adequately represented in the reply which the Bombay Government would in due course address to the Government of India on the question, though he naturally reserved to himself the right of criticising them freely and of indicating the almost wholly negative and destructive character of the arguments by which they were supported and the "non possumus" attitude which they generally represented.

V.

Note by Khan Bahadur Syed Shamsuddin Syed Mian Kadri.

The opinions elicited at the informal Conference in Poona are remarkable for their vagueness and contain no practical suggestion for improving the lamentable situation.

2. I beg to agree with the Hon'ble Mr. Claude Hill, C. S. I., C.I.E., I. C. S., subject to the following modifications :—

(1) That the passage rates proposed are excessive and may be reduced.

(2) That maximum rates may be fixed for the single as well as the return voyage.

(3) That the tenders may be invited for the monopoly and that the monopoly may be given to the lowest bidder.

(4) That the return ticket system may not be made compulsory until the results of the working of the monopoly system are definitely known.

(5) That a "Haj Fund" may be raised in the whole of India for the repatriation of the destitute Hajis at Jeddah.

3. My reasons for making the above suggestions are stated in the following paragraphs.

4. A dispassionate consideration of the complicated Haj problem leads to the inevitable conclusion that the repatriation of destitute pilgrims stranded at Jeddah is not the only difficulty to be faced but that there is another equally serious difficulty felt almost every year by hundreds of poor pilgrims. It is due to the fluctuations in the passage rates according to the sweet will of shipping companies. Many pilgrims led away by false rumours start for the Haj in the hope of securing a cheap passage. On their arrival in Bombay, they find to their utter despair the rates tremendously high, but once having left their native place with a sincere desire to perform the Haj, they consider it a sin to go back. Consequently they exhaust their limited resources at the very outset. Such persons though not paupers get stranded at Jeddah on their return journey. Some of the misery at Jeddah is also due to the impression that the benign British Government would grant a free passage.

For these reasons, it is essential not only in the interests of those who get stranded at Jeddah but even for the welfare of the majority of pilgrims that the steamer rates should be fixed and announced beforehand so that every pilgrim may know exactly what provision he must make for the intended pilgrimage.

The only reasonable solution of this difficult problem that suggest itself under the present circumstances is to fix the maximum rates for a single as well as a return passage. To carry out this scheme, there is no alternative but to have the scheme of a monopoly; the two schemes are inseparable.

5. Here I must confess that this opinion of mine regarding monopoly is not shared by a majority of Mahomedans both literate as well as illiterate, and the reasons for this difference of opinion are obvious.

The opposition is more or less sentimental and is based upon the misapprehension that Government want to restrict the Haj and interfere indirectly with the most sacred religious duty of Mahomedans.

Time and experience alone can remove this wrong impression. At present they are in an excited mood on account of the state of affairs in Turkey and are not open to conviction. Therefore, I beg respectfully to suggest that the final decision of this delicate subject may, if possible, be withheld until the present fervour subsides.

6. However, if it be deemed expedient to decide this matter without any further delay, I submit that moderate, maximum rates may be fixed for a single as well as a return passage. The rates for the return ticket may be only one-third more than the single passage rates and made so attractive as to induce a majority of pilgrims to take a return ticket. The present opposition to the return ticket system is mostly due to the proposed excessive passage rates because it is apprehended that they would come in the way of a large majority of ordinary pilgrims who think it their solemn duty to perform the Haj at least once during their lifetime.

As soon as the people find that the rates for the return ticket are decidedly advantageous and compare favourably with the single fare, they would resort to the return ticket system as is the case with the Railway return tickets and the resentment due to the idea of compulsion would naturally disappear. The return ticket system should not therefore be made compulsory until it becomes popular. This would mainly depend upon the successful working of the shipping company that might get the monopoly. With a view to popularise the system, I beg to suggest that the following maximum rates may be fixed inclusive of the Camaran quarantine dues :—

Maximum single passage.	Maximum of the return ticket.
Rs.	Rs.
75	100 October.
60	80 September.
45	60 August.

With the exception of the last year, the rates of the shipping companies were generally very moderate specially when the competition used to be keen.

7. After the maximum rates are fixed, tenders may be invited and the monopoly given to the lowest bidder. The great advantage of an open competition would be that it would be possible to find out the lowest rates and the opponents of the monopoly shall have no grounds for complaint.

It is possible that some well-to-do Mahomedans may come forward to float a company for the purposes of Haj. At any rate, the Mahomedans at large shall have the satisfaction of knowing that Government did all they could to facilitate the performance of Haj. There is no doubt that "Haj" is imperative and all the Mahomedans of India are concerned in this question.

8. Lots of pilgrims go to Medina after the Haj. Therefore the guarantee of a return passage from Jeddah should be 5 months instead of $3\frac{1}{2}$ months.

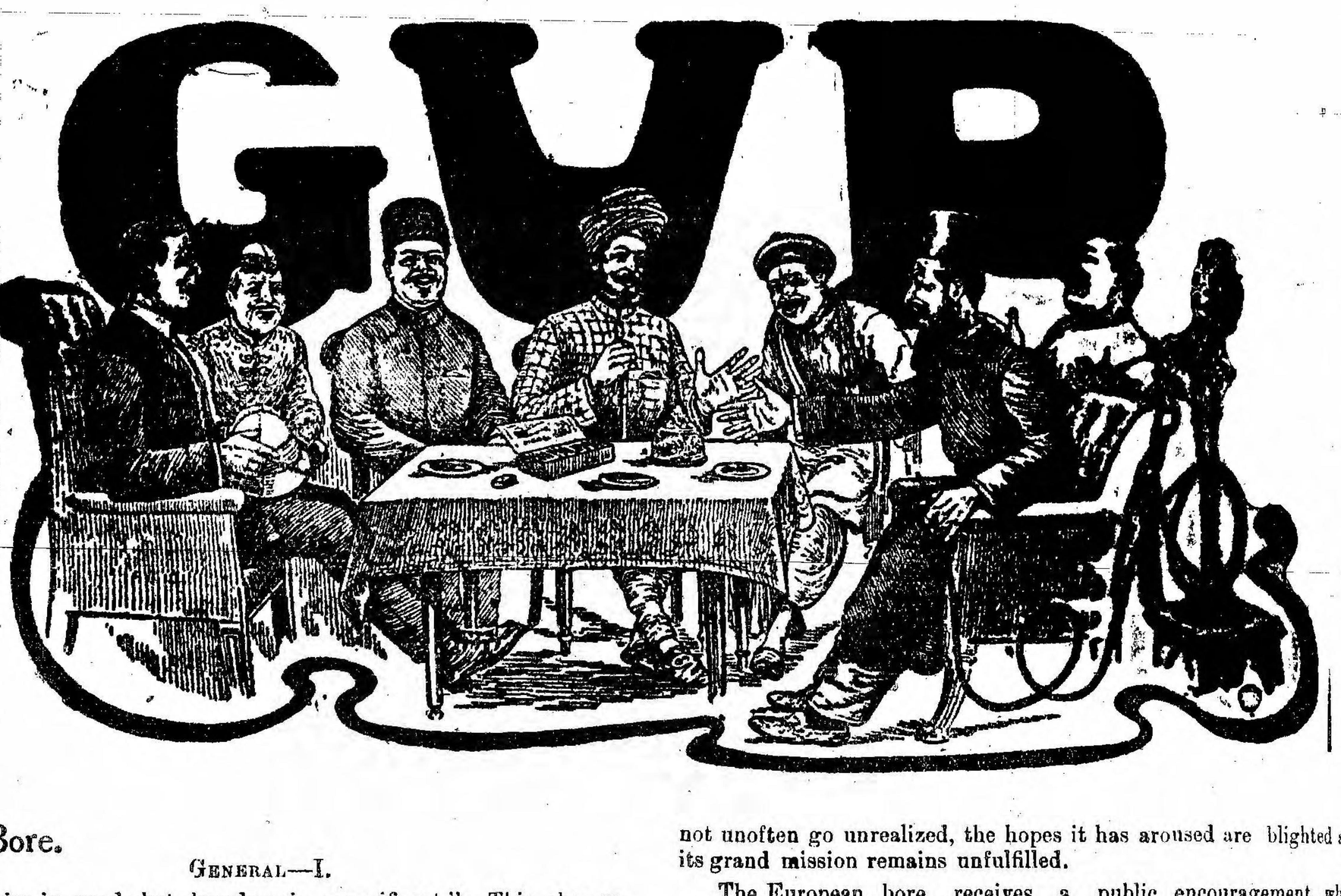
In the case of each holder of a return ticket who does not wish to return or who is certified by the British Consul at Jeddah to have died in the Hedjaz, the company should, on production of the unused return voucher within 12 months, pay half the amount of the return ticket. I hope the above modifications and concessions would pacify the Mahomedans and be acceptable to them.

9. In spite of all this, if Mahomedans do not assume a conciliatory attitude, they must be prepared to give a practical proof of their genuine sympathy for their co-religionists stranded at Jeddah and raise within six months a decent fund in every province and deposit the same with the Government of India, the annual income of which can be utilised for the repatriation of destitute Hajis at Jeddah. For this purpose, a committee of leading Mahomedans of each province may be appointed as proposed by the Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhai with instructions to form sub-committees in all the important cities and towns of India to collect the necessary fund amounting from five to ten lakhs of rupees.

10. These are in my humble opinion the two practical ways of solving a long-standing problem instead of carrying on an acrimonious discussion.

SYED SHAMSUDDIN KADRI.

Dhulia, 14th August 1914.



The Bore.

GENERAL—I.

"Genius is good, but boredom is magnificent." This observation is immemorially old—as old as the Pyramids—and is marked by a profundity of thought and intensity of expression which characterized all Greek philosophical reflections. It is not the antiquity of the observation, but its downright truth that is its supreme merit.

The unforgiveablest and the most persistent of all human mistakes is to think that the bore is not immortal like genius.

Real, solid, substantial boredom is imperishable—defiant of death and oblivion; but superficial, shallow, ineffective boredom is ephemeral. The real bore is born like genius. Nature does not send him ill-equipped to fight the battle of life. It bestows on him inexhaustible funds of loquacity—funds which survive a most reckless and improvident use and last a lifetime of unprofitable investments, extravagant effects and hazarduous experiments. It is a pity that the bore often makes a wasteful use of his gift. With greater economy and less improvidence he could leave his unprovided-for children a rich heritage of vocal energy. The real bore is, as I have said above, immortal. To guard myself against a possible misapprehension on the part of the readers, I may say that the bore shares with the rest of humanity a regrettable proneness to physical death; but I don't find it in my heart to condemn him for a weakness which, though deplorable in the extreme, is none of his cultivation, but a legacy from his ancestors.

But to the immortality of name and reputation he has just as easy an access as genius. Heredotus, the father of bores, is as alive to-day as Plato, and the present writer can hazard a confident prophecy that he would outlive the latter. His mixture of bad facts and worse fiction will continue to bore humanity long after the fossilised wisdom of Plato has ceased to guide and inspire it. Johnson is moribund, and will soon be dead beyond resurrection; but his biographer—Boswell—will ever successfully defy death and oblivion. Johnson's "sugarless" wisdom and unpalatable cynicisms will perish, but Boswell's Johnsonian talk and stories will ever challenge time and its ravages. Coming nearer home, Abul Fazal, with all his unsurpassed intellectual and literary powers and statemanship, is going to grave, mourned only by senile garrulity, infirmity of intellect and archaicness of taste; but Birbal, with his stupid jokes and silly anecdotes, is still clinging to popular memory with great tenacity. I must confess that Indian boredom cannot claim comparison with European boredom without making itself supremely ridiculous. Its achievements are comparatively few, its record not half so brilliant as that of European boredom. But it is racial prejudice alone which would deny that Indian boredom is progressive and that its performances are very often superb and grand. The reason for this inferiority of indigenous boredom is not far to seek. We have no Parliament; no House of Commons or of Lords. Is it a matter for surprise then that we have no Sir John Reeses? Believe me, there is no better place for the training and development of boredom than a Parliament.

Boredom, my critics may remind me, is congenital, but training is as essential to it as to genius. Without training boredom very often becomes inane, sterile and ineffective. Without it its promises not unoften go unrealized, the hopes it has aroused are blighted and its grand mission remains unfulfilled.

The European bore receives a public encouragement which his less fortunate Indian brother does not. He has usually a large audience to admire his feats of marvellous loquacity and to vociferously cheer them. He has also critics and detractors, but his friends and supporters are generally more numerous and noisier. India can neverthless truly and without inordinate immodesty boast of millions of bores with varying degrees of perfections and excellences.

Indigenous boredom suffers, as I have said above, from a lack of popular appreciation and encouragement and even more from want of opportunities for a public exhibition of its accomplishments. It is true that we have congresses and leagues, conferences and sabhas, and last, but not least, our reformed councils. It is also true that they provide the ambitious Indian bore with opportunities for the accomplishment of miracles of loud and senseless talk. But he wants more and frequenter opportunities and a much greater degree of popular encouragement than is usual for him to receive.

Though so seriously handicapped, the Indian bore is a man of whom we have every reason to be proud. He is ubiquitous. He graces every assembly, private, communal or national.

He does not necessarily belong to the city. He often comes from a village and brings with him a sturdy and unsophisticated boredom—untiring and ceaseless in its operations, unrelieved by the culture and refinement of the city bore.

The bore does not necessarily belong to any particular religion. He is as often a Hindu as a Mohammadan or a Christian. He finds the tenets of no faith opposed to the pursuit of innocent boredom; no ethics, secular or religious, forbid loud and ceaseless talk. One does not see any reason why a good Hindu or a pious Musalman should be a bad or indifferent bore.

The bore is wedded to no particular political beliefs and convictions. Advocacy of most progressive reforms and the demand of Swaraj are as compatible with honest boredom as the loyalism of the most aggressive type—the loyalism of the Oudh Taluqdar or the Punjab Khan Bahadur.

You can't know a bore at first sight, if you have no mental discernment. Physical eyes, however big, even fortified by a pair of spectacles won't enable you to recognize a bore before he has commenced to experiment on your patience in his usual calm, collected and confident manner. His torrential volubility once provoked would sweep you off your feet before you realized the egregious folly of accosting him. Never accost a bore in hurry and repent of it at leisure. Do anything, but don't rouse slumbering boredom. Do not grudge it the rest it sorely needs after its ceaseless toils.

Let it be remembered by all that the bore wears no particular uniform, though we all heartily wish he did that. I for one would hail a movement, though it emptied my purse of its last *cowry*, which sought to deck Indian boredom in some uniform and distinguishing outer vesture.

The founders of sabhas and revivers of dead languages would more usefully spend their time in devising means to satisfy this pressing need of the modern times.

The bore has no predilection for any particular kind of dress. I have as often found his Swadeshi legs encased in the most immaculate

trousers of the approved European cut as in the dirtiest of *dhotis*. The *dhoti* does not lessen his self-assurance, nor do the trousers add to his intrepidity. His head—an organ which he has shamelessly discarded in favour of his mere seductive tongue—is no more partial to the Bideshi top-hat than to the Turkish Fez or to what is popularly known as the felt-cap. The former does not add to his dignity, nor do the latter detract from his sublimity.

The bore in *achkan* is as familar a figure and as common a sight as one in a lounge suit. The bore has no aversion to nakedness—a trouserless nakedness relieved only by a *dhoti*. From what has been said above, the reader may be led to infer that only talk is boredom. Talk, loud and persistent, without interruption or intermission is oftener the form which boredom assumes. But there is inarticulate boredom too—a boredom which accomplishes its grand mission not through talk and noise, but by icy, frigid, sepulchral silence as destructive of human patience as the noisiest and interminablest talk. The silent bore is cynical and relentless. He stares at you for hours, unwilling to talk and be talked to, contemplating you as if you were the only unhappy creature who marred the perfections of a universe of his creation. You were rich in human forbearance and patience when he came to you. He leaves you a bankrupt, an eternal pauper.

BAMBOOQUE.

Lord Byron the man.

THE so-called "Confessions of Byron", arranged by Mr. Lewis Bettany, is a very interesting volume and mainly consists of his letters to his sister Augusta, his publishers and his friends. From a perusal of these we learn his opinions on his contemporaries poets, his relations, his friends and also religion. And thus we get an insight into the charms and defects of his nature, and we are enabled to estimate his own intellectual power as compared to that of his contemporaries. In short, we see Lord Byron the man in his naturalness.

The final place of Byron in the realm of literature has not yet been decided. Yet his indomitable energy, passion and power of vivid and forceful description, together with the unabating interest which is attached to his unhappy career, must always make him loom large in the assembly of poets. The influence of the "Noble Poet" over the taste and sentiments of the Continental people was very great, and as a poet he enjoyed a much higher reputation in foreign countries than he did in his own. His life is to be read in his own works, and he shines best in the more personal forms of his writings.

In *Don Juan*, where he is a bit too severe in his criticisms of life, he calls himself "the Grand Napoleon of the realms of rhyme"; but the only points of similarity between the real Napoleon and the self-styled one are that both were the products of revolution and both, after a short glorious reign, were deposed from the pinnacle of their glory. Napoleon, at any rate, was not "in haste to be famous." Now, let Byron the man speak. "My mother," writes he to Augusta, "has lately behaved to me in such an eccentric manner that, so far "from feeling the affection of a son, it is with difficulty I can restrain "my dislike." But he does not even restrain his *dislike* as it would appear from the following: "Am I to call this woman my mother," writes the cynic in another letter, "because by nature's law she has "authority over me? She irritates me so much. I can never forgive "that woman."

And in a third epistle to one John Hanson he says, "I lent "*Mrs. Byron* (his mother) £60 last year; of this I have never received "a sou and in all probability never shall."

These are rather too inhuman sentiments to express about one's own mother—great as may have been her eccentricities. Undoubtedly she had inherited some germs of madness, and at times her behaviour and sharp-edged tongue got on his nerves. But this and many other such things can afford no excuse for his own behaviour towards her. She was, after all, his mother. He talks of lending and borrowing money about a mother who, let it be said to her credit, was ever generous to him at least as regards money matters. Such abominable language shows that he had no filial piety or affection and brings out a very ugly trait in his character, almost bordering on meanness.

Of religion his Lordship speaks in his letter to Ensign Long in the following terms: "I know nothing in favour of religion. We "have fools in all sects and impostors in most. Why I believe in mys-"teries no one understands, because written by men who chose to mis-"take madness for inspiration and style themselves evangelicals. This "much I venture to affirm, that all the virtues and pious deeds per-"formed on earth can never entitle a man to everlasting happiness in "future state." Further, writing to a priest he says, "the basis "of your religion is injustice. . . . . A material resurrec-"tion seems strange and even absurd, exeept for purposes of "punishment; and all punishment, which is to *revenge* rather than "correct, must be wordly wrong. And when the world is at an end, "what moral or warning purpose can eternal tortures answer? It is "useless to tell man not to reason but to believe. You might tell "a man not to wake but to sleep and then to bully him with torments "and all that. I cannot help thinking that menace of hell makes as "many devils as the severe penal codes of inhuman humanity make "villains." This is as frank and as vigorous as his criticism of life.

But in face of this we find him at constant pains to make people believe of his implicit faith in Christianity. He does not stop there, but puts his only daughter in a nunnery. This is one of the many contradictions in his character. Whatever his Lordship may have spoken against deity in his pride of physical beauty, which was no less than his intellectual greatness, and in revenge for his lameness, still there is some tenderness of feeling in his writings to convince one of his belief in a Supreme Power. He was by no means an atheist.

He speaks with a marked degree of tenderness not only of his dead friends, but also of those who in their lifetimes were the cause of great annoyance to him. The news of a friend's death always brought into display the finer side of his nature. He deeply mourned over the loss.

Amongst his contemporaries he particularly picked out Wordsworth to be the target for his shots. He has hardly a word to say in favour of the "Poet of Nature."

"Wordsworth," says he, "thinks that he has all his life been writing "both prose and verse, and neither of what he conceives to be such "can be properly said to be either one or the other. . . . . This "is the sort of writing which has superseded and degraded Pope in "the eyes of the discerning British public."

In another letter to a German friend he writes, "You do not "know that this gentleman (Wordsworth) is the greatest of all poets—"past, present and to come. His principal publication is entitled "*Peter Bell* which he has withheld from the public for one and twenty "years—to the irreparable loss of all those who died in the interim "and will have no opportunity to read it before the resurrection." He says in another place:

Of Wordsworth, the grand metaquizzical poet,
A man of vast merit, though few people know it;
The perusal of whom (as I told you at Mestri,)
I owe, in great part, to my passion for pastry.

This is a withering satire indeed. He seems apparently to have conceived a personal dislike for Wordsworth and the latter's unsympathetic treatment of the mild Keats has had its revenge. Byron has not many good words to spare for Coleridge either, though he speaks of him mildly and in places even with kindness, "Coleridge —the Manichean of poesy is lecturing. Many an old fool, but such as this never."

Southey and Leigh Hunts also do not escape his adverse criticisms. "Poor Keats" he pities, but shows his great likeness for Shelley.

On Sir Walter Scott alone he lavishes his unqualified praise.

Byron's friends played an important part in his life and the formation of his character. Some of them like Shelley, Moore, Hobhouse and Matthews did in fact whip his intellect and may even be said to have inspired him. He loved them dearly, but at times they too couldn't escape his condemnation.

Having no pleasure at home, he liked to keep the company of his friends as much as he could.

He sets up quite a high ideal of friendship. When writing to Thomas Moore he says, "Throughout life, your loss must be my loss, "and your gain my gain. Though my heart may ebb, there will "always be a drop for you among the dregs."

These are noble sentiments indeed and cannot but wring praise even from his most severe critics for this generosity of his heart. But then suddenly he turns over and informs us in the same breath that he has great admiration but no love for his friends, and goes on muttering: "If one wishes to have all the success one deserves he should never listen to his friends."

What an ungenerous remark! and what a contrast it presents to the sentiments just expressed. In fine his is a most complicated and contradictory nature.

With a mother whom he spurned, with a wife whom he despised and with friends whom he only *admired*, Byron, indeed, knew little of love (he imagined himself to be in love when he was eight years old). Yet in the far hidden corner of his heart he had a little burning spark which occasionally emblazened and got the better of him in spite of himself.

Byron recognises no law and refuses to be bound by the fetters of "custom", but he is governed by the impulses of his own will.

In him the imagination is subordinate to his intellect and he is not like his "dear Shilloh" (Shelley) an idealist but essentially a materialistic poet. If our hearts open to Keats, and our souls to Wordsworth, and if for the satisfaction of spirit we look to Shelley, it is for the gratification of our senses that we turn to Byron.

His enthusiasm for Greek liberty, his consequent sacrifice of his life and fortune for their cause is a striking example of his generous but impulsive nature.

Let us sum up with Hazlitt's estimate of his personality.

"Self-will, passion, the love of singularity, a disdain of himself and of others (with a conscious sense that this is among the ways and means of procuring admiration) are the proper categories of his mind: he is a lordly writer, is above his reputation and condescends to the muse with a scornful grace."

SYED MAHMUD,
Bankipur.



The Haj Pilgrimage.

To the Editor of "the Comrade."

Sir,—Since the publication of the report of Dr. Abdur Rahman, the Vice-Consul at Jeddah, it has been discussed all over the country. When I was leaving Delhi for Bombay to arrange on behalf of our Society, "The Khuddam-i-Ka'aba", to give every possible help to the Hajis, not only our members, who naturally desire a very much larger number of Muslims both rich and poor to perform this great religious function, but many others had also requested me to make full inquiries about the statements made in the said report, as they were not verified by those who had themselves performed the Haj that year.

With an open mind and with the sole idea of finding out the real facts, I have visited officials, ship-owners, pilgrims' brokers, brokers' servants, "moallmis", old residents of Jeddah and Mecca and many Hajis who know the affairs of the Hejaz intimately. The information that I have been able to collect, I beg to offer to the public, without exaggeration or varnish, as, in my opinion, the Mussalmans want nothing else but the exact truth to tackle the whole problem and solve it once for all.

Most of the non-officials that I met spoke in strong words about the Vice-Consul and said some ugly things which, having no great bearing on the question, I leave out. They accused him of exaggerating facts so as to discourage the Indian Mussalmans from going to Haj, and of arousing a feeling of disgust against the Turkish authorities; also of insinuating and stating facts in such a way that the ordinary layman, who was not conversant with the real state of affairs, should be led to believe that it was the Turkish Government who were at fault, when actually they were not. Take, for example, the statement about the quarantine at Kamran. If the Turks had full authority in the matter, they would have done away with it long ago. But at present they are powerless. It has been imposed by an International Sanitary Board at Constantinople, on which sit the representatives of all the Powers, and the decisions of this Board have to be carried out by the Turkish authorities. I have repeatedly heard from pilgrims of the brutal treatment meted out to them by the doctors and petty officials, who are mostly Greeks and non-Muslims. The Hajis did not understand why the Turkish authorities could not employ Muslim officials to carry out this delicate task. Of course they abused the Turks for this, but they did not know that the Turks ~~had~~ to carry out the orders of the International Sanitary Board, and had absolutely no voice in the matter. To an ordinary mind it would appear from the report of the Vice-Consul that poor pilgrims, besides being face to face with a dire disease like cholera, were being fleeced brutally at Kamran. And Kamran is situated in Turkish territory. The conclusion is so obvious. Take another example. The floods at Hamara, situated between Mecca and Medinah, did carry away pilgrims, but not so many as the Vice-Consul mentions. About 400 in all were drowned. Such a thing had not happened in that part of the country for generations. Surely plague, cholera, floods, etc., are *visitations* of God and cannot be controlled by any Government howsoever powerful and capable.

At the time of the Haj there are about 5 lakhs of people in Mecca, and those who have seen the religious fairs even in our own country, with its enormous resources and able officials, can realize how absolutely impossible it becomes to make proper sanitary arrangements. I was at Benares as a Government official for three years. I have visited Allahabad during the Magh *melas*. I have visited Hardwar and also Ajmer and Piran Kaleer during the *mas*, and I wish Dr. Abdur Rahman were with me to report on the sanitary conditions there. Barely five weeks ago the sanitary conditions round about the Durgah at Ajmer were such as would sicken anybody and the water looked more like thick "pea-soup". Nobody complained of this, because on occasions and gatherings like these and with the poor attending them in large numbers, no sanitary arrangements could hold. Because there were heavy floods at Hyderabad and Burdwan; cholera at the Magh *melas* of Allahabad and other Hindu and Muslim fairs at Benares, Hardwar, Ajmer, Pak Pattan, Piran Kaleer; disasters on the sea like those of the "Titanic" and the "Empress of Ireland;" railway collisions like the one near Ghaziabad,—all resulting in fearful loss of life,—therefore Hyderabad and Burdwan were to be boycotted; Allahabad, Benares, Hardwar and Ajmer fairs given up, and no one was to travel either by sea or land. What does the following mean :—

"If Indian Moslems decide to come to Arabia, they must do so "without any idea save that of resolute performance of religious "duty in pursuance of which they must be ready to face certain hard-"ships and not unlikely death".

I am afraid warnings like the above have no sense in them except that they give the fullest reflection of the innermost feelings of the writer. Mussalmans complain that they are not children, ignorant of the conditions in Arabia. They fully realise the hardships of travelling and they also know fully well that journey in a desert and sparsely populated country like the Hejaz is no picnic. Many of the educated Mussalmans, with whom I discussed this problem, expressed a firm desire to go to the Haj next year, not with the intention of issuing warnings to the people but to remove the difficulties there and make things easier. It is the duty of every Mussalman from every part of the world to do all he can to improve the conditions in the Hejaz, and help the distracted Turkish authorities who have had enough troubles of their own to worry them. I expect next year a good many of the eminent Mussalmans will go for the Haj with the intention of seeing things for themselves and resolving on a scheme of improvements.

The Vice-Consul is right about the unprotected water-supply, which can get tainted very easily. Our Society intends to send out a Mussalman engineer to report on it. The *Ain Zubeida* gives sufficient water for all requirements, if the spare water-supply in the off-season is stored up properly. A few storage reservoirs are needed. The water after being purified can be distributed by means of either pipes or *bhishties*.

As for the monopoly and the compulsory return tickets, the whole community practically unanimously has decided against it. If any one carefully looked into the history of the Shipping Industry of Bombay, he could find that 40 years ago a good deal of this business was being carried on by Mussalmans and the "Haj Question" did not exist. The question has become acute since the day when the Bombay Persian Steam Navigation Company, owned by Shirazis, the Amin-Uttujar family, was sold to Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. I would like to be perfectly fair to Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. They have come to this country for business and naturally would like to make as much profit out of it as possible. There is absolutely no question of charity or piety, and nobody may reasonably expect anything of the sort from them. They were a powerful and influential firm before, and since the amalgamation of the P. & O. and the British India Steam Navigation Companies, with whom they are associated, their influence has gone up a great deal. They began to raise the fares and the other companies followed suit, with the result that there was a general outcry, and thus the "Haj Question" was brought into existence. For example, Rs. 40 was the fare advertised. The intending pilgrims, on hearing this, flocked to Bombay from all parts of India. When there were, say, 3,000 pilgrims, and the available accommodation for 1,500 only, there was a rush for tickets, and the fares were quietly raised from Rs. 40 to Rs. 90, Rs 100 and even Rs. 110. This upset all the calculations of the poor Haji. Having once started and come so far, he would not think of going back and practically spent all his money in Bombay. This gamble was always there, but not to any inconvenient extent. Leaving aside the last few years, when Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. came into the field, the average fare for the previous ten years was Rs. 28-8-0 from Bombay to Jeddah, and Rs. 22-8-0 from Jeddah to Bombay, that is, Rs. 51-0-0 only for both going and coming back. Last year the poor unfortunate pilgrims had to pay from Rs. 100 to Rs. 110 for going only. The Government of Bombay got alarmed at this, and was anxious to stop this. Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. gallantly came forward and offered a very simple solution. They asked for the grant of sole monopoly for carrying pilgrims, recommending the introduction of compulsory return tickets, and fixed the fares at Rs. 160 for both the voyages. The Bombay Government recommended this arrangement, as apparently they must have been anxious to wash their hands of this affair; but the Mussalmans naturally would not accept such a simple remedy "worse than the disease". I was told that last year the Manager of Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. went to Jeddah himself and ordered that the fares

for the return voyage should not be lowered. The poor pilgrims would have suffered a great deal, and Dr. Abdur Rahman would again have written strongly in favour of the monopoly and the compulsory return tickets, if it were not for Mr. Abdullah Mian Khandwani, who would not join the combine, and with his one boat, the "Lawoe", brought down the rates. He brought pilgrims back for Rs. 30 or even lower and over 700 pilgrims for absolutely nothing, in fact feeding many of them on the way. He deserves the thanks both of the Mussalmans and the Government. The Arab Company brought 400 destitute Hajis, and Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. also brought 200 for whom they demanded money from the Government but were refused.

I would here like to note the effect which the grant of monopolies has produced elsewhere. The cost of the three days' voyage from Suez to Jeddah and back was under Rs. 20. The present Khedive in a weak moment was prevailed upon to sell his company to a syndicate which was also given a monopoly for the pilgrims traffic. The cost for the same journey now is Rs. 78. A similar monopoly was given for pilgrims from Singapure and the Malay States. The fare from Singapure to Jeddah used to be about Rs. 67 and for a return ticket from Rs. 100 to Rs. 120. Now they charge for the same journey Rs. 267, with the result that pilgrims from Java and the Malay States travel by the Japanese boats—which are successfully competing with the B. I. S. N. Company—to Calcutta, from there by rail to Bombay where they take boat for Jeddah. They find this much cheaper.

Practically every Mussalman opposed the grant of the monopoly, but some who did not know the facts saw no objection in the compulsory return tickets. Now monopoly means nothing but monopoly, while the system of compulsory return tickets means compulsory return tickets *plus* the grant of a monopoly, for the Arab Company, Abdullah Mian Khandwani and other smaller Companies, who help in keeping the rates down, would disappear as not being able to guarantee the return of pilgrims who will come back to Jeddah in dribblets. Messrs. Turner, Morrison & Co. would alone be left in the field. I am afraid the new proposals of the Government are no improvement on the old. They mean practically the same thing, that is, the giving of the monopoly and the introduction of compulsory return tickets, but in an indirect way.

The question of destitute Hajis was always there, but it never caused any great trouble to anybody. The Muslim shipping companies, doing this business, always, towards the end, brought in free a shipload or two of these as a pure act of charity. From Bombay they disappeared to their homes. Last year too they did the same. The Government only in 1912-1913 paid Rs. 20,000 for poor and destitute Hajis, out of which Rs. 3,000 were contributed by the Bombay Haj Committee. As far as my information goes, Government had never before incurred any expenditure on this account.

The only possible solution under the circumstances appears to be that the Government should make an appeal to the Mussalmans of India, princes, noblemen, zemindars, merchants and the poor alike to start a shipping concern of their own in the interests mainly of the pilgrims. The promoters would get a modest return on their investments and at the same time they will be doing a great act of charity.

"Hotel Majestic,"
BOMBAY.

SHAUKAT ALI,
Secretary,
Khuddam-i-Ka'aba Society.

Govt. Anglo-Arabic High School, Delhi.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE COMRADE."

SIR,—I hope you will extend to me the courtesy of your columns, and publish my brief contribution to your esteemed journal.

I have tried in this letter, as far as possible, to quote facts and figures based on correct and reliable information, as I believe in fair and honest criticism. I may, however, state at the outset that I loathe controversy, and I hope I shall not be drawn into it.

I have been, like a true lover of education, following closely the course of events in the history of the Anglo-Arabic (called Govt. Anglo-Arabic) High School, Delhi. I have studied from time to time the problems that this old institution had to face and has still to face, but have always refrained from making public comment since in nine cases out of ten honest criticism is always looked upon by the men in authority as the outcome of personal enmity, malice and selfishness. I must point out, as I believe and honestly believe, that the Anglo-Arabic High School needs reform, and certain events and circumstances important as they are, must be brought to the notice of the Mussalman public in the interest of the school.

The Anglo-Arabic School is a very old institution, as old as 1846. It was founded in that year by Nawab Zafar Ali Khan, who gave a handsome donation to the East India Company for the advancement of Mussalman education. The building in which the school is located was built by Ghazi-ud-din Khan, one of the Nizams of Hyderabad, and is a very fine historical building situated outside the Ajmere Gate. The old Oriental school was converted into an English High School about a quarter of a century ago. Khwaja Shahabuddin was its first Head Master and continued to act in that capacity up till 1907. In 1907 or thereabout the school was inspected by Mr. J. W. T. Wright, the then Inspector of Schools, Delhi, who condemned it wholesale and reported against the Head Master and most of the other members of the staff. The school was practically overhauled, most of the old teachers were sent away, and M. Mohamed Fazluddin, the present Head Master, was appointed in place of Khwaja Shahabuddin. It was hoped that under the guidance of the new Head Master the school would show better results and would progress morally and materially, but a glance at the following table will show that, leaving aside the beautiful lawns and flower-pots and some up-to-date but insufficient furniture and apparatus, the school has made no progress whatsoever. The number of scholars has of course risen from 400 to 1,000 (including one upper primary and two lower primary branches), but the results are bad. It is believed that a large sum of money is spent every year on the school, but like the Prince o Wale's School of Science at Aligarh, it has proved to be another 'white elephant'. The following will justify my remarks :—

Past & Present.	No. of years.	No. of scholars sent up for the Matric.	No. of boys passed.	Remarks.
The old period:— 1894-1907	13	256	159	Many boys secured scholarships, medals and distinctions.
The new period:— 1907-1914	7	257	90	

A glance at this table will show that the school during the old period, though condemned by Mr. Wright, showed better results than under the existing arrangements. In both cases 256 and 257 boys were sent up, but the results show a marked disparity and are in no way creditable to those now responsible for the school education. Apart from the marked falling off in results during the past few years in comparison with the results of the school previous to 1907, it should be noted that the school average in University passes is often much below that of the University and certainly the worst amongst all the public schools in Delhi. And this grave situation exists inspite of the fact that enormous sums of money have been spent on its equipment and the number of teachers has considerably increased.

If we analyse the results for the last five years we come to the following figures :—

Year	No. of candidates	Passed	Failed
1910	39	12	27
1911	38	16	22
1912	39	20	19
1913	50	15	35
1914	39	10	25+4 under consideration.
	195	73	

It will be quite clear from the above that the large sums of money spent on the school are practically wasted and the results are such as call for a searching inquiry into the condition of the school teaching.

It is the duty of every true Muhammadan to ponder over the matter and to find out and suggest remedies for the betterment of the school. To the best of my recollection the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner of Delhi promised to make some enquiries last year, but the Mussalmans of Delhi are still eagerly awaiting the results of that enquiry.

It may be pointed out here that one of the chief reasons of the uniformly bad results, in the University examinations appears to be the fact that the present Head Master attends to various things outside the school. He has been made a trustee of the Fatehpuri Mosque, is the Inspector of the Punjabi School, the Hon. Secretary of the Public Library, a member of Queen Mary's School Committee, etc., and if my information is correct, coaches boys for various examinations. He finds, therefore, very little time to attend to his duties in the school. He has been getting promotion every year with bad results to his credit, and has often been heartily congratulated by the school authorities on having rendered "meritorious services." What those meritorious services are still remains to be seen. I have no desire to make personal remarks and I have purposely refrained from saying things which may cause offence to the *amour propre* of the school authorities. I prefer to keep silent for the present. But I would be failing in my duty if I do not state here that there have been constant changes amongst the teachers and during the last 5 or 6 years as many as thirty teachers have joined and left the school. It is generally rumoured that the Head Master's treatment has been responsible for the influx and hasty outflight of so many birds of pas-

sage. I do not know how far this is true. At all events the matter should be carefully inquired into. I may also mention here that easy promotions at the school annual examinations are another undesirable feature of the school. Weak boys are generally promoted to the higher class and this may, to some extent, account for abnormal failures in the University examinations.

With these facts before us I appeal to the Muhammadans of Delhi, specially to educated and wealthy Muhammadans, to help the Anglo-Arabic High School, Delhi, to enable it to fulfil its mission, the mission of imparting free education to Mussalmans. The school is now an aided institution and is tied hand and foot by rules and regulations, and poor Muhammadan boys find it very difficult and expensive to continue their studies in this school—their so-called national institution—and to pay the enhanced fees that are now charged in the school. The following other matters are worthy of immediate attention:—

(1) *Scholarships.*—Scholarships for poor students should be founded in large number. The need for scholarships is greater than before and the question is an important one.

(2) *Library.*—The school does not possess a decent library. This is a great drawback. Good libraries are essential for schools and colleges.

(3) *Building.*—The number of scholars in this school has risen and the school has now on its registers more than 1,000 pupils. Lecture rooms are limited in number and 4 new class rooms are badly needed. Philanthropic Mussalmans like Haji K. S. Baksh Elahi Sahib, C. I. E., can find no worthier use for their superfluous wealth than to endow the school with much needed class rooms. A sum of Rs. 25,000 will enable the authorities to commence building operations without delay.

(4) *Science Department.*—Money is also required for the Science Department, which is still below the required standard. A qualified B. Sc. or M. Sc. is required to look after it.

(5) *Shorthand and Typewriting Branch.*—This branch of the School receives monthly Government grant of Rs. 120, but nothing has been done up to now to induce students to join this class. Students go to other institutions and pay higher fees simply because they do not get proper tuition in the Anglo-Arabic School. There are no suitable tables, chairs, and machines. The head of the institution should remember that the school is not a money making machine, but that it was started for the benefit of Mussalmans. Economy should be combined with decency and the class should be made to serve a useful purpose and not allowed to rust.

I regret that for want of space I have had to curtail my letter and I reserve further comments for some future time. I would, however, request you to note that for the present I shall find myself amply repaid if I find that the Honorary Secretary of the School and the Managing Committee and the public are willing to join hands to work for the good of the school.

I remain,
Sir,
Yours respectfully,
X. Y. Z.

5th July 1914.

Debate on the Council of India Bill.

The Marquess of Crewe's Speech.

The Marquess of Crewe, in moving the second reading of the Council of India Bill, said:—At the end of July last year I outlined the general principles which we proposed to bring before your lordships' House in the form of a Bill as soon as possible, and I am thereby relieved on this occasion from troubling you at such length as might otherwise have been necessary. The general conclusion that has been reached by all those whose opinion I have had the opportunity of consulting has been that it is desirable as a matter of business to make certain amendments in the Act of 1858, in addition to any changes which might be made *proprio-motu* by the Secretary of State of the day.

The present position of the Council briefly is this:—Its functions are mainly consultative and advisory; it has a restricted veto on certain actions of the Secretary of State, and it is bound by a series of rigid rules of business founded on the Act of 1858. The numbers of the Council have somewhat varied since then, but I think it may be taken that opinion in more recent times has found a Council of 10 or thereabouts as likely to be the most convenient number for business. It is more or less agreed by people of all schools that the functions of this Council ought to be in the main of an advisory character, but different schools of thought adopt very different views as to the elements of which it should be composed and of the manner in which its advisory powers should be exercised. Of those schools one is extreme and would depend entirely on the administrative experience of the Secretary of State's Council for the advice which should be given. They would, if they could, compose the Council entirely of Indian ex-Civil servants of experience, and they do not regard the introduction of any other element of advice with much favour. At the other end of the line is a completely different school, represented in India by those who attend the Indian Congress and supported by a certain body of opinion, partly of former Indian officials and partly of English members of Parliament, in this country. They would like the advice which is given to the Secretary of State to be in the main advice of a political character found on general principles or political theories. They would like to see—although they would not exclude administrative experience altogether—a large majority of the Secretary of State's Council framed with the object of giving advice on those lines.

I cannot pretend to be a supporter of either of those schools in its extreme form. I do not hesitate to say that for a great many subjects which come before us at the India Office it is of the highest importance that we should have at our disposal advice founded on administrative experience, varied, and gained, if possible, in high posts. For instance, there are cases in which the Government of India finds itself putting forward a different opinion from that held by one of the local Governments, or where the India Office is pressed to make some abrupt departure from precedent in favour of particular persons, or where preference is to be expressed for one object of expenditure against another, both of them, perhaps, being desirable in themselves. For all purposes such as these, and for many others, the administrative experience which has been gained by occupants in high office in India is of the greatest value to our Council. On the other hand, there is a danger that the Secretary of State in Council may be tempted to worship administrative efficiency as his sole idol. I therefore think that before we are to come to a final decision on important matters affecting the Government of India it is valuable to obtain the views of an important section of Indian opinion in revising the conclusions of the Government on the spot.

Representation of Indian Opinion.

Therefore in Clause 1, subsection 2, of the Bill it is proposed to make it a statutory obligation that two Indians, or rather persons domiciled in India, should invariably form part of the Secretary of State's Council, and that a list of Indians should be framed by the non-official members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council and the Legislative Councils of the different provinces, forming a panel from which a selection may be made by the Secretary of State when a vacancy occurs. There has been a certain demand in India that Indian members should be directly elected. I do not think that the demand for such direct election is reasonable. I do not know any institution of the kind in which a system of direct election is used for the creation of such an important advisory body as the Secretary of State's Council is. I may be asked, Why cannot you be satisfied with a system of pure nomination? As far as the present members are concerned I would be well satisfied if they remained as long as they could and were succeeded by others of the same calibre. All the Indian gentlemen who have been on the Council since my noble friend held office have been men who have had no difficulty in speaking their minds frankly and also in expressing downright difference either with me or any members of the Council whom they did not agree with. But I found that no small fear was entertained in India that this might not always be the case, and that the time might come when the Viceroy or Secretary of State might desire to see nobody on such a Council who could not be relied on to agree with the supreme authority in every instance. It was felt that somebody might be appointed whose presence might in the opinion of more liberal-minded Indian opinion be worse than the absence of Indians altogether, because they would give the impression that their race was represented by people who acquiesced in everything said or proposed by the officials. Therefore this form of qualified and limited representation has been introduced. From the list I have mentioned, the Secretary of State would in all cases be able to make an adequate selection of men of real ability and administrative experience, whose advice would be of great value.

Salary.

In subsection 3 it is suggested that the salary of a member of the Council should be restored to the figure at which it originally stood—that is to say, £1,200 a year. I think it is desirable to make this increase in order to emphasize the idea that the services of the members of Council should be more strictly and exclusively whole-time service than is the case at present. We also propose to give a special allowance of £600 a year to Indian members of the Council. One of the reasons for that is that we pay higher salaries in the Indian public service because, in addition to having to live away from home, it is often necessary for the members to keep up a second establishment in their own country for the education of their children. I am told that one body of Indian opinion objects to any idea of differentiation between the two races, but I think it can be defended on lines of reason and common sense. In subsection 4 I have proposed that a person possessing special financial qualifications shall be appointed as a member of the Council upon special terms. It may not always be necessary or agreeable to such an adviser to

Supplement to "The Comrade", July 25th 1914.

Hindu University.

Conditions of sanction for Hindu and Moslem Universities.

THE following letter has been addressed by Sir Harcourt Butler to the Maharajah of Durbhanga:—

'SIMLA, the 18th July 1914.

'My dear Maharaja Bahadur,

'Please refer to my letter to you, no. 117 Education, dated Simla, the 2nd June 1913, in which I regretted that I was not yet in a position to indicate the lines on which the constitution of the University should be framed as the matter was still under consideration and reference to his Majesty's Secretary of State was necessary, but noted your desire to go ahead with the preparation of a scheme and thought it would be of assistance to you to know the conditions the fulfilment of which the Government of India regarded as necessarily precedent to the introduction of any scheme. These were: (1) that a suitable site be provided; (2) that the Central Hindu College be transferred to the University; (3) that a sum of 50 lakhs must be collected (in this amount may be included the capitalised value of the property mentioned in paragraph 6 of your letter and the perpetual grants mentioned in paragraph 9 of your letter, provided the documentary title is satisfactory in the case of the latter and possession of the property has been made over in the case of the former); (4) that the constitution of the University proceed on lines to be indicated to you hereafter; (5) that a committee appointed for the purpose report that the Central Hindu College is fit to be developed into a residential and teaching university.

'2. I understand that substantial progress has been made in regard to (1),(2) and (3) and action can at any time be taken under (5). As regards (4) I am now in a position to make a further important communication to you.

'3. It has been an understanding throughout that in essential and especially in regard to their relations to Government the proposed Hindu and Mahomedan Universities should be on the same footing. As you are aware the Mahomedan University Committee have not accepted the constitution laid down in the case of the proposed University by Government. The original proposal of the Mahomedan University Committee was that the Viceroy should be Chancellor with powers of intervention and control. It was decided, and finally decided that this should not be. The scheme offered to the University Committee left the University through the Court power to appoint their own Chancellor while it gave the Governor-General in Council the necessary powers of intervention and control. This arrangement was considerably criticised at the times. In consequence the Government of India and his Majesty's Secretary of State have reconsidered the whole question with every desire to assist a solution. They recognise that the Government of India is impersonal body situated at a distance and cannot give that close personal attention to the University which is required in the case of a new institution of a novel type in India. On a review of all the circumstances of the case and the criticisms which have been advanced, the Government of India and his Majesty's Secretary of State have come to the conclusion that the best form of constitution will be to constitute the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces the ex-officio Chancellor of the University with certain opportunities for giving advice and certain powers of intervention and control. The Hindu University, though not empowered to affiliate colleges from outside, will be imperial in the sense that, subject to regulations, it will admit students from all parts of India. On the other hand, it will be localised in or by Benares. There will be obvious advantages in having a Chancellor of the University the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, who is also Chancellor of the Allahabad University and who will be able to help to correlate the work between the two, secure them corresponding advantages and foster a spirit of healthy cooperation. Moreover, such a constitution is in accord with the general policy of decentralization which is now pursued by the Government of India.

'4. As regards the powers which it is necessary to reserve to the Chancellor, these are:—

(*a*) The right of general supervision and the power to advise that such action be taken and such staff be appointed or removed as will secure the objects of the University, with power if necessary to see that such advice is given effect to;

(*b*) the right of inspection for purposes of seeing whether the standard of education is kept up sufficiently high, and for other purposes;

(*c*) the right as a special measure to appoint if necessary (as the result of such inspection or otherwise) examiners for the university examinations who would report to the Chancellor;

(*d*) the annual receipt of accountants;

(*e*) the approval of the appointments of Vice-Chancellor and Provost;

(*f*) the approval of the initial regulations, etc., and of subsequent changes:

(*g*) the approval of the incorporation of local colleges in the University;

(*h*) The nomination of five members to the Senate, and

(*i*) the approval of the institution of new faculties and the reservation of power to lay down the limits of expansion at any particular time.

'Some of these powers have been suggested by your Committee. Others are emergency powers which may never be exercised and can be exercised only very occasionally. The principle underlying them all is that in the interest of the rising generation and the parents, the Government must be in co-operation with the University and in a position to help it effectively and secure sound finance. The interests of the Government and the students and their parents in this matter are necessarily identical.

'5. As you are already aware the decision in regard to affiliation of outside colleges is final. It was realised at the time that this decision would cause some disappointment, but I may take this opportunity to observe that it was not reached without due notice to the University Committees. At an informal meeting of the constitution committee of the Mahomedan University held at Simla on the 23rd September 1911, I told the committee that this question of affiliation might come prominently forward, that there had been a great deal of criticism of the idea of denominational universities, especially in so far as they cut across existing territorial jurisdictions, that the chief justification of the Aligarh University was that it would be a teaching as opposed to an examining university, that the youngmen who got their degree and diplomas of the University would have imbibed the spirit of Aligarh, which could not be acquired elsewhere. I again drew attention to the matter at a subsequent meeting held on the 27th of the same month. In an informal discussion with the promoters of the Hindu University held at the Town Hall, Delhi, on the 4th December, 1914, I clearly pointed out the difficulties which beset the proposal to grant affiliation. I mention this because there has been some misunderstanding on the point.

'6. In order to meet the sentiment of the subscribers, it has been conceded that the University shall be called the Benares Hindu University. It will have no religious test and will be open to students of all denominations as well as to Hindus. Hindu theological teaching and observances will not be compulsory for any but Hindus. It will also be a teaching and residential university.

'7. The terms mentioned above represent the condition the acceptance of which is necessarily precedent to the elaboration of any detailed scheme. I hope that your Committee will realise that they are worked out in the best interests of the University and the Government whose close association with it is essential. If they are not all that some of the subscribers may desire, they will enable you to realise an aspiration which a large body of opinion thought impracticable at the outset and which had been rejected by the Universities Commission of 1902. Should the Committee accept the conditions, the detail of the constitution can be settled. Sir James Meston will be at Allahabad on the 28th instant and will be ready to discuss the matter with us there.

'I may add that his Majesty's Secretary of State reserves his final decision on the details of the constitution of the University until they are before him in the form of a draft bill and regulations.

'In conclusion I have to state that when a satisfactory scheme has been evolved the Government of India will be glad to show their interest in the new University by making a liberal financial grant-in-aid. His Majesty's Secretary of State, the Government of India and the local Government have only one object, *viz.*, to assist your Committee to start this new and interesting experiment on lines best calculated to secure its success, and in so doing to cultivate and promote that enthusiasm for sound education which all who wish well to India whole-heartedly desire.

'Yours sincerely,

'HARCOURT BUTLER.'

receive the full salary, but it may be desirable sometimes to bring home from India a financial expert whose career in India is not entirely finished, and in order to obtain the best possible man it would be necessary to give him special terms in regard to salary, pension, and duration of his term of office.

THE COUNCIL AND ADMINISTRATION.

I come now to Clause 2, which has caused more comment, founded on a singular amount of misunderstanding, than any other part of the Bill. One unfounded suggestion is that we intend to turn the Council of the Secretary of State into an administrative body. I do not know on what ground that charge is made. On the last occasion I spoke of our intention to limit the present procedure by which an enormous number of comparatively unimportant matters go to Standing Committees, causing much waste of time and much unnecessary delay, and I propose to limit that by making some kind of more regular attachment of members to particular departments. The attachment which exists at present is of an informal character, and I propose to make it more formal and close, but certainly not in any way to make members of Council the heads or even members of departments. What is to be done is that the chief of a department and a particular member of the Council can, in consultation with the Under-Secretary of State, arrive at conclusions on a number of matters which have now to go through a whole series of Committee stages. There is no intention to turn members of the Council into purely administrative officers, though a great deal will be done to expedite work by using them more as individuals and less as members of Standing Committees. Our present machinery is precisely the same for moving a tree trunk as for picking up a pin. I do not propose to abolish procedure by Committee, and for specially important subjects *ad hoc* committees of the Council will be nominated. That is a preferable plan, in my view, than the continuance of Standing Committees, because reference to Standing Committees is liable to have, in very many cases, little regard to the importance of the particular subject. There are many matters which do not involve any principle which, I am certain, can be treated far more expeditiously than they are at present.

I have had some figures taken out of the number of papers which we considered last year at the India Office. About 200,000 of all sorts were dealt with, but it is important to note that a large number of these were concerned with such matters as the purchase of stores in this country, and so on. Of these, 922 papers came before the Council and 3,517 were laid on the table for seven days and thereby passed. Under the Act of 1858 every communication of any kind that goes to India has either to be passed by meeting of Council or it has to lie on the table of the Council for seven days, unless urgency can be claimed for it by the Secretary of State. If urgency is claimed the Secretary of State has to state in writing his reasons for claiming it, and, strictly, those reasons have to be submitted to every member of Council. The effect of that is that every telegram sent to India, sometimes by the Under-Secretary and sometimes by myself, constitutes an evasion or, indeed, an actual breach of the Act of Parliament. I do not think it is desirable that the business of a public office should not be able to be carried on at all from day to day without perpetual breaches of the law. As everybody knows, because mine is not the only office in which this is the custom, a large proportion of very important business is done by private communications, letters, or telegrams. Those constitute, at any rate, an evasion of the Act, and, similarly, all subjects except those which come under the head of "secret business." I venture to say that is a most ridiculous proceeding, and I cannot understand why an attempt to alter this procedure should be looked upon, as I have been half amused and half pained to remark it is referred to, as some attempt on the part of the Secretary of State to obtain a vast amount of control over the India Office which he does not at present possess. That particular charge is one which, I think, it is entirely impossible to sustain.

"SECRET" BUSINESS.

The Secretary of State is supposed to be grasping at power, by eliminating the Council altogether, to dispatch secret orders to India. The so-called "secret" business at the India Office is of a purely technical kind. The secret business consists of business that has to do with levying war, with making peace, with treating or negotiating with any Prince or State in or out of India, or with the policy to be observed in respect to any Prince or State. But there are numbers of matters which, in the strict sense though not in the technical sense, are secret matters—matters affecting the War Office, the Admiralty, and the Foreign Office—which do not come under any of those heads, and which, strictly speaking, cannot be said to be in any direct way the concern of the Council of India. In matters of that kind it is proposed somewhat to amplify the powers of the Secretary of State. Perhaps some noble lord may say that the Secretary of State ought not to be able to communicate with the Government of India on any subject affecting the tranquillity of India without first consulting and obtaining the assent of his Council. I do not think that is an objection which ought to be pressed, because I think there are certain matters on which the views of the Government of this country ought to be able to be conveyed directly to the Government of India. It is possible in more ways than one to conduct the discussion of such matters purely privately, but I will not say how far that is a desirable practice. There is also another and much simpler way. If the Government of India sent a secret dispatch to England, the Secretary of State could treat it as secret and reply to it in the same form. He has, therefore, only to intimate to the Government of India that they can send a secret communication on a particular subject, and after that the whole series of communications backwards and forwards remain secret. There, again, the sole object and intention of the clause is to regularize, to put into a formal and reasonable shape, what has been found to be the best method by which business can be reasonably and efficiently done, having special regard to the fact that these regulations were made when the ordinary access to India was round the Cape of Good Hope and when the electric telegraph had not been invented.

"THE TIMES" CRITICISM.

I noticed a curious error, due possibly to a certain looseness in the wording of the Bill, which was made by *The Times* newspaper in a leading article on this subject. Speaking of myself it says:—"He also seeks to enlarge the category of matters described as 'secret' which he may handle without consulting or informing his Council. The provisions in this respect are extraordinary. The Secretary of State will not communicate his 'secret' order to his own adviser, but undertakes to lay them before Parliament." Of course, my lords, that is obviously an error. In subsection 2 of the Bill the following is substituted for section 20 of the principal Act:—"It shall be lawful for the Secretary of State in Council to make rules and orders for the transaction of business as regard the powers which, under the principal Act, are to be exercised by the Secretary of State in Council. Provided that any such rule or order, so far as it affects any matter or question in respect of which concurrence of a majority at a meeting of the Council is required by this Act, shall not be valid unless made with the concurrence of a majority of the members of Council present at the meeting of Council at which the rule or order is passed." Later on it is stated that all rules and orders made under this section shall be laid before Parliament. The writer in *The Times* includes all orders sent to India under subsection 6, which extends section 27 of the principal Act, enabling the Secretary of State to send certain secret orders without communicating them to the members of his Council, to any order, not being an order in respect of which concurrence of a majority at the meeting of the Council is required by the principal Act, which relates to any question gravely affecting the internal tranquillity of India or the interests of India in any other country, or the peace or security of any part of his Majesty's Dominions, and which, in the opinion of the Secretary of State, is of the nature to require secrecy. As that mistake was made, it is clear that some verbal amendment may be necessary, but I need not remind the House that we do not intend to lay on the table of the House secret orders which have been sent to India, although it is proposed to lay rules and orders made by the Secretary of State in other respects. As to the operation of the rules, it may be objected that too much is left to be arranged by rules made by the Secretary of State and that not enough is put in the Bill, but if we tried to put into it the minor office changes which it may be impossible to make without some general alteration of the statute I am afraid that we should enlarge the Bill almost to the dimensions of the Act of 1858.

THE REDUCED QUORUM.

If it is objected that by reducing the quorum the Secretary of State might get together a scratch Council and induce a majority out of three to pass drastic rules and orders which would generally upset the existing state of thing, I shall be very glad to meet it and say that no alteration of the rules shall be made except at a full meeting of the Council; but I cannot understand what fear there can be under the safeguards in the Bill. With regard to the abolition of the weekly meeting of the Council, I think I said a year ago that the longest holiday the Council can take is from Monday until the following Saturday week, and I do not expect that under our proposals the meetings of the Council will be any fewer than at present. I should not be surprised if they were not somewhat more frequent, but cannot see what necessity there can be to bind them down to meet within the seven days of a particular week. I see Lord Curzon has placed on the paper a motion for the rejection of this Bill, and tell him frankly that I have no idea at all of the particular motive which actuates him in resisting this modest piece of legislation. I can hardly imagine that he will say that the present system is so perfect as to be incapable of improvement, and shall await his reasons with real curiosity. Although I do not think that the appointment of a Select Committee is the most practical proceeding, yet if the House prefers to adopt the motion of Lord Courtney I shall be prepared to fall in with the suggestion, for simply to burke the second would probably create a false impression in India.

Lord Curzon's Speech

MOTION FOR REJECTION.

EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON.—In moving the rejection of the Bill I shall have to give your lordships a very different impression of

its scope and possible consequences from that which the noble marquess has sought to give. He has as good as said how can you be so unreasonable as to ask the House to throw out this modest little Bill? But it appears to me and to everybody of experience whom I have consulted to be a bad Bill founded upon radically unsound principles. While affecting to maintain the Council of the Secretary of State, the Bill, as far as I can see, must reduce it, even if retained, to an impotent and costly sham. The measure does affect, if it does not actually destroy constitutional safeguards which have hitherto surrounded the Secretary of State. It introduces into the composition of his Council a new, an inappropriate, and, as I personally think, a perilous method of appointment in regard to the Indian members, and I greatly doubt whether it really represents the collective wisdom of the noble marquess's advisers in England or India. It is common knowledge that this Bill in its main features is the product of the late Under-Secretary (Mr. Montagu), who during his term at the India Office found that the machinery that existed did not suit his ideas and set about to destroy it to the best of his ability. If my description of the Bill is correct it seems to me impossible to amend it satisfactorily in Committee, and if we sent it to a Select Committee we should be committed to the main structure of a Bill which we repudiate. There is, therefore, no other course than to move the rejection of the second reading.

The Bill is a different measure from the one which we were led to expect by the speech of the noble marquess last year. He then described his amending measure as one that was required to reform the cumbrous and dilatory procedure of the India Office and to do away with delays. Yet now, we get this great measure, which it has required an hour and a quarter to explain, and which is intended to revolutionize the methods by which the Secretary of State conducts the government of India in this country. As regards delay, there is, of course, great and sometimes intolerable delay in all departments, but my impression is that generally in the India Office there is creditable celerity. But if there are delays it is absolutely in the power of the Secretary of State to overcome them at once. I believe there is no office in the world in which it is possible for the official head to push matters on with greater rapidity. This, therefore, is not a question of mere procedure.

An Unfortunate Outlook for India.

The powers of the Secretary of State were immeasurably greater than those of any Secretary of State in any Department of the British service. He can overrule his Council on anything except matters that involve a charge on the revenues of India. He can withdraw certain classes of subjects from their cognizance or control. And great as are the powers of the Secretary of State in theory and in statute, they are greater in practice. One might have thought that with an instrument so flexible and pliant, the Secretary of State would have been able to get along as well as his predecessors have done for the last 50 years. But no: he is not satisfied. He proposes a reduction of the numbers of the Council, varying from a minimum of seven to a maximum of 10. With a Council of only seven strong there will be only two Indian civilians to represent the entire interests of the Indian Civil Service. I think this will be rather a serious situation. At the present moment in the India Office, there are in the official hierarchy only the Permanent Under-Secretary and the Secretary to the Military Department who represent India. The whole remaining members of the Secretary of State's Department are drawn from the home Civil Service. It is clear that with a permanent staff thus recruited from home, and with a Council reduced to seven or to eight or nine, Indian administrative experience would be in a hopeless minority. Starting with the idea you find in 1858 that an English politician, the Secretary of State, was to rule India with the aid of Indian official experience and with due regard to Indian interests, you will end by finding your Secretary of State an English officer ruling India with, in the main, English officials and applying English standards and methods to the discharge of those duties. I think that is an undesirable and unfortunate outlook for that country. (Cheers.) As regards committees, under the present system, when matters come before the Council the case in question is already well known. The discussion is, therefore, not prolonged, and you have the advantage of the double inquiry—first, the inquiry by a committee of experts, and then the final examination and deliberation by the Council. Now that there are to be no committees or fewer committees, look at what will happen. When a case comes before the Council no one will know anything about it, and one of two consequences will ensue. Either things will be hurried through with imperfect discussion, or, if there is a difference of opinion, and if the Council insist upon further information, you will have to fall back on your system of committees, only they will be set up after the Council meeting instead of before, and you will have greater delay. With a Council of seven or eight members, however, you cannot work a committee system at all, and at bottom that is what is in the mind of the Secretary of State. He proposes to get rid of them. It is not fair of him thus to tie the hands of his successors. Although he may prefer to work without the committee system, his successors may like to work on the old lines. How unfair, then, to tie their hands in a way which renders the duty of working by committees almost impracticable. (Hear, hear.) The vital point was what was to be the relation of a member of council to his department. The future administration depends upon that. As I understand it they are not to be members for departments comparable in any sense to those in India, where the member is the administrative head of his department and acts for it, subject to the consent of the Viceroy. The real head of the department, I take it, is to be the Secretary who has access to the Secretary of State. The Committees are to be broken up, and these unhappy members, with nothing to do, are to be scattered about the departments without any real responsibility or power. I can conceive circumstances in which the relations between the member and the Secretary will be very difficult. One may be a pushful man who will reduce the other to impotence. Everything is now done upon the cumulative responsibility of the Council, but the Council will be dethroned. The noble marquess was offended because public opinion in India had misinterpreted his proposals. I do not think he had any cause to be surprised, for the conduct of the Financial Committee in the India Office, which has recently been the subject of a Parliamentary inquiry, was not such as to reassure public opinion. The fears may have been exaggerated, but I do not think they were unreasonable, for after listening to the noble marquess I have some fear that the advisory powers of the Council are going to be diminished, and that administrative functions are going to be embarked upon.

A Grab at Power.

Clause 2, in my opinion, contains the most astonishing series of provisions ever submitted in a Bill. Not even any member of his Majesty's present Government—I cannot put it higher—has ever made a more unblushing grab at power. The present law is that the Council must meet once a week, but in future it is to meet only when the Secretary of State pleases. He may dispense with meetings altogether if he is of autocratic temper. The Secretary of State argues that no one would be so unreasonable as to do that. I speak with great respect of Lord Minto, but it is notorious that in the early years of his *regime* he dispensed with the assistance of Council to a large extent, and grave feeling was excited. Under the powers in this Bill you might have the Government of India conducted by a *diumvirate*, one here and the other there, with small reference to advisers of Indian experience. When a meeting of the Council does take place the quorum is to be reduced to three, and two persons might by their votes decide matters of extreme importance. Powers of the most arbitrary description are to be conferred upon this microscopic body. This provision is an absolute repeal of the central provision of the Act of 1858, and is destructive of the main financial safeguards which now exist. It is true that the rules made in Council must be laid on the table of Parliament, but it would be much safer to keep your Secretary of State in order by adherence to statutes on the Statute-book than by debates in Parliament after he has done something which he should not have done.

The Dispatch of Secret Orders.

Then we come to what really seems to me to be the culminating act in this rake's progress, as I view it. That is the proposal to extend the category of secret orders and communications which the Secretary of State can issue without reference to his Council. The Secretary of State represented this as an innocent provision and as only somewhat amplifying the power which he at present enjoys. But in the new category he has drawn up an enormous class of questions, covering the whole government of India, which is to be withdrawn from the Council at home or of which they are to know nothing unless the Secretary of State chooses to inform them. I must confess I cannot see in these circumstances what would be the good of keeping a Council at Whitehall at all.

I am almost tempted to say that I am not surprised to see one more constitutional check swept away by noble lords opposite, but I will only say that, whatever they may do as regards this House or the other House of Parliament, I do hope that they will keep their devastating autocratic hand away from Departments of State, and that, most of all, they will refrain from anything which has a suspicion of autocracy in a case like that of the Government of India, where, I humbly submit, autocracy would not only be a blunder, but almost a crime. (Cheers.)

The Election of Two Indian Members.

I come to that which is, in some respects, the most remarkable of the innovations which have been made in the present Bill—the provision for the election of two Indian members. I have always thought that the introduction of two native gentlemen on the India Council was one of the most justifiable acts of the policy of Lord Morley, and I never had any doubt myself that the practice, successful as it has proved, must be continued by his successors. I believe the experiment would be continued sincerely and loyally by both parties, and I do not in the least object to give it statutory effect if it is desired to do so.

But it is quite a different matter when you come to election. I venture to say that is an utterly indefensible proposal. In the

first place. I do not think the Secretary of State has any right to lay aside the power placed upon him by statute to choose the members of his Council. Secondly when he goes to India, as he will do, to select his members in future, instead of going to his natural service of advice and authority, the Viceroy, he would have to go to a power provided for him by members of *quasi*-Parliamentary bodies in India. And thirdly, he will not easily find, either in the electoral college or in the panel chosen by it, the particular class of experience which was essential to the work his Council has to perform. That work and experience is administrative work and experience, and that can only be acquired by familiarity with the Indian administrative system. The men who would be put upon the panel would be public men, platform speakers—men who are identified with popular movements in India. Such men, however useful they may be in India, are not the men you want to put on the Secretary of State's Council in England, and I submit that the appointment of such men is contrary to the whole theory of the Council of the Secretary of State. That body is a body of experience, not of politicians and public speakers, and you cannot anywhere choose administrators by popular franchise. I shall be greatly surprised if this system of indirect election is approved by the Viceroy or his colleagues, and as regards English opinion in India, I have received telegrams of protest against the Bill from the president of the European Association at Calcutta, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and the Madras Chamber of Commerce. If an inquiry should be made into the procedure of the India Office, it should be into its monstrous cost of £250,000 a year which falls on the voiceless taxpayer of India. If the Council wants reform, it is not in the direction of reducing its powers, but of relieving it of the enormous mass of unimportant matters that has to be referred home. Ought any Government in the throes of extinction and almost on its deathbed—I make no political reference; my remarks are purely chronological—to be allowed as an expiring act to bequeath to its successors a form of administration which they may cordially dislike; which public opinion in this country and in India has had no opportunity of pronouncing upon; which has been concocted inside the India Office; and which vitally affects, if it does not destroy, the Government of India as we have known it since 1858? I hope that I have gratified the curiosity of the noble marquess in stating the reasons why I think this Bill ought to be rejected.

Lord Courtney of Penwith's Speech.

Lord Courtney of Penwith said that the point at issue was one on which it was impossible for the House to arrive at a correct judgment, and one which could only be solved by critical examination before a Select Committee. The noble earl had used language which seemed to imply that he was not certain that he had the authority of the noble lords sitting near him for the course which he had taken. (Earl Curzon.—'I believe I have.') He was sorry to hear that, because the rejection of the Bill without further consideration would be a very grave misfortune. He reminded the House that a deputation of Indian gentlemen had come to this country to support the noble marquess and to lay before him their views as to the way in which the Council of India should be reformed. To send them back without first examining the subject dispassionately through the instrumentality of a Select Committee would be extremely inexpedient from the point of view of the interests of the Government of India. All knew that there was an element of grave unrest in India, and it was manifested too frequently in very serious ways. The only effective method of dealing with it was to consider exhaustively all the possible ways of introducing the cooperation of Indians into the system of government, and that was a question which could be properly thrashed out by a Select Committee. To send the deputation back with a refusal from us to go any farther would be to send them back with a message of ill-omen for the peace and welfare of India.

On the motion of Lord Ampthill the debate was adjourned till Monday.

The House rose at half-past seven.

The New Turkish Army.

(From the "Times" Correspondent.)

Constantinople, May 28.

The problem how best to redistribute the Ottoman Army in order to meet the situation created by the Balkan War, the danger of Hellenic attack on the Anatolian littoral, the necessity of keeping a firmer hold on the Arab lands, and the increase of Russian strength and mobility in the Caucasus was among the first to be discussed by the Turkish military authorities after the conclusion of peace with Greece. It has been dealt as follows. Under the distribution scheme of 1910 the 14 Army Corps and five independent divisions of the Turkish Army were thus stationed:—Europe and Smyrna, 24 divisions; Eastern Asia Minor, seven divisions; the Arab countries (Syria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia), 11 divisions; with one division in Tripoli in Africa. The new scheme provides for a total of 13 Army Corps and two independent divisions. Five Army Corps (1 divisions) are to be quartered in Thrace and Western Asia Minor. The three Army Corps on the Russian frontier are to be brought up to a strength of nine divisions. The Arab provinces are to be held by five Army Corps and two independent divisions, totalling 12 divisions. The total strength of the Army is now 36 divisions, as against 43 divisions in 1910, and is better concentrated than when Turkey held Albania and Macedonia.

The Redifs.

The old "Redif" (territorial) formations seem to have disappeared from the Army list. The Redif divisions, extensively employed in all stages of the Balkan War, were of small value. Under-officered, short of baggage animals and wheeled transport, too often full of untrained men, they were sent into action before they had a chance of "shaking down," and mostly melted away in the first month of the campaign. In place of the commanders of Redif divisions a number of "officers commanding reserves" have been appointed to various stations. It is not known what the military authorities propose to do with their second line reservists in case of war. They may draft them into the first line to fill up gaps as the need arises; they may, again, extemporize a certain number of reserve divisions.

The 36 divisions are each composed of three two-battalion regiments and a rifle battalion. To each Army Corps is attached a two-battalion rifle regiment. The one exception is the Adrianople Army Corps, two divisions of which (the 4th and 6th) are composed of three three-battalions regiments and a rifle battalion, while the rifle regiment attached numbers three battalions. It is difficult to form any idea of the total war effective of these 285 battalions. The peace effective of those which have passed through Constantinople on their way to their new quarters in Asia Minor varies from 300 to 400 bayonets. Those stationed at Constantinople average 400. Enver Pasha has proposed new legislation whereby service will be reduced from three to two years and all exemptions abolished, even for the sole supports of their families, who are to receive an allowance from the State. The fact that the Government annually obtains a revenue of over £900,000 from the military exemption tax renders it unlikely that military exemptions will be immediately abolished, whatever may be urged in favour of such a measure.

As for the cavalry and artillery, it need only be said that the former is under-horsed and will not be able to put more than 50 per cent. of its nominal effective in the field for some time to come. Owing to the heavy losses of modern material, most of the artillery regiments stationed in Asia are armed with old B.L. Krupp field guns, and it is, indeed, doubtful whether the first four Army Corps are entirely supplied with Q.F. pieces. Very heavy expenditure must be incurred to make good these deficiencies. Nothing seems to have been decided as to the reorganization of the Transport and Sanitary Services. The heavy losses among officers and men from disease last winter, especially in Thrace, where typhus raged, show that the latter service requires to be thoroughly reformed.

Opinions of Other Armies.

Turkish tactical and strategical methods appear to be still based entirely on German models. This does not prevent Turkish officers from having a high opinion of the fighting qualities of the Austrian and still more of the Russian forces, though Germany, owing to the real or alleged superiority of her Great General Staff, would be "first favourite" here in the event of a European war. Of the French Army little is known and still less of the British. Of their recent antagonists Turkish officers rate the Bulgars first, and after them the Serbs, though they consider that the latter will be weakened rather than strengthened by the incorporation of Bulgarophil Macedonians in what was previously a very homogeneous force. The solidity and determination of the Bulgar and the efficiency of his staff work and general organization have inculcated a very wholesome respect for his fighting powers among the Turks, who, on the other hand, seem to hold the Greek Army in unwise contempt, and base their appreciations of the Italian Army on its unnaturally passive attitude in Cyrenaica and Tripoli. The Constantinople garrison is certainly being more efficiently trained now than formerly and though, musketry instruction is still rudimentary, the tactical handling of the men is good.

It is difficult to obtain much information as to training in the provinces, or to express an opinion as to the ultimate success of the German military mission, which now numbers close on 50 officers. There is a strong desire for progress among most junior officers and in the General Staff, but recent appointments and dismissals have not allayed the suspicion that political considerations still play too large a part in the allotment of the higher commands, and it remains to be seen whether the young leaders of the Army will have the patience for the plodding "spade-work" which reconstruction demands. In the Army, as in other departments of State, the Turks, however much they may now rely on foreign advisers, have in the last resort only themselves to thank if they succeed or fail.

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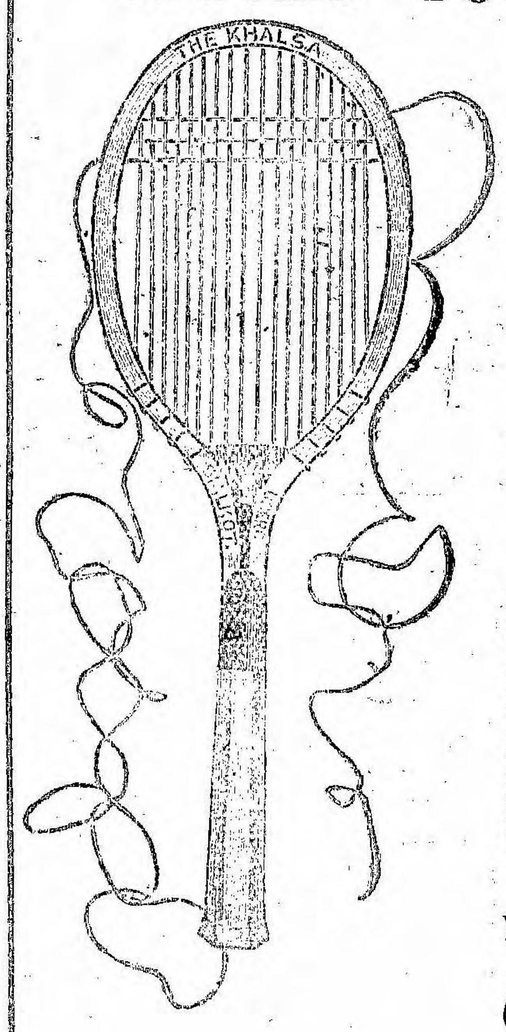
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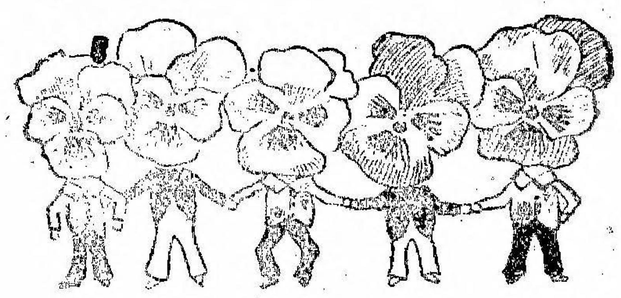
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